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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
SEVEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SEVENTH MEETINGHeld at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 28 January 1988, at 3 p.m.President: Sir Crispin TICKELL(United Kingdom of Great Britain and
Northern Ireland)Members: Algeria
Argentina
Brazil
China
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Italy
Japan
Nepal
Senegal
Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics
United States of America
Yugoslavia
ZambiaMr. DJOUDI
Mr. DELPECH
Mr. NOGUEIRA-BATISTA
Mr. LI Luye
Mr. BLANC
Count YORK von WARTENBURG
Mr. BUCCI
Mr. KIKUCHI
Mr. JOSSE
Mr. SARRE

Mr. BELONOGOV
Ms. BYRNE
Mr. PEJIC
Mr. ZUZE

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The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES

REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IN ACCORDANCE WITH RESOLUTION 605 (1987) (S/19443)

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the previous meetings on this item, I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco and the Syrian Arab Republic to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Zapotocky (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Badawi (Egypt), Mr. Salah (Jordan), Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Mr. Slaoui (Morocco), and Mr. Al-Masri (Syrian Arab Republic) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Israel, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Qatar and the Sudan in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Netanyahu (Israel), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Yusof (Malaysia), Mr. Al-Kawari (Qatar) and Mr. Adam (Sudan) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to document S/19459, which contains the text of a letter dated 27 January 1988 from the Permanent Representative of Egypt to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

The first speaker is the representative of Zambia.

Mr. ZUZE (Zambia): It is proper that I should congratulate you, Sir, on behalf of the Zambian delegation, on your accession to the high office of President of the Security Council for the month of January. We admire the manner in which you have conducted the business of the Council during this very busy month. Your diplomatic skills have proved to be equal to the task at hand.

May I also express my delegation's sincere felicitations to your predecessor, Ambassador Belonogov of the Soviet Union, for the dynamic and able leadership that he provided during his term of office. His dedication to the search for peace in the world today and his unfailing courtesy deserve particular mention.

It goes without saying that the fateful events in the occupied territories have once again produced a testing time for the Security Council. The Council has to demonstrate that it is an effective instrument for the enhancement of multilateralism in redressing situations that threaten international peace and security. We continue to be hopeful that the concerns that have been so clearly expressed by leaders and ordinary citizens of the world will, at this very crucial time, forcefully persuade the Security Council to be decisive and to live up to expectations by adopting measures for peace in the Middle East.

In my humble contribution to the work of the Security Council during its earlier consideration of the situation in the occupied Arab territories last month, I said then:

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"The present unrest in the occupied territories cannot be viewed in isolation. It results from a deep-rooted sense of frustration and hopelessness. It is a reflection of indignation brought about by the uncertainty of the realization of the rights of the Palestinian people. Israel's adamant refusal to comply with resolutions and decisions of the Security Council on the question of Palestine, in particular resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), has left the oppressed and dispossessed Palestinian people with no alternative but to resort to protests and other methods to free themselves." (S/PV.2775, p. 23)

In the words of the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, contained in his report to the Council pursuant to resolution 605 (1987), he rightly concludes, inter alia:

"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." (S/19443, para. 52)

Nothing in the world can alter the reality of the current events in the occupied territories. Indeed, we thank the Secretary-General for this accurate observation. We thank him also for his comprehensive and detailed report on the situation in the occupied territories and the recommendations he has made for the attainment of lasting peace in the entire Middle East region. We hold the view that continued denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and national independence is the root cause of the continuing unrest in the occupied territories.

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It is our understanding that Israel justifies its right to order the expulsions of Palestinians by invoking British laws which the Israelis considered illegal when Britain was ruling Palestine before 1948. Military Order 224 upholds the British Mandate (Emergency) Regulations of 1945. These laws permit demolition of houses of security offenders, and indefinite detention without trial. Regulation 12 of the regulations gives the military Government the right to deport individuals for the purpose of securing public safety or the suppression of riots. Ironically, this regulation was used to send the current Prime Minister Shamir to a prison camp in East Africa in 1947 for anti-British activity. However, it must be clear to all who are in contact with this question that the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 makes deportation illegal.

We believe that the surprise and spontaneous nature of the riots is an indication that they were not instigated by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Had there been a planned riot, the intelligence service would have picked it up in good time. There are no knives or guns in these riots - only stones. Rioters have not tried to disguise themselves. These rioters are not PLO-trained so-called terrorists.

Let me reiterate the fact that it is in Israel's own long-term interest that a just, comprehensive and lasting solution to this vexing problem be found soon through the implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Ad hoc arrangements will simply not do and are no substitute for a negotiated settlement to the Palestinian problem because they breed and heighten feelings of mistrust and hatred. Our considered view is that the proposed international peace conference on the Middle East should be convened soon under the auspices of the United Nations so that a political process for the attainment of

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peace and stability in the Middle East can be achieved. There can be no peace in the Middle East unless the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence are justly addressed, for it is undeniable that the question of Palestine is the core of the Middle East problem.

The United Nations Charter upholds the cardinal principle of peaceful coexistence among nations. It is a principle which we in Zambia hold so dear and cherish. We hold the view that all Member States of the United Nations which by joining this community of nations have pledged to fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter should scrupulously adhere to its provisions on good neighbourliness and respect for the sanctity of international boundaries. In 1948, by resolution 181 (II), the United Nations partitioned the land of Palestine to provide for the creation of a Jewish State and a Palestinian State. The boundaries were clearly marked and are to date internationally recognized. The Israeli usurpation of Arab land and the establishment of settlements on those territories cannot alter the Partition Plan. The inviolability of the boundaries, as demarcated then by the United Nations, must be respected by all.

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The Security Council is meeting to consider the current unrest in the occupied territories. While it is important that the Council, which is charged with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, should unequivocally pronounce itself on the situation now prevailing in the occupied territories, it is of even greater importance that the root cause of the unrest is carefully analysed and recognized and meaningful remedial measures taken to bring peace to the entire region.

The situation in the Middle East is deteriorating daily owing to Israel's inhuman practices in the occupied territories and its negative attitude towards the peace initiatives of the United Nations. It is a situation which requires serious thinking, the good leadership of international leaders, and a spirit of accommodation and compromise. To this end, we call on Israel, the occupying Power, to look to the future with a solemn promise: a promise to end its occupation of all Arab territories, to dismantle its settlements in those occupied territories, and to abide by United Nations resolutions and decisions on the question of Palestine. Only then will Israel live peacefully within internationally recognized boundaries, side by side with its Arab neighbours.

Let us pledge to do our utmost to bring peace and stability to that troubled region. The Palestinian people have suffered for too long. They too need peace, freedom and independence in order to live in dignity as a people. We must not fail them.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Zambia for his kind words about me.

Mr. BELONOGOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Events of the recent past have once again caused the Security Council to focus on the dangerous situation in the Middle East, which has not only taken

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its toll on the situation in the region itself but is also one of the most serious obstacles to the building of a safe world. Present developments in the Middle East are, as is well known, the result of the violence and tyrannical behaviour of the Israeli authorities against the Palestinians in the occupied territories.

The Secretary-General's report submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 605 (1987) fully confirms that fact and that the mass demonstrations of Palestinians in the territories occupied by Israel have taken on the dimensions of a popular uprising. The Secretary-General's report gives us substantial food for thought. It convincingly sets forth the full tragedy of the situation of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza; it gives a factual account of the casualties that have occurred among the civilian population, quoting facts of mass arrests, deportations and other gross violations of fundamental human rights. The report reaches the conclusion that there has been a disruption of the normal course of life in Gaza and points out "that Israeli policy is deliberately [designed] to obstruct the economic development of the territories" (S/19443, para. 49) and "keeping them as a ... source of cheap labour for Israel". (S/19443, para. 15 (g))

The latest reports from the occupied territories demonstrate the further increase of the terror, the mass beating of Palestinians by Israeli soldiers and a new wave of arrests and pogroms. The Israeli authorities have pitted against unarmed demonstrators reinforced contingents of the army and the police, tanks and armored personnel-carriers; they have been setting up massacres in the refugee camps.

In this connection, I wish to refer to The New York Times of 24 January in which was published a statement by Mr. Rabin, the Israeli Defence Minister, who openly stated that "the first priority goes to the use of force, power and

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beatings". That requires no comment. Mr. Rabin's utterances confirm that now and over the 20 years that the occupation has lasted Israel has been relying on the "iron fist" policy of cruelty and force, hoping in this way to be able to break the resistance of the Palestinians. The shortsightedness of that policy is evident. The most recent events in the West Bank and Gaza have demonstrated yet again, and very persuasively, the futility of Israel's reliance on force. We can all see that the Palestinian inhabitants of those territories have been defending in a self-sacrificing manner their legitimate rights and angrily protesting against the occupation, and that the repression has not broken their will. The Soviet Union wishes to express its solidarity with that valiant struggle of the Palestinians.

In the Secretary-General's report under consideration by the Council we also find a number of practical recommendations to alleviate the lot of the Palestinians in the territories occupied by Israel. Emphasis is placed in particular on the need for the Council to appeal to the parties to the Fourth Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War to try to persuade the Government of Israel to change its position on the applicability of the Convention to the West Bank and Gaza which it occupies. The report emphasizes the desirability of making broader use of the capabilities of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC); it refers to the possibility of sending military observers to the occupied territories, and so on.

The report also refers to the possibility of using measures such as the dispatch of United Nations forces, the establishment of a trusteeship system for United Nations administration and employing measures in Chapter VII of the Charter if necessary to that end. It points out that those steps should not be overlooked, because they could well prove to be potentially valuable.

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At the same time, the Secretary-General reaches the unambiguous conclusion 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". (S/19443, para. 52)

The report observes that the problem of the occupied territories can be resolved only through a political settlement taking fully into account the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including self-determination. The Secretary-General emphasizes that

"Such a settlement should be negotiated by means of an international conference under United Nations auspices, with the participation of all parties concerned". (para. 53)

In the context of developments in the Middle East conflict, it is particularly significant that there has been very broad acknowledgement that such a conference is the only realistic way to bring about a just settlement in the Middle East. The proposal for the convening of an international conference has also won the broadest support at the United Nations, which reflects the conviction of an absolute majority of members of the international community that only that international forum can bring long overdue peace to the peoples of the Middle East and guarantee their right to national sovereignty, security and development.

But if we are to achieve that goal we must first abandon the stereotyped notion that upholding one party's right to independent existence and security automatically means nullifying that of the other party. We must abandon the stereotype of viewing one another only through the prism of hostility, hatred and intolerance. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Mikhail S. Gorbachev, has studied the situation in the

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region and wrote in his book Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World that

"We think that, given the existing situation, it will be difficult to achieve harmony among the interests of the parties to the conflict. But it is essential that we search for a common denominator in the interests of the Arabs, Israel, Israel's neighbours and other States. That is precisely the purpose of our long-standing initiative to convene an international conference on the Middle East".

