



## DIVISION FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS

January 1988

### Volume XI, Bulletin no. 1

#### CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I. RE-ELECTION OF OFFICERS AT FIRST 1988 MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE EXERCISE OF THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE: STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL .....	1
II. ACTION TAKEN BY THE COMMITTEE ON THE EXERCISE OF THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE .....	4
III. THE SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERS THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, ADOPTS TWO RESOLUTIONS AND FAILS TO ADOPT A THIRD ..	8
IV. STATEMENT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL CONCERNING ISRAEL'S DEPORTATION OF FOUR PALESTINIANS TO SOUTHERN LEBANON .....	14
V. COMMUNIQUE ADOPTED AT THE URGENT MEETING OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE AT THE UNITED NATIONS HELD IN NEW YORK ON 19 JANUARY 1988, CONCERNING THE DESECRATION OF AL-AQSA MOSQUE ON 15 JANUARY 1988 DURING FRIDAY PRAYERS .....	15
VI. FINAL COMMUNIQUE AND RECOMMENDATIONS ADOPTED AT THE EMERGENCY MEETING OF THE AL-QUDS COMMITTEE AT IFRANE, MOROCCO, ON 5 JANUARY 1988 .....	16
VII. RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES COUNCIL HELD AT TUNIS ON 23 AND 24 JANUARY 1988 .....	20
VIII. UNITED NATIONS-SPONSORED JOURNALISTS' ENCOUNTERS HELD IN AFRICA .....	23
<u>Annex.</u> REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IN ACCORDANCE WITH RESOLUTION 605 (1987) .....	25



I. RE-ELECTION OF OFFICERS AT FIRST 1988 MEETING OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON THE EXERCISE OF THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS  
OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE: STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

On 14 January 1988, the Committee re-elected H.E. Mr. Massamba Sarré as Chairman, H.E. Mr. Shah Mohammad Dost (Afghanistan) and H.E. Mr. Oscar Oramas-Oliva (Cuba) as Vice-Chairmen, and H.E. Mr. Alexander Borg-Olivier (Malta) as Rapporteur.

The Committee also decided to re-establish its Working Group and to elect H.E. Mr. Borg-Olivier (Malta) as Chairman and Mr. Pramathesh Rath (India) as Vice-Chairman.

After congratulating the Chairman and other members of the Bureau on their re-election, the Secretary-General made the following statement: 1/

"The Committee has now concluded 12 years of tireless efforts aimed at securing for the Palestinian people the exercise of its inalienable rights. The recommendations formulated by it in 1976 to achieve that objective have been endorsed by the General Assembly at each of its subsequent sessions. The Committee has undertaken a number of important and useful activities in the fulfilment of its mandate. The regional seminars and symposia, the international non-governmental organization meetings, the publications and studies issued under the Committee's guidance, the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People commemorated each year on 29 November, and the Committee's support to the activities undertaken by the Department of Public Information (DPI) have all contributed to the increased awareness of the Palestinian cause in all parts of the world.

"The Committee resumes its important work in the new year on the basis of its mandate renewed by the General Assembly and following the tragic events which have now been taking place for several weeks in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. The Security Council, in its resolution 605 (1987) of 22 December 1987, has strongly deplored the recent policies and practices of Israel in the occupied territories. The Council has reaffirmed that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, is applicable to the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, and has called once again upon Israel to abide immediately and scrupulously with the Convention. The Security Council has also requested me to examine the present situation in the occupied territories by all means which are available to me, and to submit a report not later than 20 January containing my recommendations on ways and means for ensuring the safety and protection of the Palestinian civilians under Israeli occupation. In this connection, I have sent Under-Secretary-General Marrack Goulding to Israel and the occupied territories in order to study the situation first hand. Mr. Goulding is expected to return to New York shortly. In addition, as you know, on 5 January, the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 607 (1988) which calls upon Israel to refrain from deporting any Palestinian civilians from the occupied territories. As I stated yesterday, it is of course with deep regret that I learned that Israel

/...

had expelled four Palestinians to Lebanon in spite of that resolution and contrary to its obligations under the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949. I noted in this connection that the Government of Lebanon had categorically rejected the concept that Palestinians in the occupied territories can be expelled and deported to Lebanon in this manner. It is my earnest hope that the Israeli authorities will reconsider their decision and that the four Palestinians will promptly be allowed to return to their homes and families.

"I wish to inform you that Mr. Goulding this morning met with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel in order to express to the Israeli Government the United Nations' concern and to call upon him to request the immediate return to their homes of those deported.

"The plight of the Palestinian people, most of whom now live under occupation or in exile, remains a matter of serious international concern. The conditions of the Palestinians in the occupied territories have been put into sharp focus in recent weeks. The Palestinians living in the refugee camps outside these territories also continue to face conditions of extreme hardship and insecurity.

"For over four decades the United Nations has sought to find a solution to the Middle East conflict, the core of which is the question of Palestine. Despite the numerous resolutions adopted by both the Security Council and the General Assembly and persistent international efforts, the people of the area have experienced constant suffering and five major wars. The search for a just, comprehensive and lasting peace must therefore continue with a sense of urgency.

"It is encouraging that a wide measure of agreement on the elements to be included in a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict has emerged. These elements are: the withdrawal of Israeli forces from territories occupied since 1967; respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States in the region and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries; and a satisfactory solution of the Palestinian problem, based on the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including self-determination. In this context, the question of Jerusalem remains of primary importance.

"In search for a solution, the International Conference on the Question of Palestine held at Geneva in 1983 called for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East and spelled out its guidelines as well as the participants, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). This proposal has been endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolution 38/58 C of 13 December 1983 and at each session since then. The debate during the recent session of the General Assembly confirmed overwhelming sentiment in favour of a just solution of this conflict for which the United Nations retains an essential responsibility to find a solution. For my part, I will persevere in my search for a negotiated peace in the Middle East which will ensure justice for all peoples in the region.

"The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People has a vital role to play in the dissemination of information and in mobilizing official and public support for alleviating the plight of the Palestinian people and for securing for them the exercise of their inalienable rights. The tasks which have been assigned to the Committee have as their objective a peace with justice.

"Distinguished members of the Committee and observers, I wish you all success in your endeavours. You may rest assured that my colleagues and I will continue to provide you with all assistance in the fulfilment of the mandate which has been entrusted to you by the General Assembly.

## II. ACTION TAKEN BY THE COMMITTEE ON THE EXERCISE OF THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

On 5 January 1988, in a letter addressed to the Secretary-General (A/43/77-S/19405), the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People drew urgent attention to the aggravation of the situation in the occupied territories caused by recent Israeli action. The full text of the letter was as follows:

"In my capacity as Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, I wish once again to draw your urgent attention to the aggravation of the situation in the occupied territories, caused by Israel's decision to expel Palestinian leaders and by the acts of violence by Israeli troops against the Palestinian population in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

"Since the letter of 29 December 1987 from the Acting Chairman of the Committee (A/43/73-S/19394), the situation has continued to deteriorate in the occupied territories. It was reported by The New York Times of 4 and 5 January 1988 that Israeli military authorities have decided to expel nine Palestinians, five from the West Bank and four from the Gaza Strip, accusing them of being the "chief instigators" of the uprising in the territories. According to the newspaper, "there was no way to independently confirm the army's accusations".

"The army has identified the nine Palestinians as Furayl Ahmad Khayri, aged 39, vice-chairman of the Palestinian engineers' union in the Gaza Strip; Adil Nafa Hamad, aged 27, from the Kalandia refugee camp in the West Bank; Husam Uthman Mohammed Hadar, aged 26, of the Balata refugee camp near Nablus; Bashir Ahmad Khayri, a 45-year-old lawyer from Ramallah; Jamal Mohammed Jabara, aged 28, from the Qalqilya refugee camp in the West Bank; Mohammed Abu Samara, aged 26, a student at the Islamic University of Gaza; Khalil Kuka, a 39-year-old teacher in Gaza and a leader of a local religious organization; Hasan Ghanim Abu Shakra, aged 37, a prominent religious leader from Khan Yunis in the Gaza Strip; and Jibril Mahmud Rajub, aged 34, a journalist from the West Bank village of Dura and the author of a book on conditions in Israeli gaols.

"The nine have been on a protest hunger strike in their respective prisons, where they will remain until a decision is taken on their appeal against the expulsion orders. More than 1,000 Palestinians rounded up during the past month also remain gaoled, and trials on incitement charges are proceeding in the military courts.

"In further violent incidents on 3 January 1988, as reported by The New York Times of 4 January 1988, an Israeli soldier shot to death a 25-year-old Palestinian woman while she was hanging laundry in her yard in the village of Al-Ram north of Jerusalem. The killing occurred when Israeli soldiers using live ammunition were chasing stone-throwing Palestinian boys in the streets of the village.

"UPI reported on 5 January 1988 that Israeli soldiers opened fire on a crowd of rock-throwing Palestinians in Khan Yunis in the Gaza Strip, killing at least one man and wounding eight others. A report by the Palestinian Press Service that a second man was also killed could not be immediately confirmed. A curfew was imposed on Khan Yunis following the shooting.

/...

"The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People wishes to convey its growing concern at the policies and practices of Israel in the occupied territories, particularly the killing of unarmed civilians and the deportation of persons, which are in clear violation of the human rights of the Palestinian people, of United Nations resolutions and of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949. The Committee wishes to recall that Security Council resolution 605 (1987) of 22 December 1987 called once again upon Israel, the occupying Power, to abide immediately and scrupulously by that Convention and to desist forthwith from such policies and practices.

"The Committee appeals to you to take all possible measures for ensuring the safety and protection of the Palestinian civilians under Israeli occupation and for preventing any deportations. The Committee further appeals to you to intensify your efforts towards the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 38/58 C.

