



# Security Council

Eighty-first year

**10051**<sup>st</sup> meeting

Monday, 24 November 2025, 10 a.m.

New York

*Provisional*

---

<i>President:</i>	Mr. Kanu.....	(Sierra Leone)
<i>Members:</i>	Algeria .....	Mr. Bendjama
	China .....	Mr. Fu Cong
	Denmark .....	Ms. Landi
	France.....	Mr. Bonnafont
	Greece .....	Mrs. Balta
	Guyana .....	Mrs. Edwards
	Pakistan .....	Mr. Ahmad
	Panama.....	Mr. Alfaro de Alba
	Republic of Korea.....	Mr. Jaeseob Kim
	Russian Federation.....	Mr. Nebenzia
	Slovenia .....	Mr. Žbogar
	Somalia .....	Mr. Mohamed Yusuf
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.....	Mr. Kariuki
	United States of America.....	Ms. Locetta

## Agenda

The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question

---

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the translation of speeches delivered in other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. *Corrections* should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room AB-0928 ([verbatimrecords@un.org](mailto:verbatimrecords@un.org)). Corrected records will be reissued electronically on the Official Document System of the United Nations (<http://documents.un.org>).



*The meeting was called to order at 10 a.m.*

**Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

**The situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question**

**The President:** In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of Israel to participate in this meeting.

I propose that the Council invite the Permanent Observer of the Observer State of Palestine to the United Nations to participate in the meeting, in accordance with the provisional rules of procedure and the previous practice in this regard.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Ramiz Alakbarov, Deputy Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process and United Nations Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator, to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. I give the floor to Mr. Alakbarov.

**Mr. Alakbarov:** Today we meet at a moment of renewed hope, while progress on the ground is fragile and deep uncertainty persists. We must seize the opportunity before us to chart a better future for Palestinians, Israelis and the wider region.

Since coming into effect last month, the ceasefire has largely held in Gaza. However, recent air strikes by Israel on populated areas have caused numerous casualties and significant destruction. Palestinian militants in Gaza have also continued sporadic attacks on Israeli soldiers, causing fatalities. This violence is jeopardizing the fragile ceasefire, and I urge all parties to exercise restraint and fulfil their commitments under the agreement. I recognize the commitments met thus far by the parties and the exceptional efforts of the mediators — Egypt, Qatar, Türkiye and the United States — in sustaining the deal. The Security Council has also taken an important step in the consolidation of the ceasefire with the adoption of Security Council resolution 2803 (2025).

While still facing unbearable living conditions and seemingly insurmountable destruction, the people in Gaza have now experienced at least the first glimmers of respite from the near constant bombardment of the past two years. Families in Israel have been reunited with their loved ones, who were held hostage by Hamas and other Palestinian armed groups under intolerable conditions in Gaza. Other families have had the remains of their loved ones returned and have begun the long process of mourning. But the bodies of three hostages have yet to be returned, with families waiting in agony for that day to come. The bodies of the deceased hostages must be returned immediately. Last week, I also met with the families of missing persons from Gaza. With tears in their eyes, they showed me pictures of their loved ones, who are presumed to be in detention or still buried under the rubble. All efforts must be made to identify the missing Palestinians. These families also deserve closure.

With the ceasefire largely holding, the United Nations has redoubled efforts to mobilize and scale up humanitarian assistance, seizing the moment to reach the population wherever they are. We must not risk a reversal. The coordinated international effort needs to be expanded, both in the immediate term to consolidate

the ceasefire and over the longer term to realize a more secure and just future for all.

The past weeks have offered a measure of relief, and we acknowledge the increased volume of aid delivery into Gaza, but we must also confront the grim reality of the situation on the ground. The two years of fighting have left almost 80 per cent of Gaza's 250,000 buildings damaged or destroyed. More than 1.7 million people remain displaced, mainly in overcrowded shelters without adequate access to water, medical care or food supplies.

Last week I travelled to Gaza, where I met with displaced communities and the humanitarian personnel working tirelessly on the ground to deliver assistance. The picture remains bleak. While the availability and price of basic food commodities have improved, key sources of protein, such as chicken, meat and eggs, remain out of reach for many families. The United Nations and its partners are still facing challenges in providing shelter materials, such as tents and blankets. As we enter the winter months, these delays must be urgently resolved. There is a critical need to transition from emergency humanitarian assistance towards enabling communities to rebuild their lives and restore essential services. Hospitals continue to struggle without electricity and reliable water, severely limiting their ability to care for patients. The water and sanitation situation remains alarming. Shaykh Radwan pond has effectively become an open sewage tank, requiring immediate attention to prevent a public health catastrophe. Key materials must be permitted to enter immediately to repair vital water and sanitation facilities. The rerouting of humanitarian and commercial movements through the Philadelphi Corridor and the Al-Rasheed coastal road has complicated logistics, further delaying the distribution of much-needed aid.

Despite these hurdles and setbacks, the United Nations and its partners are working to scale up the response. An immunization campaign to reach 44,000 children has been launched, and hundreds of water wells have reopened. More than 24,000 metric tons of aid have been collected. Yet 190,000 metric tons of food, medicine and shelter are pre-positioned in the region and awaiting entry. I call on Israel to expand crossing capacity and expedite the clearance of supplies, including United Nations supplies. The opening of the Jordan corridor and the Rafah crossings are vital to further scale up the response, and the renewal of non-governmental organization registration is also essential.

The United Nations is engaged with the civil-military coordination centre, including its 22 partners, most of them Member States, to coordinate the delivery of assistance and uphold humanitarian principles. These efforts have yielded benefits for Gaza's population, including increased food supply and higher levels of approvals for shelter and non-food items, in particular for government-to-government aid. I also welcome today's news of the restoration of fibre-optic Internet service provision in Gaza as of yesterday, a positive result of these efforts.

The damage in Gaza physically, economically and socially is catastrophic. We cannot address only immediate physical needs. Psychosocial needs, social cohesion and justice must be addressed. There must be a restoration of dignity and hope. These efforts must be anchored in a clear political horizon for resolving the conflict, ending the unlawful occupation and realizing the two-State solution. The task ahead is monumental and will require a well-coordinated, phased, international effort. We must help create the conditions in which people can begin to rebuild their lives with dignity, and there is no time to lose.

The European Union, United Nations and the World Bank are working to update the rapid damage and needs assessment, which in March estimated reconstruction

costs at approximately \$53 billion. The immediate early recovery approach of the United Nations in Gaza has been aligned with the recovery and reconstruction planning by the Palestinian Authority (PA) and can contribute to realizing the objectives set forth in resolution 2803 (2025). I welcome the European Union's convening of the Palestine Donor Group in Brussels last week. It demonstrated a strong commitment to durable recovery and reconstruction in Gaza, to strengthening linkages between the West Bank and Gaza and to the full resumption of the Palestinian Authority's responsibilities in Gaza. Preparations are also ongoing for the International Cairo Conference on Palestine for Gaza Reconstruction, which offers a chance to align recovery priorities with a broader vision for Gaza's reconstruction. I welcome Egypt's continued leadership in this effort.

Turning now to the occupied West Bank, including East Jerusalem, settlement expansion, the proliferation of outposts, violence, including settler violence, displacement and evictions continue to escalate at alarming levels. Israeli military operations, particularly in the northern West Bank, have resulted in deaths, destruction and the continued displacement of thousands, particularly from refugee camps. Israeli operations have also continued deep in Area A.

Settler violence has reached emergency levels. In October, during the olive harvest season, the United Nations recorded the highest number of settler attacks on Palestinians since United Nations monitoring began — an average of eight per day. The olive harvest is an economic and cultural lifeline. These attacks have injured farmers, destroyed olive trees and decimated livelihoods. In many cases, Israeli forces failed to prevent or were complicit in such acts. In other instances, Israeli settlers have violently confronted Israeli forces.

Arson attacks and the desecration of holy places by settlers have further heightened tensions and illustrate the spiralling violence. It must stop. I note the condemnation of these attacks by the Government of Israel, and concrete action is needed now to end impunity for these crimes. Palestinian communities must be protected. Palestinian attacks, including such acts of terror as the recent ramming and stabbing attack south of Jerusalem, must also cease and be condemned. All perpetrators of violence must be held accountable. I appeal to political and community leaders to cease the incitement and incendiary language that only fuel further extremism.

A robust Palestinian economy and financial sector is a critical enabler for sustainable recovery and reconstruction efforts in Gaza. However, the Palestinian Authority and its economy continue to face immense challenges. Unilateral measures that undermine the PA should cease, and efforts to support and strengthen the PA should be intensified, including in implementing its reform agenda. The Palestinian financial sector, while demonstrating remarkable resilience, is under tremendous pressure and must be protected. Immediate measures to allow the repatriation of excess shekel banknotes and renewal of the correspondent banking agreements are urgently required to avoid exacerbating the crisis.

Turning to developments in Lebanon, I reiterate the Secretary-General's call for the parties to uphold their obligations to maintain the cessation of hostilities and the full implementation of resolution 1701 (2006). I also echo the Secretary-General's call for an immediate cessation of all violations of Syria's sovereignty and territorial integrity and for respect for the 1974 Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces.

The decisions made now will determine whether the ceasefire endures or unravels. The first phase of the ceasefire must be fully implemented, and I urge the parties to urgently reach an agreement on the modalities to implement the next

phases. The challenges remain immense, but the cost of failure is unimaginable. We have the tools to lay the foundations for success, but the work ahead demands an unwavering commitment from everyone. United Nations resolutions, including resolution 2803 (2025), and President Trump's 20-point plan provide the pathway forward.

The United Nations remains committed to seizing this critical opportunity to move from crisis management to conflict resolution. All our efforts must be guided by the imperative of establishing a genuine political process that will resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict once and for all. The New York Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of the Question of Palestine and the Implementation of the Two-State Solution and initiatives such as the Global Alliance for the Implementation of the Two-State Solution can play a vital role. They mobilize political will, investment and solidarity around a shared political vision. The United Nations will continue to stand with both Palestinians and Israelis. We will continue to support all efforts to end the unlawful occupation and achieve a negotiated two-State solution, based on the 1967 lines, with Jerusalem as the capital of both States, living side by side in peace and security.