We are now face to face with the task of finding the urgent action that needs to be taken to eliminate the danger in the Middle East by political means: through collective efforts. Promising developments in international affairs have created a favourable atmosphere for this. The international community has clearly expressed its unconditional interest in guaranteeing a radical change in the Middle East by convening an international peace conference to that end, as recommended by the General Assembly.

That is precisely the tone of the Soviet Union's most recent initiative, as set out in the letter dated 19 January 1988 from Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Comrade E.A. Shevardnadze addressed to the Secretary-General (S/19442). In his letter, the Soviet Foreign Minister stated his firm conviction that the United Nations possesses both the high prestige and the necessary potential to revitalize the process of a Middle East settlement. We believe that the Security Council, as the primary United Nations body responsible for the maintenance of universal peace, should be immediately involved in the practical process of setting up and putting in motion the mechanism of the international conference on the Middle East, which should be designed to find, on the basis of multilateral efforts, a reasonable balance among the interests of all the parties and to ensure lasting peace and security in the region.

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Additionally, the Soviet Union has suggested that the members of the Security Council proceed to consultations to consider the relevant questions. The initiative in this matter, we believe, could belong to the permanent members of the Council. For our part, we are prepared to give careful consideration to any constructive ideas, from whatever quarter. We believe too that Security Council consultations could give added thrust to efforts to find a way out of the Middle East impasse. Conclusions and recommendations arrived at during such consultations could be considered at a formal meeting of the Security Council. In view of the particular importance of this question for the maintenance of international security, we propose that such a meeting should be held at the Foreign Minister level.

The conference on the Middle East must have plenipotentiary status and it must be a flexible, vital mechanism for formulating mutually acceptable solutions to the whole complex of problems surrounding the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is important that its format should not jeopardize the rights and interests of any party, and that it uphold the principle of unconditional respect for the sovereignty and independence of each State and for the right of each people to self-determination and to an autonomous path to development of its own choosing.

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The convening of the conference was unanimously advocated by the participants in the Amman meeting of Heads of State and Government of the Arab countries. Their unity in this respect constitutes an effective basis for the realization of the idea of the conference on the Middle East. The Heads of State and Government of the Islamic countries, at a conference held in Kuwait, expressed themselves in a similar way.

Special emphasis must be placed on the question of Palestinian representation. Since the Palestine question is the core problem in the Middle East conflict, participation in the work of the conference on an equal footing must be ensured for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The PLO enjoys authority among the Palestinians, which guarantees the acceptability of agreements arrived at for the Arab people of Palestine with the participation of the PLO. Both past experience and the present situation in the territories occupied by Israel make it quite clear that any decision adopted without taking into account the PLO's opinion - in other words, without taking into account the opinion of the Palestinians themselves, whose representative the PLO is - will be doomed to failure.

The Security Council should now resolve to adopt urgent measures to protect the Palestinian people, and should then concentrate its attention on the achievement of a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict. It is important that the negotiating process should begin to move ahead, so that the common healing of the Middle East wounds may begin now, without delay.

At the same time, of course, the Soviet Union does not wish the course and form of the settlement and the very purposes of the process to harm the natural interests of any countries. We have no a priori hostility towards Israel. We recognize that State's sovereignty. We recognize its right to exist, its right to

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inflicted such suffering on the peoples of the Middle East region. We regret that Tel Aviv continues to try to cover up its dismissal of the idea of an international conference by the use of all kinds of artificial pretexts. The reliance which has been placed by the ruling circles of Israel on confrontation and on the imposition of their own will - this reliance is the very essence of its policy and practices towards the Palestinian people - is inhumane and shortsighted.

We take this opportunity of calling once again on the Government of Israel to join in the broad international consensus in support of the conference, as well as in honest international efforts to find a stable, just peace in the Middle East, a peace that would be in the interests of all States in the Middle East. And we are quite convinced that this would also be in the vital interests of the people of Israel itself.

We share the Secretary-General's conclusion that

"An urgent effort is required by the international community, led by the Security Council, to promote an effective negotiating process". (S/19443, para. 20)

States have the duty, which emanates from decisions by the General Assembly at its forty-second session, to guarantee the promptest convening of a plenipotentiary international peace conference. The time has come for action. The events in the occupied territories are yet further proof that delays cost human lives, and increase suffering and aggravate the situation in the Middle East. Delays serve only to increase tensions there, which can have extremely grave consequences. It is now time to set developments in the Middle East on to the path of a peaceful settlement and to make the international conference a reality of our times. We are convinced, as is almost the entire international community, that there is no alternative to that.

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

Mr. ABULHASAN (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): It is a pleasure for me to address the Security Council for the second time this month while you, Sir, are presiding over its deliberations on the current situation in the occupied Arab territories. No matter how diverse may be the subjects under consideration here and no matter what effect they may have on international peace and security, we are confident that your wide experience and your wisdom will ensure the success of the Council's work. Indeed, you have already given us proof of your ability.

I express our deep thanks and appreciation, too, to the Secretary-General for the detailed, indeed exhaustive, report he has submitted on this item. It is one of the most important documents ever put before the Security Council, because of the clear facts it contains and the objective way in which it sets forth all the dimensions of the current situation in the occupied Arab territories.

I wish also to thank Mr. Marrack Goulding, the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, for the great efforts he made and the hardships he endured during his visit to the occupied Palestinian territories which made possible the preparation of this comprehensive report. It is our hope that the result of the Security Council's deliberations will be in accordance with the letter and spirit of the recommendations in the report.

The uprising by the Palestinian people has now entered its forty-ninth day. It continues to escalate and now encompasses all Palestinian towns and villages, including those occupied in 1948. This spontaneous uprising has been caused by the injustice felt by the Palestinian people and their rejection of tyranny. What they have endured has given rise to a feeling of frustration and a loss of faith in anyone but almighty God and themselves.

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

In expressing the feelings of the Emir, Government and people of Kuwait, and those of the Muslim States, His Highness the Emir of Kuwait, the Chairman of the Islamic Conference, has said:

"This uprising is the consequence of the humiliation and oppression meted out by the Israeli authorities to our brothers in the occupied territories. It also results from arbitrary measures, the denial of all human rights and the use of all forms of injustice and tyranny. All this stirred in their hearts overwhelming indignation that exploded in the face of tyranny and oppression, indignation born of the patriotic feelings of the Palestinian people and not directed by certain leaders or from certain quarters. That indignation springs directly from a sense of frustration and hopelessness and is a clear expression of a determination to make sacrifices, whatever they may be, using all available means to manifest their complete rejection of all forms of occupation and their yearning for the restoration of freedom and dignity."

The uprising is the beginning of a new stage in the struggle. It affirms the rejection by Palestinians of all ages and walks of life of the occupation under which they have languished for the last 20 years, and it reaffirms that continued occupation of the Arab territories will lead to further bloodshed.

The international community is concerned, as it must be, at the situation in the occupied Arab territories. Causes for concern abound in the Secretary-General's report: Israel's violations of human rights in the occupied Arab territories and its use of new and horrendous forms of abuse such as the iron-fist policy, force and beatings. The Minister of Defence of Israel has boasted of the effectiveness of such policies in suppressing the uprising, in particular during the so-called week of the stick, which resulted in the hospitalization of hundreds of Palestinian children and elderly people whose bones

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were broken as a result of their being beaten by Israeli soldiers with sticks, fists and rifle butts, without discrimination or consideration as to age.

Israel's contempt for the United Nations and its organs, in particular the Security Council, is manifested in its rejection of Security Council resolution 605 (1987) and all previous and subsequent relevant resolutions.

The Secretary-General's report proves that Israel does not believe the Security Council has a role to play in the protection and safety of Palestinian civilians under its occupation, whose security is inseparable from the security of the Middle East and the whole world.

As an occupying Power, Israel does not fulfil its duty of protecting the Palestinian civilians in accordance with international laws and instruments; that is clearly shown by its refusal to recognize the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 to the occupied Arab territories in contravention of the international consensus mentioned in the Secretary-General's report, which confirms that that Convention is applicable to the occupied Arab territories.

In an attempt to justify its violation of that Convention, Israel uses pretexts that reflect its expansionist ambitions and policies. Those pretexts are unacceptable to us, to the international community and to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and they are certainly unacceptable to the Contracting Parties to the Convention. Those violations, which have become very well known to all, have repeatedly been mentioned since 1970 in the annual reports of the ICRC, which is responsible for the Geneva Conventions of 1949. In addition those violations have been the subject of many Security Council resolutions.

We support the recommendations made by the Secretary-General with a view to dealing with the present situation in the occupied Arab territories. We believe that the best solution of this question has two complementary and inseparable aspects, one short-term and one long-term. The short-term aspect pertains to

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ensuring the protection and safety of the civilian population in the occupied Arab territories; the other is squarely based on dealing with the Palestinian question comprehensively as a political question and not a question of refugees, so as to achieve a just peaceful settlement.

In order to prevent the deliberations and resolutions of the Security Council becoming palliatives, we believe an urgent effort should now be made to ensure the protection and safety of the civilian population in the occupied Arab territories. That cannot be achieved if it is not impressed upon Israel that, as an occupying Power, it is responsible for the protection and safety of the civilian population under its occupation through its acceptance of the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention to the Arab territories under its occupation, which should lead to the immediate cessation of all its violations of human rights in the occupied Arab territories. Responsibility for convincing Israel of that rests with the Contracting Parties to the Fourth Geneva Convention, which undertook to respect and to ensure respect for the Convention under all circumstances. We therefore support the idea of addressing an official call to the Contracting Parties to the Convention to use all the means at their disposal to persuade the Government of Israel of the need to apply the Convention.

As for the other aspect of the solution of the Palestinian question, as Islamic States we continue to believe that a peaceful settlement can be attained given the will to do so. The Muslim world's commitment to the peaceful solution of that question has been confirmed by the Arab Peace Plan of Fez of 1983, which was adopted also by the Fifth Summit Meeting of the Islamic Conference, held in Kuwait last year, and reaffirmed at the latest Arab summit, held in Jordan in 1987. That commitment is reflected in the Arab world's call for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East. We believe that that is the most appropriate way to achieve such a settlement.

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

In view of the Security Council's mandate, we call upon it to make an urgent effort to promote the drive towards a peaceful settlement and help to provide a favourable climate for success. The idea of an international peace conference on the Middle East constitutes a recognition of the role of the Security Council in the solution of the conflict; its permanent members would participate in such a conference, in addition to the parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Such an international conference can achieve a settlement ensuring the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories, including Al-Quds Al-Sharif, Holy Jerusalem, the return of the Palestinian refugees to their homes, the establishment of an independent Palestinian State and the restoration of security and stability of the Middle East.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Kuwait for his kind words about me.

Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) (interpretation from French): The Security Council has resumed its consideration of the situation in the occupied Arab territories in the light of the report submitted by the Secretary-General in accordance with the mandate conferred upon him in resolution 605 (1988). My delegation takes this opportunity to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General for the diligence with which he has carried out his task and to congratulate Under-Secretary-General Marrack Goulding for his lofty sense of responsibility in carrying out his mission notwithstanding the many obstacles he encountered.

