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Security Council

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ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
EIGHT HUNDRED AND FIFTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 14 April 1988, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. ZUZE

(Zambia)

Members:

Algeria
Argentina
Brazil
China
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Italy
Japan
Nepal
Senegal
Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics
United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland
United States of America
Yugoslavia

Mr. DJOUDI
Mr. DELPECH
Mr. ALENCAR
Mr. YU Mengjia
Mr. BLANC
Count YORK von WARTENBURG
Mr. BUCCI
Mr. KAGAMI
Mr. RANA
Mr. BA

Mr. BELONOGOV

Mr. BIRCH
Mr. OKUN
Mr. PEJIC

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The meeting was called to order at 10.55 a.m.

EXPRESSION OF THANKS TO THE RETIRING PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of April, I should like at the very outset to pay tribute to His Excellency Mr. Dragoslav Pejic, Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of March 1988. I am sure I speak for all members of the Security Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Pejic for the great diplomatic skill with which he conducted the business of the Council last month.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES

LETTER DATED 29 MARCH 1988 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF TUNISIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/19700)

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2804th meeting, I invite the representatives of India, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Saudi Arabia, the Syrian Arab Republic and Tunisia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber. I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Gharekhan (India), Mr. Joffe (Israel), Mr. Salah (Jordan), Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Shihabi (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Al-Masri (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. Ghezal (Tunisia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber; Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Pakistan in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative 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. Shah Nawaz (Pakistan) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 14 April 1988 from the Acting Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request that I be allowed to participate in the Security Council's consideration of the item 'The situation in the occupied Arab territories', in accordance with the provisions of rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, in my capacity as Acting Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People."

On previous occasions the Security Council has extended invitations to representatives of other United Nations bodies in connection with the consideration of matters on its agenda. In accordance with past practice in this matter, I propose that the Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to the Acting Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

(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 to the following documents: S/19710 and S/19769, letters dated 30 March and 13 April 1988 from the Chairman and the Acting Chairman, respectively, of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People addressed to the Secretary-General; S/19723 and S/19724, letters dated 4 April 1988 from the Permanent Representative of Jordan to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/19748, letter dated 7 April 1988 from the Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/19754, letter dated 5 April 1988 from the Permanent Representatives of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/19758, letter dated 12 April 1988 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

The first speaker is the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, on whom I now call.

Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)): At the outset, allow me to express our great appreciation to you, Mr. President, for your endeavours and those of the members of the Council who saw fit that the Council should resume its deliberations on the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories. To you, I should like to say that we have full confidence in and high appreciation for your qualities as a seasoned diplomat and a master at conducting negotiations and discussions. But you also represent a country with which we maintain very close relations; your people and ours have been through the same ordeal in their struggle for liberation.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

I should also like to express thanks to His Excellency the President of your country who, in his wisdom, very often and on many occasions helped in formulating and directing some of the positions that have been adopted.

On 30 March, the Council met to consider the situation in the occupied territories; it was addressed by no fewer than four Ministers for Foreign Affairs and a number of other dignitaries.

Let me state immediately that we express our appreciation for the diligence and efficiency displayed by the President of the Council during the month of March, the Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia. Not only did he prove to be a master at conducting the Council's business but by the way in which he was able to get the Council to respond to the Secretary-General's letter on the situation in the Middle East he showed beyond any doubt that he is also a very well-seasoned diplomat who always keeps in mind the interests of the United Nations and those of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

At that meeting on 30 March the Chairman of the Ministerial Committee and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, Mr. Ibrahimi, told the Council:

"For more than 100 days the world has been witnessing a heroic popular uprising in occupied Palestine. The Palestinian people is reacting by using a symbolic weapon, stones, but its unshakable determination and its spirit of indomitable sacrifice have shaken the attitudes of peoples, given the total denial of its rights and its exile, including on its national soil, which has continued for 40 years.

"The scale of the Zionist repression in occupied Palestine has been reflected in the vigorous reaction of the Council and its adoption of three resolutions - 605 (1987), 607 (1988) and 608 (1988). Those resolutions must be scrupulously complied with. The boldest possible humanitarian protection should be given the people in the occupied territories." (S/PV.2804, p. 6)

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

While the Council was deliberating the occupying Power determined to go to the other extreme by escalating its repressive measures against our people in the occupied Palestinian territories - measures that prompted the Secretary-General on 12 April 1988 to issue the following statement:

"The Secretary-General views with grave concern the decision by the Israeli authorities to deport eight Palestinians to southern Lebanon yesterday. He is equally concerned that 12 other Palestinians have received deportation orders. He notes that the Security Council has repeatedly reaffirmed the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 to the territories occupied by Israel and recalls that Security Council resolution 607 (1988), unanimously adopted on 5 January 1988, called on Israel to refrain from such action.

"The Secretary-General is worried that measures such as deportation and other forms of collective punishment, such as the recent demolition of homes in the village of Beita, will aggravate the tension that prevails in the area. Furthermore, as he stated in his 22 January report to the Security Council (S/19443), these measures are a violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention. He appeals to Israel, as the occupying Power, to abide by obligations under this Convention and to rescind the deportation orders. He earnestly hopes that the Palestinians who have been deported will promptly be allowed to return to their homes and families."

This morning, 14 April 1988, the headquarters of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) issued the following statement:

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

"Since early December last year, UNRWA has been expressing its concern over the kinds of measures being used in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This concern has increased with Agency medical personnel facing a continued flow of patients suffering from gunshot wounds, beatings and the effect of tear gas, which is particularly injurious when used inside buildings.

"The Agency is also concerned about the long-term effects of injuries on the refugee population and the costs for rehabilitation of severely injured refugees. In the Gaza Strip UNRWA has employed 16 physiotherapists with the help of UNICEF to assist in rehabilitation work.

"Hundreds of refugees have been treated in UNRWA clinics for tear gas inhalation. In some cases tear gas has been thrown inside homes, clinics and schools where the effects are particularly severe. Agency doctors have also seen symptoms not normally connected with regular tear gas and UNRWA is seeking information on contents of gases used in order to provide the proper antidote and treatment, especially for the most vulnerable groups such as pregnant women, the very young and the elderly."

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

Thus the Council can see, and needs no further proof, that Israel is using a gas other than the usual tear-gas - something apparently more lethal.

Reports from the occupied Palestinian territories clearly indicate that the occupation troops had been ordered to be tough and firm and to enter villages to break up protests. This policy of entering, even violating, villages is an escalated form of the brutal repressive measures taken to break the will and resolve of our people. The Jerusalem Post, an Israeli English-language daily, reports:

"In one of the worst incidents at the weekend" - 1 April - "troops on patrol in Gaza city shot dead three persons who attacked them with a kitchen knife, a meat cleaver and an iron bar. The soldiers were [attacked] when they tried to arrest persons preparing to throw stones."

The Israeli officer in command of the Southern Command, a certain General Yitzhak Mordechai, said:

"No one, regardless of position, title, age, social condition, is exempt from arrest if he has shown that he intends to act against our" - that is, the occupation - "forces. In our view" - that is, in Israel's view - "it is preferable to arrest such a person an hour before he acts to prevent the situation from deteriorating."

Arresting Palestinian civilians on trumped-up charges of intent, I would venture to declare here, means that the occupying Power will have to detain all the Palestinians - all the Palestinians - who not only intend to act against the forces of occupation but have shown in concrete ways their determination and resolve to struggle against all aspects of occupation.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

War Minister Rabin, the leader of the Labour Party, one of the partners in the Tel Aviv junta, reported on 27 March that:

"The number of Palestinians from the territories under detention is now between 3,000 and 4,000."

Of course, how can he tell? Because the wave of arrests is tidal, even the Minister cannot tell. What is a difference of 33 per cent in the number of detentions? It is of no relevance to him, as the number of detentions is increasing by the minute.