**The President:** I thank Mr. Alakbarov for his briefing.

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements.

**Mr. Kariuki** (United Kingdom): I thank Deputy Special Coordinator Alakbarov for briefing us today.

Last week, the Council adopted resolution 2803 (2025), sending a powerful message of international support for President Trump's 20-point plan for Gaza and the diplomatic efforts of Qatar, Türkiye and Egypt. This marks a pivotal moment after two years of horrendous suffering and is crucial to cementing the ceasefire and charting a course towards lasting peace. We urge all parties to abide by the ceasefire, and we reiterate that Hamas must locate and hand over the bodies of the remaining three deceased hostages.

I will make three points.

First, resolution 2803 (2025) must be implemented fully, effectively and in accordance with international law. We need an international stabilization force and trained Palestinian police deployed quickly to support the ceasefire and avoid a vacuum that Hamas could exploit. Hamas should uphold its commitments under the 20-point plan to disarm and to end its governance over Gaza. Transitional arrangements must respect Palestinian sovereignty and self-determination and pave the way for a reformed Palestinian Authority to resume governance in Gaza. Palestine must be run by Palestinians. We look forward to the urgent formation of a Palestinian committee alongside the Board of Peace.

Secondly, resolution 2803 (2025) underscores the importance of the full resumption of humanitarian aid in Gaza. The humanitarian situation remains catastrophic. Heavy rains have deepened the misery, worsening shelter needs as winter closes in. The United Nations has confirmed that more than 1.5 million people are in urgent need of emergency shelter, yet Israel continues to restrict life-saving aid. Every crossing and route must be opened without delay, and essential items, including shelter kits and medical supplies, must be allowed in. Last winter, at least eight newborns died of hypothermia in fewer than three weeks. Those deaths were preventable. Israel must allow aid in now without delay and permit the United Nations, including the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine

Refugees in the Near East, as well as international non-governmental organizations, to operate freely and effectively.

Thirdly, while the ceasefire in Gaza offers hope, stability in the West Bank is essential to any sustainable peace. Yet we have seen further appalling incidents of settler violence during the olive harvest. Last month, the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs recorded more than 260 Israeli settler attacks resulting in Palestinian casualties or damage to property. This month, we have witnessed horrific arson attacks, including on a mosque in the West Bank. These unacceptable incidents must be thoroughly investigated and those responsible held accountable.

We also urge Israel to end its stranglehold on the Palestinian economy by releasing withheld clearance revenues, protecting correspondent banking arrangements and facilitating shekel transfers from Palestinian banks. And we reiterate our call on Israel to halt the expansion of illegal settlements, including the E1 plans.

This is a pivotal moment for the future of the region. The United Kingdom will continue to work with all partners to implement resolution 2803 (2025) and to forge a just and lasting peace for Israelis and Palestinians, anchored in a two-State solution.

**Mr. Ahmad** (Pakistan): We would like to thank Deputy Special Coordinator Alakbarov for his comprehensive briefing.

For more than two years, the world has witnessed, in anguish and disbelief, a devastating war in Gaza, inflicting untold suffering on the Palestinian people in the Strip — blockaded, bombarded, besieged and starved. More than 70,000 have been martyred, mostly women and children, and almost the entire socioeconomic infrastructure has been reduced to rubble. Demands for a ceasefire have been unheeded, and calls for accountability have been met with complete impunity.

Yet, amid this carnage and despite the relentless Israeli onslaught, two major developments took place. First, the High-level International Conference for the Peaceful Settlement of the Question of Palestine and the Implementation of the Two-State Solution was held in July, followed by the adoption of the ensuing New York Declaration on 12 September and the resumption of the Conference on 22 September during the high-level week of the General Assembly. The Declaration committed to taking tangible, time-bound and irreversible steps for the realization of an independent State of Palestine, reflecting the overwhelming desire of the international community.

The second inflection point was the result of political engagement and sustained diplomacy — the Sharm el-Sheikh peace summit. Regional and international partners gathered around a shared objective: to maintain the ceasefire, address the humanitarian catastrophe and lay the groundwork for a credible political pathway to the Palestinian right to self-determination and statehood. This led to the Council's adoption, last week, of resolution 2803 (2025).

It all started with eight Arab-Islamic countries meeting with President Trump, on 23 September. As part of that important group, Pakistan welcomed the initiative and personal engagement of President Trump and the proposals to end the war, rebuild Gaza, prevent displacement, advance comprehensive peace and halt the annexation of the West Bank. Throughout this period, we have been constructively engaged, consistent with our principled and long-standing support for the Palestinian people and their inalienable rights.

Despite these diplomatic advances, the situation throughout the occupied Palestinian territories remains dire, as also testified by the briefing this morning.

Ceasefire violations persist. Israeli airstrikes have killed and injured civilians, including children. More than 300 Palestinians have reportedly been killed since the ceasefire announcement. This reveals a stark truth: peace declared in words has not yet brought full protection and stability on the ground. Lives are still being lost, homes are still being demolished, and families remain in fear.

The situation in the West Bank is no less grave. Israeli settler and military violence has escalated to unprecedented levels, with October recording the highest number of settler attacks since the United Nations began monitoring the situation in 2006. Entire communities have been displaced, especially in the northern West Bank, amid closures, raids and increasing intimidation. Palestinians must be allowed to return to their homes, and communities must be able to function without constant fear.

To ensure that peace efforts translate into meaningful progress, several priorities must be advanced.

First, resolution 2803 (2025) must be implemented in good faith in order to maintain the momentum generated by the Sharm el-Sheikh summit, particularly by advancing Palestinian-led and -owned governance, reconstruction and institutional capacity. The Palestinian Authority's role is central. Peace cannot be negotiated over the heads of the Palestinian people. We hope there will be greater clarity on various aspects of resolution 2803 (2025) going forward. Let me reiterate that, together with the United States and other Arab-Islamic countries, Pakistan joined this process, as it offers a pathway to Palestinian self-determination and statehood.

Second, full adherence to the ceasefire must be ensured, with zero tolerance for unilateral actions, leading to a permanent cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Gaza. We strongly condemn the attacks by Israeli occupying forces across Gaza.

Third, unhindered humanitarian access must be guaranteed. With winter approaching, Gaza's exhausted, displaced and traumatized population requires full protection and assistance at scale. The obstruction of humanitarian assistance is a violation of international law and must end.

Fourth, the recovery and reconstruction of Gaza must commence without delay.

Fifth, there must be no annexation and no forced displacement under any circumstances. The territorial integrity of Gaza and its contiguity with the West Bank are indispensable for a viable, sovereign and independent State of Palestine.

Sixth, an immediate end must be brought to Israel's illegal settlement expansion and all attempts to alter the demographic or legal character of the occupied Palestinian territory, including the historic status of the Haram Al-Sharif.

Seventh, there is a need to ensure accountability for grave violations of international law because without justice, there can be no sustainable peace.

Eighth, to break the cycle of violence, it is necessary to end Israel's occupation of all Arab territories, including in Palestine, Syria and Lebanon. There must be a political horizon — a credible, time-bound political process, anchored in the relevant United Nations resolutions, leading to a sovereign, independent and contiguous State of Palestine, based on pre-1967 borders, with Al-Quds al-Sharif as its capital. The High-level International Conference for the Peaceful Settlement of the Question of Palestine and the Implementation of the Two-State Solution, the ensuing New York Declaration and President Donald J. Trump's Comprehensive Plan to End the Gaza Conflict (see resolution 2803 (2025)) complement each other

and should serve to advance concerted and coordinated action to implement commitments for the realization of the ultimate shared goal, that is, the establishment of the Palestinian State in accordance with international legitimacy. That is imperative for durable peace and stability in the Middle East, and we must ensure that we succeed in this objective.

Pakistan reaffirms its unwavering solidarity with the Palestinian people. Their resilience under unimaginable hardship demands equal conviction on the part of the international community. This is a defining moment, of course. Commitments must now translate into concrete actions. Pakistan stands firmly with Palestine in its struggle for dignity, justice, self-determination and the realization of its independent State.

**Mr. Žbogar** (Slovenia): I thank Deputy Special Coordinator Alakbarov.

Just a week ago, this Council adopted resolution 2803 (2025). Many of us voted for this resolution to uphold the ceasefire in Gaza. In the context of the fragile situation we observe, we call on all parties to fully respect the ceasefire in good faith and without delay, as per the resolution.

But the ceasefire is just the start. After two years of deprivation, destruction and death, people in Gaza need all hands on deck. As the winter approaches, humanitarian needs remain high. Access to food, clean water, shelter and medicines continues to be constrained. In line with the most recent advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, we repeat the call for the lifting of all restrictions on aid and humanitarian action, including the work of international non-governmental organizations. We welcome the response of the United Nations and its humanitarian partners, which are scaling up assistance. This includes the vaccination campaign conducted by the World Health Organization, UNICEF and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. In addition, we underline our deep concerns about reports of so-called “mystery planes” from Gaza. While more information needs to be shared with the Council, we stand resolutely against forced or encouraged displacement.

The ceasefire must also extend to the West Bank, where the flames of violence against Palestinians are spreading rapidly. We strongly condemn the rising settler violence. We are alarmed by the ongoing displacement and mass destruction in the refugee camps and the surrounding areas in the occupied West Bank. Settler violence must be stopped. We take note of the recent step by Israel to demolish an outpost. We urge for more determined steps and an end to the occupation, in line with the International Court of Justice’s advisory opinion of July 2024.