"I should be grateful if you would arrange for the text of this letter to be circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under the item entitled "Question of Palestine", and of the Security Council."

In a subsequent letter dated 12 January 1988 (A/43/86-S/19424) the Chairman referred to the continuing deterioration of the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories resulting from the policies and practices of Israel. The letter read as follows:

"In my capacity as Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, I wish once again to draw your urgent attention to the continuing deterioration of the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories owing to the policies and practices of Israel, the occupying Power, including the use of live ammunition against demonstrators, mass arrests, detentions and deportations.

"A number of grave incidents have taken place since my letter of 5 January 1988 (A/43/77-S/19405). On 8 January, the UPI and The New York Times reported that Israeli troops fired on Palestinian demonstrators in the refugee camps of Nuseirat and Mughazi, south of Gaza City, killing a young Palestinian and injuring six others. Another young Palestinian from the Mughazi camp died of wounds inflicted a day earlier.

"The New York Times reported on 11 January 1988 that on 10 January two Palestinians were killed, including a pregnant woman who died of tear-gas inhalation, and as many as 50 others were wounded by Israeli troops during demonstrations throughout the Gaza Strip. Another Palestinian died of gunshot wounds sustained in an earlier incident in the village of Rafa. The Israeli army was also reported to have sent large reinforcements into the Gaza Strip and to have declared most of the area a closed military zone, barred to journalists and others.

"On 11 January, Reuters reported that two more Palestinians were killed by the army in Khan Younis, Gaza Strip, and another young Palestinian was shot dead and one was wounded by Jewish settlers in Beitin, the West Bank. Several Palestinians were also injured by bullets in both incidents. The total number of dead has reached at least 35 since the beginning of the protests last month.

/...

"According to Reuters, Israeli authorities disclosed on 8 January that at least 30 Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza were placed under administrative detention without trial for up to six months. A total number of almost 2,000 Palestinians have been arrested, the majority of whom remain gaoled awaiting trial in the military courts.

"The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People wishes to express once again its utmost concern at these policies and practices of Israel in the occupied territories, which are in clear violation of the human rights of the Palestinian people, of United Nations resolutions and of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949. The Committee wishes to recall that the Security Council, in its resolutions 605 (1987) of 22 December 1987 and 607 (1988) of 5 January 1988, has requested Israel, the occupying Power, to abide by its obligations arising under the Convention.

"The Committee appeals to you to take all possible measures for alleviating the suffering of the Palestinians under Israeli occupation and for ensuring their safety and protection. Further, the Committee appeals to you to intensify your efforts to bring about a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the question of Palestine, in accordance with United Nations resolutions, in particular through the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 38/58 C of 13 December 1983.

"I should be grateful if you would arrange for the text of this letter to be circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under the item entitled "Question of Palestine", and of the Security Council."

On 20 January 1988 the Chairman addressed a letter to the Secretary-General (A/43/95-S/19441) making reference to still further deterioration of conditions in the occupied territories and citing in particular the increasingly systematic use by Israel of collective punishment against Palestinians.

"In my capacity as Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, I wish once again to draw your urgent attention to the continuing deterioration of the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories, in particular to the increasingly systematic use by Israel of collective punishment against Palestinians.

"Since my last letter, dated 12 January 1988 (A/43/86-S/19424), a number of grave incidents have taken place. On 15 January 1988, Ha'aretz reported that the army was imposing "economic curfews" on refugee camps, preventing residents from leaving the camps and thus cutting off more than 250,000 Palestinians from their sources of income. Reuters reported on 18 January that at the Nuseirat refugee camp, south of Gaza, Israeli soldiers had seized and destroyed food that Palestinian women had been trying to take into the camp under curfew. Quoting UNRWA and the Red Crescent Relief Agency, the same source stated that there were serious shortages of food in the eight refugee camps in the Gaza Strip, where more than 200,000 Palestinian refugees have been living under curfew for a period of one to two weeks.

/...



"According to UPI, Yitzhak Rabin, the Israeli Minister of Defence, said on 19 January that the army would block emergency food shipments to the refugee camps in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip "as long as Palestinian shopkeepers continue commercial strikes in support of anti-Israeli protests". The New York Times reported, on the same date, that curfews were still in effect in all refugee camps in the Gaza Strip. In the West Bank, where curfews in six of the 15 refugee camps were reported to have been lifted in recent days, curfews were still in place at various times of the day.

"Several violent incidents have also taken place. On 13 January, UPI reported that two Palestinians had been killed by the army, one near Ramallah, and the second, a boy, in Gaza. UPI reported on 15 January that Israeli police and troops had fired tear gas on worshippers at the Al-Aqsa shrine, injuring more than 90 people. Several canisters of tear gas were also fired into the Dome of the Rock and Al-Aqsa Mosques. Three of the injured were admitted to hospital in serious condition.

"On 19 January, UPI reported that Israeli soldiers had shot and wounded a Palestinian man during a clash with demonstrators in the village of Mazra'ah El-Shargiya, north of Ramallah. It was also reported that a Palestinian woman in Sair, south of Jerusalem, had been shot and wounded by the army during a demonstration.

"The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People wishes to express once again its utmost concern at these policies and practices of Israel, the occupying Power, which are in clear violation of the basic rights of the Palestinian people, of United Nations resolutions and of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949. The Committee is particularly concerned by the imposition of collective punishment--on the entire Palestinian population, which can only exacerbate tension and further hamper international efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of the question of Palestine.

"The Committee appeals to you to take all possible measures to alleviate the suffering of the Palestinians under Israeli occupation, particularly to ensure the continuous supply of food and other necessities to the refugee camps. Further, the Committee reiterates its appeal for the intensification of efforts by all concerned to bring about a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the question of Palestine, in accordance with United Nations resolutions, in particular through the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 38/58 C of 13 December 1983.

"I should be grateful if you would have this letter circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under the item entitled "Question of Palestine", and of the Security Council."

III. THE SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERS THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, ADOPTS TWO RESOLUTIONS AND FAILS TO ADOPT A THIRD

At the request of the Arab Group, the Security Council met on 5 January 1987 to address the situation in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories. The request was contained in a letter from the Permanent Representative of Jordan, Chairman of the Group of Arab States for the month of January (S/19402).

At its 2780th meeting, on 5 January, the following resolution (S/RES/607 (1988)), was adopted unanimously by the Council:

"The Security Council,

"Recalling its resolution 605 (1987) of 22 December 1987,

"Expressing grave concern over the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories,

"Having been apprised of the decision of Israel, the occupying Power, to "continue the deportation" of Palestinian civilians in the occupied territories,

"Recalling the Geneva Convention relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war, of 12 August 1949, and in particular articles 47 and 49 of same,

"1. Reaffirms once again that the Geneva Convention relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war, of 12 August 1949, is applicable to Palestinian and other Arab territories, occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem;

"2. Calls upon Israel to refrain from deporting any Palestinian civilians from the occupied territories;

"3. Strongly requests Israel, the occupying Power, to abide by its obligations arising from the Convention;

"4. Decides to keep the situation in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, under review."

Resuming discussion of the situation in the occupied Arab territories on 14 January 1988, the Council met in accordance with an understanding reached during prior consultations. On that date, at the Council's 2781st meeting, the following resolution (S/RES/608 (1988)), co-sponsored by Algeria, Argentina, Negal, Senegal, Yugoslavia and Zambia, was adopted by 14 votes in favour to none against with 1 abstention (United States of America):

"The Security Council,

"Reaffirming its resolution 607 (1988) of 5 January 1988,

"Expressing its deep regret that Israel, the occupying Power, has, in defiance of that resolution, deported Palestinian civilians,

"1. Calls upon Israel to rescind the order to deport Palestinian civilians and to ensure the safe and immediate return to the occupied Palestinian territories of those already deported;

"2. Requests that Israel desist forthwith from deporting any other Palestinian civilians from the occupied territories;

"3. Decides to keep the situation in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, under review."

On 27 and 28 January, the Council resumed consideration of the situation in the occupied territories and had before it the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in the occupied Arab territories (S/19443) submitted in accordance with Council resolution 605 (1987). Because of the exceptional nature of that document, it has been annexed to this present issue of the Bulletin in extenso.

The Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People took part in the Council's debate and delivered the following statement on 27 January (see S/PV.2788):

"The promptness and diligence with which the Council has begun its debate on the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories - and particularly on the ways and means most likely to ensure the adequate protection of the Palestinian population under Israeli occupation - is yet another reflection of the Council's keen awareness of its responsibilities towards the Palestinian people.

"In our view, the report submitted by the Secretary-General to aid us in our deliberations is complete, balanced and responsible; we are pleased that it stresses this special duty of the international community.

"Therefore, Mr. President, I wish, through you, to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for this excellent tool to assist us in our thoughts and our work; its lofty vision confirms the high priority that, since he took office at the head of our Organization, he has always attached to the Middle East problem in general and to the Palestinian question in particular.

"My delegation wishes also to thank and congratulate Under-Secretary-General Marrack Goulding; he carried out the high responsibilities entrusted to him by the Secretary-General with devotion and objectivity.

"In various statements before the General Assembly and in this Chamber, both as representative of Senegal and as Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, I have never failed to stress the need to reach a negotiated, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem. One of the merits of the Secretary-General's report, contained in document S/19443 of 21 January 1988, is that it reminds us of that need.