In its objective and succinct account of the basic facts, this report leaves no doubt about the nature of the events taking place in the occupied Arab territories.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

As a description of what is being done to the Palestinian victims in the occupied territories, the report is an impartial indictment of the Israeli forces of occupation who are guilty of systematic violations of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

Finally, if understood with lucidity, the report indicates how to ensure that these events, however tragic they may be - and they are indeed tragic - will not be trivialized, and concentrates on what is really at stake in this situation, namely, peace in the region, formally enshrining in this very body the elements and the framework of a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict.

With regard to the nature of the events taking place in the occupied Arab territories, what has happened over the past few weeks and has led to the present report and what continues to take place today is - in all the historic dimensions it is fitting to invoke today - nothing less than the popular will in action, a general uprising against occupation. No one who has ever experienced foreign domination or colonial domination, no one who has ever merely observed the lessons of history can be mistaken: In Palestine today, as elsewhere in the world not very long ago, there exist clearly identifiable characteristic aspects of an intolerable situation for a people that has decided to put an end to occupation. Indeed, this decision had to be widespread in nature and general in scope, it had to express a rejection that could no longer be doubted by those who are the most complacent vis-à-vis the occupier for it to be possible, in spite of the brutality and the repression, for the irreversible momentum of a subjected people to continue and be strengthened in its affirmation as a nation and hence to claim its right to establish its own State.

Nothing could be further from the truth, nothing could be further from the courage required by the truth than to see in these events only the failure of the

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occupier to assume a more human guise. History gives no examples of a people that has lived on good terms with their exploiters. A temporary compliant attitude of a people towards the occupier should be seen only as a necessary stage for the rallying of its forces. When the tragedy of domination goes on unabated, any appearance of calm will inevitably be followed by the most vigorous resistance.

Throughout history the colonized and the oppressed have always abhorred domination and those who practise domination. Highlighted by the scope of the coverage it has received, this truth is today expressed by the oppressed people's recourse to even the most derisory means of struggle. It is also the anachronistic negation of this truth which is expressed in the rage of the occupier in its obstinacy to oppose the struggle with the most savage brutality.

The mad pursuit by the Zionist leaders of their futile goal to break the resistance of the Palestinian people had, by the very logic of oppression, to lead to a belief in the need to kill defenceless civilians and in the brazen claim of legitimate self-defence. What must be ensured is the defence of the Palestinian people whose existence and integrity is threatened by the advocates of an openly proclaimed plan, namely, the Zionization of Palestine. Hence one cannot be surprised by the stubbornness of the Zionist régime in rejecting the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention to the occupied territories and daily to violate its provisions.

How can anyone fail to see in the crimes and the faits accomplis what in the final analysis is implied in such a rejection and in such infractions? No one can possibly doubt that these unlawful acts constitute in fact the very means whereby to pursue an annexationist enterprise.

Would a mere formal acceptance of the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention contribute to defusing the Middle East crisis, which, moreover, flies in

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the face of the fundamental principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by the use of force and of the right of a people to self-determination? Could its effective application only soften the ugly features of an occupation which has been experienced as daily humiliation?

In any attempt to end the present crisis a distinction must be drawn between palliatives and a just and lasting solution. Only if they are taken in order to promote a just and lasting solution will the urgent measures dictated by the situation in the occupied territories not only ease guilty consciences but also satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people.

Hence, if all ways and means to ensure protection must be envisaged in order effectively to guarantee respect for the physical integrity, the property and the dignity of the Palestinians under occupation and if in this connection urgent measures must be taken to enforce the application of the Fourth Geneva Convention and provide for sending United Nations observers, it is necessary to bear in mind the basis of the Secretary-General's conclusions, that is, that there can be no peace in the region without a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement taking due account of the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

While at times the tragedy of the Palestinians may seem to be unfolding in an atmosphere of indifference, their cause must not be forgotten. Carried by the vital forces of the people, their struggle has gained impetus and is being pursued in the very place where they intend to establish their own state. The Palestinians have thereby reaffirmed their determination to live as a free nation in the very place where the Zionist occupiers deny their right to existence as a people, and they remind us that the question of Palestine, now more than ever, is at the heart of the Middle East problem.

That is a reality which the General Assembly has long recognized in calling for restoration of all the national rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to independent statehood, recognizing the Palestine Liberation Organization as its sole, legitimate representative and affirming the need to convene an international conference, the only appropriate framework for implementing those rights, and to bring about a lasting settlement to the Middle East conflict. It would exclude any settlement that was not comprehensive; it would disqualify any party other than the Palestine Liberation Organization from representing the Palestinian people and negotiating in its name; and it would designate the United Nations as the only appropriate multilateral framework.

The Secretary-General himself has spared no effort to promote such a framework for a solution that would ensure a durable peace. The Security Council must today rally the unanimous support of its permanent members behind this initiative. Indeed, as is generally recognized, there is simply no alternative to it.

Today we have an opportunity of historic dimensions. The Security Council must grasp this opportunity and, on behalf of the international community, show that it has the courage and determination expected of it by the inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories. It must create what has been recognized as an

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appropriate framework to promote a just and lasting settlement of the problem, finally consecrating thereby the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

Mr. PEJIC (Yugoslavia): The explosive situation in the occupied territories, the spontaneous resistance and the virtual uprising of the Palestinian people have met with the unrestrained force of the occupation authorities and have been in the focus of international attention for almost two months now. It is understandable, therefore, that the developments in the occupied territories have preoccupied the Security Council and will continue to do so until a comprehensive, just and lasting solution is found to the Middle East crisis and to the Palestinian problem, which is at its core.

The Secretary-General's report on the situation in the occupied territories, which this meeting has been convened to consider, states that the unrest and demonstrations of the Palestinian population are an expression of despair and hopelessness, as a consequence of the situation created by Israel's 20-year occupation and the Palestinians' refusal, made known in one voice, to live under continued Israeli rule. In no small measure the current situation is also the result of the systematic and stubborn denial and persistent violation of the legitimate rights and interests of the Palestinian people to decide their own destiny freely and independently.

The Secretary-General's report has more merits than one: not only does it present a true picture of the situation in the occupied territories and suggest measures to alleviate the plight of the Palestinians, but it also points to the only possible way for the international community and the Security Council to open up a process for the peaceful solution of this crisis.

The virulence of the resistance and unrest comes as a surprise only to those circles in Israel that have deluded themselves for over 20 years that the

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

occupation would eventually become legalized and that it is possible to build one's security on the basis of the semblance of military might, and on a policy of expansion and repression. The Israeli occupying forces' brutal acts and measures which, according to media reports and all the reports that we have received, have claimed 38 Palestinian lives are a cause of serious concern, censure and condemnation by the entire international community, including Israel's close friends and allies.

The latest events are telling proof of a strong motivation behind the readiness of Palestinian children and youth to confront Israeli occupation authorities bare-handed. At the same time, this is a signal message to all that the Palestinian people will no longer acquiesce either to being ruled or to having their destiny decided by others.

We have noted that the highest ranking representatives of Israel have corrected their former assertions that the revolt and unrest of the Palestinian people have been inspired from outside. Similarly, there is evidence of a growing awareness in Israel itself that it is necessary to create conditions for a political solution of the problem. It should be recalled, however, that the beating, deportation, intimidation and humiliation of detainees and the other ruthless and extremely inhuman acts of the occupation authorities against human dignity far from contribute to the creation of such conditions.

It is therefore even more surprising that the leaders of a country whose people experienced untold sufferings in the not-too-distant past should resort to brute force against those struggling for freedom and human dignity, for the preservation of their national identity and their own homeland.

The international community, and the Security Council in particular, are therefore not only in duty bound but morally obliged to react to such a situation

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and to demand that resolute measures be taken to overcome it. The adoption of three resolutions by the Security Council requesting Israel, inter alia, to comply fully with and implement the Fourth Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, with respect to the occupied Palestinian territories, is only part of the measures that should be taken to alleviate the situation. As the Secretary-General's report states, regrettably even those minimum demands have been stubbornly rejected by the Israeli representatives in their contacts with the Secretary-General's special envoy, Mr. Goulding. I must express my delegation's appreciation for the way in which Mr. Goulding conducted his activities while in Israel, in a very difficult situation.

It is high time that Israel faced the reality that there can be no peace and security for any country in the region as long as it continues to occupy foreign lands. Continued occupation, as well as other factors, will in the future be a source of continuing trials and instability for Israel itself.

Let there be no doubt that I am speaking with the best of intentions in mind and with no animosity. We consider that the continuation of the occupation and the persistent rejection and postponement of the process of a just and lasting solution of the Palestinian problem on the basis of meeting the authentic interests and aspirations of the Palestinian people and the legitimate needs of Israel do irreparable damage to Israel as well. In this context, I wish to recall that, prior to the June 1967 war and the occupation of the Arab territories, Yugoslavia had maintained good relations with Israel.

It is our sincere hope that the awareness of the untenability of the occupation has begun to materialize in some political circles in Israel. It is also hoped that those circles will draw the appropriate conclusions from the tragic events of the past few weeks, the end of which, I am sorry to say, is not yet in sight.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

The situation in the occupied territories is very difficult indeed. Yet it presents us with a unique opportunity to address, through the efforts of the international community, and particularly through the commitment of the Security Council, the root causes of the conflict and to find the ways and means for opening the process of political solution of the problem. We fully share the opinion of the Secretary-General that negotiations leading to a solution will be very difficult. Decades of mistrust and intolerance have left deep and indelible scars. Yet the Palestinian question is a reality which demands urgent attention and immediate solution, regardless of all the attempts to side-track it in Middle East developments. The Palestinian population in the occupied territories has shown that it refuses to allow its destiny to be decided by others on its behalf.

The most realistic and acceptable way out of the present situation is the early convening of an international peace conference, under United Nations auspices, with the equal participation of all directly interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). In that context, we consider it necessary to commence immediately serious and substantive consultations within the Security Council among all directly interested parties and those who, by their suggestions and proposals, can make a constructive contribution to finding the most acceptable basis for a genuine breakthrough in the peace process. It is with this in mind that we subscribe to the views and recommendations of the Secretary-General contained in his report.

As a non-aligned country and a member of the Security Council, Yugoslavia will spare no possible effort to bring about that goal. This is the crucial moment: we must not miss this opportunity to fulfil the joint historical obligation and debt to the four-decade-long tragedy of the Palestinian people. Each and every postponement of the solution will lead to further deterioration of the situation

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

and to greater tension. After all, the Middle East crisis has been one of the most dangerous hotbeds of tension in the world in the past 40 years, with unforeseeable consequences for its peace and security.

Mr. KIKUCHI (Japan): Although the end of the month is at hand, as this is the first time I have spoken this month, allow me to express my pleasure at seeing you, Sir, preside over the Council's deliberations. I am confident that with the benefit of your rich experience and diplomatic skill, which I have known from my long personal and professional association with you, and which you have so amply demonstrated throughout the month, the Council's deliberations will prove fruitful.