Slovenia calls for full respect for international law in ensuring compliance and pursuing accountability. True healing requires real accountability and true healing demands doing better — much better — to prevent another cycle of violence and hatred. We welcome the launch of the Palestine Donor Group in Brussels, with the participation of European Union member States, international partners, United Nations agencies and international financial institutions. We need a strong and reformed Palestinian Authority under which Gaza and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, are unified.

We repeat our call for Israel to hand over tax revenues that belong to the Palestinian Authority. We continue to call on Israel to release Palestinian civilians from Gaza, especially children and humanitarian and medical workers, being held without the protection guaranteed by international humanitarian law. While standing resolutely against terrorism, we also stand for the defence of human rights. We are deeply alarmed by the attempts to reinstate the death penalty for persons defined as



terrorists. We urge Israel to refrain from undermining the rule of law through the use of a penalty that the international community has pledged to abolish.

We simply cannot forget the words we heard in the Chamber from the representative of Médecins sans frontières about the new medical term, unique to Gaza — WCNSF, “wounded child, no surviving family” — or the terrible description by the representative of Save the Children of what malnourishment and starvation means for a child’s body. We know the trauma of the Gaza war will span generations, in both Israel and Palestine. We call for collective efforts from the international community to address it and to prevent further hate, conflict and extremism. The full implementation of resolution 2803 (2025) in good faith and without delay is a first step.

**Mr. Alfaro de Alba** (Panama) (*spoke in Spanish*): Panama appreciates the detailed briefing delivered by Mr. Ramiz Alakbarov, Deputy Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process and United Nations Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator. We welcome the presence of the delegations from Israel and the Observer State of Palestine.

Today, just seven days after the Council adopted resolution 2803 (2025), which, for the first time in decades of distrust, destruction and suffering, opened a genuine window of opportunity for a different path for the people of Israel and Palestine, whose challenge consists not only of maintaining the ceasefire but also of transforming a precarious moment into a historic watershed on the way to peace. The ceasefire brokered by Qatar, Egypt, the United States and Türkiye culminated in the release of the remaining living hostages, the recovery of most of the withheld bodies and access for vital humanitarian relief, affording a modicum of dignity to Israeli and Palestinian families, whose suffering has been immeasurable.

Unfortunately, the ceasefire remains fragile. Every act antithetical to the spirit of Sharm el-Sheikh jeopardizes the credibility of the commitments made. Panama, out of an absolute dedication to international law and as a member of the Council that voted in favour of the resolution adopted last week, renews its appeal for the protection of civilians to be and to remain the priority of all the parties, at all times. We therefore trust that the guarantors and mediators will bring all their influence to bear so as to secure full compliance with the agreement and preserve the space for peace opened up by the ceasefire.

Gaza cannot continue to be governed by the extremism of Hamas, nor by any armed actor outside the framework of international law. The future must be built on reformed and unified Palestinian institutional leadership capable of guaranteeing security for its own population and for its neighbours. In that sense, Panama recognizes and welcomes the progress presented recently by the Palestinian Authority, including 23 elements of reform that have been implemented, as indispensable steps to enable the transition stage foreseen in the resolution and in the promising 20-point plan of President Donald Trump.

Fragility on the ground is not only political. The torrential rains of last week destroyed thousands of tents and improvised shelters, affecting some 740,000 people, and, despite the improvement in access to basic commodities, many families continue to eat only once a day. Meanwhile, in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, the situation also continues to deteriorate gravely. We insist on an end to the violence and actions that contradict international law and Council resolutions.

The magnitude of the humanitarian situation that persists in Gaza and in the West Bank underscores that the presence of the United Nations and its specialized agencies is important to sustain vital assistance, protect the civilian

population and support the orderly transition that the Council has outlined in its resolutions. Panama reiterates its firm support for and recognition of the work of the humanitarian agencies of the United Nations, which continue operating on the ground with immense professionalism and sacrifice.

Panama reiterates that Gaza and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, are integral parts of the future Palestinian State and that the viable, sustainable and humane solution will continue to be one which permits the peoples of Israel and Palestine to live side by side in peace, security and dignity, in accordance with international law and the relevant Council resolutions.

**Mr. Bendjama** (Algeria): I would like to thank Deputy Special Coordinator Alakbarov for his insightful briefing.

The occupied Palestinian territory is still a theatre of bloodshed. In 40 days since the ceasefire began, and in flagrant violation of the agreement, Israel killed more than 310 Palestinians, many of whom were women and children. Algeria strongly condemns those brutal and continued onslaughts. From Lebanon to Syria, to Gaza and to the West Bank, Israel is blatantly violating arrangements and disregarding mediators and guarantors.

The experience of resolution 2735 (2024) is still fresh in our minds. In defiance of the clear indication that Israel accepted — yes, it accepted — the United States proposal, and yet it broke the ceasefire in total impunity and total immunity. We call upon the mediators and guarantors of the peace plan to take immediate and decisive measures to preserve the ceasefire and to hold the occupying Power to its commitments.

The people of Gaza are enduring a living nightmare. In the wake of a war that has claimed more than 70,000 Palestinian lives, the survivors are now facing what many have called a “forever misery”. As a harsh winter approaches, hundreds of thousands are homeless, crowded in fragile tents, their belongings soaked and their children freezing and sleeping on bare ground. Humanitarian aid, which was expected to flow freely, is being hindered by Israel, leaving entire families facing the cold winter without shelter, without food, without clean water and with disease spreading rapidly.

This campaign — yes, it is a campaign — of oppression is not limited to the besieged Gaza Strip. In the West Bank, the situation is just as grave. We are witnessing an unprecedented escalation of settler terrorism, an extremist campaign of violence and of intimidation, supported and shielded by the Israeli occupying forces. Extremist settlers burn homes, burn mosques, burn olive groves. They terrorize communities; they seize land at an alarming rate. These blatant violations and heinous crimes are all efforts aiming at ethnic cleansing — yes, ethnic cleansing — designed to kill the very idea of a future Palestinian State.

The immense suffering of the Palestinian people demands concrete action from the Security Council and requires its genuine commitment to the following. First, the ceasefire agreement must be preserved. This must be our immediate and absolute priority. The killing must stop. Secondly, the reconstruction efforts must be launched. This means the complete and immediate opening of all crossings to allow for the massive, unimpeded flow of humanitarian aid and reconstruction materials and equipment. Thirdly, accountability must be ensured. The thousands of documented Israeli crimes cannot be forgotten. There can be no impunity nor immunity for war crimes. Those responsible for those atrocities must be brought to justice. Fourthly, the historic injustice must be lifted. This can only be achieved by ending the occupation and enabling the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable

right to self-determination and establish their own independent, sovereign State with Al-Quds Al-Sharif as its capital.

In closing, let us be clear: the immense sacrifices of the Palestinian people place a historic responsibility upon all of us in the Security Council. We have a duty to seek justice for them. Only through justice for the Palestinian people can we ever hope to build a true, lasting and sustainable peace in the Middle East.

**Mr. Nebenzia** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We are grateful to Ramiz Alakbarov, Deputy Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process, for his briefing on the situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question.

It has been more than a month since Israel and Hamas reached an agreement to cease hostilities. In this short time, much more has been achieved than in two long years of war: all surviving hostages have been released, thousands of detained Palestinians have been freed, and conditions have been created for improving the humanitarian situation in the Gaza Strip.

At the same time, it must be noted that notwithstanding the conclusion of these agreements, it is still too early to speak of the return of long-awaited peace. Both sides accuse each other of regular violations. Since 10 October, more than 300 Palestinians have been killed as a result of Israel Defense Forces (IDF) strikes. In the past 24 hours alone, shelling has killed 33 people in Khan Yunis and Gaza City. This unjustifiable brutality was committed in retaliation for an alleged Hamas attack on Israeli positions in Khan Yunis, although the movement itself denies any involvement in this. The bodies of three hostages have not yet been returned. Significant restrictions remain on the delivery and distribution of humanitarian aid in the Strip.

A distinctive feature of recent days in Gaza has been the “yellow line” dividing the Strip into territories controlled by Hamas and the IDF. The construction of barriers and fortifications on the Israeli-controlled side indicates that the occupation of the Strip is long-term in nature. This poses daily risks for Gazans who find themselves on opposite sides of the barricades, similar to what happened to the residents of divided Berlin. Moreover, many sections of the “yellow line” are unmarked, and it is not uncommon for Palestinians to come under fire when crossing the line without even realizing it. We are also alarmed by reports of the Israelis arbitrarily changing the “yellow lines” in some areas of Gaza City, in violation of the ceasefire agreement.

The instability on the ground, where it would be more appropriate to speak of a situation of “neither war nor peace”, is exacerbated by uncertainty regarding the next steps in implementing the peace agreement. When will the Palestinian Authority (PA) return to power in Gaza? When will Israel withdraw its troops from the Strip? How will Hamas be disarmed? All these questions are directly interrelated. While the lack of detail in President Trump’s plan on this issue was precisely what allowed the parties to reach agreement, at this stage, without candid and concrete answers, peace efforts may get bogged down in endless mutual accusations of violations of the provisions of the agreement.

Unfortunately, resolution 2803 (2025), adopted a week ago, did not provide clarity on this issue. The resolution sets out a rather broad framework for the future Board of Peace, tasked with overseeing the reconstruction of Gaza, and provides the force mandate for the international stabilization force, which is to be deployed in coordination with Israel and Egypt. We are convinced that the effective operation of these structures depends on how closely they engage with the Palestinian

side. It is also important to define as soon as possible a clear timeline for transferring authority in the enclave to the PA and for the withdrawal of IDF units from the Strip.

At the same time, we have not yet heard of a single potential troop-contributing country expressing its willingness to participate in military operations. What would motivate the militants to lay down their arms if there is no certainty that the future of Gaza is in the hands of the Palestinians themselves, rather than the occupying forces or some international bodies? In addition, reports of Israel sponsoring certain Palestinian armed groups to fight Hamas are troubling. Such actions could have very dangerous consequences. History provides many such examples.