At the end of March 1988, Israel's domestic radio service in the Hebrew language broadcast the following statement by this General Mordechai:

"The inhabitants of the territories must bear in mind the fact that the IDF did not use even 10 per cent of its power and full measures. ... We will take all measures, including the demolition of houses."

But on the same day, Shamir, the leader of the gang in Tel Aviv, warned those Palestinians

"who want to damage the fortresses we are building that they will break their heads against the fortresses' walls. ... We say to them that in our eyes they are like grasshoppers."

He bragged to Ma'ariv, another Hebrew language daily:

"If Israeli Arabs do not wise up, things will get tough and there will be a lot of suffering. I hope the Arabs will not test our strength on Land Day. We know they have some wise people. I have no regrets. A test of strength between us and them would be like a test of strength between an elephant and a flea."

This gives the Council an idea of the racist approach in the policy adopted by Israel, the occupying Power, against our people. But here for a moment let us pause

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

to ponder: are these policies and practices really meant to confront the heroic uprising of our people, or are such policies and practices a constant in the design to force our people out of their homes and guarantee a design of demography whereby Palestinian Arabs must be dehumanized to a biblical pestilence - grasshoppers - or be totally eliminated? Let us recall that the Council, on 19 December 1980, was alerted to a policy divulged in the Knesset, the legislative body in Israel. The Government of Israel had issued orders to be followed by its troops when they went out into the streets. One of those orders from the military Government to the Israeli army conscripts on the West Bank was quoted in the Knesset:

"Anyone you catch outside, you first beat with clubs all over his body, except the head. Have no mercy, break all his bones, give no explanations. First of all, beat, and when you are finished, you can explain why you have done so. If you catch a small child, order his whole family out. Make them stand in a row and beat the father in front of his children. Do not read this beating as a privilege; it is a duty. They understand no other way. There is no point in arresting those who just wander around outside. Beat them and send them home. But if someone causes trouble, throws stones, or something, first break his bones and then put him on the vehicle that will take him to military headquarters. But remember, that is the order: from the minute he is on the vehicle he is an arrested man and must not be beaten anymore."

That is the end of the orders given by the Israeli army chief to his conscripts on the streets, and the Council was alerted to this way back on 19 December 1980. It is on record. But the question remains: what effect did this revelation have? None - on the contrary, only a further determination by the occupying Power to crush the "grasshoppers", according to Shamir and Rabin, partners in the Tel Aviv junta.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

While we are recalling things - and it is wise to recall positions and statements unanimously approved by the Council - on 11 November 1976 - and to some 1 November means a lot - the then President of the Council stated that the Council had agreed unanimously on the following:

"(1) To express its grave anxiety and concern over the present serious situation in the occupied Arab territories as a result of continued Israeli occupation;"

The Council should bear in mind that this was in 1976.

"(2) Reaffirmation of its call upon the Government of Israel to ensure the safety, welfare and security of the inhabitants of the territories and to facilitate the return of those inhabitants who have fled the areas since the outbreak of hostilities;

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

"(3) Its reaffirmation that the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War is applicable to the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967. Therefore, the occupying Power is called upon once again to comply strictly with the provisions of that Convention and to refrain from any measure that violates them. In this regard, the measures taken by Israel in the occupied Arab territories that alter their demographic composition or geographical nature and particularly the establishment of settlements are accordingly strongly deplored. Such measures which have no legal validity and cannot prejudice the outcome of the search for the establishment of peace constitute an obstacle to peace;

"(4) It considers once more that all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, including expropriation of land and properties thereon and the transfer of populations which tend to change the legal status of Jerusalem, are invalid and cannot change that status, and urgently to call upon Israel once more to rescind all such measures already taken and to desist forthwith from taking any further action which tends to change the status of Jerusalem. In this connection, the Council deplores the failure of Israel to show any regard for Security Council resolutions 237 (1967) of 14 June 1967, 252 (1968) of 21 May 1968 and 298 (1971) of 25 September 1971 and General Assembly resolutions 2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V) of 4 and 14 July 1967.

"(5) Its recognition that any act of profanation of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites or any encouragement of, or connivance at, any such act may endanger international peace and security."

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

That was said in November 1976. We are now in 1988 and, for all appearances, the same would still apply but with much harder and stronger language.

There is something that puzzles me. There is an important document in deep freeze in the archives of the Council, that is, document S/14268 dated 25 November 1980. That is the report of the Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979). To us, it is still a mystery why the report was never considered in the open, here in the Council. We believe that, had that document been considered, it would have been possible, or rather probable, that the Council would have taken adequate measures to prevent the current onslaught. To refresh the memory of the Council, I shall cite a few paragraphs from that report. They read as follows:

"228. Concern about demographic changes resulting from the settlement policy have been repeatedly expressed to the Commission, as reflected extensively in the Commission's previous reports.

"229. In the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, where the Arab population is still considerable, the policy of harassment is generally construed as an endeavour to force the Arab inhabitants to leave their lands, which could thereafter be settled by Israelis. ...

"232. The Commission considers that the time has come to explore the possibility of having a United Nations presence established in the area as a first step to ensure normalization of the situation and to create a congenial atmosphere for negotiations by the parties under United Nations auspices on the basis of relevant Security Council resolutions. In that framework, consideration should be given to the return of the refugees and other persons forced to leave their homes."

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

Members can see that the idea of having a United Nations presence is not something new. It has been proposed several times in this Council. The mystery is why it has not been considered in the open in the Council and why it has not been acted upon.

However, that special Commission of the Security Council noted in its conclusions the deep anxiety about what was unanimously considered as a continuous process of the deterioration of the situation in the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, which is marked by heightened tensions and increased conflict and could lead to a major conflagration. Among the conclusions is the following:

"234. ... the Commission would like to reaffirm the entirety of the conclusions contained in its two previous reports, and more specifically the following:

"(a) The Israeli Government is actively pursuing its wilful, systematic large-scale process of establishing settlements in the occupied territories;

"(b) A correlation exists between the establishment of Israeli settlements and the displacement of the Arab population;

"(c) In the implementation of its policy of settlements, Israel is resorting to methods - often coercive and sometimes more subtle - which include the control of water resources, the seizure of private property, the destruction of houses and the banishment of persons in complete disregard for basic human rights;

"(d) The settlement policy has brought drastic and adverse changes to the economic and social pattern of the daily life of the remaining Arab population and is causing profound changes of a geographical and demographic nature in the occupied territories, including Jerusalem; ...

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

"236. ... the Commission considers that Israel's settlement policy, with the unjustified sufferings which it imposes on a defenceless population, is an incitement to further unrest and violence; ...

"239. ... Israel employs water both as an economic and even political weapon to further its policy of settlements. Consequently, the economy and agriculture of the Arab population is adversely affected by the exploitation of water resources by the occupying authorities."

The Commission made the following recommendations, among others:

"243. In the Commission's view, the problem of settlements and occupation raises fundamental problems for peace. The longer they continue to persist, the greater the potential for escalating the conflict; ...

"244. ... the Commission considers that the persistent refusal of Israel to heed the repeated appeals of the Security Council on the matter should be censured; ...

"246. The Commission is of the view that Israel should be made aware of the serious deterioration of the situation in the occupied territories resulting from its policy of settlement and called upon, as a matter of urgency, to cease the establishment, construction, expansion and planning of settlements in those territories; ...