I also wish to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Belonogov of the Soviet Union, for the excellent manner in which he conducted the Council's work during his presidency in December.

At the outset, Japan wishes to express its sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General for his dedicated efforts in discharging the mandate entrusted to him by resolution 605 (1987). We thank him in particular for the well-balanced report he submitted to the Security Council, which provides us with detailed and considered views concerning the need to ensure the safety of the Palestinian civilians under Israeli occupation. Our appreciation goes also to Under-Secretary-General Goulding for his thorough and painstaking investigation of the situation in the occupied Arab territories. Given the very difficult circumstances surrounding his visit to the area, Mr. Goulding's efforts are all the more commendable.

Japan is deeply concerned by the recurrent violence in the occupied Arab territories and the almost daily reports of additional casualties among the Palestinian civilian population. We find it deplorable that Israel, in utter

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disregard of resolutions 605 (1987), 607 (1987) and 608 (1987), continues to insist that the Fourth Geneva Convention does not apply to the situation in the occupied territories and refuses to change its position on the deportation of Palestinians. Japan fully concurs with the Secretary-General's view, as expressed in the report, that Israel must accept the de jure applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 in the occupied territories and protect the civilian population there. Japan also supports the recommendation contained in the Secretary-General's report that the Security Council appeal to all the High Contracting Parties to the Fourth Geneva Convention that have diplomatic relations with Israel:

"... 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." (S/19443, para. 27)

The report refers to the roles which the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) are playing in providing legal protection and general assistance to the Palestinian people in those territories. Japan highly commends both organizations for the efforts they are making in behalf of the Palestinian civilians under extremely difficult and, indeed, dangerous conditions. In meeting the basic human needs of the Palestinian people, and thereby contributing to the stability of the region, UNRWA is playing a particularly valuable role. Japan takes note of the appeal which the report makes to member States for further co-operation with UNRWA and wishes to reaffirm Japan's own strong and continued support for that indispensable Agency.

Moreover, Japan is deeply disturbed by the deteriorating economic and social conditions in the Israeli occupied territories. While recognizing that the situation cannot be resolved until a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict is achieved, Japan believes that the immediate need to help improve the

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living conditions of the Palestinian people is of no less importance. In response to this need, the Japanese Government, for its part, is ready to contribute, pending approval of the budget by our Parliament, \$1 million to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) for the economic and social development of the occupied territories.

Although the Security Council has been convened primarily to consider the urgent issues described in the Secretary-General's report, I feel it necessary to touch upon the fundamental issue from which the current disturbances in the occupied territories arise, namely, the protracted Arab-Israeli conflict. Until a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East is achieved, the Palestinian people will continue to suffer under harsh political, economic and social conditions, and the tragedy we are witnessing today in the occupied territories will, I regret to say, be repeated again and again. I firmly believe that it is incumbent upon the international community, and in particular the United Nations, to undertake immediately renewed efforts to break the deadlock in the peace process. Thus, Japan supports international efforts to provide an environment in which the parties concerned could enter into serious negotiations, which are essential to the achievement of a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the region. It is from this consideration that Japan is in favour of the idea of an international peace conference, which could help provide an international framework within which to bring all the parties concerned to the negotiating table. I assure you, Mr. President, that Japan will co-operate with all necessary and constructive efforts in this regard.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Japan for his exceptionally kind words about me at the beginning of his statement.

Mr. DELPECH (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): Allow me first of all to thank you, Mr. President, for the professional, intelligent and efficient way in which you have conducted the Council's work this month. I am sure we all agree that your leadership has constituted a fine contribution to the Council's work and helped it handle in an orderly and serene manner its highly onerous and sensitive agenda. You can count on my co-operation during the rest of your term.

I should also like to thank and to express our appreciation and friendship to the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union, Ambassador Belonogov, who exhibited his customary diplomatic skill in presiding over the Council's heavy workload last December.

Owing to the numerous historical ties between my country and all the parties involved in the Middle East conflict, the Argentine Government and people have been following anxiously and with great concern the situation in the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel in 1967. In that connection, my Government is grateful to the Secretary-General for his valuable report to the Council, submitted pursuant to resolution 605 (1987) in document S/19443, and commends the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Goulding, on the efficiency and objectivity with which he fulfilled what eventually proved to be a risky, on-the-spot mission.

The Secretary-General's report speaks eloquently of the conditions prevailing in Gaza and the West Bank. The atmosphere in the territories, particularly in the refugee camps, is characterized by tension and unrest. The current disturbances are spontaneous and have the support of Palestinians of all ages and persuasions. The instability in the territories is neither casual nor accidental; nor has it just happened to have occurred. It has a well-known origin. It is the consequence of the continued occupation of Gaza and the West Bank by Israel since 1967 and the

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state of despair and hopelessness generated by that fact among the Palestinian people of those territories.

The situation in the territories is characterized by some particularly disturbing features. Israel's refusal to abide by the Fourth Geneva Convention is contrary to its obligations and responsibilities as a High Contracting Party to that international instrument. The report mentions a series of major violations of the Fourth Geneva Convention committed by Israel. Moreover, the Israeli Government has officially announced that in present circumstances it will apply in the territories a policy of persuasion through force - which is incompatible with the Convention and a violation of fundamental human rights. Daily we witness through the media the violence and abuses inflicted on the civilian population of the territories. Children and old persons have also suffered as a result of such practices.

My Government urgently and particularly appeals to Israel to begin immediately to fulfil its obligations and responsibilities under the Fourth Geneva Convention. We call for respect of the rights of the civilian population of the occupied territories and that an end be put to the practices which are a breach of that instrument.

We reject the current violence in Gaza and the West Bank, not only because it is contrary to international norms which Israel is obliged to uphold and fulfil, but also for practical considerations. Indeed, the use of force in present circumstances can serve only to prolong and aggravate a conflict whose continuation brings no good to anyone and for which it is essential that a political solution be found as soon as possible.

At the same time we fully agree with the Secretary-General that the situation in the occupied territories is only a manifestation of the underlying fundamental problem - the lack of a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. To achieve such a

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solution there is need for a broad, just and lasting agreement providing for respect of the rights of all States in the region - including, of course, Israel - to live in peace within secure boundaries and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

The United Nations has an important role to fulfil in that regard. Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) provide an appropriate basis for the right solution which, moreover, should be negotiated within the broad, flexible framework of an international conference convened under the auspices of our Organization. In this context, we support the Secretary-General's suggestion that the Security Council should spearhead a new international effort to promote an effective negotiating process. At the same time, we join in the appeals that have been made to all, in particular to the parties concerned, to tone down their rhetoric on this matter and facilitate the gradual building of an atmosphere of dialogue and mutual respect necessary for understanding and agreement.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Argentina for his kind words about me.

Mr. LI Luye (China) (interpretation from Chinese): When assuming the presidency of the Security Council for the current month, you, Sir, proposed that we skip the formality of offering congratulations and expressing appreciation to the President in formal statements in the Council. I should like to respond positively to your sincere initiative. However, since this is the very first time that I have formally spoken in the Council this year, I should like to take this opportunity to express my heartfelt welcome to the five new members: the Permanent Representatives and delegations of Algeria, Brazil, Nepal, Senegal and Yugoslavia.

Mr. Li Luye, China

Since last December there has erupted in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip a popular uprising involving the entire Palestinian people against Israeli atrocities and occupation. It has swept across cities, countryside and refugee camps in the entire occupied areas. The intensity, magnitude, duration and repercussions of this struggle are unprecedented over the past 20 years. Not only have nearly 1.5 million Palestinians of all walks of life in the occupied areas risen up but the Arab population in their hundreds of thousands in Israel have also actively extended their solidarity. The militant unity demonstrated by the Palestinian people, the heroic spirit of fearing no brute force and the advancing wave upon wave of Palestinian youth, who have grown up under Israeli occupation, have clearly shown a new awakening of the Palestinian people. The Chinese delegation pays a tribute and extends its solidarity to the heroic Palestinian people.

The just struggle of the Palestinian people has received extensive sympathy and support from people all over the world and has attracted the concentrated attention of the international community to the question of Palestine. The atrocities committed by the Israeli authorities have met with widespread condemnation. It has become the common call of international public opinion that no time should be wasted in seeking a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East question. It has become increasingly clear that Israeli occupation has brought untold suffering to the Palestinian people.

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The Palestinian people has been deprived of the freedom and dignity to which a people should be entitled as a minimum; that people, and especially its youth, can no longer put up with this misery. Under the slogan "A land without a people for a people without a land", the Israeli authorities have forcibly changed the demographic composition in the occupied areas by driving a large number of Palestinian people out of their homeland. They claim that there are only Palestinian refugees, not a Palestinian people. They refuse to recognize the national rights of the Palestinians and have employed a wide variety of repressive measures against them. Despite all this, the just struggle of the Palestinian people for survival and the restoration of its national rights cannot be subdued. The facts have shown that so long as the Palestinian people continues to be denied its national rights there will be no peace or stability in the Middle East, the confrontation between occupation and resistance to occupation will only be further intensified, and tranquility will remain elusive in the region. Brutal suppression can only lead to stronger resistance. Maintaining the status quo is no longer possible, and trying to do so will only exacerbate the situation. It has become an urgent task for the international community to solve the Middle East question in a just and reasonable manner.

The Chinese delegation appreciates the efforts of the Secretary-General in implementation of Security Council resolution 605 (1987) and his comprehensive report in that regard. The basic proposition in his report is that while palliative measures should be adopted, the root cause of the Palestinian question should also be addressed. He has also made specific proposals and suggestions. For this we should like to express our appreciation. We believe that at present the pressing issue that calls for an immediate solution involves enjoining the Israeli authorities to cease forthwith their suppression and expulsion of the

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Palestinian population in the occupied territories, adopting measures to protect their safety, and ensuring necessary safeguards for their livelihood. Those measures could include the following: urging Israel as the occupying Power to abide strictly by the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War; urging the Israeli authorities to abolish all their policies, laws and measures that violate that Convention; mobilizing the international community to provide humanitarian assistance to the Palestinian people; and asking the Secretary-General to monitor the implementation of these measures by all means he may deem necessary.

The Chinese Government and people are following closely the development of the situation in the occupied territories and resolutely support the Palestinian people in their just struggle. It is our consistent view that the question of Palestine is at the heart of the Middle East question. So long as this question remains unresolved there will be no peace and stability in the Middle East. The Chinese Government has always maintained that Israel must withdraw from the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967, that the national rights of the Palestinian people must be restored, and that all countries in the Middle East should enjoy the right to peace and existence.

We support the convening of an international conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations, with a view to achieving a just and reasonable settlement of the Middle East question. The Palestine Liberation Organization, as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, is entitled to participate in that conference on an equal footing. We are ready to work unceasingly for the early convening of that conference and to make our due contributions to that end.

The PRESIDENT: I should perhaps thank the representative of China for his restraint in not saying kind words about me.

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

Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): I wish at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the Presidency of the Security Council for the month of January. We wish you every success in your work.