These doubts are further fuelled by provocative rhetoric from senior Israeli officials. The claims of Israeli National Security Minister Itamar Ben-Gvir that “there is no such thing as a Palestinian people” and his incitement to kill senior PA officials do not, to put it mildly, help to establish a sustainable peace process. It is noteworthy that even the very cautious and vague wording regarding Palestinian self-determination in resolution 2803 (2025) sparked a storm of indignation in Israeli political circles, demanding that the Prime Minister unequivocally confirm his position on the inadmissibility of creating a Palestinian State.

Overall, we are seeing a very dangerous trend whereby the parties to the conflict prefer to single out certain elements of the agreements that are advantageous to them while turning a blind eye to their own obligations under these agreements. We call on both sides to approach the implementation of the agreement in good faith and to make every effort to avoid a return to war. Special responsibility for implementing the peace initiative lies with the United States and those countries that unequivocally supported the American resolution. Despite all its ambiguities, we did not block the adoption of the resolution, at the request of our Palestinian and Arab friends, to give Washington an opportunity to try to make progress in resolving the long-standing Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The key to this is an impartial approach, whereby the interests and concerns of both sides are taken into account equally, regardless of alliances and criticism from radical forces.

It is extremely important that the peace plan approved by the Council on 17 November brings us back to the path of a two-State solution, which was approved by the majority of Member States during two rounds of high-level conferences in New York. We will monitor the implementation of resolution 2803 (2025) closely while awaiting clarification from the United States on the formation of the Board of Peace and the international stabilization force, and we will oversee the compliance of these structures’ activities with the international legal framework on the Middle East and the interests of both Palestine and Israel.

As a permanent member of the Security Council, Russia intends to continue playing a constructive role in achieving lasting peace in the Middle East, the cornerstone of which has always been, and remains, the two-State solution, which can satisfy both Israel’s legitimate security concerns and the Palestinian people’s just aspirations for their own State.

**Mr. Mohamed Yusuf** (Somalia) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, I would like to thank Mr. Ramiz Alakbarov for his valuable briefing on recent developments in the Middle East, including the occupied Palestinian territories, and I would like to express my appreciation for the continued efforts of the United Nations in following up on this sensitive file.

Somalia welcomes the diplomatic efforts of the United States, the Arab Republic of Egypt, the State of Qatar and the Republic of Türkiye, which led to a ceasefire agreement through the Sharm el-Sheikh conference. These countries have

played a pivotal role in bringing views closer together and creating conditions for de-escalation and in attempting to alleviate human suffering. Last week in the Security Council (see S/PV.10046), we supported the efforts led by the United States, through its central role in mediation, which contributed to the development of a resolution that enjoys broad regional and international support and aims to achieve sustainable calm.

Last week, we supported the efforts in the Council, led by the United States in its vital role as mediator, that contributed to a resolution that received wide regional and international support, aimed at achieving a sustainable deescalation.

In this regard, we reaffirm the importance of initiating mechanisms for the effective implementation of resolution 2803 (2025) and other relevant international resolutions, as compliance with these resolutions is the cornerstone for reaching a comprehensive and just settlement that ends the suffering of the Palestinian people and opens serious prospects for the political process, reconstruction and the achievement of peace and security in the region.

The implementation of resolution 2803 (2025) requires collective action and genuine will on the part of all parties, in addition to the support of the international community, to ensure that they all shoulder their responsibilities and to guarantee the application of the principles of international law and the protection of civilians.

We encourage all parties to build on the momentum provided by the latest mediation efforts and to work on strengthening the ceasefire through practical mechanisms that would prevent any return to the cycle of violence and that would

guarantee that all parties will abide by their obligations. Continuing on this path requires regional and international coordination, focused on addressing the root causes of tension and strengthening mutual trust and commitment.

In this regard, we reaffirm the importance of our collective role in preserving the calm in support of humanitarian corridors and in paving the way for the reconstruction process, including clear measures to ensure respect for international law and strengthen the capacity of Palestinian institutions to effectively meet the needs of the population.

As we heard in the briefing, the humanitarian situation in the occupied Palestinian territories remains a cause for grave concern. I call on the international community to ensure, first, the safe and unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance; secondly, that civilians are protected, in line with international humanitarian law; and thirdly, that there is an end to all unilateral measures, including settlement activity and changes to the status quo in Jerusalem.

Finally, the ceasefire must be preserved and built upon with a view to a genuine and credible political path. We also stress the need to support and protect United Nations agencies working on the ground and to provide them with the necessary resources. We must expedite reconstruction efforts as soon as the necessary conditions are in place, and we need to guarantee accountability for grave violations against civilians.

In conclusion, my country believes in the importance of negotiated political solutions. Therefore, we will continue to support all regional and international efforts to achieve security and stability in the region and to respect the legitimate rights of the brotherly Palestinian people.

We also reaffirm our unwavering commitment to support the State of Palestine and the inalienable rights of its people, notably the right to self-determination and to establish an independent State, along the lines of 4 June 1967, with East Jerusalem as its capital, based on the principles of international law and relevant Security Council resolutions.

**Mr. Fu Cong** (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank Deputy Special Coordinator Alakbarov for his briefing.

The Palestinian question lies at the core of the Middle East issue and has a bearing on peace and security in the region and beyond. We welcome the agreement reached on the first phase of the Gaza ceasefire. However, peace between Palestine and Israel is still far from a fait accompli and the suffering of civilians continues. We call on the international community to work harder, with the greatest sense of urgency and unwavering political will, towards restoring peace in the region.

First, achieving a lasting ceasefire in Gaza is a priority. We note with concern that violent clashes persist despite the ceasefire. Israel has reportedly committed more than 400 violations of the agreement, resulting in more than 300 civilian deaths in Gaza. A ceasefire means the complete cessation of all attacks and should be observed by all parties, in good faith. Any incident causing civilian casualties is unacceptable, and repeated attacks must not become the new normal in Gaza. China urges all relevant parties, Israel in particular, to fully honour the ceasefire agreement and work towards a truly comprehensive and lasting peace.

Secondly, scaling up humanitarian assistance for Gaza is a top priority. The humanitarian situation remains dire, with severe shortages of essential supplies and medical equipment. Humanitarian access to Gaza continues to face multiple obstacles, and the aid that does reach Gaza falls short of the quantity specified in the ceasefire agreement. The International Court of Justice has issued multiple advisory opinions and orders of provisional measures stating unequivocally that, as the occupying Power, Israel is under an obligation to ensure the provision of humanitarian assistance to Gaza. China urges Israel to fully comply with its obligations under international humanitarian law, open all crossing points, lift restrictions on humanitarian access and ensure that the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East and other humanitarian agencies can carry out their relief operations.

Thirdly, easing tensions in the West Bank is a pressing demand. The occupying Power's continued settlement expansion and complicity with settler violence have further fuelled the tensions in the West Bank. As documented by the United Nations, there were more than 260 incidents of settler violence last month alone, resulting in significant civilian casualties and extensive property damage, making it the most devastating month since 2006. Settlement activities violate international law and Security Council resolutions, erode the foundation for an independent Palestinian State and impinge on the living space of the Palestinian people. Israel should cease all settlement activities, curb settler violence and stop undermining the foundations of governance by the Palestinian authorities.

Fourthly, the implementation of the two-State solution is the only solution. Both Gaza and the West Bank are unequivocally parts of the Palestinian State. Last week, the Security Council adopted resolution 2803 (2025). Relevant countries should act responsibly to support the people of Gaza, the Security Council and the international community by promptly reporting relevant developments to the Council so that it can remain seized of and meaningfully engaged in the matter. Any future arrangements on Gaza should be guided by the principle of Palestinians governing Palestine and should respect the will of the Palestinian people. The

international community must redouble its efforts to advance the two-State solution, oppose any unilateral actions that undermine its foundation and support the early realization of independent Palestinian statehood and full United Nations membership.

China has consistently and firmly supported the just cause of the Palestinian people in restoring their legitimate national rights. China will continue to work towards a lasting ceasefire, a better humanitarian situation and, as soon as possible, a comprehensive just and lasting solution to the Palestinian question, based on relevant United Nations resolutions and the two-State solution.

**Mr. Bonnafont** (France) (*spoke in French*): I thank the Deputy Special Coordinator, Mr. Ramiz Alakbarov, for his briefing.

Since the ceasefire made possible on 10 October by the efforts of the United States, Qatar, Egypt and Türkiye, the fragile calm that prevails in Gaza calls for the engagement and vigilance of the Security Council and the United Nations as a whole. Two important decisions have just crystallized this engagement.

First, the renewal by the General Assembly of the mandate of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, for three years, reaffirms its crucial role in providing humanitarian assistance and essential services to the population.

Secondly, the adoption of resolution 2803 (2025) authorizes the implementation of the Gaza peace plan. This endorsement is a starting point. Our collective responsibility is to supervise its implementation, which involves consolidation of the ceasefire, full humanitarian access and the securing and rebuilding of Gaza. France will contribute to this through three priorities.

The first priority is the protection of civilians and massive, safe and unimpeded humanitarian access, under the auspices of the United Nations. France will contribute €100 million to the humanitarian response for 2025. We call on all parties to allow the immediate delivery of aid throughout Gaza, in coordination with the United Nations, the International Committee of the Red Cross and international non-governmental organizations, in accordance with international humanitarian law.

The second priority is the rapid deployment of the international stabilization force in support of the efforts of the Palestinian Authority. This deployment is crucial to prevent a resumption of violence, secure humanitarian operations, support early recovery, contribute to the disarmament of Hamas and prepare for the full return of the Palestinian Authority to Gaza. France will contribute to strengthening the Palestinian forces through the European Union Border Assistance Mission at the Rafah Crossing Point and the European Union Coordinating Office for Palestinian Police Support, by deploying nearly 100 gendarmes.