"It will have been noted that the method we have adopted and suggested in the examination of the Middle East problem and in the search for a solution has always been a comprehensive one, rather than a case-by-case approach. We have seen bloody clashes and brutality in Gaza and the West Bank, often leading to loss of life and grave injury, pictures of which we have seen in the media over the past seven weeks; the desecration of holy places such as that carried out on 15 January 1988 against the Al-Aqsa Mosque; intolerable practices such as collective punishment, humiliation, arbitrary arrest, inhuman and degrading acts, crimes to avenge an unpremeditated killing, such as incursions and other encroachments by the Israeli army into Lebanese territory: and in all those cases we have affirmed that these seemingly isolated acts will never stop so long as blind passion and an appetite for vengeance and domination do not yield to reason and tolerance.

/...

"In that connection we must stress once again the primary responsibility of the Security Council, guarantor of international peace and security; without further delay, the Council must take measures to make Israel comply with its obligations and duties as occupying Power, under the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.

"Only scrupulous respect by Israel for the provisions - all the provisions - of that international legal instrument can restore order and calm to the Palestinian people, which for more than a generation has been wearily surviving, stripped of its national identity and under the yoke of domination.

"In our view, order, calm and, above all, security are the objectives that immediate United Nations action must have in view, in order to safeguard the interests not only of the Palestinian population of the occupied territories but also those of the Israelis. Achievement of those objectives could open the way to a climate favouring negotiations, an inevitable stage in the quest for an overall political settlement of the Middle East crisis and the Palestinian tragedy.

"On the basis of those facts and those requirements, it seems to us that the Council has two priorities before it, as noted in the report of the Secretary-General. First of all, the Council should work diligently to restore calm and peace in the occupied Palestinian territories and other Arab territories, with strict respect for human rights and, above all, for human dignity.

"I take this opportunity to call once more for determined joint action by all States, particularly those with a special responsibility, to make Israel understand that efforts undertaken here at the United Nations, particularly those emanating from this Chamber, are aimed solely at protecting the interests of all the peoples and States of the region.

"Similarly, the roles of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East and the International Committee of the Red Cross should be increased and strengthened; other intergovernmental bodies should

/...

participate actively in improving the living conditions of the civilian populations of the occupied territories. All the other humanitarian organizations in the United Nations system should also play a role, in keeping with their areas of competence, in the universal effort to rehabilitate the Palestinian population. That requires an atmosphere of co-operation between the authorities of the occupying Power and those with the job of providing assistance to the population of the occupied Palestinian territories.

"With all that machinery functioning harmoniously, the international community, through the Security Council, should strive to dispel the lack of understanding among the parties concerned and should take part, in a resolute and concrete way, in a negotiating process leading to a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East question, including, of course, the question of Palestine.

"A number of positive elements are already available to us to attain that desired goal. At the appropriate time, we shall need only to bring those elements to fruition - with joint action and co-operation commensurate with the stakes and the delicacy of the task - in the interest of all the States and peoples of the region."

On 1 February 1987, at its 2789th and 2790th meetings, the Council continued debate on the report by the Secretary-General on the situation in the occupied Arab territories (S/19443).

The Council had a draft resolution before it, submitted by Algeria, Argentina, Nepal, Senegal, Yugoslavia and Zambia (S/19466) the text of which was as follows:

"The Security Council,

"Having considered the Secretary-General's report of 21 January 1988 (S/19443) pursuant to resolution 605 (1987),

"Expressing its grave concern over the increasing sufferings of the Palestinian people in the occupied Palestinian territories,

"Bearing in mind the inalienable rights of all people recognized by the Charter of the United Nations and proclaimed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

"Reaffirming that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, is applicable to the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem,

"Commending the International Committee of the Red Cross for its activities in the occupied territories,

"Commending also the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East for its invaluable work,

"Conscious of the urgent need to resolve the underlying problem through a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement, including a solution to the Palestinian problem in all its aspects,

"1. Expresses its deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for his report;

"2. Calls upon Israel, as the occupying Power and as a High Contracting Party to the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, to accept the de jure applicability of the Convention to the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and fully to comply with its obligations under that Convention;

"3. Recalls the obligation of all the High Contracting Parties, under article 1 of the Convention, to ensure respect for the Convention in all circumstances;

"4. Calls again upon Israel to desist forthwith from its policies and practices which violate the human rights of the Palestinian people;

"5. Requests Israel to facilitate the task of the International Committee of the Red Cross and of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East and requests all Members to give them their full support;

"6. Requests the Secretary-General to continue to monitor the situation in the occupied territories by all means available to him and to make regular and timely reports to the Council;

"7. Affirms the urgent need to achieve, under the auspices of the United Nations, a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Arab/Israeli conflict, an integral part of which is the Palestinian problem, and expresses its determination to work towards that end;

"8. Requests the Secretary-General to continue his endeavours to promote such a settlement and to keep the Council regularly informed;

"9. Decides to keep the situation in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, under review."

The vote was 14 in favour to 1 against (United States of America), with no abstentions, and the resolution was not adopted owing to the negative vote of a permanent member.

**IV. STATEMENT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL CONCERNING ISRAEL'S  
DEPORTATION OF FOUR PALESTINIANS TO SOUTHERN LEBANON**

On 13 January, the Spokesman for the Secretary-General issued the following statement (SG/SM/4073):

"The Secretary-General has learned with deep regret that the Israeli authorities have today deported four Palestinians to southern Lebanon, in spite of the call contained in Security Council resolution 607 (1988) that Israel refrain from any such deportations and abide by its obligations arising from the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949.

"The Secretary-General earnestly hopes that the four Palestinians will promptly be allowed to return to their homes and families. He has noted, in this connection, that the Government of Lebanon has categorically rejected the concept that Palestinians in the occupied territories can be deported to Lebanon in this manner."



V. COMMUNIQUE ADOPTED AT THE URGENT MEETING OF THE MEMBERS  
OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE AT THE  
UNITED NATIONS HELD IN NEW YORK ON 19 JANUARY 1988,  
CONCERNING THE DESECRATION OF AL-AQSA MOSQUE  
ON 15 JANUARY 1988 DURING FRIDAY PRAYERS 2/

"An urgent meeting of the members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference at the United Nations was held in New York at the request of the Palestine Liberation Organization on Tuesday, 19 January 1988, to consider the grave situation in the occupied Palestinian territories.

"The meeting was apprised in particular of the desecration of Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Sacred Rock in Al-Quds Al-Sharif (Jerusalem) on 15 January 1988, during Friday prayers.

"The meeting recalled that an emergency meeting of the OIC Al-Quds Committee was held on 15 Jumad Awwal 1408H (5 January 1988) in the city of Ifrane, Morocco, at the invitation of its chairman, His Majesty King Hassan II, to consider the ferocious suppressive methods used by Israel, the occupying power, against the Palestinian people. That meeting designated 15 January 1988 as a day of Islamic solidarity with the uprising of the Palestinian people.

"On Friday, 15 January 1988, while worshippers were performing their prayers at Al-Aqsa Mosque and at the Dome of the Sacred Rock, Israeli troops were rushed into the Mosque and opened fire and launched tear gas bombs against the worshippers, resulting in scores of injuries that demanded hospital treatment, some suffering from serious wounds.

"The meeting was also apprised of attacks on a number of mosques in Bethlehem, Nablus and Gaza and flagrant violations of the performance of prayers. Churches as well were subjected to similar brutalities. The Catholic priest of Rammallah was assaulted and injured in the convent by Israeli troops.

"The meeting reiterates its condemnation of Israel's occupation of the Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Al-Quds Al-Sharif, and considers that the continuation of the occupation constitutes a grave violation of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the Palestinian and other Arab people under Israeli occupation. The meeting reaffirms that the continued Israeli occupation is a violation of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

"The meeting strongly condemns the Zionist policies and practices by the Israeli troops against the Palestinian Arab people in the occupied Palestinian territories in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention. It calls upon the United Nations to provide protection to ensure the safety for the Palestinian under Israel occupation. The meeting further calls for an investigation, under the auspices of the United Nations and the International Red Cross, to determine the magnitude of the heinous crimes committed by Israel. The meeting calls upon the members of the Security Council to take deterrent measures against Israel, including the imposing of sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

"The members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference at the United Nations salute the Palestinian people and express their pride in their uprising and declare their solidarity with and support for the glorious Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation."

VI. FINAL COMMUNIQUE AND RECOMMENDATIONS ADOPTED AT THE  
EMERGENCY MEETING OF THE AL-QUDS COMMITTEE AT  
IFRANE, MOROCCO ON 5 JANUARY 1988 3/

"In the wake of the massive national uprising currently sweeping Al-Quds al-Sharif (Jerusalem the holy) and the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, which has spread to all the Palestinian Arab territories under occupation, and following the escalation by the Zionist enemy of its repression of the uprising, described by its media as the most violent since 1967, the Al-Quds Committee held an emergency meeting in the city of Ifrane, Morocco, on 15 Jumada I, A.H. 1408 (5 January 1988), at the invitation of His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco, the Chairman of the Al-Quds Committee, to consider all aspects of the savage means of repression being employed against the Palestinian people.

"The meeting was attended by Brother Mujahid Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and by representatives of all the member States of the Committee with the exception of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Syrian Arab Republic.

"The meeting was also attended by Mr. Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC).

"His Majesty King Hassan II, the Chairman of the Al-Quds Committee, opened the meeting with an address in which he stated that resistance was the acknowledged right of people whose dignity had been trampled. Following the events in Al-Quds, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the other occupied territories, he could only express astonishment at seeing the United States, a super-Power and a friend, renounce the principles "which in the past it has fought to defend, and for which we have fought by its side."

"His Majesty recalled the Arab Peace Plan, approved by the Arab Summit Conference at Fez. He expressed his apprehension that there might have been confusion between the issue of Al-Quds al-Sharif and the Arab-Israeli problem, which would delay the solution of the former. He suggested that the Al-Quds Committee, or the Foreign Ministers of OIC member States at their forthcoming meeting in Amman, should draft practical guidelines on winning the sympathies of adherents of religions other than Islam, and rallying the maximum number of sympathizers for Muslims and the cause of Al-Quds.