I also express our thanks and appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Belonogov of the Soviet Union, for the constructive manner in which he guided the Council's work last month.

My delegation also congratulates those States that have become members of the Council this year: Algeria, Brazil, Japan, Senegal and Yugoslavia. I am confident that their presence on the Council will contribute to success in the work of the Council, especially during this critical time.

The Security Council is meeting once more to debate the situation in the occupied territories and discuss the massacres and oppression perpetrated by the racist Zionist occupier against the defenceless unarmed Palestinian people. The Zionist entity has failed to implement any of the resolutions adopted by the Security Council, the most recent of which was adopted only a few weeks ago; indeed, it has defied them and rejected the idea of implementing any of them.

Under the most recent Security Council resolution, resolution 605 (1987), Under-Secretary-General Marrack Goulding traveled to the region. I take this opportunity to express our appreciation for his painstaking efforts and our sympathy for the difficulties and insults he faced. We also express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for the report he has submitted to the Security Council. Yet that resolution has remained a dead letter, for the very

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Jamahiriya)

basis of the racist Zionist régime and its very nature as an occupying Power is aggression and occupation. History demonstrates this clearly: in southern Africa the other racist régime is pursuing against the people of South Africa the same policies pursued in occupied Palestine. Recent events make this perfectly clear.

Stone-throwing uprisings by our people in Palestine, especially by youths the majority of whom were born under occupation, is a reflection of the harshness of the occupation and the gravity of the injustices suffered by the Palestinian people.

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Measures that are mere palliatives will achieve no results. The Zionist entity will not respect the Geneva Conventions; the Zionist entity will not withdraw from the occupied territories. The fact is that practical measures should be taken by the Security Council. These weak resolutions which express the disappointment of our people and other peoples throughout the world struggling for liberation have remained dead letters. Why? Because there are some - especially some members of the Security Council - who are protecting and defending the aggressor; they are supplying the aggressor, the occupier, with funds and arms: funds for the construction of more and more settlements, arms for the carrying out of more oppression and killing.

There are some, including members of the Security Council, who sometimes, under the pressure of international public opinion, demonstrate what might be called a hard attitude towards the occupier. But, on the other hand, we see that they continue to support the occupier with funds and arms. Could anyone think that, by itself, the Zionist entity could defy the will of the whole world? Could anyone think that the Zionist entity could do that if it were not supported by some great Powers? Most of the lethal weapons used against our people in Palestine and against the people in southern Africa are not manufactured by the Zionist entity. Most of them are manufactured by States that are permanent members of the Security Council, States that have great responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

It might be more useful not to adopt these resolutions but to ensure that those who supply the aggressor with funds and arms refrained from doing so. Then there would be no more killing and no more expulsions, because the Zionist entity would comply with our resolutions and withdraw from the lands it has occupied. If those States that have special responsibilities in this matter would themselves

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respect the Council's resolutions by imposing sanctions, even voluntary ones, against the Israeli aggressor, the problem would have been solved many years ago.

The occupation of Palestine has now lasted for over 40 years, and that of the occupied territories over 20 years. Not a single year has passed without the adoption of a resolution or resolutions calling on the aggressor to show respect for human rights, including the rights of the Palestinian people. But what purpose have these resolutions served? No purpose but the addition of paper to the reams of paper already in the United Nations, thereby increasing the financial burdens of the Organization.

The present situation does not call for a resolution which, regardless of its contents, cannot be effective. I am confident that the provisions of any resolution proposed now would be weak, and the resolution itself would be ineffective, even if it were to be adopted. What this situation requires is practical, effective action by the Council. It requires that the States members of the Council, especially the super-Powers, should fulfil and respect their obligations in regard to international peace and security.

The perpetuation of occupation can only lead to increased violence. I hold that such violence is legitimate. The uprising by the Palestinian people, with stones in their hands, is a legitimate revolution. We cannot make the aggressor and the victim equal by requiring the same conditions of them. So long as there is occupation, it will be met by violence. Violence is the only path to be pursued in the face of the negative attitude of international public opinion and the United Nations. It is the only option open to the Palestinian people. The problem will not be solved when unobjective attitudes are taken and impractical proposals are submitted. What does it mean to use the words "freezing" and "building" of settlements? Are we legitimizing these settlements? Are we calling for the mere

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suspension of the construction of settlements for a definite period of time? What kind of violence have we in mind when we ask for the suspension of violence? Violence on whose part? By the occupier or by the people under occupation? By the aggressor or by the victim? There is no logic at all in placing the occupier and the people under occupation, the aggressor and the victim, on an equal footing.

The events in occupied Palestine - all of Palestine: the part occupied in 1948 and the part occupied in 1967 - are warranted and legitimate; they are justified under all international rules and laws. Is not the people of Palestine like other peoples? Has not the people of Palestine the right to self-determination? Has not that people, like all other peoples, the right to a homeland?

Those who made the entire Palestinian people homeless enjoy the respect of some, and, illegitimately, they have been given a place among us. But the oppressed Palestinian people, the victim of criminal actions, is still absent from these halls. The voice of the Palestinian people cannot be heard appropriately because of that.

There will never be peace, there will never be security, until justice is upheld. It is justice that must be secured first and foremost.

My people, part of the Arab nation - which has one common destiny and one common future - stands at the side of the Palestinian people in its just, legitimate struggle. We shall do so until all the land of Palestine is liberated and the Palestinian people takes its proper place, like all other free peoples. From the bottom of our hearts, we support the uprising of the Palestinian people, and we call on the Security Council to shoulder its full responsibilities - not only by adopting resolutions, regardless of how strong they may be, but by taking concrete, positive action to deter the aggressor, end the occupation and enable the

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for the kind words at the beginning of his statement.

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

Mr. NETANYAHU (Israel): At the start of these meetings of the Security Council, one speaker called for restraint. I refer to the statement of the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany. He spoke of the need for solid reflection and for a spirit of compromise, of conciliation and of goodwill. I am afraid that is not what we have witnessed throughout this debate. We have heard mostly facile and one-sided rhetoric, a lot of rhetoric, but certainly not solid reflection, and very little goodwill.

I would like to try to address the two basic issues that are being discussed by this body. The first is the situation on the ground; the second is the search for long-term solutions.

On the ground, Israel was faced with a very difficult and complex situation, and if I were to try to summarize the main difficulty in the immediate occurrences, it would be capsulized in the following statement.

We were not dealing with peaceful, non-violent demonstrations. We were dealing with violent disturbances which were deliberately geared to undermine any return to any semblance of normal life, and violent demonstrations, violent disturbances, which were deliberately employing tactics and means to kill and to maim. Let there be no mistake about it. Rocks can kill and maim, and they do; knives can kill and maim, and they do; iron bars can kill and maim, and they do; sling-shots using sharp pieces of shrapnel can kill and maim, and they do; and Molotov cocktails can kill and maim, and they do, and they have. They have killed Arabs and Jews alike - Israeli citizens - before these demonstrations; they have maimed Israelis during these demonstrations, including unarmed girl soldiers,

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upon whom these attacks were made with lethal intent, using lethal weapons. I have to add, if we are to describe what is happening, that this violence was also directed against Palestinian Arabs - Palestinian doctors and schoolteachers and shop owners, especially shop owners, because the objective was to force compliance with an attempt to paralyse all economic activity in the territories.

One vivid example of this is an Arab shopkeeper quoted in The New York Times of Wednesday, 20 January. He said, "They said to me, 'Close down or we'll burn your shop. Close down or we'll kill you.'" And he added, "Being against the Government is OK, but being against the Palestinians is not OK - they can kill you." And they have, and they do.

Now, on top of this there has been a considerable attempt to further incite this violence by outside forces. I have mentioned on several occasions during the last few weeks the PLO's efforts to egg on the violence. It takes a number of forms: generalized statements, exhortations and so on. Sometimes it takes a very specific form, in very specific instructions, like this instruction over Radio Baghdad - the PLO's broadcast from Baghdad - talking about how to prepare Molotov cocktails:

"The matter requires no more than an empty bottle, to be filled with gasoline and crude oil together with pieces of cork and other additives" - the other additives being those pieces of shrapnel I have described.

So we have a very different situation from the picture of non-violent demonstrations, the carrying of placards and the voicing of concern about human rights.

But I am afraid that in the report based on Mr. Goulding's visit to the areas all this hardly receives attention or detail. And I think I am putting it mildly. I think it is instructive. In one place, in paragraph 19, it admits this. It says,

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"In almost every case, one side's evidence is at variance with the other's". But the report nevertheless proceeds to give a broad stage for anonymous, unsubstantiated allegations against Israel. I think it fair to say that those allegations are not supported by proof. Very seldom is any proof adduced for these allegations, and what is produced can hardly, as a result, be called a full and balanced and realistic picture of the situation on the ground.

In trying to deal with the situation as it really is, Israel's overriding objective in the near-term is to put down the violence and to restore orderly government. I have heard a lot of words here, a lot of attacks against "excessive use of force by Israel". Let me make clear what our policy is regarding the use of force. It is to be used to break up violent demonstrations; it is to be used against people resisting arrest; and it is to be used against people who attack security forces, used in self-defence for the preservation of the security forces' own lives. If there have been aberrations, they have been exactly that - aberrations - and they are dealt with immediately with prompt investigation and when necessary with disciplinary action.

So what we have been trying to do, under the local laws that have prevailed in the area for roughly the last half-century, and under international law, is to ensure the restoration of tranquillity in the area. This is not only a prerogative under the various international conventions; it is, as the Secretary-General correctly recognizes in the report, our obligation as well.

This is not something that the IDF or the IDF personnel need instruction in, because they receive instruction. I notice one of the recommendations of the report is that the IDF instruct personnel. I have been out of the Israeli army for about 20 years. I remember the instructions, detailed instructions, professional instructions, in all these matters that I received 20 years ago, and those

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instructions, if anything, have been intensified in recent months and recent weeks. We are doing that. We are also providing and allowing the provision of medical care and the evacuation of the wounded, and the allegations that we are not have no basis in reality whatsoever. There is no interdiction of food; there is no interdiction of medical supplies. They can reach every part of the territory under our control. And in fact I believe that a spokesman for the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) confirmed that a few days ago.

But I am puzzled - although maybe not so puzzled - by all these words that have been spilled about the "abuses" - I think some of the spokesmen used the words "atrocities and brutalities" - of the Israelis. All these voices have been heard here in this cacophony of criticism, while a little report, hardly observed, appeared in The New York Times on 21 January. The title is "Shiites end siege of two Palestinian areas in Beirut".

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The interesting passage says:

"The bitter fighting around the Palestinian districts in south Beirut has taken the lives of 2,500 Palestinians and Lebanese since it broke out in the spring of 1985." (The New York Times, 21 January 1988, p. A6)

That is 2,500 people killed and many, many more wounded, and a lot of food and medical aid interdicted and not getting through. But I have not heard in this Chamber any calls for resolutions, any criticisms, anything about brutality and atrocities; and I have certainly not heard of any request for a report by the Secretary-General.