The third priority is the establishment of a governance framework for the transition. Resolution 2803 (2025) is part of a consistent corpus, comprising the relevant Security Council resolutions and internationally agreed parameters. It provides for the establishment of a board of peace and a Palestinian technocratic committee. France will work to ensure that they include all stakeholders, in particular the Palestinian Authority.

The futures of Gaza and the West Bank are inseparable. Any demographic or territorial change and any occupation or annexation would be contrary to international law and seriously detrimental to peace. In this regard, France is concerned by the deterioration of the security situation and by the violations of international law in the West Bank. Settler violence, accelerated settlement activity

and forced displacement are reaching previously unseen levels. Recent statements by Israeli authorities calling for targeted assassinations of Palestinian Authority officials are unacceptable.

France supports the two-State solution, which was once again endorsed at the High-level International Conference for the Peaceful Settlement of the Question of Palestine and the Implementation of the Two-State Solution through the New York Declaration that was adopted by our General Assembly. During the visit of the President of the Palestinian Authority to Paris on 11 November, a Franco-Palestinian committee for the consolidation of the State of Palestine was established. It will contribute, in particular, to the drafting of a new Constitution.

We all welcomed the historic moment of the 10 October agreement and the American peace plan. In the name of peace and the realization of the equal rights of Palestinians and Israelis to a State and to security, let us work simultaneously towards the recovery of Gaza and a new Israeli-Palestinian dynamic.

**Mr. Jaeseob Kim** (Republic of Korea): I would also like to thank Deputy Special Coordinator Ramiz Alakbarov for his comprehensive briefing.

The international community now stands at a crossroads. With the adoption of resolution 2803 (2025), last week, we can now choose a path towards a better future with lasting stability in Gaza. Nevertheless, players in the region, State or non-State actors, may decide to pursue a different path, of endless violence and confrontation. At this critical juncture, it is vital for the international community, including the Security Council, to help the region to navigate in the right direction. And we believe that the smooth and faithful implementation of resolution 2803 (2025) provides the essential groundwork to this end.

As my delegation mentioned in this Chamber last week (see S/PV.10046), some elements provided for in the resolution need development and operationalization, in close engagement with the Security Council. However, resolution 2803 (2025) also reflects clear and undeniable requirements for its implementation, including the maintenance of the ceasefire. To guarantee the swift establishment of the board of peace and deployment of the international stabilization force, parties to the conflict in Gaza must not resume any hostilities.

In this regard, Israel's air strikes last week, killing dozens of Palestinians across the Strip, are seriously concerning. We once again call on the parties to strictly observe the ceasefire agreement. With the adoption of resolution 2803 (2025), breaking the ceasefire is not only a violation of the agreement, but also of the resolution.

We also would like to stress that the Council reaffirmed its position, through its adoption last week, that Hamas must lay down its weapons and cannot take part in the future governance of Gaza. We believe that the board of peace and the international stabilization force should commence their work as soon as possible, in close coordination with the Council.

The full resumption of humanitarian aid at scale, through the United Nations system, must also be ensured. Shelters and tents must be allowed in as winter approaches. We welcome the opening of the Erez West crossing point and the continued operation of 19 United Nations-supported bakeries across Gaza. We also commend, with appreciation, the coordination of humanitarian works through the United States-led Civil Military Coordination Center. We also support international efforts for the recovery and reconstruction of Gaza, which was totally flattened during the war.



While we have hailed the recent developments in Gaza, we remain deeply worried by the deteriorating situation in the West Bank. Extended military operations, expansion of settlements and widespread movement restrictions comprise only a small portion of the protracted suffering of Palestinians. We note that Israeli officials at the highest-level expressed grave concern over the rampant and unjustifiable violence by settlers. We condemn this deplorable violence, committed by settlers against innocent Palestinians and their agriculture and land, and we call on Israel to take concrete measures to prevent recurrences.

When the war in Gaza broke out two years ago, as a massive military response by Israel to the terrorist attacks by Hamas, many members of the Council strongly warned of spillover effects and, unfortunately, we all witnessed the devastating consequences all across the Middle East, including in Lebanon, Syria and Yemen. As new hope arises in Gaza, we must seize this opportunity to change the course of the region from confrontation to harmony and from one-State reality to the realization of the two-State solution.

Therefore, we urge all actors in the region to exercise restraint, respect basic principles under the Charter and seriously engage in diplomacy, including revitalized dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians, in order to chart a political horizon for a peaceful and prosperous coexistence that we hope will be established under resolution 2803 (2025).

Recently, President Lee Jae Myung of the Republic of Korea visited Egypt and, in his address at Cairo University, he reaffirmed Korea's commitment to contributing to a peaceful and prosperous future for the region. He highlighted Korea's readiness to advance cooperation with the Middle East and North Africa region under the five key pillars of SHINE — Stability, Harmony, Information, Network and Education. President Lee also announced a new Korean pledge of \$10 million to the Egyptian Red Crescent Society to help to improve humanitarian conditions and provide humanitarian aid to displaced people in Gaza. Here, in the Chamber, the Republic of Korea solemnly reiterates its strong will to actively contribute to opening a new chapter of peace in the Middle East, based on stability and harmony.

**Mrs. Balta** (Greece): At the outset, let me thank Deputy Special Coordinator Ramiz Alakbarov for his comprehensive remarks.

Today, I wish to highlight the following points.

First, the adoption of resolution 2803 (2025), which Greece firmly supported, marks an important milestone in our collective efforts to stop the catastrophe, giving international legitimacy to the bodies and structures that will oversee and coordinate the implementation of the 20-point Comprehensive Plan to End the Gaza Conflict and hinting that sustainable peace is indeed attainable. The resolution also opens the path for reconstruction and development, with the involvement of the World Bank and international donors, making it clear that constructive cooperation among all stakeholders is essential. We look forward to its implementation and the additional modalities to be developed in the coming period.

Secondly, Greece has been consistent in its calls for a ceasefire for the safe and unhindered delivery of humanitarian aid at scale, recognizing that more needs to be done and that more humanitarian corridors must become operational and calling for the urgent lifting of all remaining restrictions. To this end, we support the operations of the United Nations and its agencies and partners in the Strip, and we welcome the ongoing World Health Organization vaccination campaign and the fact that thousands of children under the age of three have already been vaccinated. A lot has to be done with great urgency. The upcoming

adverse weather conditions are adding urgency to the need for shelter, sanitation and heating, especially for the most vulnerable Palestinians, whose shelters remain inadequate, at the very least. The role of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East is indispensable, taking also into account the International Court of Justice's most recent advisory opinion. Greece has consistently contributed to it and recently increased its contribution as the Agency advances the implementation of the Colonna Report recommendations.

Thirdly, the situation in the West Bank merits our focus. According to United Nations reports, there has been a sharp rise in settler violence, especially in recent weeks, entailing a devastating impact on olive-harvesting communities, property destruction and displacement. The Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs has recorded the highest monthly toll of settler attacks in years. We condemn settlement expansion and settler violence, including against Christian communities, and we reiterate our call for the preservation of the status quo of the holy sites in the Old City of Jerusalem. Increased violence, displacement and fragmentation of the West Bank undermine the foundations of the two-State solution and the prospects set out in the peace plan.

Fourthly, Greece reaffirms its steadfast support for a two-State solution. Resolution 2803 (2025) laid the foundation for a path towards Palestinian self-determination and statehood. The two-State solution, as reaffirmed by the international community during the High-level International Conference for the Peaceful Settlement of the Question of Palestine and the Implementation of the Two-State Solution, co-chaired by France and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and by the ensuing New York Declaration, lies at the end of our collective path. The peace plan, now backed by a Security Council resolution, creates a strong impetus towards accelerated, comprehensive regional integration and the formation of a new inclusive regional security architecture, including through the expansion of the Abraham Accords.

In conclusion, Greece remains hopeful. Although fragile, the recent ceasefire, along with resolution 2803 (2025) and the diplomatic momentum, offer a rare window for stabilization and renewed political engagement. In this context, it is imperative that an empowered and reformed Palestinian Authority be in a position to exert effective control over Gaza and the West Bank. Greece, alongside its partners, will do its utmost to support the process of reforming the Palestinian Authority — for Hamas will have no role of any form in the day after. The Council must remain vigilant, united and determined in sustaining momentum towards a two-State solution, whereby Israelis and Palestinians can live side by side in peace and security.

**Ms. Locetta** (United States of America): I thank Deputy Special Coordinator Alakbarov for the briefing this morning.

Last week was a historic week for the Council and for the region. A peaceful Middle East with a stable Gaza, free from Hamas' grip, is closer than ever with resolution 2803 (2025). This is grounded in President Donald J. Trump's Comprehensive Plan to End the Gaza Conflict. Adopted with overwhelming support, resolution 2803 (2025) outlines a pathway to peace, security and long-term governance in Gaza.

The international community must now move quickly to deny Hamas any chance to reconstitute. I offer my gratitude, on behalf of the United States, to all of those offering to help to implement the 20-point Plan in Gaza, including the International Stabilization Force (ISF). We invite those Member States ready to act through the Board of Peace to step up and pledge personnel, equipment and

funding for the ISF. Stability will require burden-sharing, and Council members' support will help to make President Trump's vision for peace a reality. The ISF will help to create a Gaza free of terrorist rule and safe for aid and investment by protecting civilians. This includes humanitarian operations and coordination to secure humanitarian corridors. Humanitarian assistance has surged since President Trump's peace plan took effect. The United States supports the delivery of humanitarian aid to Gaza with robust safeguards, preventing diversion by Hamas and other groups. Humanitarian assistance will address Gaza's immediate needs, and investment will revive its economy. We welcome commitments from the World Bank and partner countries to invest in Gaza's long-term redevelopment.

The United States remains committed to ensuring that the remains of the last three hostages held by Hamas — Ran Gvili, Dror Or and Sudthisak Rinthalak — return home. The United States remains unwavering in its commitment to Israel's security and the demilitarization of Gaza. The recent strikes by the Israel Defense Forces on Hamas targets were in response to Hamas operatives violating the ceasefire. The United States recognizes Israel's legitimate security concerns.