"His Majesty added that such action was essential, for "if we close ranks on the question of Al-Quds, we will compel the enemy to enter into a dialogue. If the enemy should refuse a dialogue, it would help to convince the world that it seeks neither a dialogue nor a peaceful solution, and is not ready for either."

"His Majesty commended the efforts of the Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference in the service of the Organization and of the Al-Quds Committee. He asked the Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee to convey to the fighters outside the occupied territories and the resistance forces within them the word of Allah the Almighty: "Lord, fill our hearts with steadfastness. Make us firm of foot and help us against the unbelievers. By Allah's Will, they routed them."

"Mr. Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, expressed his thanks and appreciation to His Majesty King Hassan II for having called the important meeting at a time when the Palestinian cause and Al-Quds al-Sharif were undergoing such difficulties. He expressed the grave concern of the Muslim world at the continuing vicious Zionist onslaught against the Palestinian people, the murdering of unarmed children, women and elderly people in the occupied territories, the violation of holy places, and the firing at worshippers in mosques.

"His Excellency expressed his admiration for and pride in the outstanding heroism demonstrated by the steadfast Palestinian people in the face of the occupation. The young Palestinians had been confronting the occupation forces, which were armed to the teeth with the most sophisticated weaponry, with nothing more than the stones of their blessed land and their magnificent courage, which had shaken the Zionist entity and sown panic in its ranks.

"Speaking next, Mr. Yasser Arafat expressed his thanks to His Majesty King Hassan II for his fraternal, faithful and sincere stand towards the Palestinians at that critical juncture. He then reviewed the phases in the current upsurge of the Palestinian people, stating that the upsurge would, with the help of God, continue unabated.

"He informed the Committee that the Palestine Liberation Organization had asked for a meeting of the Security Council to consider the attempts by the Zionist entity to deport Palestinian citizens from their homeland, and called for international protection for the Palestinian people in the occupied territories.

"The Committee heard a message sent to His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco, the Chairman of the Al-Quds Committee, by his brother, His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, Emir of the State of Kuwait and Chairman of the Fifth Islamic Summit, in which His Highness hailed the meeting of the Al-Quds Committee and expressed appreciation to His Majesty King Hassan II for his initiative in convening it, thus revealing his awareness of the importance of united Islamic action to help the Palestinian people in the occupied Arab territories.

"The Committee also listened to statements by the heads of the delegations of Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Senegal, in which they expressed pride in the steadfastness of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and their worthy resistance, which had culminated in the present uprising. They also thanked His Majesty King Hassan II for his initiative in convening the meeting of the Committee to consider the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories. They emphasized the need to support the Palestinian people in their resistance, their rejection of occupation, and to help them to counter the designs of the Zionist entity and its policies and practices aimed at uprooting the Palestine people from their land.

"The Al-Quds Committee, following closely and with grave concern the development of the serious situation in the City of Al-Quds al-Sharif and the other occupied Palestinian territories:

"1. Salutes the Arab Palestinian people, expresses pride in their uprising, and calls upon all OIC member States to intensify their political and material support for the Arab Palestinian people inside their occupied homeland so as to strengthen their capacity for steadfastness and for resistance to occupation, terrorist and racist practices;

"2. Reiterates its condemnation of Israel's occupation of the Palestinian and Arab territories, including Al-Quds, and considers that the continuation of the occupation constitutes a grave violation of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the Palestinian people;

"3. Strongly condemns the inhuman Zionist policies and practices against the Arab population in the occupied Palestinian territories, as exemplified by evictions, expulsions, deportations, killings, mass detentions, expropriations, and the violation and desecration of holy places, and calls upon the international community to hold an investigation, under the auspices of the United Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross, with a view to determining the magnitude of the heinous crimes committed by Israel against the Arab people of Palestine, and bringing such crimes to an end;

"4. Calls upon all member States of OIC to use their influence and friendly relations with the international community and to make all necessary efforts and political and diplomatic contacts with States, international and regional organizations to persuade them to bring pressure to bear on the Zionist occupation authorities to comply with international treaties and conventions, in particular the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and respect the relevant international resolutions;

"5. Calls for the setting up, throughout the Muslim world of committees on solidarity with the Palestinian people, in order to provide material and moral assistance to the revolution until the Palestinian people can liberate their land and determine their own destiny;

"6. Calls upon the councils of Muslim Ambassadors in all world capitals to make urgent contacts with the Governments, political parties and public organizations and the information media in their countries of accreditation, and to urge them to denounce and decry Zionist practices and call for an end to them;

"7. Calls upon all Islamic media institutions to give still more coverage to news of the popular uprising in occupied Palestine and write commentaries on the situation so as to enlighten Islamic public opinion about the true facts in the occupied Palestinian territories;

"8. Expresses its appreciation to all States, international organizations and communities which have condemned Israel's repressive measures promptly, publicly and officially, and urges them to continue and intensify their condemnation and bring pressure to bear on the Israeli occupation authorities to stop such measures;

"9. Calls upon the international community to do everything possible to help the Palestinian people regain their legitimate rights, and reiterates that peace and stability cannot return to the city of Al-Quds, the rest of the Palestinian territories or the Middle East region as a whole, until a just and comprehensive solution is found to the problem of Palestine, which is the primary concern of the Muslims and the key to the conflict in the Middle East. Such a solution must enable the Palestinian people to regain their inalienable national rights, including title to their homeland and the right to return, to recover their property, to determine their own future without any outside interference, to exercise unfettered sovereignty over their country and its natural resources, and to establish an independent and sovereign State in Palestine with Al-Quds al-Sharif as its capital, under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization;

"10. Calls for the early convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East under United Nations auspices, with the participation on an equal footing of all parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the five permanent members of the Security Council;

"11. Designates Friday, 25 Jumada I A.H. 1408 (5 January 1988) as a Day of Islamic Solidarity with the Palestinian Uprising, and calls for the Friday sermon on that day in all mosques throughout the Muslim world to be devoted to the uprising and the agony, suffering and resistance of the Palestine people, and for prayers for the dead to be read that day in memory of the martyrs;

"12. Calls upon Islamic Governments to make appropriate arrangements for organizing a fund-raising campaign, collecting one day's salary in cash or in kind as an expression of solidarity with the Palestinian people and their uprising;

"13. Decides to address telegrams to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Chairman of the Security Council, and the heads of the member States of the Security Council, urging their immediate intervention to halt the Zionists' practices against the unarmed Palestinian population in the occupied Arab territories, to take deterrent measures against the Israeli entity, and to impose sanctions against it in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations;

"14. Authorizes its members to contact the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the permanent members of the Security Council in order to apprise them of developments in the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories, and to urge them to work for the implementation of Security Council resolution 605 (1987), including the compulsory international protection of Palestinian citizens under occupation;

"15. Expresses its deep appreciation and gratitude to His Majesty King Hassan II, the Chairman of the Al-Quds Committee, for his commendable efforts and his invitation to hold an emergency meeting of the Committee, which reflect his concern for Al-Quds al-Sharif and all the other occupied Arab territories, the importance that he attaches to the resistance of their population and the support and defence of their inalienable national rights, and his continued efforts to restore Arab Islamic sovereignty over Al-Quds al-Sharif. The members of the Committee also express their appreciation and thanks to the Moroccan people for the warm welcome and generous hospitality extended to them;

"16. Requests the general secretariat of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to circulate this communiqué to all member states of the Organization.

VII. RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE EXTRAORDINARY SESSION  
OF THE LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES COUNCIL  
HELD AT TUNIS ON 23 AND 24 JANUARY 1988 4/

The League of Arab States Council convened at the level of foreign ministers in an extraordinary session held at the League headquarters at Tunis on 23 and 24 January 1988, at which time the following resolution was adopted:

"The Council

"DECIDES:

- "1. To render vibrant and proud homage to the Palestinian people for the valiant uprising in its occupied homeland and to exalt its national unity and its heroic resistance to Israeli acts of repression and genocide practices;
- "2. To condemn the crimes of the Zionist occupation against the militant Palestinian people such as: killings, deportation, massive arrests, imposition of sieges of hunger and thirst, prohibition of medicines and medical care, aggressions against the Holy Places and, in particular, the Holy Al-Aqsa Mosque, as well as against scientific and health institutions, usurpation and destruction of homes, confiscation and settlement of Arab land; the Council accordingly calls upon all States to exercise pressure on the Israeli occupation authorities in order to put an end to the repression and tyranny inflicted upon the heroic Palestinian people and to impose effective sanctions upon these authorities which perpetrate such crimes against the rights of mankind as a whole and threaten world peace and security;
- "3. a) To continue to support materially and politically the Arab Palestinian people so as to enable it to pursue its struggle and its resolve to end Israeli occupation and retrieve its inalienable national rights;
- b) To provide the means of living and resistance to the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and to grant adequate financial support throughout the duration of the uprising in co-ordination with the PLO and through the uprising fund created by the PLO to this effect, as well as through other available international bodies and channels;
- "4. To mobilize Arab popular forces to stand closely by the Palestinian people's valiant uprising and to extend various forms of support and backing to the struggle of this people, to express the Council's appreciation of the support so far extended to this effect by Arab masses and governments and to invite further assistance initiatives from all over the Arab world;

"5. To launch a massive world-level information campaign with a view to isolating the Zionist entity on the international scene, condemning its practices, exposing the acts of genocide it perpetrates, reaffirming the right of the Palestinian people to defend its land and its inalienable rights and to confront Zionist media attempts seeking to divide the Palestinian people and to shatter this people's national unity in the hope of dismantling its ranks, undermining its national rights and impairing the unity of its representative leadership;