"249. The Commission wishes to reiterate its recommendation that the Security Council adopt effective measures to prevail on Israel to cease forthwith its settlements policies in all aspects in the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem. (S/14268)

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

We do not want to lose faith in this Council, but we do know that that report was put in a deep freeze. Perhaps one of the permanent members of the Security Council did not like what was written in it. But then only the other day the Secretary-General, in pursuance of resolution 605 (1987), reported something very similar to the Council - more grave, yes, but something similar. Again the Council was frustrated in its actions, thanks to a permanent member, of course. In that report I have just mentioned, the Secretary-General stressed that the underlying problem was occupation, the policies and practices of the occupying Power and the immediate and inevitable results of total disregard for the norms governing the behaviour of the occupying Power, namely, the Fourth Geneva Convention. One aspect is the prohibition to transfer civilians of the occupying Power to the territory under occupation. Israel has not only permitted the transfer, but has financed and protected the establishment of settlements and armed and trained the colonial settlers, again with funds from Washington, D.C. Now those colonial settlers were impressed with what was achieved, and according to one such settler: "We go out on picnics to show those Arabs who controls this territory".

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

Is provoking a confrontation mere arrogance, or is that arrogance coupled with malicious criminal intent? The settlers also said: "If this is only a peaceful confrontation, then let it be bloody."

Everyone here is aware of the story that made headlines: a girl is killed when a bullet hits and kills one of a group of settlers picnicking - settlers do go picnicking. That bullet came from the gun of one of the guards, a civilian carrying an M.16 gun made in the United States and donated by the United States. Immediately, all hell broke loose. But it was not confined only to the settlers; the Israeli army immediately took charge. And what did it do? It merely went to the neighbouring village and demolished houses there and started deporting en masse a number of Palestinians, some of whom, as has been reported to the Council, came from that little village of Beita. I am sure one could not find the name of that village on a map, for it is such a small village. But here the settlers came out for a picnic, provoking the villagers, stealing their water, shooting and killing one of them and then blaming others, saying "Well, maybe it was a mistake".

No, such a plea is unacceptable. The Israeli army was behind it; the occupying Power is fully responsible for that crime; and I think that the Council should stress the point that that is the responsibility of Israel, the occupying Power. And there cannot be any plea; otherwise we should be reminded of the fellow that stood before the judge and said: "Your Honour, it is true that I killed my father, but please have pity on me for I am an orphan now." That is not the way the Council handles matters. The Council is duty-bound to condemn Israel for having participated in, if not planned, those criminal acts that led to deportations and the demolishing of the village. Here I wish to repeat that the Secretary-General did very well in making his 12 April statement.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine)
Liberation Organization)

But just as the elephants, we the Palestinians do not forget. All this is taking place at almost the same time, to the day, as what happened in 1948. On 9 April 1948 murderers went into the peaceful village of Deir Yassin - under the command of people like Begin and others - and killed more than 250 unarmed civilians, giving rise to a campaign of intimidation which to a great extent proved to be the genesis of the Palestine refugee problem and the dispersion of the Palestinian people.

But let me reiterate that the Palestinian people are now determined not only to persevere and maintain their steadfastness in their own homes, but those who were expelled in 1948 are determined to adhere to their right to return to their homes and property.

What is to be done? We believe that the Council - when not frustrated by one of its permanent members - has sufficient powers vested in it to ensure respect for its decisions, and its members, individually and collectively, are duty-bound to ensure respect for the provisions of the Geneva Convention.

The Council must in the discharge of its responsibilities act in such a way as to provide an end to Israeli policies and practices, such as deportation, demolition of property, individual as well as general, including houses, villages and towns. The Council is also called upon to address the root cause, the underlying problem: the need to end the Israeli occupation and the need to establish conditions that will enable the Palestinian people to exercise freely its inalienable rights, primarily the right to self-determination in its own homeland - Palestine. The Council is called upon to support the endeavours of the Secretary-General to carry out the task of convening the International Peace Conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, a Conference whose guidelines and participants have already been determined. The Council cannot and should not permit Israel to commit daily crimes of mass deportation and the slow elimination

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

of the Palestinian people. The Council should not let us lose faith in its efficacy and in the need to resort to it in seeking humanitarian and political succor, justice and peace.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization for the kind words he addressed to me and my country.

Mr. RANA (Nepal): I wish to extend my warm congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of April. My delegation holds you in high esteem for your many personal qualities as for your professional competence. We are particularly pleased that such an eminent representative of Zambia - a country with which Nepal has very close and co-operative relations - is presiding over the Council at this important period of our work.

I wish also to avail myself of this opportunity to place on record our deep appreciation to the Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia for the very able manner in which he guided the work of the Council during the busy month of March.

When we met on 30 March to consider the situation in the occupied territories, we had the privilege of listening to the statements of the Foreign Minister of Algeria and other members of the Arab ministerial delegation. They not only gave eloquent expression to the concerns of the international community over the tragic developments but also placed the events in proper perspective. The Council decided to keep the situation under review, and the hope was that Israel would at long last take cognizance of the international consensus. Events, however, have proved otherwise. Israel has resorted to harsher and more repressive measures in dealing with the popular uprising, which is now in its fifth month. The systematic destruction of life and property and the widespread detentions defy all attempts to rationalize such action in terms of requirements to maintain law and order.

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

As if those repressive measures were not enough, Israel has now once again resorted to deportation of the Palestinians, in total defiance of Security Council resolutions 607 (1988) and 608 (1988) and in direct contravention of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. The Council cannot but strongly denounce Israel for the flagrant disregard of its resolutions and for its refusal to accept the de jure application of the provisions of the Convention to Gaza and the West Bank.

The continued occupation of the West Bank and Gaza by Israel since 1967 is in itself cause enough to spur a popular unrest. This has been further fuelled by the repressive measures adopted by the Israeli security forces. The first challenge before the Council is therefore to end the cycle of violence there. That will, in our view, help to create an atmosphere conducive to the search for a negotiated settlement of the Middle East problem.

Nepal has always supported and is ready to support any initiative designed to promote the cause and conditions of peace in that region of continuing tension and turmoil. We were therefore disappointed to note that the recent initiative of the American Secretary of State, Mr. George Shultz, failed to make the needed breakthrough. Israel continues to take an uncompromising attitude towards all international initiatives. That attitude of continued intransigence will never help the larger cause of peace in the Middle East. On the contrary, it will prolong violence and, in sum, further aggravate the human misery. The longer the tragedy lasts, the longer will the Palestinian - as well as the Israeli - people suffer.

The Security Council has on several occasions come up with concrete proposals to end this long-drawn-out tragedy. Nepal supports those efforts because they are consistent with our view of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We continue to believe that Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

338 (1973), together with other relevant resolutions of the Council and the General Assembly, provide a viable framework for a negotiated settlement.

My delegation wishes to record its appreciation of the Secretary-General's untiring efforts to help the peace efforts. He has very succinctly pointed out that the underlying problem of the Middle East can be resolved only through a political settlement that responds both to the aspirations of the Palestinian people for a separate homeland and to Israel's efforts to ensure the security and well-being of its people. An international conference, under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of all parties concerned, would be the appropriate forum to begin the process of meeting the demands of both parties. For our part, we will be willing to lend whatever support we can to further the cause of peace in the Middle East.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Nepal for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is His Excellency Mr. Oscar Oramas Oliva, Acting Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ORAMAS OLIVA (Cuba), Acting Chairman, Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (interpretation from Spanish): First, Sir, I should like to thank you for having invited me to speak in my capacity as Acting Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People as the Security Council resumes its consideration of the grave situation in the occupied Palestinian territories. I should also like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of April and to say that we have the fullest confidence in your well-proven

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Acting Chairman,
Committee on the Exercise of the
Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian
People)

ability as a diplomat to guide our work on this difficult subject. I should also like to extend our warm thanks and congratulations to the Permanent Representative of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for his flawless performance as President of the Council for the month of March.