Lastly, as implementation of the 20-point plan progresses, and Palestinians in Gaza are free of Hamas, we look forward to additional partners joining the Abraham Accords to realize prosperity and peace for the region.

**Mrs. Edwards** (Guyana): Guyana thanks Deputy Special Coordinator Ramiz Alakbarov for the important updates he provided on the situation in the occupied Palestinian territory.

Guyana continues to follow closely the developments in Gaza since the agreement reached between Israel and Hamas for a ceasefire and hostage release deal. We stress that the ceasefire must translate to humanitarian access to Gaza at scale, Israel's complete withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, the guaranteed protection of Palestinians from violence, the reconstruction of Gaza and the rebuilding of Palestinian lives and livelihoods.

Guyana is, however, concerned that the Palestinians' legitimate expectation for relief from the hostilities in Gaza and a surge in humanitarian assistance has not been fully met. Nutrition needs are also still not being fully met. We have noted, for example, the report of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) that, on 22 November, all three United Nations missions aimed at collecting tents, food and other aid supplies from Kerem Shalom, as well as the deployment of resolution 2720 (2023) international monitors to the crossing to verify the uplifting, were denied by the Israeli forces, citing operational considerations. We also noted OCHA's report that an attempt by the United Nations and partners to

reach the non-functional Kamal Adwan Hospital in North Gaza Governorate to plan the resumption of primary healthcare services was outrightly denied. Furthermore, Israel continues to carry out fatal strikes in Gaza, with a reported 280 Palestinians killed and 672 injured since the ceasefire.

This cannot continue to be the trajectory in Gaza if recovery and reconstruction are to be advanced through the implementation of President Donald J. Trump's Comprehensive Plan to End the Gaza Conflict. Israel must genuinely commit to creating the conditions that would facilitate these goals. This involves complying with all resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, including resolution 2803 (2025), adopted on Monday. With the plethora of needs in Gaza, it is critical for Israel to lift all remaining restrictions on the entry of a diversity of humanitarian assistance into Gaza. The recent rains and flooding have further exacerbated those needs, and the United Nations and its humanitarian

partners should be facilitated in their efforts to bring relief to the population. It is also apt to note that Israel's cooperation is essential for the United Nations to fully implement its winterization plan for the Gaza Strip, particularly for the provision of shelter materials at scale.

Allow me to reiterate some observations on resolution 2803 (2025), through which the Council endorsed President Trump's Comprehensive Plan to End the Gaza Conflict. The resolution must be carefully implemented to ensure full compliance with international law and the preservation of the two-State solution. We also continue to advocate the full involvement of Palestinians themselves in decision-making about their future, including the future of Gaza. Guyana also stresses that the full withdrawal of the Israel Defense Forces from the Gaza Strip is essential to the Strip's recovery. The guaranteed non-expulsion of Palestinians from the area is also key to preserving the two-State solution.

Turning to the situation in the occupied West Bank, Guyana deplores the unrelenting violence directed towards Palestinians, their homes and their livelihoods by Israeli settlers and the Israeli security forces. The reports of killings, restrictions on access to agricultural lands, demolitions of homes, displacements and other indignities should not be met with silence from the Security Council.

The Middle East peace process must be brought back on track, and the international community must capitalize on the momentum that currently exists to do so. However, Israel must demonstrate that it is truly committed to peace. The continued attacks in Gaza and the ongoing attacks on its neighbours, as we have seen over the weekend with Lebanon, do not align with such a commitment. We therefore implore Israel to choose the path of peace so that the Middle East can rest from the protracted turmoil that it has been experiencing for the past eight decades.

Finally, in reiterating its commitment to contributing to the urgent implementation of the two-State solution, Guyana urges the entire international community, including the United Nations, to do all in its power to safeguard and advance the right of the Palestinians to self-determination.

**Ms. Landi** (Denmark): I would also like to thank Deputy Special Coordinator Alakbarov for his briefing.

We gather today at a critical crossroads, where the dust of devastation is beginning to settle in Gaza and as the first faint signs of a new future begin to appear. Denmark once again thanks the United States, Egypt, Qatar and Türkiye for their relentless efforts towards the silencing of the guns. The ceasefire in Gaza has brought about an opportunity for change, but developments over the weekend show how fragile it remains, and we call on all parties to exercise restraint. What happens next will be determined by what is being done now.

With the adoption of resolution 2803 (2025) last week, the Security Council has begun defining the contours of this future, and we must remain engaged, both in the immediate term and in the longer term. In the immediate term, the delivery of full humanitarian aid across all of Gaza, as stipulated in resolution 2803 (2025), remains vital. Yet we are hearing reports of continued restrictions, including on dual-use items, medical personnel and humanitarian partners' ability to operate. And it is concerning that the crucial Rafah border crossing remains closed and that many international non-governmental organizations continue to face deregistration by the end of the year.

This is happening as winter and heavy rainfall are making the situation for the people of Gaza more dire. What Gaza needs now is not charity in fragments but

relief with purpose — nutrition, safe water, stable shelter, functioning hospitals, energy and sanitation — delivered through effective corridors without restrictions, in line with the humanitarian principles and in accordance with international humanitarian law. The United Nations-led humanitarian system remains best placed to undertake this monumental task.

Beyond immediate needs lies the massive task of reconstruction. Entire neighbourhoods must rise again, brick by brick, across all of Gaza. Palestinians must be part of designing the blueprints of their own homes. They must be part of determining the path of their own recovery, in deciding how their communities are rebuilt, and they must have influence on how the stabilization force operates as a protective presence, in full compliance with international law. All of this must happen without Hamas' rule. The Council should remain engaged and receive further clarity on the establishment of the Board of Peace and the international stabilization force, as well as the developments on the ground, including in the civil-military coordination centre.

As we lift our gaze towards the wider horizon and the long-promised two-State solution, the pathway to Palestinian statehood must be laid out with clarity and credibility, rooted in equality, dignity and security for both peoples. The contours of that future must be sketched now. We also must not allow the West Bank to disappear behind the headlines of Gaza. While attention has been turned elsewhere, the West Bank has faced devastating developments: settler violence, intimidation, the torching of homes, the seizure of farmland and the destruction of crops, forcing families to flee their villages. We fear that these are not isolated sparks but part of a spreading fire that threatens the very prospect of peace. We cannot accept such a fire catching hold. Our message must be unambiguous: Gaza and the West Bank are not two stories, but one. They must be reunited under a reformed and renewed Palestinian Authority, capable of governing a future State that stands alongside Israel in peaceful and democratic coexistence.

The moment is delicate, but possibility lies within it. Let us choose the path that honours international law, the right to self-determination and security for all — the path that rejects terrorism and lights the way towards the only horizon that offers lasting peace: two peoples, two States, living side by side.

Let me reassure the Council of Denmark's continuous commitment to that effect and to the implementation of the Comprehensive Plan to End the Gaza Conflict, as recently endorsed by the Council.

**The President:** I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Sierra Leone.

I thank the Deputy Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process, Mr. Ramiz Alakbarov, for his important briefing. The situation in the Middle East remains complex and fragile, even if it is currently relatively stable in some respects, reflecting emerging understandings on the cessation of hostilities across the region, including in Lebanon, despite recent missile strikes, and Yemen. We also note positive developments in Syria and the encouraging prospects for consolidating efforts towards a lasting peace in the country.

In this statement, we will focus on the situation in the Middle East, in particular the occupied Palestinian territory. Since the Council adopted resolution 2803 (2025) with a clear sense of urgency to maintain the ceasefire in Gaza and to implement the Comprehensive Plan to End the Gaza Conflict, Sierra Leone, in its explanation of vote of 18 November, already set out its understanding of the legal effects and parameters of the resolution (see S/PV.10046).

Today Sierra Leone will therefore focus on what it means to implement this resolution in good faith. We do so against a sobering reality. Six weeks into the ceasefire, Palestinian civilians continue to be killed and injured in Gaza. Continued missile and aerial strikes in the Strip, notwithstanding the declared cessation of hostilities, raise serious concerns about compliance with both the resolution and international humanitarian law.

Implementing resolution 2803 (2025) in good faith requires that the ceasefire be respected in fact and not only in words. We therefore call on the Government of Israel to strictly uphold the ceasefire, exercise maximum restraint and fully respect its obligations under international humanitarian and human rights law, including the principles of distinction, proportionality and precaution. Likewise, we demand that Hamas and all other armed groups cease immediately and unconditionally all acts that constitute a clear breach of the ceasefire and continue to endanger innocent lives.

At the same time, developments in the occupied West Bank, including East Jerusalem, remain deeply troubling. Reports of continuing settlement expansion, settler violence, home demolitions, land confiscation and movement restrictions, as well as other measures aimed at altering the demographic and territorial character of the occupied Palestinian territory, are contrary to international law and relevant United Nations resolutions.

Occupation and annexation, in whole or in part, remain illegal under international law, and any attempts to entrench such practices undermine both regional stability and the viability of a two-State solution. Implementing resolution 2803 (2025) in good faith therefore also requires that those continuing illegal practices in the West Bank cease, as they directly erode confidence and the prospects for a just and lasting peace.

Resolution 2803 (2025) endorses the Comprehensive Plan and calls on all parties to implement it in its entirety, including the maintenance of the ceasefire, in good faith and without delay. It also establishes critical mechanisms to give practical effect to that Plan, including the Board of Peace, as a transitional administration with international legal personality, and an International Stabilization Force (ISF) to help secure and stabilize the situation in Gaza.

Despite the urgency and needs of the civilian population in Gaza, the Board of Peace has still not been appointed or operationalized. The terms of reference for the Board of Peace are unknown, and Palestinian participation, including that of the Palestinian Authority, are unclear, leaving a serious gap in the governance, the coordination and the oversight of the transitional arrangements foreseen in the resolution. Sierra Leone therefore calls for the urgent designation and appointment of the Board's leadership and members, with broad-based regional and international support, so that it can begin discharging its responsibilities without further delay, in line with the participation and aspirations of the people of Palestine.