Needless to say, while humanitarian concern on the part of those who criticize us here was not operating in that direction, it does operate in our case when we are dealing with the territories. It is not a concern, it is the main concern, of our policy. We have spelled out what that policy is, and I wish to take this opportunity to reiterate it.

Israel maintains that, in view of the sui generis status of Judea-Samaria and the Gaza district, the de jure applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention to these areas is doubtful. Israel prefers to leave aside the legal question of the status of these areas and has decided since 1967 to act de facto in accordance with the humanitarian provisions of that Convention. As I have said before, we have in fact gone well beyond these provisions. We do not employ the death penalty, as we are empowered to do by the Convention; we provide access to the highest courts of Israel, which means that effectively the governing administration of the territories can be overruled, as it has been many times - that is, the Arab residents of the territories can apply, and have successfully applied, to the highest courts and overruled the military and administrative government.

We will continue to co-operate with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC); we will continue to uphold the humanitarian provisions on a de facto

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basis, as I have said. But we know that the call is put forward on Israel for the applicability of the Geneva Convention on a de jure basis. I have a question: Why has that request been put forward roughly in the half century since the adoption of the Convention solely to Israel? I would say: let us be satisfied with the de facto acceptance of the Geneva Convention by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, by the Libyans in Chad or by countless other countries that have been engaged in armed conflict and have controlled territory. Or, for that matter, why was it not applicable - de facto or in any other way - by Egypt when it ruled Gaza for roughly 20 years, or by Jordan when it ruled Judea-Samaria for exactly the same period? Why do we not hear about that? Why is it that, if the Fourth Geneva Convention is automatically applicable, it is automatically applicable to Israel and to Israel alone? I would submit that if members of the Council wanted to look at the history of conflicts since the adoption of the Fourth Geneva Convention, I believe they would find plenty of circumstances when that Convention applied. The fact that they do not do so, that no one here seems to do so, I think speaks volumes for the credibility of that demand on Israel.

The situation on the ground, therefore, is roughly this: Israel seeks to restore tranquillity to the areas under its control, as is its right under international law. I may add, in closing this part of my statement, that for the past eight days there has been a sharp decline in the disturbances. In fact, there have been no real riots; there have been scattered incidents; and I am glad to say there have been no fatalities whatsoever.

I should like now to turn to the second aspect of this debate - or what ought to be the second aspect of this debate - which is the search for a wider solution to this conflict. I hasten to add that such a solution cannot be achieved under

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violence and threats or under the rain of Molotov cocktails. We think there are two components to this solution. The first is economic and social, the second political.

Let me say first a few words about economic and social improvements and developments. I think it is true that they are not dependent on political solutions, and they should be proceeded with independently. I think we have been doing exactly that. We have co-operated with UNRWA and other agencies for development, and we ourselves have done a lot, contrary to what has been said in this Chamber, to help in the economic and social development.

When I hear talk about economic discrimination and all the ills we have rained down on the population there, I try to square that away with the quadrupling of personal income in these territories. As representatives can check and as research bodies of the United Nations can confirm, that is the highest increase in per capita income in the post-war period. The residents of Judea-Samaria and Gaze have experienced the highest rate of economic growth anywhere on the face of the earth in the last half century. That has been coupled, of course, with other improvements, such as the more than halving of infant mortality in Gaza or the tremendous increase in literacy or the tremendous increase in agriculture. Let me give members an idea: in 1967 Gaza was exporting 30,000 tons of vegetables; in 1987 it exported 130,000 tons - that tells you something.

We will continue to do this, and we invite additional international aid and assistance from outside Governments that are genuinely concerned. We have only one provision, only one stipulation: that that assistance is co-ordinated in advance with us, as is, again, our right under international law.

But I think the larger question on the economic front is what to do about the actual refugee encampments. There is not a lot in Judea-Samaria; there is about

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several hundred thousand people in Gaza. It is not a big problem; it can be solved; it is roughly the size of a medium-size town of refugees that should be settled. There is nothing I can see that prevents the rehabilitation of these refugees as we seek a political solution. Everyone knows that in the last 40 years roughly 50 million refugees have been resettled - in fact many more in this century - without any problem. We ourselves have absorbed 700,000 Jewish refugees from Arab lands. We did so without land, without petro-dollars, without anything. We did it, and we solved it. And yet this problem persists. The question is: Why does it persist? There are people here who will say: "Well, this is not a refugee problem; it is a political problem." Fine, we agree. Yet those who say that want to ensure that, political problem or not, this problem persist and remain an obstacle in the achievement of a political resolution.

The fact is that since 1970 what we did is this: We said that any Arab refugee who wanted to move out of the camps could receive a plot of land outside the camps, could build his own house, could become a property owner and that we would give him assistance. We have put in all the infrastructure. We have put in electricity and roads, and we have put in sewers and health clinics and supermarkets. Immediately, 10,000 families took up the offer - and 10,000 families is a lot of people because there are a lot of children in each family. This project, which was the first genuine attempt since the beginning of this problem in 1948 - because Egypt did not do this when it controlled the area - was immediately met with a rain of sharp attacks and threats and intimidation from the PLO and most of the Arab world.

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And in fact, I have to say that it was met with very strong opposition from this body. The United Nations adopted a resolution which said: "The General Assembly reiterates strongly its demand that Israel desist from the removal and resettlement of Palestine refugees in the Gaza Strip and from the destruction of their houses."

Well, this will not do. I think that the deliberate attempts to obstruct rehabilitation are standing in the path of a political solution. They may be independent, but they are related, and we propose to continue with this effort. We cannot shoulder the financial burden alone; for a country as small as Israel, it is a very, very large task. But if there is good will at this juncture to attack the first part of the problem, the economic and the social part of the problem, then Israel stands ready to co-operate with any genuine attempt at such rehabilitation.

With respect to the second problem, the political solution, we fully concur on the need for a political solution and we have been arguing it for close to 40 years. Mr. Secretary-General, I hope you will not take offence, but we did not have to read your report to call for such a solution. We called for one in 1948, and then again in 1968, and then again in 1978 during the Camp David meetings, and now again in 1988. We stress that this continuous call preceded 1967, because history did not begin then. History did not begin then and the conflict did not begin then. We got into those areas in the first place because they were used, as everyone here well knows, as staging areas for our destruction. That attempt failed. We came into control of those territories and we immediately said that we were prepared immediately to enter into negotiations.

Having failed in war, having failed in terrorism and having failed in all the violent means at their disposal, the Arab rejectionists now seek a new strategy, a strategy that can be called the strategy of anarchy. If you produce anarchy and if

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you produce this cascade of one-sided criticism, maybe, just maybe, that will force a stampede against Israel so that it would evacuate the area on a unilateral basis. But of course it will not do that, and we are not about to do that because it would be a prescription not for peace, but for catastrophe. I think that those who are embarking on a strategy of anarchy are relying on the forgetfulness of the world and are certainly relying on the highly selective memory of some of the members of this body.

The problem with undertaking political negotiations is not with the specific grievances to be resolved. As I said, the various problems that have to be negotiated, including the refugee problem, are difficult but not impossible to resolve and reconcile. The basic opposition and the basic obstacle to initiating such negotiations is not the grievances but a grievance, and that is the existential grievance still apparent, I am sorry to say, in most of the Arab world as to Israel's very existence - outright opposition to Israel in any boundary, shape or form.

We had one breakthrough in the 40-year history of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and it produced the beginning of peace. That was the negotiations at Camp David, straight face-to-face negotiations which produced peace between Israel and the largest Arab country, Egypt. I do not think it was accidental that they were face-to-face negotiations. Face-to-face negotiations imply something, and what they imply is recognition. If you refuse to sit with someone directly and across the table from him and negotiate with him as an equal partner, if you need to go through all sorts of third parties and fourth parties, if you need to have all sorts of structures to force that kind of negotiation, what you are saying is, "We do not really recognize you". Recognition is the beginning of negotiation and the beginning of peace.

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I think that the path to Camp David and the path to peace were sealed when Sadat walked off that plane, because he said, "Here I am. I am ready to negotiate, to conduct a difficult negotiation, a complex negotiation, but I am ready. I put myself forward. I recognize the fact of Israel, Israel's right to peace and Israel's genuine desire for peace; now let us negotiate." That produced peace because it is the only way of producing peace. I think that we can proceed from that starting-point because we offer now to any Arab genuinely interested in coexistence and reconciliation, to continue that process as envisioned at the Camp David meetings. We offer an end to military government, we offer autonomy as an interim step, we offer negotiations, a framework for negotiations, all this before the beginning of negotiations. If there are genuine partners out there who are interested in taking up this offer, they need only say "Yes".

The fact that most of the Arab world rejected that offer, condemned Camp David, said "No", and is saying "No" today, is sad and saddening, but not surprising.

But the point I wish to address is the fact that it is this body, the United Nations, which joined that rejection, this body which adopted a resolution that still stands and that condemned Camp David. When you can condemn Camp David, when you condemn direct negotiations, then you condemn recognition and you condemn peace. The question then is: Can we proceed on that basis?

As we speak there are serious efforts taking place outside this chamber to launch the kind of negotiations about which I have just spoken, to launch negotiations in the spirit of Camp David and of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). I think the Security Council, instead of hampering such efforts and seeking to derail them with interference or with fiat or with dictate, should do something else, something revolutionary: it should encourage them, it

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should promote them, it should step back and say, "Go ahead; you have our blessing; you have our friendship; you have our support; go ahead and meet, face to face, and discuss the path to peace and achieve peace."

If that were to happen, it would be a real breakthrough in the history of the Middle East and in the history of this body.

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

Mr. ADAM (Sudan) (interpretation from Arabic): Sir, as I am speaking in the Security Council for the first time under your presidency for the month of January, I should like to extend to you our warm congratulations on the efforts that you have exerted. Throughout the years our two countries have enjoyed friendly relations, both official and cultural, relations that are bound to grow even more in the future.

I also wish to express our appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Belonogov of the Soviet Union, for the able manner in which he presided over the Council during the month of December last, when the Council met almost continuously to discuss the situation in the Middle East and in the occupied Arab territories.

(Mr. Adam, Sudan)

It is often repeated in the mass media and in some official circles that the uprising that occurred in the occupied Arab territories at the beginning of last December and continues to this day came as a shock, given its vigour and vitality and the fact that it was carried out basically by youths under 20 years of age. Indeed, the uprising of the population of the Gaza and the West Bank came as a violent shock to world public opinion, which has almost forgotten the Palestinian tragedy; for we are witnessing a unique event: a people is rejecting occupation and violence - rejecting all the policies that deny it the legitimate right to national self-determination and the enjoyment of its economic, social and political rights.

It may have been a shock but it came as no surprise that this extremely sensitive situation was treated with short-sightedness and indifference. And it is that very short-sightedness and indifference that politically polarized an entire people and thrust them into political and strategic alliances.