Today's meeting marks the fifth time since the beginning of this year and the sixth time since last December that the Security Council has had to meet to review the deteriorating situation in the occupied Palestinian territories. This demonstrates the deep concern with which the international community views Israeli policies and practices in the region, which have been universally repudiated. In a number of resolutions adopted since last December the Security Council has unanimously reaffirmed that the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949 is applicable to the Palestinian and other Arab Territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem. It has called upon Israel, as the occupying Power, to abide by that Convention immediately and scrupulously and to desist forthwith from its policies and practices that are in contravention of the Convention and that have caused fatalities and injuries among defenceless Palestinian civilians. The Council has also called upon Israel to rescind the order to deport Palestinian civilians and to ensure the safe and immediate return to the occupied Palestinian territories of those already deported, as well as to desist forthwith from deporting any other Palestinian civilians from the occupied territories.

Notwithstanding those resolutions and the emphatic appeals addressed to Israel by the entire international community, the Israeli authorities have continued and intensified their policy of suppression, which is aimed at the whole of the Palestinian population and designed to crush the opposition by military means.

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Acting Chairman,
Committee on the Exercise of the
Inalienable Rights of the
Palestinian People)

In a number of letters addressed to the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council, as well as in a number of statements made in the Council, our Committee has voiced its growing concern over the escalation of repressive measures by Israel, the occupying Power. In the past few months, since the beginning of the Palestinian uprising, the number of Palestinians who have died as a result of Israeli army gunfire has risen to at least 138. They include women and children. Many others have died as a result of beatings or the inhalation of tear gas, and hundreds have been wounded.

The Israeli authorities have resorted to increasingly drastic measures of collective punishment, including mass arrests, beatings, the interruption of supplies of food and fuel, prolonged curfews, the cutting of international telephone lines, severe travel restrictions, the demolition of houses and the uprooting of trees and economic and financial sanctions. The activity of the media has been restricted over large areas in order to prevent the international public and the Israeli people from observing the extent of the abuses of human rights in the occupied territories.

Three days ago the Israeli authorities deported eight Palestinian leaders to southern Lebanon, ignoring Security Council resolutions 607 (1988) and 608 (1988), adopted in January. The deportation has been ordered of another 12 Palestinians, six from the village of Beita, where the Israeli army has adopted extensive measures of collective punishment to avenge the recent death of a young Israeli girl, even though the Israeli army itself has stated that she was killed accidentally by her bodyguard, and not by Palestinians, as had originally been reported. According to recent reports, the Israeli authorities have declared that

(Mr. Oramas Oliva, Acting Chairman,
Committee on the Exercise of the
Inalienable Rights of the
Palestinian People)

they will continue the deportations as a deterrent and that they will apply whatever measures they deem necessary to crush the uprising.

In the light of those grave events, the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People wishes to put on record again its condemnation of those policies and practices of the occupying Power, which contravene the Fourth Geneva Convention, international instruments on human rights and the relevant United Nations resolutions. Israel's resort to mounting repression presents new obstacles to the international efforts to bring about a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the question of Palestine, which is the main goal of our Committee and of the United Nations as a whole. The situation is so serious that all those concerned must use every possible means to guarantee the security and protection of the Palestinians civilians living under occupation; it is so serious that we must redouble our joint efforts to secure the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 38/58 C. We wish to reiterate that such a conference is the most practical and most widely accepted proposal for bringing about a solution to this long-standing problem. We urge the Council to take measures to that end before it is too late.

On behalf of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, I appeal to the Secretary-General to implement the recommendations in his report (S/19443) of 21 January this year, so that the necessary humanitarian assistance can be provided to the long-suffering Palestinian people in the occupied territories.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the Acting Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. PEJIC (Yugoslavia): I wish first, Sir, to express my delegation's great and sincere satisfaction at seeing you presiding over the Council's work for the month of April. Our two countries - Zambia and Yugoslavia - have the closest relations bilaterally and in our very close co-operation within the Non-Aligned Movement. We in Yugoslavia have a great regard and respect for the important and constructive role your country is playing in international affairs and in enhancing our pursuit of the goals of freedom, independence, peace and justice. I am, of course, aware of your high diplomatic and political qualities, which you have so amply displayed in the work of the Council and the United Nations in past years. We are confident that under your leadership the Council will perform its tasks successfully.

I also wish to thank all those representatives who said kind words about my presidency of the Council in March.

The uprising of the Palestinian population in the occupied territories and its courageous resistance to the brutal measures and acts of the occupation authorities has attracted the attention and elicited the broadest sympathy and support of the international community for more than four months now. The gravity and complexity of the existing situation were best illustrated by the members of the ministerial delegation of the Arab League, led by the Foreign Minister of Algeria, in their statements in the Security Council during its debate on 30 March.

Since then the situation has unfortunately further deteriorated. We have witnessed even more repressive measures. In addition to daily killings of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, the Israeli occupation authorities have

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

started blowing up the homes of Palestinian families and renewed the deportation of Palestinians, which was condemned by resolutions 607 (1988) and 608 (1988), adopted by the Security Council at the beginning of this year. This practice of the occupation authorities, the brutality of which is there for the world to see day in and day out, comes as a shock to, and causes the indignation of, the international community.

The tense situation in the West Bank and Gaza, as a result of the systematic and persistent denial and continuous violation of the basic human rights of the Palestinian people and its aspiration to decide, freely and independently, on its own fate, presents the most serious threat to international peace and security and makes it incumbent upon the Security Council to respond resolutely and take its own position regarding these events.

Israel's fruitless attempts to suppress, by the most brutal methods and means, the unrest and demonstrations of the Palestinian population, which are the expression of the unanimous refusal of the Palestinians further to tolerate foreign occupation and domination, should therefore not only be considered by the Security Council, but should be its priority preoccupation until a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the Middle East crisis and the problem of Palestine, which is at its core, is achieved.

The vehemence of the Palestinian protest has finally broken the 20-year illusion that the occupation can be legalized over time and that it is possible to ensure one's own security on the basis of the semblance of military might and the policy of expansion.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

In this sense the blockade of the areas inhabited by the Palestinians and the prohibition of the media so that it cannot report the truth of the events are yet another proof of the impotence of the occupation authorities' attempts to suppress the resistance of the Palestinian population. What causes us concern, however, is the fact that, despite the broadest criticism and condemnation, including by its closest friends and allies, Israel remains consistent in its attempts to suppress, by force and repression, the firm readiness of the Palestinian children and youth to realize their legitimate goals and demands in an unequal struggle with the Israeli occupation authorities. It has been proved time and again that no measures, including beatings, deportations, intimidation, humiliation, torture of detainees and countless other brutal and inhuman acts of the occupation authorities, reminiscent of the darkest pages of a not so distant past, that offend human dignity in the crudest way, can discourage a people resolved to decide on its own fate freely and independently.

Therefore we cannot but repeat our surprise and dismay that the leaders of the country whose people experienced untold sufferings in recent history should advocate the application of brutal means and measures against those struggling for freedom, human dignity, maintenance of their national identity and their own homeland.

We therefore consider that the Security Council is in duty bound to respond most resolutely to such a state of affairs and to undertake resolute measures in order to overcome it speedily. We also consider that, as part of the measures and steps that should be taken to alleviate the situation, it is necessary urgently and without delay to implement and respect Security Council resolutions 605 (1987), 607 (1988) and 608 (1988), which inter alia request Israel fully to respect and implement in the occupied territories the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and to desist from deportation measures.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

It is high time Israel understood that as long as it continues to occupy foreign territories there will not be, nor can there be, peace and security in any country of the region, including Israel, and that continuation of this situation will be a source of dangerous tension as well as of new tribulations and permanent instability for Israel itself and for the region as a whole.

We should like also to repeat on this occasion that the continued rejection and postponement of the process for a just and lasting solution to the problem of Palestine based on the authentic aspirations of the Palestinian people, as well as the legitimate interests of Israel, will cause unforeseeable damage also to Israel and its positions. We sincerely believe that realization of the untenability of occupation has taken hold at least in some political quarters in Israel and that they will draw appropriate conclusions from that realization.