We likewise urge Member States working with the Board to take the necessary steps to establish and deploy the ISF as mandated by the Council. The ISF's role in helping to stabilize the security environment, protect civilians and humanitarian operations, support the demilitarization of Gaza, and assist vetted Palestinian police forces is central to consolidating the ceasefire and preventing a relapse into large-scale violence. Its deployment should be accompanied by full cooperation from all parties, in accordance with international law and with due regard to the views and needs of the affected population.

On the humanitarian front, implementing resolution 2803 (2025) in good faith means ensuring safe, sustained and unhindered humanitarian access, respecting the humanitarian principles and putting in place the financial arrangements envisaged for Gaza's recovery and reconstruction.

Humanitarian personnel and facilities must be respected and protected. The flow of food, water, medical supplies, shelter materials and other essential goods must be facilitated; and assistance must be used solely for peaceful purposes and not diverted. Sierra Leone calls on donors, international financial institutions and relevant United Nations entities to step up their support, and on all parties to remove any remaining obstacles to a comprehensive humanitarian response.

Implementing resolution 2803 (2025) in good faith also carries a clear legal and moral dimension. All parties, States and non-State actors alike, are bound to respect international law, including international humanitarian law, international human rights law and the Charter of the United Nations. Continued missile strikes in Gaza in the context of a declared ceasefire, and the persistence of illegal practices in the West Bank, cannot be reconciled with those obligations. Silence or inattention at this juncture would risk normalizing non-compliance and further entrenching impunity. This is not the time to be silent, nor to turn our attention away.

Sierra Leone therefore first calls on the State of Israel to halt all actions inconsistent with its obligations under international law, including the unlawful use of force in Gaza and illegal settlement-related activities and other coercive practices in the West Bank.

Secondly, we demand that Hamas and all other armed groups cease all armed activities, fully respect the ceasefire and refrain from any conduct that endangers civilians or undermines the prospects for peace.

Thirdly, we call on prospective members of the Board of Peace and contributors to the ISF to move swiftly to operationalize these mechanisms and ensure that they function with transparency, accountability and full respect for international law. Sierra Leone encourages the wider international community and the United Nations to sustain high-level political engagement, provide the necessary resources and use all diplomatic tools at their disposal to promote strict compliance with resolution 2803 (2025) and other relevant resolutions.

In closing, we must reaffirm that only a just and lasting peace, grounded in international law and realized through a negotiated two-State solution, with Israel and Palestine living side by side in peace and security, can address the root causes of this conflict. Implementing resolution 2803 (2025) in good faith, imperfect as it may be, is a necessary step towards that goal. We owe it to those who have lost their lives, to those who continue to suffer in Gaza and the West Bank and to future generations to ensure that the commitments under the Comprehensive Plan are translated into concrete, life-saving action on the ground, in support of peace, stability and security.

I resume my functions as President of the Council.

I would like to remind speakers to maintain appropriate standards of tone and content in their remarks and uphold the respect this Chamber and the matter under consideration deserve.

I now give the floor to the Permanent Observer of the Observer State of Palestine.

**Mr. Mansour** (Palestine): Allow me at the outset to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting and to commend your presidency for

highlighting the defence of international law. Allow me also to thank Mr. Ramiz Alakbarov, Deputy Special Coordinator, for his briefing, appeals and efforts, and, through him, to thank the United Nations, its Secretary-General, its agencies, including the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), and, most importantly, its staff on the ground, who have faced death, suffering and starvation as they attempted to save lives throughout the past two years. There is no substitute for the role of the United Nations and its agencies when it comes to humanitarian aid, education and health — a role needed today more than ever.

Palestinians in Gaza waited desperately for the horrific war against them to end. More than anyone, they welcomed the announcement of the ceasefire agreement. Yet Palestinians are still being killed and maimed, with aid restricted and reconstruction delayed. Palestinians want all of this to end. And they do not want to lose half of Gaza in the process.

The ceasefire must be upheld and respected in full. Nothing can justify that 1,000 Palestinians have been killed or injured since the onset of the ceasefire. Nothing can justify that, since the start of the ceasefire, every single day, two Palestinian children have been killed by Israel. While recognizing that the situation is, of course, not comparable to what it was before the ceasefire, it is essential to remember that the loss of a child for a family is earth-shattering — especially when you thought they had survived the war and could now be safe.

We should never forget that we are talking about the survivors of a genocide, who still have to escape death and suffering every single day while being prevented from rebuilding any part of their lives. Nothing justifies that families are confronted with a harsh winter in tents drenched in water, that their basic needs and rights are not being upheld, or that the health and education systems that have been destroyed have yet to be rebuilt. Nothing justifies that communities continue to be forcibly displaced.

At every juncture, the United States Administration has had to intervene, often at the highest level, to prevent the ceasefire agreement from collapsing altogether. The mediators — the United States, Egypt, Qatar and Türkiye, whose efforts are highly appreciated — instead of being able to focus on the day after, have had to deal with one crisis after another every day. It is a deliberate attempt to prevent us all from moving forward towards life, liberty and peace.

Yet our people in Gaza show the world every day how determined they are to restore life in Gaza. Even before they could have a home to keep them warm and safe, the first thought of our people in Gaza was to get their children to resume their education despite the impossible circumstances. In this connection, we salute UNRWA for having approximately 100,000 kids receiving education by the end of this month. Amid the ruins and in the most inhumane circumstances, they are trying to restore some form of normalcy.

Palestine, together with the region and the world, welcomed President Donald J. Trump's Comprehensive Plan to End the Gaza Conflict as a means to end the war. It did so fully aware of Israel's intentions. Israel seeks the collapse of the ceasefire, as it continues to pursue the three things that President Trump's plan denied it: forced displacement, occupation and annexation. It is trying to achieve this aim by stalling the entry of humanitarian aid, by resuming its attacks and, most importantly, by trying to entrench the yellow line or even to advance beyond it. Everywhere in the region, the same policy of land grabs is disguised under security pretexts — in Palestine, Lebanon and Syria. Israel knows that



security would be best achieved by a just and lasting peace, but it continues to fuel perpetual war. Everywhere it is undermining efforts to cease fire and achieve peace.

It is in this context that the Security Council adopted resolution 2803 (2025), which owed a lot more to this complicated reality and to the efforts to consolidate the ceasefire and move to phase two than it did to the realization of the rights of the Palestinian people or the achievement of peace at this juncture. Yet the resolution's mere reference to Palestinian self-determination and statehood drove the Israeli Government crazy. Netanyahu felt compelled to come out publicly to say, "no Palestinian State under any circumstances", followed by a renewed call by the Israeli Prime Minister for the displacement of our people from Gaza.

Gaza is Palestinian. In fact, that is an understatement. Gaza is the bleeding heart of Palestine, just as Jerusalem is its beating heart. There is no Palestine without Gaza. The future of Gaza will be determined by Palestinians, and it is a future in which there will be no occupation, no blockade, no annexation and no forced displacement.

Our right to self-determination is enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Before that, our right to freedom is enshrined in natural law. Nothing can alter that right, and our people will not renounce it. Gaza and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, are one Palestinian territory, confronted with the same policies, albeit at different scales.

It is imperative that the attacks by occupation forces and Israeli settlers against the Palestinian people in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, are brought to an end — and with them the policy of displacing and replacing our people by uprooting communities and colonizing the land. In that regard, we hope that the very important and strong condemnations heard in recent days will translate into actions ensuring that our people will no longer be subjected to such horrific attacks.

Israel must also end its policy aimed at undermining the Palestinian Authority politically, financially and militarily in order to thwart the prospect of independent statehood. It must stop its attacks and release the withheld tax revenues.

The Council has often spoken of the fate and treatment of Israeli hostages, now finally free. There is no explanation for why it should not show more attention to the plight of Palestinian prisoners, who are arrested by the thousands, often detained without any explanation or justification and subjected to the worst forms of abuse. When a video leaked of the rape of a Palestinian prisoner by Israeli jailers, the scandal in Israel was about the leak, not the rape. Some openly consider the rapists heroes and praise them for their despicable acts. There are many testimonies of sexual abuse against men, women and children. Behind bars, doctors and humanitarians are treated like animals. A hundred Palestinian prisoners have died in Israeli custody in the last two years, either killed or left to die through medical neglect and starvation, in very harsh conditions.

Where else would such numbers, facts and horrors be met with so little attention and near-total disregard? I will state once again what I have often repeated in these halls: in addition to the loss, the pain our people feel comes from the humiliation of being openly described and treated as human animals, as expendable, as if they were not children of the same God, humans endowed by their Creator with rights. The first step towards peace and coexistence is Palestinian freedom and recognition of our existence.

Every life matters, and we must stand together against all attacks against civilians regardless of the identity of the victims, their nationality, faith or origin.

We must stand together against subjugation, abuse and violations, regardless of the identity of the perpetrators. We must stand against a reality and a discourse that breed hatred. We must stand in defence of all children, life, humankind, human dignity and shared humanity.

We must act for peace, and Palestine will observe its obligations and honour its commitments and must be empowered to do so. But peace must be a shared objective if it is to become a common reality. We will continue to work with the United States Administration, and with Saudi Arabia and other regional and international partners to chart this irreversible and credible pathway towards freedom, independence and peace.

It is time to choose peace — a peace that comes through the fulfilment of Palestinian rights, not their continued denial; a peace that comes from mutual recognition, not negation, and from accepting that we — all of us — belong to humanity and that, as such, our rights and dignity must be respected. It comes from accepting that security has to be shared if it is to be sustainable and that we will neither disappear nor surrender.

A lot has been written about what happened in these halls a few days ago. Even more importantly, a lot has been written about what is happening on the ground as we speak. Therefore, it is useful to assert in all clarity Palestine's position and that of the eight Arab and Islamic countries, the Arab and Muslim world and the international community at large, so that there is no ambiguity about the objectives we are pursuing.