"6. a) To set-up a committee, made up of the Foreign Ministers of Syria, Jordan, Algeria, Tunisia, Iraq, the Chairman of the PLO Political Commission, and the League Secretary-General, in charge of setting a Joint Arab Action Plan for: the implementation of Arab resolutions relative to the Arab-Israeli conflict; the definition of a unified Arab stand in United Nations fora; and the establishment of contacts with the representatives of the Security Council permanent member States, as well as other States and the various relevant international bodies and institutions, with a view to enlisting the maximum possible support and backing for the Palestinian people's uprising and to achieving forceful support in favour of an international conference for peace in the Middle East in accordance with the Arab Summit resolutions;

b) To call upon the Security Council to assume its responsibilities in taking the appropriate decisions and measures for ending the Israeli occupation of all the Palestinian and other Arab occupied territories; and to call upon the United Nations to sponsor the withdrawal of Israeli occupation forces and to enable the Palestinian people to exercise its right to self-determination in conformity with relevant United Nations resolutions;

"7. To call urgently upon the Security Council to shoulder its full responsibilities with regard to the Zionist entity's violations of the Fourth Geneva Convention in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, and its persistence to perpetrate war crimes such as those mentioned in Articles 49 and 147 of this Convention, namely killing, torture, inhuman treatment, exile, deportation, imprisonment, expulsion of Arab citizens from their homes, dispersion and the establishment of colonial settlements, and to force the Zionist entity to urgently put an end to such acts and practices and allow the deported Palestinians to return home in implementation of the Security Council's pertinent resolutions;

"8. To entrust the League of Arab States Secretariat-General to identify and follow up the grave violations perpetrated by the Zionist entity in the occupied Arab territories, to point out those which constitute war crimes and crimes against mankind and to report its findings to the United Nations Secretary-General for circulation as documents of the General Assembly and Security Council;

"9. To entrust the League of Arab States Secretariat-General to establish contacts with specialized Arab Ministerial Councils and specialized Arab organizations so that they may, each in their field of competence, contact their regional and international counterparts in order to explain to them the gravity of the situation prevailing in the occupied territories with a view, eventually, to enlist their support to the struggle of the Palestinian people;

"10. To express its thanks to all people and States who have stood by the Palestinian people in its struggle against Israeli occupation.

"It also expressed its deep appreciation of the efforts made by friendly and objective world media in their coverage of the reality of the Palestinian people's strife in the occupied territories and their revelation of the savagery of the occupation authorities and of Israel's violation of the Charter of the United Nations as well as of international resolutions and conventions.



#### VIII. UNITED NATIONS-SPONSORED JOURNALISTS' ENCOUNTERS HELD IN AFRICA

A regional journalists' encounter was held at Nairobi, Kenya, from 2 to 5 February 1988. Three national encounters also took place - at Kinshasha, Zaire, on 29 January 1988; at Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania, on 1 February 1988; and, at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on 8 February 1988.

The encounters were held in accordance with General Assembly resolution 42/66 C of 2 December 1987. Their objective was to promote better understanding of the question of Palestine among members of the African media corps through brief, in-depth, informal and candid discussions with expert panelists on the subject. The panelists made themselves available for radio interviews and, whenever possible, live television and radio coverage of discussions was provided by the local media.

At each encounter, the following topics were taken up: a historical review of the origins of the Palestinian question; the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people; the United Nations and the question of Palestine; and, the prospects for a peaceful settlement of the Palestinian problem. Discussion of these topics was preceded by a description of the role of the Secretary-General in the promotion of a peaceful settlement to the question, and of the role of the United Nations Department of Public Information and its programme on the question of Palestine.

At the regional encounter at Nairobi, the following panelists spoke to journalists: (a) Mr. Amos Kenan, prominent Israeli author and journalist, columnist at Yediot Aharonot; (b) H.E. Mr. Tom Obaleh Kargbo, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, member of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and the Committee of 24 and Permanent Representative of Sierra Leone to the United Nations; and (c) Mr. Afif Safieh, Director of the PLO at The Hague, the Netherlands. An official invitation was sent to the Israeli Government through its Permanent Mission in New York, to assign a representative to present its views during the encounter, but no response was received.

The regional encounter was attended by 18 leading radio, press and television journalists from 16 African nations. Many representatives of various embassies in Nairobi also attended the meetings.

The national encounters at Kinshasha, Dar es Salaam and Addis Ababa were attended by a total of some 140 local journalists, foreign correspondents and press attachés of embassies. Mr. Kenan and Mr. Safieh spoke at each national encounter.

It was the general view of participating journalists that the encounters were instructive and clarified many questions they had had about the Palestinian problem. There was broad consensus among the journalists that there was an urgent need to reach a peaceful settlement of the question of Palestine, preferably through an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations.

Notes

1/ SG/SM/4074-GA/PAL/382.

2/ A/43/94-S/19439.

3/ A/43/114-S/19464.

4/ Press release of the League of Arab States, Office of the Permanent Observer to the United Nations. Unofficial translation from the Arabic.

Annex

REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL  
IN ACCORDANCE WITH RESOLUTION 605 (1987)\*

INTRODUCTION

1. On 22 December 1987 the Security Council adopted resolution 605 (1987), which reads as follows:

"The Security Council,

Having considered the letter dated 11 December 1987 from the Permanent Representative of Democratic Yemen to the United Nations, in his capacity as Chairman of the Arab Group for the month of December, 1/

Bearing in mind the inalienable rights of all peoples recognized by the Charter of the United Nations and proclaimed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 2/

Recalling its relevant resolutions on the situation in the Palestinian and other Arab territories, occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, and including its resolutions 446 (1979), 465 (1980), 497 (1981) and 592 (1986),

Recalling also the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, 3/

Gravely concerned and alarmed by the deteriorating situation in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem,

---

1/ S/19333.

2/ General Assembly resolution 217 A (III).

3/ United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 75, No. 973, p. 287.

---

\*Previously issued as document S/19443.

Taking into account the need to consider measures for the impartial protection of the Palestinian civilian population under Israeli occupation,

Considering that the current policies and practices of Israel, the occupying Power, in the occupied territories are bound to have grave consequences for the endeavours to achieve comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East,

1. Strongly deplores those policies and practices of Israel, the occupying Power, which violate the human rights of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, and in particular the opening of fire by the Israeli army, resulting in the killing and wounding of defenceless Palestinian civilians;

2. Reaffirms that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, is applicable to the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem;

3. Calls once again upon Israel, the occupying Power, to abide immediately and scrupulously by the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, and to desist forthwith from its policies and practices that are in violation of the provisions of the Convention;

4. Calls furthermore for the exercise of maximum restraint to contribute towards the establishment of peace;

5. Stresses the urgent need to reach a just, durable and peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict;

6. Requests the Secretary-General to examine the present situation in the occupied territories by all means available to him, and to submit a report no later than 20 January 1988 containing his recommendations on ways and means for ensuring the safety and protection of the Palestinian civilians under Israeli occupation;

7. Decides to keep the situation in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, under review."

Resolutions 607 (1988) and 608 (1988), relating to Israel's deportation of Palestinian civilians from the occupied territories, were adopted on 5 and 14 January 1988 respectively. The present report is submitted in accordance with paragraph 6 of resolution 605 (1987).

2. In order to obtain information needed for the preparation of this report, I instructed Mr. Marrack Goulding, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, to visit Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories. The purpose of this visit, which took place from 8 to 17 January 1988, was twofold: to examine on the spot the situation in the occupied territories and to explore ways and means I

could consider recommending to the Security Council to ensure the safety and protection of the Palestinian population of the territories.

3. Mr. Goulding had meetings with Mr. Shimon Peres, Foreign Minister of Israel, and with Mr. Yitzhak Rabin, Defence Minister, who was accompanied by Mr. Shmuel Goren, Coordinator of Government Operations in the territories, on 11 and 12 January, respectively. Further meetings took place with Mr. Peres on 14 January (in connection with Israel's deportation of Palestinian civilians the previous day) and with Mr. Goren on 17 January.

4. The Israeli Ministers stated that, as had been made clear in the Security Council, they rejected resolution 605 (1987) because the Security Council had no role to play in the security of the occupied territories, for which Israel was exclusively responsible. As was well known, Israel did not accept the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention in the territories. They had agreed to meet Mr. Goulding as a representative of the Secretary-General whom they regularly received and not in connection with the report requested from the Secretary-General in resolution 605 (1987). They said that Mr. Goulding was free to travel where he wished, except in areas which were under curfew or had been declared to be closed military areas, and to speak with whom he wished. It was, however, recommended that the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, and especially the refugee camps, be avoided and that contacts with Palestinians take place in Jerusalem.

5. As regards the situation in the occupied territories, the Israeli Ministers agreed that it was a serious one. The Israel Defence Forces (IDF) had been surprised by the extent of the disturbances. As a largely conscript army, trained to defend Israel against external attack, IDF lacked expertise in riot control. The Government of Israel regretted the civilian casualties that had occurred and was taking steps to minimize such casualties in the future. But the present disorder in the refugee camps could not be tolerated and firm measures would, if necessary, be taken to suppress it. A political solution had to be found to the underlying problem and Israel remained committed to the search for a negotiated settlement. But, meanwhile, law and order had to be restored.

6. As the safety and protection of the residents of the refugee camps was a clear priority, I had of course instructed Mr. Goulding to visit some of the camps. In the event this proved difficult. Throughout the visit almost all the camps in the Gaza Strip were under curfew or had been declared to be closed military areas; the same was true of many of the camps on the West Bank.