The recent consultations of the Secretary-General have shown that there exists unanimity in the Security Council that developments in the occupied territories require an urgent quest for a political settlement of the problem. In the opinion of Yugoslavia, as well as of the majority of Members of our Organization, this implies Israel's withdrawal from all Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, realization of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to self-determination, their own homeland and respect for the rights of all the countries of the region, including Israel, to peace, security and existence within internationally recognized borders.

The dramatic developments in the occupied territories are a warning sign that it is our common obligation speedily to proceed to bring about an urgent solution of the problem of Palestine since it is an illusion that it can continuously be pushed to the sidelines of Middle East events.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

It is our firm belief that the most realistic and acceptable way to bring about a solution of the Middle East crisis and the problem of Palestine is the speedy convening of an international conference under United Nations auspices with the equitable participation of all directly interested parties, including the PLO. In this context we support every constructive effort that would lead to the commencement of serious and substantive consultations with a view to finding the broadest possible acceptable basis for a substantive breakthrough towards the peace process. Along those lines we fully support the efforts of the Secretary-General on the basis of General Assembly resolution 42/66 D.

As in the past, Yugoslavia will continue to spare no effort and endeavour to bring about realization of that goal. At this important juncture, that is our common historic obligation and debt to the unrealized aspirations and rights of the Palestinian people as well as to peace and security in that part of the world. We therefore believe that this debate will contribute to the acceleration of efforts to achieve a solution of the problem of Palestine since each and every postponement is fraught with dangers, with potentially unforeseeable consequences for international peace and security.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Yugoslavia for the kind words he addressed to me.

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

Mr. GHEZAL (Tunisia) (interpretation from Arabic): At the outset I wish on behalf of the Tunisian delegation to extend to you, Sir, warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are confident that you will be able fully to discharge the responsibilities of the presidency thanks to your personal skills and competence and the high regard for your fraternal country, Zambia, which is the current Chairman of the Organization

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

of African Unity and at the same time steadfastly faces one of the strongholds of racism and aggression, the Pretoria régime of South Africa.

Allow me also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Pejic, the Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia to the United Nations, who presided over the work of the Council last month, demonstrating prudence, knowledge and skill.

The Council has been convened several times in recent months to examine the situation in the occupied Arab territories in view of the grave deterioration there that has resulted from the fierce campaign of oppression perpetrated by the Zionist occupation forces against the unarmed Palestinian people in the occupied territories, especially since the beginning of the glorious uprising of the Palestinian people on 9 December last. The Council has adopted its resolutions 605 (1987), 607 (1988) and 608 (1988) on that critical situation, condemning the oppressive practices of the Israeli occupation forces, calling upon the Israeli authorities to respect the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, and stating the need for a just solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

In accordance with the mandate in resolution 605 (1987) the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report, dated 21 January 1988, in which he outlined measures to ensure the protection of the defenceless Palestinian population in the occupied territories; he emphasized that a comprehensive, just and lasting solution which would take into account the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination, was the only way to bring about peace and security in the region.

But later the Council, hamstrung by the exercise of the veto, was unable to take the action warranted by the existing situation in the occupied territories and in keeping with its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

All that took place while the Israeli occupation authorities persisted in devising innovative acts of oppression and brutality against the defenceless Palestinian people in the occupied territories and while the Israeli authorities pursued the Palestinians with acts of terrorism and aggression everywhere.

It is therefore no longer possible to ignore Israeli practices in the occupied Arab territories. And no one can deny that, especially as the international media have exposed Israel's true nature as revealed in its brutal denial of human values and the norms of international law. Israel has been exposed as an expansionist, colonialist entity, committing acts of aggression against an innocent, defenceless people living in its own land.

Israel arrogantly boasts of democracy, whereas in fact there is no difference between it and the Pretoria régime, its ally. After all, democracy is morality, equality and justice. The democracy claimed by the Zionist régime is exclusively for the group of occupiers who proclaim it in order to solidify their criminal tendencies, while the victims have no rights whatever.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

The number of victims who have fallen as a result of bullets fired by Jewish settlers and occupation forces, the burial of live persons, the crushing of bones, the profanation of mosques and churches, the demolition of houses and the deportation of those who reject occupation - even if in words only - have all been committed by Israel and its occupation forces in the occupied territories. All that has been testified to in the international media, both printed and broadcast. This is not an isolated case or an accident but, as is well known, the declared official policy announced by Israeli rulers in official statements.

Of what are the victims of this oppression and brutality guilty? Their patience with occupation exhausted, they have risen up in the face of oppression to demand their right to live in freedom and dignity on their own land, armed only with their rights and the stones that David hurled at Goliath.

There has been much talk about the pretext of maintaining law and order. We are not aware that anyone in the occupied Palestinian territories ever invited Israel to come there or to maintain law and order there.

What about the security of the States and peoples of the region? Who poses a threat to the security of the region and its peoples? Is it the one who clings to his rights and dignity, or is it Israel which has usurped the territories of the States and peoples of the region? Israel has established a State without recognized and fixed borders.

All that and the acts of oppression perpetrated by the occupation authorities have violated all civilized behaviour: food supplies have been cut off from the civilian population in the occupied Palestinian territories, they have been denied medicines and drugs, pharmacies have been closed, they have been denied fuel supplies, water too has been cut off, thousands have been detained, schools have been turned into prisons; in addition to all that, portions of the occupied

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

territories have been sealed off and none dare venture outside, except the forces of occupation and the Jewish settlers. All that has been taking place under a media blackout imposed by the occupation forces. Israel has thus closely followed the example of South Africa: no television, no broadcast coverage, and no printed press allowed to report to us the crimes being committed by the occupiers.

In recent days we have heard startling news of oppression and inhuman practices against the civilian population in the occupied territories because a young girl from the settler population near Beita Village in an occupied Palestinian territory was killed. Israel started an uproar and its forces launched a campaign of terror and murder against the defenceless, innocent villagers of Beita. The Government of Israel ordered mass demolition of homes and expulsion of a number of the villagers from their homeland. Israel took that action even though - as it turned out - it was aware that the villagers were innocent and had not killed the girl. It was later proved that she was murdered by a shot fired by one of the Jewish settlers acting as escorts for a group of children.

That fact was well known to the Prime Minister of Israel and the Israeli army authorities; yet the Israeli Prime Minister called for vengeance against Arab Palestinians saying that God would avenge that girl's blood. However, I must say here that Allah, the Lord, in His justice will avenge for the oppressed Palestinians.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

On the other hand, hundreds of defenceless and unarmed young Arabs, including women and children were killed and thousands of others wounded and arrested; scores have been expelled and homes and villages have been demolished. No attention has been given to all these crimes, as though these people were not human beings. Their dignity has not been respected. They are treated as if they did not have any rights or aspirations like other human beings. In fact, in the view of the Israeli Prime Minister, these Palestinians are "grasshoppers". On another occasion he described the Palestinians, in comparing them to Israel, as flies fighting an elephant. His Minister of Defence spoke about a struggle between two wills, and he emphasized to the Palestinians that he would emerge victorious, as if preparing himself for a sports match. But in fact he was inflicting on a defenceless people acts of oppression, suppression and brutality.

After all this, are we levelling unfair charges against Israel when we accuse it of committing acts of aggression and oppression and of carrying out inhuman practices? Are we unfair when we describe the Israeli rulers as racists and criminals? After all this, is it surprising that the victims of arrogance, prejudice and oppression should resort to the Council and call for its convening in order to seek justice and ensure protection for themselves?