We want to see the ceasefire respected by all and rendered permanent. Israel's forces must fully withdraw from the Gaza Strip. There can be no occupation, no annexation, no partition of Gaza, no separation from the West Bank and no forced displacement. There must be no violence and no incitement. There must be one Palestinian State, one Palestinian Government, one Palestinian law and one Palestinian gun.

Israel's illegal occupation of the Palestinian territory must come to an end without delay, as concluded by the International Court of Justice and numerous resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. The independence of the State of Palestine must be achieved and the two-State solution implemented. This is what the fundamental and peremptory norms of international law that constitute the pillars of our international law system prescribe, and that is the path to peace.

Allow me now to say a few words in Arabic. (*spoke in Arabic*)

Allow me, in conclusion, to say a word about the role of Algeria in the Security Council. For two years, it has led all efforts to achieve a ceasefire that puts an end to the genocide in Gaza, and it has worked with the 10 elected members to submit resolutions and mobilize support for them from the rest of the Council members, despite attempts to dissuade it or those efforts colliding with the veto.

Regarding the recent resolution (resolution 2803 (2025)), Algeria, together with Somalia and with support from Pakistan, submitted a number of substantive amendments on behalf of Palestine and the Group of Arab States. Those amendments, which preserve Palestinian rights, garnered wide support from Council members; some were included in the text, and some were not. Algeria continued until the last moment in its attempts to introduce amendments to the text, including in its national capacity, even after the issuance of the statement by the eight Arab and Islamic States and the United States, in support of the resolution. As for its vote, Algeria could have dissociated itself, which was the easier decision. However, it chose to

align with the demand of the mediators, who stated quite clearly that, in their view, the adoption of a resolution by the Security Council was necessary given the possibility of the ceasefire collapsing. That led to a unified position of the eight States, Palestine and Algeria, especially since Algeria sits in the Security Council as the representative of the Arab Group.

Saving Gaza and saving our people in Gaza require fateful and difficult decisions. We must all work to ensure that saving Gaza is the cornerstone towards saving Palestine, achieving our people's freedom and preserving their dignity. We all know the dangers and plots being hatched against us. This stage requires us all to close ranks and take courageous decisions capable of thwarting those plots, ensuring the liberation of the land and the people and achieving a just and comprehensive peace in accordance with resolutions of international legitimacy, not the law of the jungle.

Long live Gaza and long live Palestine. We are seekers of freedom and life, and it is our right to enjoy both, not to choose one of them, for our people have sacrificed enough and have the right to live in freedom and dignity on their land and the land of their ancestors, Palestine.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Israel.

**Mr. Danon (Israel):** At the outset, I would like to thank Mr. Ramiz Alakbarov, Deputy Special Coordinator, for his briefing.

Israel welcomes the Comprehensive Plan to End the Gaza Conflict. We thank the United States of America and President Trump for pushing this process forward with moral clarity, conviction and courage. Israel is fully committed to meeting our obligations under the Plan.

We have facilitated the entry of hundreds of humanitarian aid trucks into Gaza each day, and of more than 800 trucks a day in the past week. We have clearly marked the yellow line to ensure operational clarity. We have released Palestinian terrorists — not prisoners, including murderers — and withdrawn our forces, as required. We are working in close coordination with international partners.

Hamas, on the other hand, continues to blatantly violate the terms of the Plan. It failed to meet the 72-hour deadline to return the hostages. It has already killed three of our soldiers during the ceasefire and has repeatedly sent terrorists across the Israeli lines to attack our forces. This Saturday brought yet another breach. A Hamas terrorist entered Israeli-controlled territory to attack our soldiers along a humanitarian aid corridor. Israel responded by eliminating five senior Hamas operatives involved in these attacks. Israel will continue to honour its commitments under the Plan, but we will not hesitate to neutralize the immediate threats to our citizens and our soldiers. We remain focused on achieving our goals — bringing our fallen hostages home and ensuring that Hamas is disarmed. We are still waiting for the return of the bodies of our three fallen hostages so that they can be given the dignity of a proper burial. We are waiting for Ran Gvili, Dror Or, and Sudthisak Rinthalak from Thailand. None of them have been forgotten. We will bring them home.

In the past year, I emphasized many times that we would not stop until we brought all the hostages home. Council members heard me repeating it at every meeting. Israel has proven that when we set a goal, we pursue it with determination, and we get it done. That same determination guides our second goal: Hamas must be disarmed — not partially, not symbolically, but fully and irreversibly. The truth is that there can be no peace, no stability and no future for Gaza while Hamas remains armed. That must be the focus of the international community. In the

wake of the ceasefire, the world has seen what Hamas does to the people. We saw the pictures in which it publicly executed Gazans in the streets, crushing dissent and silencing anyone who questioned its rule. As we speak, Hamas is attempting to assert its control over parts of Gaza. Israel will not allow terrorists to rebuild or reposition. They can take off their green headbands but changing into a civilian outfit does not turn terrorists into partners for peace. The Plan will succeed only if Hamas permanently loses its weapons.

Some colleagues, even today, have suggested that the Palestinian Authority (PA) could be the one to disarm Hamas and rebuild Gaza, but this assumes that the PA would suddenly do something it has never done and has never been able to do. Let us be honest about it. We know the facts. The truth is that the PA has no willingness or ability to confront Hamas. We do not need to guess about it. The past 18 years have given us the answer. Hamas rules Gaza because the PA could not and would not stop them. This is why the proposed Plan has turned to an International Stabilization Force, and we hope that it will be successful.

The weakness of the Palestinian Authority is not only in Gaza but also in Judea and Samaria. The PA has proven incapable of confronting radicals. Terror groups operate openly. Iranian weapons slip into Judea and Samaria, unchecked. Extremists grow stronger because no one stops them. That is why we — Israel — have to step in to seize the weapons the PA ignores, to dismantle the cells it will not confront and to disarm the terrorists it refuses to challenge.

Last month, for the third time this year, Israel intercepted a major Iranian shipment bound for these groups. It included 29 explosive mines, 15 rockets and 60 pistols — all sent by Iran to Judea and Samaria. This is the consequence of PA inaction. Israel is left to dismantle the terror networks that it refuses to confront. The PA is not short of armed bodies. Let me name a few of them. It has the Preventive Security Service, with approximately 4,000 trained operatives. It has the Civil Police Force, consisting of 9,000 operatives. It has the Presidential Guard, consisting of 2,000 operatives. And it has the Civil Defence and its largest armed wing, the National Security Forces, with roughly 8,000 uniformed personnel. And when one adds to that the General Intelligence Service and the Palestinian Military Intelligence Service, the PA controls more than 32,000 armed operatives in Judea and Samaria. The PA has the manpower, equipment and resources to fight these terrorists.

Council members should ask the PA why it does not mobilize those forces, why it does not send troops from Ramallah to stop the violence, confiscate weapons and confront these terrorists. Moreover, the Palestinian Authority is not only failing to stop terror, but it is also incentivizing it. The clearest example is the PA's pay-for-slay policy. I want to remind my colleagues about what we exposed last month when we met (see S/PV.10023). The PA is still paying terrorists but now it is packaged differently. In February, President Abbas told the world that he was reforming the system because many of the countries here told him they would not give him any more money if he did not stop its pay-for-slay policy. He therefore said very nicely, in English, that he would reform the system. He scrapped the old law and replaced it with a shiny new plan, now called "social criteria". That was the English language version. But a few weeks later, Abbas said something very different in Arabic. At a gathering of Fatah in Ramallah, he said:

"I told you once and I stand by my word: even if we have only one penny left, it is for the prisoners and the martyrs."

I think he also used those words at the United Nations. This is doublespeak at its worst.

What is more, the new system did not shrink the pay-for-slay programme; it expanded it. More than 2,000 households suddenly became newly eligible. Let us be honest, that is not welfare; that is putting terrorists on a payroll. For example, a terrorist who murders innocent civilians and is convicted and sentenced to 10 years in prison will get \$1,800 every month directly in his family's account. And when he goes to jail, he will get a special bonus: a lump sum of \$4,500. In Ramallah, that is a lot of money — a benefits package of which most law-abiding young people in Ramallah can only dream. All of a sudden, the family will get a monthly stipend of almost \$2,000. They do not need to work; they do not need to worry.

And when we look at the PA's budget — and we heard a few concerns from colleagues in that regard — it tells the rest of the story. In 2024, the PA paid

\$144 million in these stipends — salaries to terrorists. In 2025, it has already committed \$214 million, and the year is not yet over. Unfortunately, the PA has not ended the pay-for-slay initiative, it has grown it. Abbas has now dismissed his Finance Minister in an attempt to blame one person for a system he himself protects. But we are not fooled. The PA can replace a minister, but it cannot replace the facts. One cannot fight or disarm terror while paying for it. I tell Mr. Mansour that it is time to end pay for slay now, once and for all.

This week, we mark 78 years since the United Nations proposed the Palestine Plan of Partition of 29 November 1947. The proposal divided the land between Jews and Arabs so that both could live side by side. Israel accepted it; we said yes. The local Arab leadership rejected it and instead declared war on Israel 78 years ago. That choice became a pattern. Whenever a real opportunity for peace appeared, we moved forward, but the Palestinian leadership stepped back. In the Oslo years, Israel recognized the Palestinian leadership and negotiated directly with it. At Camp David and Taba, Israel entered serious talks. In 2008, Israel submitted a detailed plan on all issues. Each was an opportunity for peace, and each was missed.

A leadership that refuses to disarm terrorists and continues to reward them is not building peace. Today, almost 78 years after the General Assembly's vote of 29 November 1947, Hamas and other terrorist groups are trying to set the tone and dominate the region. Israel will not let that happen. We will safeguard our security and move forward with reliable and moderate partners.

*The meeting rose at 12:20 p.m.*