7. On 12 January Mr. Goulding, who was accompanied by the Acting Director of Operations in Gaza of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), was denied access by IDF to Jabalia and Beach Camps in the Gaza Strip, on the grounds that the camps were a closed military area and under curfew, respectively. They themselves decided not to pursue a visit to a third camp, Maghazi, when they judged that there was a risk that their visit would lead to a confrontation between IDF, who were deployed in some strength at the camp entrance, and an excited and angry crowd just inside. The following day a successful two-hour visit was made to Rafah camp, also in the Gaza Strip, where

Mr. Goulding and his party were welcomed by several hundred of the camp residents. The latter, however, felt provoked when an IDF patrol, including an armoured vehicle, approached the health centre where the visiting party was holding its meetings and a brief clash ensued, involving stone-throwing by young residents of the camp and the firing of tear gas and rubber bullets by IDF. Fortunately, there were no casualties. Further visits were paid, in the company of officials of the UNRWA West Bank operations, to Dheisheh Camp, near Bethlehem, and Balata Camp at Nablus, on 14 and 16 January 1988 respectively. The visit to Dheisheh was entirely peaceful and the visitors were able to talk to many of the refugees and tour the camp. The visit to Balata, however, had to be cut short after one hour when an IDF patrol, apparently involved in a separate incident, fired rubber bullets at the crowd accompanying the visitors, who at that point were touring the camp.

8. During these visits to refugee camps and in many meetings with groups and individuals elsewhere in the occupied territories, Mr. Goulding and his colleagues were able to discuss the situation in the territories with about 200 Palestinian men and women, of all ages and from all walks of life, ranging from intellectuals and elected mayors to the most deprived residents of the camps. All rejected the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and insisted that the Palestinian problem was not a problem of refugees but a political problem requiring a political solution. Priority, they said, had to be given to the negotiation of such a settlement and measures to alleviate the suffering of the civilian population should not be allowed to become a substitute for an urgent solution of the underlying political problem. All complained bitterly about Israeli practices in the occupied territories, especially the behaviour of the security forces, and about the Israeli settlements and the obstruction of Palestinian economic development. It was argued that these practices had to be made known to a world which, after 20 years, seemed to have forgotten the occupied territories. There was also much criticism of the failure of the States Members of the United Nations to secure implementation of the dozens of resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly, both on the situation in the territories and on the wider political issue of a just and lasting settlement.

9. Section I of the present report contains a brief examination of the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories. Section II discusses possible ways and means of ensuring the safety and protection of the civilian population. Section III contains some concluding remarks.

#### I. THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES

10. Resolution 605 (1987) was adopted on 22 December 1987, following two weeks of disturbances in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip during which 18 Palestinians were killed and scores were injured by the Israeli security forces, who themselves suffered injuries from stones and petrol bombs. Since the resolution was adopted, the disturbances have continued and the Palestinian casualties have more than doubled, with further injuries on the Israeli side also.

11. In view of the widespread coverage that these events have received in the international press, it is not necessary to recapitulate in the present report all

/...

that has occurred during the past six weeks. It is apparent, however, that measures taken by the Israeli security forces to restore law and order in the occupied territories have not as yet succeeded. The atmosphere in the territories, and especially in the refugee camps, is marked by tension and unrest; commercial strikes are observed in almost all the towns, and most educational institutions remain shut. More than 2,000 Palestinians - many of them under the age of 16 and some as young as 11 or 12 - have been detained since mid-December, and others have been placed under house or town arrest. Precise figures have not been published but it appears that several hundred of those detained have since been released. Four Palestinians were deported to Lebanon on 13 January, and five others have received deportation orders which are at present under appeal. Those most acutely affected by the disturbances have been the residents of the refugee camps, particularly those in the Gaza Strip, where normal life has been totally disrupted by curfews and the closing-off of the camps to non-residents, including relief workers.

12. Both Israelis and Palestinians told Mr. Goulding and his colleagues that these disturbances were not an isolated phenomenon. Although it had earlier been stated in Israel that they were orchestrated from the outset by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and/or fundamentalist Islamic groups, Israeli Ministers said that they had come to the conclusion that they originated as a spontaneous outburst of protest. That this was the case was certainly the impression gained from the conversations which Mr. Goulding and his colleagues had with Palestinian inhabitants of the occupied territories. The disturbances were a reaction, supported by Palestinians of all age groups and all walks of life, to 20 years of occupation and to the lack of hope that it could be brought to an early end.

13. Without exception, the Palestinians consulted said that they rejected the Israeli occupation and complained bitterly about the practices of the Israeli security forces (which term includes IDF, the Border Police, the civilian police and the General Security Services (GSS), also known as Shin Beth). It was said that, in addition to harsh methods of riot control, random and capricious violence against individuals was normal (e.g. the beating of young bystanders who happened to be present at the scene of a stone-throwing incident or the beating, in front of his pupils, of a school teacher who refused to suspend his class to remove obstacles placed by others in the road outside). Equally common was the complaint (which was also made against officials of the Israeli Civilian Administration in the territories) that Palestinians were treated with a contempt and arrogance that seemed to be deliberately intended to humiliate them and undermine their dignity as human beings. Complaints were also made, especially in the Gaza Strip, about the inhumane manner in which curfews were enforced, e.g. the prevention of UNRWA ambulances from entering camps to collect civilians wounded in earlier disturbances. Another set of complaints related to allegations of routine violence in detention centres, as well as to the whole system of administrative detention. It was said that the purpose of interrogation was normally to extract a confession, for use in subsequent proceedings in the military courts, and that heavy physical and psychological pressure was used for this purpose by GSS, which used techniques (e.g. hooding) that left no permanent physical disfigurement.

14. In the time available, it was not possible to follow up any individual complaint in detail. But the persistence of these complaints and their ready corroboration by foreign observers (including the media) and by Palestinian professional people (some of whom said that they had themselves suffered at the hands of the security forces) give grounds for serious concern.

15. Other subjects of complaint were:

(a) The lack of outlets for political activity (there have been no elections since the municipal elections of 1976) and the tendency of the authorities to classify any expression of nationalist sentiment as "terrorist" activity, with consequent intervention of the security forces;

(b) The taking of land in the occupied territories, especially for Israeli settlements, and the privileged access that these settlements are given to water supplies;

(c) Deportations and other violations of the rights of the individual, including the blocking of family reunions;

(d) Interruption of education through the closing of schools and universities and, especially, the denial of laissez-passers for an adequate period to Palestinian students pursuing higher education in other countries;

(e) Shortcomings in the judicial system, especially the complexity of a system in which the legislation in force comes from such varied sources as the British Mandate, Egyptian and Jordanian laws and military orders (often not published) issued by Israel since 1967, the obstacles placed in the way of the defence, usually on security grounds, and the lack of a fair hearing for Palestinians in the higher Israeli courts;

(f) Heavy taxation, many of the proceeds of which benefit Israel and are not spent in the occupied territories (the budget for which is not published);

(g) Economic discrimination against the territories, with the purpose of hindering their agricultural and industrial development and keeping them as a captive market and source of cheap labour for Israel.

16. As in the case of the security forces' behaviour, many examples of the above practices were cited, not only by Palestinians but also by foreign observers. They have also been described in the publications of such research institutions as The West Bank Data Base Project and Al-Haq: Law in the Service of Man.

17. At the four meetings held with Israeli Ministers and officials, the latter rejected the complaints mentioned above, describing almost all of them as politically motivated exaggerations or distortions. They said that there had been great improvements in the economic and social situation in the territories since 1967 especially as regards consumption and social services. They drew a favourable comparison between Israel's record and that of Egypt and Jordan in the 1948-1967 period. They agreed that more needed to be done to enhance the economic and social



conditions of the civilian population but said that Israel had been disappointed by the paucity of the international community's response to its invitation to provide funds for the development of the territories.

18. In a conversation on 17 January, Mr. Goren said that the security forces had very strict orders against mistreatment of the civilian population; there were isolated cases in which these orders were not properly observed but such cases were severely dealt with by the Israeli authorities themselves. Mr. Goren offered to investigate any individual case that was brought to his attention. He also offered to take up any specific case of alleged obstruction of UNRWA activities by the security forces, though the latter had orders to co-ordinate on a regular basis with UNRWA over access for food and medical supplies to camps under curfew. On the economic questions, Mr. Goren said that Israel in fact spent more in the territories than it received in tax revenue and that health and education services there were better than the Palestinians would admit. Israel wanted foreign countries to contribute to the territories' development and would give them a free hand, subject only to security requirements and observance of Israeli procedures.

19. There is thus a conflict of evidence. In almost every case, one side's version of events is at variance with the other's. This illustrates the difficulty of conducting a rigorous examination of the situation in the occupied territories. For reasons it has expressed in the past, Israel has been reluctant to co-operate with bodies previously set up by the United Nations to investigate its practices in the occupied territories, including the commission established by Security Council resolution 446 (1979), and has consistently rejected their findings. But the evidence available from published sources and from conversations with Israelis, Palestinians and foreign observers confirms that the international community's concern about the situation in the occupied territories is fully justified.

## II. WAYS AND MEANS FOR ENSURING THE SAFETY AND PROTECTION OF THE PALESTINIAN CIVILIANS UNDER ISRAELI OCCUPATION

### A. Need for a political settlement

20. Before exploring the ways and means that the Security Council might wish to consider for ensuring the safety and protection of the Palestinian civilians, one point of fundamental importance must be underlined. It is certainly necessary that more should be done to ensure the safety and protection of the civilian population. But such measures can only be palliatives. They cannot cure the underlying problem, which is the continuing occupation by Israel of the territories captured in the 1967 war. It was repeatedly emphasized by all shades of Palestinian opinion that there was no way in which the Israeli occupation could be made acceptable to the Palestinian people of the occupied territories. Equally, members of the Israeli Government stressed the need for a political solution. I strongly share that view. In the long run, the only certain way of ensuring the safety and protection of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, and of the people of Israel, is the negotiation of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict acceptable to all concerned. An urgent effort is required by the international community, led by the Security Council, to

promote an effective negotiating process and to help create the conditions necessary for it to succeed.