What is indeed strange is the unique status of Israel in the world. Israel commits all these crimes and few voices are raised against it, let alone to blame it for such crimes. But Israel, given its clout, can commit the most heinous crimes while ensuring that no one will pay attention to them. Israel invades and here and there strikes at will while others rush to find excuses, not ascribing terrorism to Israel but to its victims. Israel manufactures dozens of nuclear bombs, and no voices are raised among those who call for denuclearization. But those who try to acquire conventional weapons in order to defend their land and

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

boundaries, or others who seek to acquire technology even if it is to be used only for peaceful purposes, have their peaceful installations demolished by Israel without any blame being ascribed to Israel.

However, the uprising of the Palestinian people and the generation which hurls stones in the occupied territories have exposed the true nature of Israel. Brutalities, regardless of their scope and level, will not undermine the will of the Palestinian people to have its full national rights restored. The Palestinian people has regained its dignity; it has dispelled fear and replaced it by a determination to emerge victorious.

The critical deterioration of the situation in the occupied territories makes it imperative for the Council, which is the custodian of international peace and security, to shoulder its full responsibility and to take adequate measures in order to ensure the protection and safety of the Palestinian population in the occupied territories and to give them hope that their legitimate rights will eventually be recognized, including the right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent State on their own land, in order to put an end to the practices of the occupation forces and to ensure respect for the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

The tragic events in the occupied Arab territories emphasize the urgent need for a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, especially in regard to the problem of the Palestinian people. The Arab States and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) have expressed their firm determination to contribute to the resolution of the conflict on the basis of international law, as provided for in the resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly, especially as outlined in the Fez Peace Plan submitted in 1982.

(Mr. Ghezal, Tunisia)

That commitment was reaffirmed in the November 1987 Amman summit meeting, which supported the convening of an international peace conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation of all parties concerned on an equal footing, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and the permanent members of the Security Council.

In the present circumstances, we feel that the Council is duty-bound to enforce its previous resolutions 605 (1987), 607 (1988) and 608 (1988), and to implement the Secretary-General's recommendations contained in his report of 21 January 1988, in which he calls upon the international community, through the Security Council, to take urgent action towards the convening of the international peace conference.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Tunisia for his kind words addressed to me.

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

Mr. ABULHASAN (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives us great pleasure, Sir, to see you presiding over the Security Council for this month. We are confident that, thanks to your wise leadership, well-known diplomatic experience and professional abilities, the Council will be able to achieve optimum results. We are particularly pleased that you represent a country - Zambia - that is friendly to Kuwait.

We should also like to express our thanks and appreciation to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia, for his able conduct of the work of the Council in a month that was replete with the most important international causes.

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

As the Palestinian popular uprising nears the end of its fourth month, the number of its martyrs has reached more than 150, and every day more martyrs continue to fall. These great and remarkable sacrifices of the uprising have proved that the struggle of the Palestinian people, after more than 20 years of occupation, is a type of resistance that can neither be denied nor be branded as terrorism. What is taking place in occupied Palestine reflects a new and serious element. The uprising is not mere rioting; it is a new human effort made by the Palestinian people for the restoration of its usurped human rights. The uprising has destroyed the policy and the myth of the status quo, which is considered by Israel and, in particular, by the Likud party, as the best possible situation. It has destroyed 20 years of myopic Israeli occupation, which now lies in ruins in the streets of the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem. The Israeli occupation continues to weigh heavily upon the lives of 1.5 million Palestinians, keeping them as a source of cheap manual labour, while denying their basic human rights, which are guaranteed by all relevant international laws, instruments and norms, and in particular by the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. And yet the proud Palestinian people rose up to express its sense of frustration and bitterness and its political will in so determined a manner that it surprised even the Israelis and their leaders. The Palestinian people has declared to the whole world its rejection of the hateful policy of occupation. The uprising has caused a profound change in Israeli society. It has created a new and irrevocable situation and has taught a strong lesson about the limits of Israeli power.

Indeed, despite its might, the Israeli army remains incapable of quelling the uprising and of breaking the will of the Palestinian people now in revolt. The uprising even broke the myth of a united Jerusalem when the Palestinian people in East Jerusalem and its suburbs, areas occupied before 1967, joined the uprising.

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

The commercial strike in East Jerusalem, which lasted longer than any other similar strike in the West Bank or Gaza, was also clear proof of that fact, despite the severe measures taken by the occupying authorities, such as the closing of all schools in East Jerusalem. The uprising has changed the concept of Israel as a country, and even Israel's sense of history. Questions that could have been put off for many years have come to the forefront and have imposed themselves on the situation today. This radical change has been made by the stone-throwing heroes, who have proved to the world that their just cause and struggle will never be obfuscated, no matter how short the world's memory.

Among the truest of the words spoken about the Palestinian uprising and its heroes were those of His Royal Highness the Emir of the State of Kuwait last Saturday at the inauguration of the meeting of the Bureau of the Fifth Islamic Summit in Kuwait. He said:

"They are a new generation; they are a new life that has bloomed in the good earth - a generation of people who have faith in their hearts, plans in their minds and the stones of their homeland in their hands. The question of Palestine is a constant responsibility. It is a living creature that breathes with two lungs: one is internal resistance; the other is external support. The internal resistance is nobly discharging its duty. The external support remains a test of the sincerity of intentions, as well as of genuine deeds, and not mere words. This uprising is the voice of truth, which has destroyed the wall of silence that the Israeli entity is trying to impose on the question. We must protect that truth from the storms of politicking and from open or tacit conspiracies. We must ensure that this unequal battle, in which the fierceness and tyranny of the enemy increases daily, is not prolonged. The uprising is the explicit embodiment of the Palestinian people's

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

determination to regain its inalienable rights, including the right to self-determination and the establishment of independent statehood on Palestinian soil, under the leadership of its sole, legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization. Now that fury has erupted in the blessed land, after patience had worn thin and after the falsehood of promises has become clear, Palestine has become the litmus test of the commitment of the great Powers to human rights."

Nevertheless, Israel and some of its sympathizers continue to dream that force and repression can quell this popular uprising. Indeed, since the beginning of the uprising, the Israelis have employed all sorts of oppression and collective punishments to quell it, but they will never be able to do so. The uprising is now into its fifth month and the number of its martyrs continues to increase. This reaffirms that not even death will deter the Palestinians from continuing their revolution, regardless of the repressive measures used by Israel, whether those include burying people alive, bulldozing their homes, breaking the arms and legs of unarmed children, women, young people and the elderly, or the use of tear gas. Evidence of Palestinian determination can be seen in the hospitals in Gaza and the West Bank, which are filled with Palestinians whose bones have been broken.

One of the painful paradoxes is that when an Israeli girl was killed by a Jewish settler charges were instantly directed at the struggling Palestinian people. That offers proof once again of the severity of the Israeli occupation authorities, their repressive measures and their policy of collective punishment, which is aimed at the subjugation and silencing of the Palestinian people. Immediately after the killing of the Israeli girl, the Israeli army demolished six Arab houses in that village. After the investigation by the Israeli army proved that the population of the village was innocent of the charge of killing the

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

Israeli girl, the Israeli army nevertheless demolished eight more Arab houses and followed that with the deportation of eight Palestinians to areas outside the occupied Arab territories. There are many other Palestinians in the occupied territories who are awaiting the same destiny. These collective punishments, which took place after the killing of the Israeli girl, is one link in the chain that reflects the extent of the Israelis' hatred of the Arab population of the occupied territories. The Jewish settlers and the leaders of Israel, in particular the Prime Minister, the Minister of Justice, Rabbis Druckmann and Kahane, and others, have all exploited the killing of that girl to fan the flames of hatred and revenge against the Arab population.