Today we are reaping the fruits of this disaster. Israel, the occupying Power, has arrogantly refused to recognize the fact of its occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. It simply pursues its policies of settlement, annexation and piecemeal incorporation of territories, regardless of national boundaries. There is apparently no limit to these acts which trample the dignity of the Palestinians, rob them of their unity as a people, and deprive them of their legitimate rights as human beings belonging to the international community.

If there is one conclusion to be drawn from the uprising, it is that there can be no permanent, final and just solution to the Middle East question without full recognition of the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination and to the establishment of its own independent and sovereign State. That is the crux of the question that must be addressed fully and responsibly. It stems from the volatile situation in the region, which threatens international peace and security.

(Mr. Adam, Sudan)

Abba Eban, the former Israeli Foreign Minister, said the following in an article on the partition of Palestine:

"There is not a single moment in which the 1.5 million Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, who live in a region of national sovereignty, would feel a common sense of belonging, or would even share Jewish loyalties and dreams."

In that article Abba Eban mentions that the settlement movement, which was basically intended to change the demographic balance in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, has failed as a movement and that its chances of success cannot be revitalized.

Elsewhere in the article he mentions that permanent Israeli rule in the undivided land of Israel and the presence of a foreign people there, deprived of its political rights, will deform the nature of Israel, destroy its concepts and undermine its Jewish characteristics. Furthermore, it will deprive its youth of their humanity and impair Israel's international relations, virtually assuring the outbreak of war. I do not think this warrants any further comments.

On 28 September some school-age Israeli youths wrote a letter to Mr. Rabin, the Israeli Defence Minister, from which I should like to quote the following:

(spoke in English)

"We Israeli youths who are about to be drafted regard Israeli rule over the occupied territories as an obstacle to peace and a danger to the future of democracy and of Israeli society. All of us were born into a reality which turns the Israeli Defence Forces from a defence army into an army of occupation and oppression.

"We regard service in the Israeli Defence Forces as vitally important.

Therefore, we call upon you, Mr. Defence Minister, to allow us to perform our military service within the 'green line' and not require us to participate in

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acts of occupation and oppression in the territories. We would be unable to participate in such acts, which contravene the dictates of our conscience.

"If we are ordered to take part in acts of oppression, we will have no choice but to refuse."

(continued in Arabic)

Out of respect for the Council's valuable time, I shall not repeat the world press reports on the gigantic uprising and the inhumane treatment meted out by the Israeli occupation authorities. Noteworthy, however, is the intense reaction to the uprising, both inside and outside Israel.

Hence, we are meeting today to consider the report submitted to the Security Council by the Secretary-General in accordance with resolution 605 (1987), which resulted in a visit of his special envoy, Mr. Goulding, to the region. Inasmuch as my brother, the representative of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, speaking yesterday on behalf of the Arab Group, spelled out in detail the contents of the report, I would merely pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his efforts and for the objectivity and firmness that characterized his assessment of the situation in the West Bank and Gaza, both before and during the present Palestinian uprising.

For the sake of brevity, I should just like to underline some of the conclusions drawn in the report.

The report reaffirms Israel's clear refusal to accept Security Council resolution 605 (1987) and preceding resolutions, its unwillingness to enter into any international settlement in the future and its refusal to accept the applicability to the occupied Arab territories of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. The report also confirms the direct responsibility of all of the High Contracting Parties to the Fourth Geneva Convention to bring pressure to bear on Israel to ensure that it

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respect the Convention and abide by its provisions. It is unjust for the international community to allow Israel to interpret the Convention's meaning according to its whim and special interests. To do so is to condone and justify the occupation.

The safety and protection of the population of the occupied Arab territories has become a priority that the international community and all relevant agencies of the United Nations must seriously address. An appropriate practical solution must be found that would make maximal use of the capabilities of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and other related United Nations institutions.

Even under the present occupation, we must address the matter of alleviating the plight of the population of the occupied territories: socially, economically and politically.

The point is that the conflict that has raged in the Middle East ever since the establishment of the State of Israel is basically a political one. It has been characterized by Israeli militarism and by Israel's policies of settlement and annexation. It is therefore incumbent on the members of the international community to exert all efforts to find the means to settle it.

(Mr. Adam, Sudan)

I believe that foremost among such efforts must be those of the Council, whose membership, power and mechanism enable it to undertake this task successfully. Hence the call for the convening of an international conference to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict must be within the framework and under the auspices of this Organization, provided that it includes all parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

We cannot expect a permanent, just and comprehensive peace in that sensitive region of the world without recognizing the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of its own independent State, after Israel's withdrawal from all the territories it has occupied since the 1967 war. Without that we can expect only more Arab and Palestinian rejection and further tension and instability at the regional and international levels.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Sudan for his kind words about me.

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

Mr. YUSOF (Malaysia): Allow me to express my appreciation to you, Sir, and the other members of the Council for your courtesy in acceding to my request to participate in this debate. It is particularly satisfying for me to do so at a time when you, a diplomat of exceptional professionalism, are presiding over the Council's deliberations. May I congratulate you on the distinction that you have imparted to the high office.

I should also like to congratulate your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the success of his presidency last month.

(Mr. Yusof, Malaysia)

Over the past few weeks Israel has been responding to a spontaneous and widespread Palestinian uprising in Gaza and the West Bank with brutalities and indignities against men, women and children. Many have died, many have been maimed and viciously clubbed, hundreds have been detained, and several have been deported from their own homeland.

The situation moved the Council to adopt resolution 605 (1987), which includes the request for the Secretary-General to submit a report. The Secretary-General's report - which is the focus of the Council's present deliberations - constitutes a clear indictment of Israel's brutal oppression against Palestinians in the occupied territories.

My delegation wishes to place on record its strong commendation of the Secretary-General for his report. I also wish to express our admiration to Mr. Marrack Goulding, the Under-Secretary-General, whose report, despite the trying conditions imposed on him by the Israeli authorities, has provided a clear insight into the Secretary-General's report.

The report details the agonies endured by the Palestinian population. Justifying its actions in the name of "restoring order", Tel Aviv has unleashed its troops to kill and inflict random and capricious violence and to beat innocent bystanders. Round-the-clock curfews have been imposed and access to food and medical supplies has been denied to the Palestinians. Mr. Goulding concludes that the "international community's concern about the situation in the occupied territories is fully justified". I shall not belabour this point; pictures of such incidents have been flashed on television screens time and again.

Malaysia wholeheartedly believes that a comprehensive political settlement can ultimately ensure justice for the Palestinian people and end the crisis which has

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hovered over the Middle East since 1948. It is incumbent upon the Security Council as the guardian of international peace and stability to realize this objective. Meanwhile, the international community must urgently do all it can to ensure that Israel as the occupying Power respects its moral and legal obligations towards the inhabitants of the occupied territories.

Despite being a signatory of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, whose applicability has been consistently upheld by the General Assembly and this Council, Israel refuses to comply with its provisions. My delegation calls upon Israel to comply unequivocally with the provisions of that Convention. The signatories of the Convention have the moral right and duty to ensure that Israel lives up to its obligation. It is imperative that the Council, too, take appropriate steps to ensure Israel's compliance with the Convention.

As scenes of Israel's brutalities flash across television screens, let us not forget that they are being inflicted on human beings - Palestinians who have been deprived of their basic human rights for a very long time.

We hear many protestations in the name of democracy, freedom, human rights and other lofty principles. Beyond those pronouncements, what in reality has been done to ensure that the rights of the Palestinian people living under Israeli occupation are protected?

My delegation fully appreciates the Secretary-General's remarks in his report about the difficulties with regard to the proposal to deploy United Nations forces in the occupied territories to lend "physical protection" to Palestinians. Even so, to do nothing in the face of Israel's blatant disregard is to countenance Israel's actions. Israel must comply with its obligations under international law. If Israel refuses, its victims should be entitled to the protection of this Council, with all the means available to it.

(Mr. Yusof, Malaysia)

As a non-member of the Security Council, my delegation is reluctant to seek leave to address the Council. However, we did so on this occasion because the current situation in the occupied territories has again reached such a critical stage, even a new crucial trend. This situation has evoked in us all a deep sense of indignation at Israel's indiscriminate and horrible practices against Palestinian civilians. The sight of worshippers - men, women and children - at one of Islam's most holy places, the Al-Aqsa Mosque, being beaten is particularly offensive. When a people which has been denied so much for so long turns on its oppressors with nothing but rocks as weapons, it is an indication of both its frustration and indomitable spirit. Let us not forget that the United Nations, especially this Council, bears a special responsibility - which is as yet unfulfilled - towards the Palestinian people.

It is hoped that the Council in its collective wisdom will take fully into account the Secretary-General's recommendations and immediately adopt measures to ensure the safety and protection of Palestinian civilians under Israeli occupation. Even more important, those measures once agreed upon should be complied with by Israel as the occupying Power.

(Mr. Yusof, Malaysia)

It is also imperative that the Council take concrete steps towards convening an international conference in which all parties concerned, including the PLO, as sole representative of the Palestinian people, should participate. The broad international consensus has shown itself to be consistently supportive of a comprehensive lasting settlement.

Lasting peace in that long-troubled area cannot be served through force of arms. Military force can kill, it can maim and it can destroy; but it cannot bring peace, especially lasting peace, and certainly not in the case of the Palestinians, who, despite the awesome ferocity of Israel's power, which is regularly unleashed against them, continue to insist on their rights as a people with a distinct identity and a legitimate right to their own homeland. Nor can peace be served by Israel's insistence on hanging on to the occupied Arab territories by force. These last few weeks have clearly shown that such a strategy is leading to a rapid disintegration of peace in the region.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Malaysia for his kind words about me.

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

Mr. AL-KAWARI (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): I take pleasure at the outset, Sir, in congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. As we are in the last days of your current presidency, I wish also to pay a tribute to you for the excellent manner in which you have led the Council's deliberations and for your complete knowledge of the items under consideration.

I am pleased also to thank the Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for his excellent conduct of the Council's deliberations last month.

(Mr. Al-Kawari, Qatar)

The Security Council is meeting today on a most serious item. This series of meetings could well prove to be historic if the members of the Council have the political will to make it so. Before the Security Council is a most important document: the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories. The first two sections of that report examine the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories and discuss ways and means for ensuring the safety and protection of the Palestinian civilians in the territories.

Before commenting on the report, I wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his work. I thank him and Under-Secretary-General Marrack Goulding for their efforts to prepare this report, which will help us find the truth and pave the way towards two desired objectives: protecting the Palestinian population and achieving a just and comprehensive peace.

Now my delegation would like to make some observations concerning the report. It is an excellent report, especially considering the short time available to the Under-Secretary-General and the restrictions imposed on his movements: In the words of the report itself,

"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". (S/19443, para. 6)

We wonder where the Under-Secretary-General could meet with Palestinians other than in Gaza and the West Bank. What we saw on television - the difficulties placed in the way of the Under-Secretary-General - was quite sufficient to indicate the difficult situation in which he was working.