#### B. Fourth Geneva Convention

21. A second point to be stressed at this stage is that the Fourth Geneva Convention, whose applicability to the occupied territories has repeatedly been reaffirmed by the Security Council, lays down the civilian population's entitlement to safety and protection. This is clearly stated in the first paragraph of article 27, which reads:

"Protected persons are entitled, in all circumstances, to respect for their persons, their honour, their family rights, their religious convictions and practices, and their manners and customs. They shall at all times be humanely treated, and shall be protected especially against all acts of violence or threats thereof and against insults and public curiosity."

The responsibility of the occupying Power is underlined in article 29, which reads:

"The Party to the conflict in whose hands protected persons may be is responsible for the treatment accorded to them by its agents, irrespective of any individual responsibility which may be incurred".

22. Israeli violations of provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention have, since 1970, been frequently alluded to in the annual reports of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which is the guardian of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 (see, for instance the ICRC annual report for 1986). They have also been the subject of numerous resolutions of the Security Council, e.g. 452 (1979), 465 (1980), 468 (1980), 469 (1980), 471 (1980), 476 (1980) and 478 (1980). Examples, together with the articles of the Fourth Geneva Convention which they offend, are as follows:

(a) Attempts to alter the status of Jerusalem (article 47);

(b) The establishment of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories (article 49, para. 6);

(c) Deportations of Palestinian civilians from the occupied territories (article 49, para. 1);

(d) Collective punishments, e.g. curfews applied to whole districts (article 33);

(e) Destruction of houses (article 53).

There is also evidence that, in dealing with demonstrations and other disturbances, IDF has used disproportionate force, leading to fatal casualties, which could be avoided if less harsh measures were employed. As noted in paragraph 14 above, there are grounds for serious concern about whether the practices of the Israeli security forces are always consistent with article 32 of the Convention.

/...

23. Israel has consistently taken the position that it does not accept formally the de jure applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention but that it has decided since 1967 to act in de facto accordance with "the humanitarian provisions" of that Convention. Israel justifies this position by the argument that the Convention applies only where the Power ousted from the territory in question was a legitimate sovereign and that neither Jordan nor Egypt was the sovereign power, in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip respectively, during the years preceding the 1967 war (see, for instance, the Permanent Representative of Israel's statement in the Security Council on 16 December 1987 - S/PV.2774, p. 74). Israel also sometimes justifies individual violations of the Fourth Convention (e.g. deportations) by reference to legislation that was in force in what are now the occupied territories during the British Mandate and/or the period of Egyptian/Jordanian control, from 1948 to 1967.

24. The Israeli position is not accepted by ICRC, nor has it been endorsed by the other High Contracting Parties to the Fourth Geneva Convention. Under that Convention, each Contracting State undertakes a series of unilateral engagements, vis-à-vis itself and at the same time vis-à-vis the others, of legal obligations to protect those civilians who are found in occupied territories following the outbreak of hostilities. This is why article 1 states that "The High Contracting Parties undertake to respect and to ensure respect for the present Convention in all circumstances" (emphasis added). The phrase "in all circumstances" is intended to include declared or undeclared war, recognized or unrecognized state of war, partial or total occupation with or without armed resistance, or even under certain circumstances when the opponent is not a contracting party (see article 2).

25. The Convention becomes automatically applicable upon the outbreak of hostilities and its application in territories occupied by the belligerents is not subject to the requirement that the ousted Power is the legitimate sovereign of the territories lost. Humanitarian considerations are the fundamental basis of the Geneva Conventions and it is for this reason that even in the case of armed conflict not of an international character (e.g. civil war) the Contracting States are legally bound under the Convention to apply, as a minimum, certain provisions of a humanitarian character.

26. Several Security Council and General Assembly resolutions (including resolution 242 (1967)) have declared the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and insisted on Israel's withdrawal from territories occupied since the 1967 war. The Security Council and the General Assembly have consistently maintained since 1967 that the territories that came under Israeli control during the 1967 war are "occupied territories" within the meaning of the Fourth Geneva Convention. Both the Security Council and the General Assembly have also stated in numerous resolutions that the Fourth Geneva Convention applies to these occupied territories. Accordingly, even though Israel does not accept the de jure applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention, the opinio juris of the world community is that it must be applied.

27. The most effective way, pending a political settlement, of ensuring the safety and protection of the civilian population of the occupied territories would thus be for Israel to apply in full the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention. To

this end, I recommend that the Security Council should consider making a solemn appeal to all the High Contracting Parties to the Fourth Geneva Convention that have diplomatic relations with Israel, drawing their attention to their obligation under article 1 of the Convention to "... ensure respect for the present Convention in all circumstances" and urging them to use all the means at their disposal to persuade the Government of Israel to change its position as regards the applicability of the Convention. Meanwhile, Israel could introduce the following measures which are urgently needed:

(a) The dissemination of, and training of IDF personnel in, the rules of international humanitarian law (which is an obligation under the Convention);

(b) Orders to IDF to assist, in all circumstances, the rapid evacuation to medical care of persons wounded in disturbances, and to ensure that the efficient functioning of hospitals and their staff is not interrupted by military activities;

(c) Orders to IDF not to obstruct the delivery of essential food and medical supplies to the civilian population.

#### C. Different types of "protection"

28. While continuing to insist that responsibility for protection of the civilian population of the occupied territories rests with the occupying Power, the Security Council may wish to consider what other ways and means might be available to the international community, without prejudice to that fundamental principle, in order to help ensure the civilian population's protection. Before addressing that question, it may be appropriate to analyse the different concepts that can be meant by "protection". They seem to be four:

(a) "Protection" can mean physical protection, i.e. the provision of armed forces to deter, and if necessary fight, any threats to the safety of the protected persons;

(b) "Protection" can mean legal protection, i.e. intervention with the security and judicial authorities, as well as the political instances, of the occupying Power, by an outside agency, in order to ensure just treatment of an individual or group of individuals;

(c) "Protection" can also take a less well-defined form, called in this report "general assistance", in which an outside agency intervenes with the authorities of the occupying Power to help individuals or groups of individuals to resist violations of their rights (e.g. land confiscations) and to cope with the day-to-day difficulties of life under occupation, such as security restrictions, curfews, harassment, bureaucratic difficulties and so on;

(d) Finally, there is the somewhat intangible "protection" afforded by outside agencies, including especially the international media, whose mere presence and readiness to publish what they observe may have a beneficial effect for all concerned; in this report this type of protection is called "protection by publicity".

D. Ways and means available to the international community to help ensure the civilian population's protection

29. As regards physical protection, several of the Palestinians consulted by Mr. Goulding, especially in the refugee camps, asked that United Nations forces should be deployed in the occupied territories, either to protect the inhabitants against the Israeli security forces or to replace the latter completely in the populated areas. The latter possibility was mentioned in the Security Council's debate preceding the adoption of resolution 605 (1987). I have given careful thought to both possibilities but they seem to present very real difficulties at this time.

30. First, the Fourth Geneva Convention gives the occupying Power the right to

"subject the population of the occupied territory to provisions which are essential to enable the occupying Power to fulfil its obligations under the present Convention, to maintain the orderly government of the territory, and to ensure the security of the occupying Power, of the members and property of the occupying forces or administration, and likewise of the establishments and lines of communication used by them" (article 64, para. 2).

This in effect makes the occupying Power responsible for the maintenance of law and order. It is also, as discussed above, responsible for protecting the civilian population. The introduction of other forces into the occupied territories to provide physical protection would thus detract from the occupying Power's responsibilities under the Fourth Geneva Convention.

31. Secondly, it is a principle of United Nations peace-keeping operations that they require the prior consent of the parties to the conflict concerned. The introduction of United Nations forces into the occupied territories (unless the Security Council had decided to take enforcement action under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations) would thus require the consent of the Government of Israel. That Government has, however, stated that it will not agree to any involvement of United Nations military personnel in the security of the occupied territories.

32. Unless there is a change in Israel's position, the deployment of United Nations forces in the territories is thus not practicable at present. This idea should not, however, be lost sight of. Israel has in the past accepted international forces in other contexts of the Arab-Israeli conflict and these have played a valuable role in the implementation of interim or permanent agreements. Such forces could again be a valuable ingredient in the implementation of a negotiated settlement of the conflict or in transitional arrangements that might be agreed upon for the occupied territories.

33. Reference has also been made to the possible deployment of United Nations military observers in the occupied territories. They would not however be able to provide physical protection and their possible role is therefore discussed in paragraph 42 below.

34. A measure of legal protection is nevertheless provided to the population of the occupied territories by ICRC. As is clear from its annual reports, ICRC enjoys co-operation from the occupying Power in its efforts to protect detained persons but the Israeli authorities usually disallow interventions by ICRC with regard to measures for the maintenance of law and order and aspects of the administration of the occupied territories which violate the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

35. ICRC is to be commended for its activities in the occupied territories and the High Contracting Parties to the Fourth Geneva Convention may wish to include in the diplomatic initiative put forward in paragraph 27 above an expression of appreciation for the co-operation extended to ICRC by Israel and of hope that this will be maintained and enlarged.

36. The Security Council may also wish to urge Member States to respond generously if ICRC should appeal for funds to finance the extra activities it is undertaking in the occupied territories in response to the recent very large increase in the number of detained persons.