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

Both Sharon and the Israeli Minister of Justice called for the taking of corrective measures against the population and, if necessary, wiping their village off the map. Coming from Sharon, Shamir or others of their ilk, that is not new to the history of Israel. According to a study by the American Friends Service Committee, since 1967 Israel has deported no fewer than 1,156 Palestinians from their homeland. Can we expect otherwise from Yitzhak Shamir, the Prime Minister of the Zionist entity who a few weeks ago declared that the Palestinian people would be squashed like grasshoppers?

Israel has always refused the comparison made of it with the racist régime of South Africa. Yet every day it reaffirms the validity of this comparison. Like South Africa, Israel has imposed a news black-out on its practices, in this case in the occupied Arab territories. Despite the fact that Israel's friends and sympathizers have denounced the inhuman practices in South Africa, Israel has not done the same when it came to the murder of more than 160 and the injuring of thousands of unarmed Palestinian civilians and when it was a question of the savage treatment by the Israeli army of hundreds of Palestinians. The Jewish communities have repeatedly told us that the silence and indifference of the majority of peoples of the world facilitated Hitler's horrific oppression. What does their own silence mean now? Does it mean approval or indifference, or does it means embarrassment?

Israel and its sympathizers have claimed that since its inception Israel has had a noble mission in the field of human values in the world after the horrors of the Second World War. As long ago as the days of Ben Gurion, Israel's first Prime Minister, it said:

"Israel will be a democracy. It can never survive without a democratic system and without according just value to humanity and freedom."

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

Should we believe this? How can we be convinced that what is taking place in the occupied territories and what has taken place since Israel's inception is not diametrically opposed to those noble human values on which they claim Israel is based?

Kuwait believes that it is high time for Israel and its sympathizers to realize that they can no longer ignore the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people which are enshrined in international law and United Nations resolutions, in particular those pertaining to the international conference, which constitutes the only possible and internationally acceptable solution, resolutions ensuring the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and to self-determination and national sovereignty within their independent State. Israel must realize that peace in the Middle East is conditional upon the solution of the question of the Palestinian people. Such a solution cannot be achieved unless the Palestinian people and their sole, legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), play a role in achieving it.

Israel and its friends must realize that the only path leading to political talks conducive to such a peaceful solution is through recognizing the legitimacy of the PLO and negotiating with it, for it is the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Any other path is doomed to failure. The only path acceptable at the international and Arab levels is the convening of a competent international conference with the participation, on an equal footing, of all parties concerned, including the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and the five permanent members of the Security Council.

Kuwait believes that the uprising of the Palestinian people has created new circumstances of historic importance, in the light of which it is incumbent upon the Security Council to adopt the necessary measures to ensure the protection of

(Mr. Abulhasan, Kuwait)

the rights of the Palestinian people under Israeli occupation. The compliance of Israel, as the occupying Power, with the Fourth Geneva Convention constitutes the immediate central question which Israel must admit as the first essential step on the path to the achievement of comprehensive peace, for occupation constitutes the major obstacle in the path of peace in our region.

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

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. JOFFE (Israel): Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month.

Although our two countries do not maintain formal relations, let us hope that in the not too distant future our relations will return to what they used to be, for the mutual benefit of our countries and our peoples.

The Security Council is entrusted with the primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security, and should address the real issues which endanger international peace.

The proliferation in the use of chemical warfare and the gassing of thousands of innocent citizens in the prolonged conflict in the Gulf, and the hundreds buried in the rubble caused by the recent indiscriminate missile attacks in the infamous "war of the cities", are signs of a continued deterioration in a tragic situation.

The brutal specter of terrorism, the deliberate and systematic murder and maiming of innocent civilians, continues to rear its ugly head. We are all witnesses to the latest tragedy being played out as we convene here. In the course of the hijacking of a Kuwaiti airliner, two Kuwaiti nationals have been murdered in

(Mr. Joffe, Israel)

a most barbaric fashion. The perpetrators of the crimes have not accorded the most basic of humanitarian respect even for the corpses.

And this morning the Council is again acceding to Arab demands to convene it on the occasion of any whim, not in a genuine pursuit of peace, but to devote its time and resources to a repeat performance of counter-productive rhetoric against Israel.

My Government has set forth two goals: first, the restoration of tranquillity to the areas of Judea, Samaria and Gaza; and, secondly, the political resolution of those territories' ultimate status.

But one issue must be made absolutely clear: Peaceful political negotiations cannot proceed in the face of Molotov cocktails, vicious stabbings and rock-throwing, or under the threat of any violence whatsoever.

Any Government in similar circumstances would, and should, invoke the rights to which it is due under international law: the right to maintain the orderly administration of territory under its control, to ensure the security of all the inhabitants and of its armed forces. That is the first and foremost duty of any Government, military or civilian, whether the concern is territory that is sovereign, disputed or occupied.

(Mr. Joffe, Israel)

The Fourth Geneva Convention is very clear on the matter. Let me quote the relevant paragraph:

"The Occupying Power may ... subject the population of the occupied territory to provisions which are essential ... to maintain the orderly government of the territory, and to ensure the security of the Occupying Power, of the members and property of the occupying forces or administration."

In our effort to restore tranquillity and order we have apprehended a network of professional inciters and organizers of riots and violence. All suspects taken into custody are given due process of law, including the right to appeal up to the Supreme Court of Israel, with appropriate legal representation. If evidence is found against them, they are brought to trial. If not, they are released.

In a few hard-core cases involving those convicted of repeated violent incitement and subversion on behalf of terrorist organizations and of acts of terror, Israel has decided upon expulsion as one of the means of contributing to the restoration of calm. Some may argue that that is against international law. Is it? Article 63 of the Hague Regulations of 1907 states that the Governing Administration

"shall take all measures in its power to restore and ensure, as far as possible, public order and safety, while respecting, unless absolutely prevented, the laws in force in the country."

That, exactly, is the basis of our actions. We follow local laws.

The British Mandate set forth the first laws in the modern era, enacted in this century. The Defence Emergency Regulations put in place by Great Britain in 1945 allowed expulsions. That provision was retained when the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan occupied Judea and Samaria for 19 years and was actually implemented on numerous occasions, not only by Jordan but also by Egypt in the Gaza district.

(Mr. Joffe, Israel)

We have resorted to those measures only when absolutely necessary, as is our right under international law.

On 11 April five residents of the Gaza District and three from Judea-Samaria - the West Bank - were expelled. Furthermore, 12 other residents were issued expulsion orders. Six of them are from the West Bank village of Beita. The eight agitators who were expelled on 11 April and the 12 who were issued expulsion orders have all been involved in incitement and subversion, including the recent violence in the territories. They are leading activists and chief instigators of the current unrest. The six residents from Beita were all involved in the 6 April attack on a group of Israeli hikers, most of them teenagers. During that attack an Israeli girl was killed and 14 hikers were injured.

The agitators are long-standing and locally prominent members of extremist organizations. Nine are with Fatah and, in many of the cases, its affiliated "Shabiba" front youth organization; five with militant Islamic fundamentalist organizations; two with Hawatmeh's Marxist-oriented PDFLP - "Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine"; one with Habash's Marxist-oriented PLFP - "Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine" and one with the Palestinian Communist Party which, in 1987, became part of the PLO. Following trials, 12 were sentenced in the past to prison terms, some of them lengthy, for their terrorist activities.

The new expulsion orders concerning the 12 will be carried out only after the legal process is completed. The 12 have 96 hours in which to appeal the decision before an advisory committee to the regional military commander. In the event that that petition is denied, they will have 48 hours to appeal to the Israeli Supreme Court, in its capacity as the High Court of Justice.

(Mr. Joffe, Israel)

The eight who were expelled were given the opportunity to submit appeals after having received their expulsion orders several months ago. Three petitions were rejected by the High Court of Justice; four decided to waive their petitions after they saw the evidence against them; one decided from the outset not to appeal.