(Mr. Al-Kawari, Qatar)

The struggling Palestinians have addressed the Security Council, before any other body, and have stressed that for them this is a political problem requiring a political solution. They have expressed their deep regret at the United Nations' failure to bring about the implementation of the dozens of resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly, and have stated that the Council's failure to shoulder its duties has caused frustration.

The Security Council bears an urgent responsibility, as noted by the Secretary-General in his report:

"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...". (S/19443, para. 51)

The Secretary-General adds that

"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". (para. 52)

The information in the Secretary-General's report is but a drop in the bucket. The annual reports submitted to the General Assembly by the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories contain a great deal more data, which shows

(Mr. Al-Kawari, Qatar)

that these ugly Israeli practices are nothing new; they have in fact existed since the beginning of the occupation.

But unfortunately it seems that the world does not want to see or hear the truth. Perhaps the world would never have listened had the Palestinian people not taken its cause into its own hands, bared its chest to the enemy's bullets, and shown itself ready to make sacrifices for its cause.

Students of the subject agree that the paralysis among those able to do something, particularly the Security Council, led the Palestinian people to rise up and rebel with all the means at its disposal. Those means are limited, but include the readiness to sacrifice their own lives to regain their dignity. Once again, with the strength of its will, with its readiness to make sacrifices, the Palestinian people is showing the Council its responsibilities. Will the Council shoulder those responsibilities? Will it act in accordance with its conscience, its humanity and its duty to the credibility of the Security Council, which bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, for the implementation of international instruments, and for ensuring human rights?

(Mr. Al-Kawari, Qatar)

The Security Council must do two things. First, it must protect the civilians. Are there any persons other than civilians in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Golan and Holy Jerusalem? Such protection must be ensured through the implementation of the Security Council's determination to implement international rules for the protection of civilians under occupation. Of particular importance in this respect is the Fourth Geneva Convention concerning the protection of civilians. My delegation does not believe that a mere appeal or resolution by the Security Council regarding the necessity of abiding by that Convention will make Israel respond. Everyone here is fully aware of Israel's record of disregarding the international will and United Nations resolutions. What is required is the particular mechanism that will ensure the follow-up by the Security Council of the implementation of the resolutions it adopts in this regard.

Secondly, there must be a just political solution to the Palestine question. Such a solution will not be achieved unless the principles of the United Nations Charter and United Nations resolutions are respected. Foremost among those principles is the right of the Palestinian people to decide its own future, to exercise self-determination and to establish its independent State on its homeland, under its sole, legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization. The second of those principles is the withdrawal by Israel from all occupied Arab territories, including Holy Jerusalem.

International public opinion has reached a consensus on the means for achieving a lasting and just political solution - that is, the holding of an international conference in which the five permanent members of the Security Council and all parties concerned, including the PLO - the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people - would participate on a footing of equality.

(Mr. Al-Kawari, Qatar)

The Security Council will bear the responsibility for the consequences of procrastination or delay both in protecting the Palestinian inhabitants of the occupied territories and in granting political rights to those inhabitants.

The Palestinian people have taken their cause in their own hands. They have proved to the world that they are ready to sacrifice and face up to every kind of repression and oppression until their legitimate goals are met. Some new realities have been imposed by the grave uprising in the land of Palestine. The most significant of those realities is the fact that there is now a new generation that is not afraid of Israel, a generation that has awakened to the denial of human rights by the occupying Power. This new generation is ready to shoulder its responsibilities and to make sacrifices for its self-determination and dignity.

I should like to tell a story that has been told very often in the media - a story which demonstrates the new spirit in occupied Palestine. It is the following:

"The Commander of a Zionist military foot patrol in the Balata Palestinian refugee camp, near Nablus in the occupied West Bank, was amazed when a small Palestinian child - a child of six - threw stones at his patrol. They immediately detained the child and demanded that he answer the question: 'Who led you to do such a thing?'. The child's answer was, 'My brother Mohammed'. The soldiers took the child to his house and asked his father where his son Mohammed was. They said, 'We want him because he has engaged in incitement to resist occupation'. The soldiers were left speechless when the father brought in his son Mohammed - a child of three".

So this is a new generation, a generation of which the oldest members were perhaps born in 1967. As I have said, they have awakened to Zionist occupation and the violation of Palestine. This generation is indeed an embarrassment to the

(Mr. Al-Kawari, Qatar)

Zionist enemy. Perhaps it is also an embarrassment to the Security Council, since it requires the Council to face up to its responsibilities. It is a generation that is prepared to use all the means available to it. The first of these means is stones - the original, primitive weapon used by man to deal with animals and poisonous creatures. Man finally learned how to face danger, after having been repeatedly bitten.

These children of Palestine have rehabilitated the Arab will, the will to sacrifice. That is the only way to defeat the enemy, the only way to regain rights - particularly if the international community procrastinates about implementing the international Organization's resolutions and about protecting and defending international law.

Will the Security Council face up to that challenge?

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Qatar for his kind words about me.

The representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization wishes to speak, and I am happy to call on him.

Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): After listening to the representative of Israel, one wonders why the people in Gaza rebelled? Was the uprising a manifestation of joy, of happiness? The facts tell us something different.

First, Mr. Benvenisti, has very clearly stated in one of his studies that the situation in Gaza under Israeli occupation is "beyond shame". I think that this in itself gives one of the reasons why the people have rebelled.

Furthermore, facts and figures show that citrus production in Gaza, which is its mainstay, has decreased to about 60 per cent of what it was before 1967; fisheries have decreased to about 20 per cent of the figure before 1967. In

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addition, there used to be markets for the citrus production. The occupying Power is now creating problems in this regard. I am sure that our friends in the Community are aware of the problems being faced in the marketing of that citrus production in Europe.

So, to all intents and purposes, the economic situation has not improved. On the contrary, it has become so bad that tens of thousands of Palestinians from the Gaza area have to cross the Green Line every day to seek work in order to survive.

We are told a lot about the underlying problems. In his report the Secretary-General states:

"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). ... 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". (S/19443, para. 13)

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So two immediate causes of the glorious uprising were the bad economic situation and the humiliation and undermining of the dignity of human beings who happen to be called Palestinians.

What the world had been witness to - whether in the written press or the movies or on television - is not theatre but reported facts, and to such an extent that a great number of the facts are being censored by the Israelis. We understand that the Israeli authorities are banning the world media from showing a what is going on. Yesterday, for example, a CBS team was beaten. We do not know exactly what they had in their cameras, but if they were beaten then we know exactly what they are talking about.

I wish it were just theatre and that we could hire some actors. Then we could hire someone like Woody Allen, who tells us today - and I quote from his article in The New York Times:

"But am I reading the newspapers correctly?" - he cannot believe it - "Were food and medical supplies withheld to make a rebellious community 'uncomfortable'? Were real bullets fired at first to control crowds, and rubber ones only when the United States objected? Are we talking about state-sanctioned brutality and even torture?"

And then he adds:

"Perhaps for all of us who are rooting for Israel to continue to exist and prosper, the obligation is to speak out and use every method of pressure - moral, financial and political - to bring this wrongheaded approach to a halt."

Now, I wish to assure Woody Allen that it is beyond state-sanctioned brutality; it is state-sanctioned terrorism against the people. And I fully agree with him that the approach is wrong-headed and will lead to more disaster.

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We were told that Israel is offering an end to the military government. But we never heard them say that they acquiesce and accept to carry out a decision of the Security Council that they should withdraw from those territories occupied in 1967. There is a big difference between ending military government and withdrawing from the territories occupied. And yet we are told that resolution 242 (1967) is a basis. But is not withdrawal an integral part of that resolution? Why do they shy away from saying they are willing to withdraw from the territories occupied in 1967?

We were also told that the General Assembly is to blame because it condemned Camp David. The General Assembly did condemn Camp David, but only in so far as it purported to determine the future of the Palestinian people. I think the General Assembly and the Security Council and every organization and human being would condemn any attempt by anyone to determine the future of the Palestinian people, because only the Palestinian people can determine their own future. And, after all, in its first article the Charter very clearly speaks about the right of peoples to self-determination.

As for resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973) and negotiations, I can say only one thing. If there really is the will, then the General Assembly has succeeded in getting the complete and full support of the international community for the negotiations to be undertaken within and under the auspices of the United Nations on very clear principles - I would not say preconditions - first and foremost among which is the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory, resulting, naturally, in the need for withdrawal from those territories, and also the security of States within recognized borders - and nobody knows exactly where the borders of Israel are - but principally recognition of and respect for the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people.

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I think that what the Security Council has so far been unable to do is agree to recognize and accept the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people, a principle given in the first article of the Charter. That right is a sine qua non for any move towards peace. We would very much have preferred the Council to meet to help the endeavours of the Secretary-General to achieve that comprehensive peace approach instead of taking all this time only to launch accusations against one another and to defend positions even if they are wrong.

There was mention of the underlying problems for any peace. According to Anthony Lewis, in The New York Times, Mr. Shimon Peres, who is the Foreign Minister and leader of the Labour Party, has said,

"I am convinced that it is the task of my generation and myself to hand over to the younger people a state free of two great dangers. One is that demographically we shall lose our majority and it will stop being a Jewish state. The other, that we shall lose a chance for peace and then be in a state of belligerency for many years to come."

The chance for peace is here, and the parties to the negotiation are there. I think that the Palestine Liberation Organization has made its position very clear: that we fully support and adhere to the guidelines, the participants and the mechanism that were approved by the General Assembly in its endeavours to have the comprehensive peace approach. So who is the obstacle? Do I have to spell out names?

These are the principles that will provide peace for the next generation. But again, one of the underlying problems facing Israel is a very serious one. How will they address the demographic issue? I think that is their problem. We live in an age in which demography should not be a factor, in which we are all human

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beings, in which we are all part of the human race. So if demography is a problem, then it will be rather difficult to know how a solution can be achieved.

The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers on my list for this evening. I had, as I think the Council knows, hoped that we might be able to conclude our discussion tonight, but that will not be possible. Discussions are continuing about a possible draft resolution, and I feel it important that those who wish to contribute to it should have the opportunity to do so.

(The President)

As I said last night, the presidency is available and is doing what it can to produce an acceptable formula for the Council as a whole. So I will not pursue this part of the discussion any more this evening, and we will resume consideration of this item tomorrow.

I must also remind the Council that we are meeting in informal consultations tomorrow morning at 10.30 to discuss the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). We can then go on from that discussion in informal consultations of the UNIFIL mandate to a discussion of the mandate in the Security Council and, depending on that, we can either resume this discussion after our UNIFIL debate tomorrow or meet tomorrow afternoon.

May I ask members of the Council to note in their diaries 10.30 a.m. tomorrow for the informal discussion, followed by the formal discussion on UNIFIL at 11 o'clock; with the possibility of then resuming this discussion before lunch tomorrow, provided we can have a formula I can put before the Council, but failing that, a resumption at 3 o'clock tomorrow afternoon, when I hope it will be possible to conclude this debate with the dignity of the Council properly respected in agreement on a draft resolution or some other formula to which we can all give our names.

Unless I hear any objection, it is so decided.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.