37. I come now to the type of protection described as general assistance in paragraph 28 above. Various agencies are already active in this field. As far as the registered refugees are concerned, UNRWA has the leading role and provides a wide variety of assistance and protection (in addition, of course, to its main function of providing education, health and relief services); in the Gaza Strip, in particular, it provides indispensable support to the refugees in their day-to-day efforts to cope with living under occupation. ICRC also assists, especially with the families of detainees; many voluntary agencies, Palestinian and international, also play a part. It was nevertheless argued by many of the Palestinians and foreign relief workers who were consulted that the international community should do more.

38. In the case of the registered refugees, who number 818,983, or about 55 per cent of the Palestinian population of the occupied territories, UNRWA is clearly best placed to provide additional general assistance. UNRWA has been established on the ground for nearly 40 years; it knows well the refugees' problems; it is accepted by the Israeli authorities on the basis of an agreement signed in 1967; and it is trusted by the refugees. However, the number of UNRWA international staff in the field has declined over the years. Before the recent disturbances began, there were only 9 international staff in the West Bank (373,586 refugees and 19 camps) and only 6 in the Gaza Strip (445,397 refugees and 8 camps). In paying tribute to the invaluable service that UNRWA Palestinian staff have been rendering to the refugees in very difficult circumstances, I believe that international staff can at present play an especially valuable role. It is usually easier for them to gain access to Israeli authorities in emergency situations; and their mere presence at points of confrontation has a significant impact on how the civilian population (including UNRWA Palestinian staff) is treated by the security forces and helps it psychologically by making it feel less exposed.

39. I have therefore asked the Commissioner-General of UNRWA to examine the addition to UNRWA establishment in the occupied territories of extra international

staff, within UNRWA existing administrative structures, to improve the general assistance provided to the refugee population. It would be for the Commissioner-General to decide the number and location of these additional international staff, in the light of the perceived need and the resources available. I would also urge Member States to respond generously to the appeal the Commissioner-General would have to make for funds to finance these additional staff.

40. It is also essential that Israel should honour UNRWA privileges and immunities in full, especially the right of its personnel to freedom of movement in all circumstances and the inviolability of its premises and installations, and to provide access at all times to responsible officials of the occupying administration. Mr. Goulding and his colleagues were witnesses of painful situations in the Gaza Strip where the curfews imposed by IDF had made it impossible, or at best difficult and dangerous, for UNRWA to evacuate the wounded and sick to hospital or to deliver food to the camps.

41. In making these observations relating to UNRWA, I am conscious of the need not to neglect those Palestinians in the occupied territories who are not registered refugees (about one third of the Palestinian population in Gaza and two thirds in the West Bank). Their economic and social circumstances are in general superior to those of the refugees, especially the camp residents, but they face the same political frustrations as the latter, are equally vulnerable to the security authorities and also suffer from the economic and administrative aspects of the occupation. They benefit from the activities of ICRC (which makes no distinction between refugees and non-refugees) and various voluntary agencies, but are normally excluded from UNRWA mandate. It seems desirable in present circumstances that, as on certain occasions in the past, the Commissioner-General should be permitted to provide humanitarian assistance as far as practicable, on an emergency basis and as a temporary measure, to non-refugees who are in serious need of assistance because of the recent disturbances.

42. Reference has been made in paragraph 33 above to the possible deployment of United Nations military observers. Some of the Palestinians consulted favoured this measure as a way of monitoring (and hopefully restraining) the activities of the Israeli security forces and of providing general assistance to the civilian population. It is true that such observers could provide expert information on military matters (though they would need at least some co-operation from the occupying Power for this purpose). But in other respects, especially their short tours of duty and lack of familiarity with the territories, they are not well placed to provide general assistance of an essentially civilian character. In any case, Israel, whose consent would be necessary, has so far expressed firm opposition to any such proposal.

43. As regards protection by publicity, great emphasis was laid by Palestinians on the need to publicize the situation in the occupied territories. It was argued that more publicity should be given and that this would have a beneficial influence both on Israel's practices in the territories and on her readiness to negotiate a political settlement. Recent developments in the territories have in fact been fully reported by the Israeli and international media and it is of great importance that the latter should continue to have unhindered access to events.

44. Some of the Palestinians consulted suggested that the Secretary-General might appoint a kind of United Nations ombudsman to reside in the occupied territories. Such an appointment could be a valuable step if Israel was ready to co-operate fully with the official concerned and use his or her good offices in handling the many problems to which the occupation gives rise. This idea is in the same category as other possibilities, such as United Nations trusteeship or a United Nations interim administration, which could be of potential value in the future. But the practicability of all these ideas depends on the full consent and co-operation of Israel.

E. Economic and social conditions of the population of the occupied territories

45. Although it is strictly outside the "safety and protection" referred to in paragraph 6 of resolution 605 (1987), I should like to take the opportunity of this report to make two observations relating to the economic and social conditions in which the population of the occupied territories lives.

46. The first relates to the refugee camps. The recent disturbances have attracted world attention to the squalid living conditions in many of the camps, especially in the Gaza Strip, resulting from the lack of such basic amenities as paved roads, sewage, water, lighting and housing of a minimum standard. The Commissioner-General of UNRWA has also referred in his last report a/ to the urgent need to rehabilitate many UNRWA installations, such as schools, health centres and food distribution centres.

47. In the past, the refugees have sometimes expressed reservations about measures to improve the infrastructure of the camps, for fear that these would make the camps more permanent and thus conflict with their insistence on a political settlement in accordance with United Nations resolutions. This matter was therefore discussed with most of the Palestinians consulted. Their reaction was that they would welcome steps to improve conditions in the camps provided that:

(a) It was made absolutely clear that this was a temporary measure, pending a comprehensive political settlement, and not a substitute for such a settlement;

(b) That the work was done by UNRWA.

48. In these circumstances, I have asked the Commissioner-General of UNRWA to prepare urgently proposals for improving the infrastructure of the camps, and to seek the necessary funds. I would again urge Member States to respond generously to such a request.

49. My second observation relates to the wider economic situation in the occupied territories. Reference has been made in paragraph 15 above to the conviction of the Palestinian population that Israeli policy is deliberately to obstruct the economic development of the territories. Many examples were given to corroborate this assertion. Israeli Ministers and officials, however, insisted that it was unfounded and that Israel welcomed foreign assistance for the development of the



territories provided only that each project complied with Israel's security requirements, which were overriding, and with Israeli procedures. Many of the Palestinians consulted expressed the hope that a concerted international effort could be undertaken to revive the territories' economy, perhaps initially through an expansion of the existing programme of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in the territories. I have asked the Administrator of UNDP to study this possibility.

### III. CONCLUDING REMARKS

50. The Israeli authorities have stated on numerous occasions in recent weeks that security in the occupied territories remains their exclusive responsibility. The Security Council, for its part, has repeatedly reaffirmed the applicability to the occupied territories of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949. While that Convention makes the occupying Power responsible for maintaining law and order, its *raison d'être* is the safety and protection of the civilian population, for which the occupying Power is no less responsible.

51. My principal recommendation in this area is that the international community should make a concerted effort to persuade Israel to accept the de jure applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention to the occupied territories and to correct its practices in order to comply fully with that Convention. This report also makes recommendations and describes certain steps which I am taking, within existing arrangements, to improve the safety and protection accorded to the population of the territories by the international community.

52. It cannot be emphasized too strongly, however, that such measures to enhance the safety and protection of the Palestinian people of the territories, urgently required though they are, will neither remove the causes of the tragic events which prompted Security Council resolution 605 (1987) nor bring peace to the region. The unrest of the past six weeks has been an expression of the despair and hopelessness felt by the population of the occupied territories, more than half of whom have known nothing but an occupation that denies what they consider to be their legitimate rights. The result is a tragedy for both sides. Nothing illustrates this more clearly than the daily sight of young unarmed Palestinians in confrontation with Israeli soldiers of their own age.

53. The underlying problem can only be resolved through a political settlement which responds both to the refusal of the Palestinian population of the territories to accept a future under Israeli occupation and to Israel's determination to ensure its security and the well-being of its people. I continue to believe that this should be achieved through a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and taking fully into account the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including self-determination. Such a settlement should be negotiated by means of an international conference under United Nations auspices, with the participation of all the parties concerned. The history of the Arab-Israeli conflict, from 1948 onwards, has repeatedly shown that there are many ways in which the United Nations

can contribute impartially both to the negotiation of agreements and to their implementation. Allusion has been made in this report to the possible use of United Nations forces or other interim arrangements as progress is made towards a comprehensive settlement.

54. The negotiation of a settlement will, of course, be exceptionally difficult, for it will require all concerned to move from positions to which they are at present very strongly attached. I am conscious of the great complexity of the choices which confront them and I should like to take this opportunity to appeal to them to exercise restraint and to bring about that change of attitudes which will be necessary if a settlement is to be negotiated. Each side must put aside the often justified resentment it feels at past wrongs and understand better the legitimate interests and legitimate grievances of the other. Such understanding is not assisted by invective and abuse nor by sheltering behind the illusion that the other side does not exist. Equally, I appeal to the international community to help, both by reducing the virulence of debates on the Arab-Israel conflict and by consciously acting in a manner which promotes mutual understanding.

55. As stated earlier in this report, I believe that an urgent effort is required by the international community, led by the Security Council, to promote an effective negotiating process. This is what the Charter requires and it is the fundamental recommendation in this report. I remain personally committed to the search for a settlement and will contribute in any way that I can to that objective. In the coming weeks I intend to explore actively with the parties and with the members of the Council, especially its permanent members, how the present impasse in the peace process can be unblocked. After the recent dramatic demonstration of the dangers and suffering inherent in the status quo, I hope that all concerned will join in an effort to reinvigorate the search for a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement. This alone will secure the interests of both the Israeli and the Palestinian peoples and enable them to live in peace with each other.

#### Notes

2/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-second Session, Supplement No. 13 (A/42/13).

-----