Today is Holocaust Day. Today, the Jewish people commemorate the memory of 6 million Jewish martyrs of the Nazi Holocaust. It is with this history still fresh in our minds that we commit ourselves, first and foremost, to the security and survival of the Jewish State in its ancestral homeland.

As is its right and obligation, Israel will use all measures necessary to ensure peace and security in the territories under its administration, in accordance with due process of law.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Israel for his kind words addressed to me.

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

Mr. SHAH NAWAZ (Pakistan): Today, the Security Council is meeting for the sixth time since the Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation began on 9 December in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. It has remained continuously seized of the situation in the occupied territories since then and has adopted three resolutions, namely, resolution 605 (1987) of 22 December 1987 and resolutions 607 (1988) of 5 January and 608 (1988) of 14 January 1988. Another draft resolution is to be considered by the Security Council at its present meetings in view of the continuation of the intensification of acts of repression by the occupying authorities.

We congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month, when the Council is being called upon to send yet another

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

message to Israel to resile from its outrageous colonial approach to the question of Palestine and to demonstrate its desire for genuine peace in the region, of which it has so often boasted. We feel confident that your able and skilful leadership will enable the Council to deal with this issue suitably and effectively. We are particularly happy at your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council at this crucial stage not only because Pakistan enjoys a relationship of close friendship and mutual respect with your great country but also because you represent a country that is currently providing wise leadership to the Organization of African Unity and making a great contribution to the cause of peace, freedom and stability around the globe.

While assuring you of our full support of your endeavours to guide the Security Council's deliberations to a successful conclusion, I also take this opportunity of expressing our admiration for the exemplary manner in which His Excellency Ambassador Dragoslav Pejic of Yugoslavia presided over the Council's deliberations last month, when the Security Council remained occupied with the Palestinian question and was addressed on the issue by the Foreign Ministers of Algeria and Syria, the Minister of State of Saudi Arabia, the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States and the head of the Political Department of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

The meetings of the Security Council on the current situation in the occupied territories are the only means by which the international community as a whole is able to express its deep concern at a tragedy being enacted in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and to demand that Israel desist from pursuing a policy based on the use of force, which spells disaster for the cause of peace and stability in the region.

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

According to today's edition of The New York Times, at least 126 Palestinians have been reported killed and an undetermined number wounded by Israeli gunfire, beatings or tear gas in the occupied West Bank and Gaza. Protesters in the refugee camps have been fired upon, and teenagers outside a school have received grievous bodily injuries. A Palestinian woman is reported to have suffocated to death after inhaling gas from a canister thrown into her home by Israeli soldiers. This is only a partial account of what may have happened, since the current Israeli policy of covering up the violent confrontations includes restrictions on news coverage of the incidents.

Israel ought to realize that the policy of unbridled repression that it follows in the occupied territories will never succeed in extinguishing the spirit of freedom which fuels the just Palestinian struggle. Driven to desperation, a village north of Jerusalem, named Salfit, is reported to have declared itself liberated from Israeli occupation. Some 70 Arabs were arrested for this symbolic act of defiance. The writing on the walls of Salfit village is clear, and needs to be correctly read by the Israeli authorities.

The focus of attention during this Security Council debate must be the current phase of the policy of illegal deportation of Palestinians and the demolition of Palestinian homes in the occupied territories to which the Israeli Government has resorted. Obviously, the goal of this policy is to remove all obstacles to an expanded Israeli settler presence in the occupied territories. The deportations and demolitions clearly violate the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, and have rightly been condemned by the world community as impermissible acts.

It is necessary for the Security Council at its current meetings to send an appropriate message to the Israeli authorities, that under no circumstances will

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

the international community tolerate the policy of repression which has been unleashed in a vain attempt to put down an uprising ignited by their own actions. They should realize that such unrealistic policies and actions will not deter the long-suffering people of Palestine from continuing their just struggle for self-determination.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Pakistan for his kind words addressed to me.

I call on the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, who has asked to make a further statement.

Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)): As has just been mentioned, this is a sad day - a day to remember the Holocaust. One would have thought that this remembrance day would be a day of remembrance of all the victims of the Holocaust - scores of millions, including nationals of different countries and people of the Jewish faith.

The Holocaust is something that should never be repeated, whether it afflicted those of the Jewish faith or the other scores of millions in other countries. It was not exclusive to one particular sect, faction, religion or ethnic group. The whole international community paid the price of almost 40 million victims of that Holocaust by the racist Nazis. This sad remembrance day should have brought a message to the racists in Tel Aviv to make them consider and reassess their policies against the Palestinian people, policies applied simply because of that people's ethnicity and where it belongs. Let not those racists capitalize on those massacres and the Holocaust, which was not exclusive.

The representative of Israel started by referring to the chemical warfare in the Gulf. I am sure he had not seen the statement issued by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), which I read out earlier. To remind him, let me reread part of it, as follows:

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

"Hundreds of refugees have been treated in UNRWA clinics for tear gas inhalation. In some cases tear gas has been thrown inside homes, clinics and schools where the effects are particularly severe. Agency doctors have also seen symptoms not normally connected with regular tear gas and UNRWA is seeking information on contents of gases used in order to provide the proper antidote and treatment, especially for the most vulnerable groups such as pregnant women, the very young and the elderly."

Yet the representative of Israel has the audacity to speak about chemical warfare, when Israel itself is using a tear gas - or some gas with different symptoms - against clinics, homes and schools.

The perpetrators of the crime are not those who are using kitchen knives, not those who are using stones. The perpetrators of the crime are those with machine guns and tanks, with boots poised over the heads of Palestinians, including children, in the occupied territories. Those are the perpetrators of the crime.

We were told that according to the Geneva Convention the occupying Power has to maintain security. Yes, but apparently security means the elimination of the people under occupation, and that is not what the Geneva Convention purports to provide. Let me remind the representative of Israel that the Geneva Convention explicitly says:

"Individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of the Occupying Power or to that of any other country, occupied or not, are prohibited, regardless of their motive." (Article 49)

So there is no question in the Convention that deportation, regardless of motive, should be applied by the occupying Power.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

Let me remind the representative of Israel again that the Geneva Convention says:

"The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies." (Ibid.)

It is prohibited from sending, deporting, transferring the civilian population, the Israeli population, into the territory under occupation. That is exactly what the Geneva Convention says.

Then we are told that Israel is doing nothing, that it is only applying regulations introduced by the British under the Mandate, the Defence Emergency Regulations of 1945. Let me remind the representative of Israel that a Jewish Palestinian of great repute in the legal world - if I remember rightly, it was Mr. Joseph - said of those emergency regulations that not even in Nazi Germany would such regulations be promulgated or applied. Yet the Israelis tell us that those regulations, which are criminal, worse than any under the Nazi régime, will be applied; they themselves are seeking protection under something worse than the Nazis would have introduced.

I am glad that the representative of Israel referred to the deportations as expulsions. He said that the expulsions would go through a legal process. Whether they are expulsions or deportations, what is the legal process? He told us that the people concerned go to an advisory committee, where the defence, should there be a defence, is not even shown the files, the summonses, the complaints against those people.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

It is a farce; it is a travesty of justice. The military are in no way under an obligation to implement the decision of that advisory committee.

So we do agree that a political resolution should be resorted to. After all, in all the statements we have heard this morning that has been the trend: that there should be a political resolution, that the conference under the auspices of the United Nations should be the vehicle for peace - because if we cannot have peace, as he said, under the threat of Molotov cocktails, how can we have peace under the threat of a new gas being used against the people, under the threat of tanks, under the threat of shootings and the killing of people at random, under the threat of deportation?

The PRESIDENT: In view of the lateness of the hour, I intend to adjourn the meeting now. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue the consideration of the item on the agenda will take place tomorrow, Friday, 5 April 1988, at 10.30 a.m.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.