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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 18 December 1987, at 4 p.m.

President: Mr. BELONOGOV

(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)

Members: Argentina
Bulgaria
China
Congo
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Italy
Japan
United Arab Emirates
United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland
United States of America
Venezuela
Zambia

Mr. DELPECH
Mr. TSVETKOV
Mr. LI Luye
Mr. ADOUKI
Mr. BLANC
Count YORK von WARTENBURG
Mr. DUMEVI
Mr. BUCCI
Mr. KIKUCHI
Mr. AL-SHAALI
Sir Crispin TICKELL
Mr. WALTERS
Mr. AGUILAR
Mr. ZUZE

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The meeting was called to order at 4.35 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES

LETTER DATED 11 DECEMBER 1987 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF DEMOCRATIC YEMEN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/19333)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): In accordance with decisions taken at previous meetings on this item, I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Morocco, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe 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. Dost (Afghanistan), Mr. Djoudi (Algeria), Mr. Al-Shakar (Bahrain), Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Mr. Zapotocky (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Badawi (Egypt), Mr. Hucke (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Gharekhan (India), Mr. Mahallati (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Kittani (Iraq), Mr. Netanyahu (Israel), Mr. Salah (Jordan), Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Slaoui (Morocco), Mr. Shah Nawaz (Pakistan), Mr. Al-Kawari (Qatar), Mr. Shihabi (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Masri (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Ghezal (Tunisia), Mr. Oudovenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Ms. Nguyen Binh Thanh (Viet Nam), Mr. Basendwah (Yemen), Mr. Pejic (Yugoslavia) and Mr. Punungwe (Zimbabwe) 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 (interpretation from Russian): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Nicaragua in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite 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. Icaza Gallard (Nicaragua) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them document S/19357, which contains the text of a letter dated 17 December 1987 from the Permanent Representative of Spain to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

Members of the Council also have received photocopies of a letter dated 15 December 1987 from the Permanent Representative of Zimbabwe to the United Nations, in his capacity as Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, addressed to the Secretary-General, and another letter from the Permanent Representative of Egypt to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General. These two letters and their annexes will be circulated as documents S/19360 and S/19361 of the Security Council.

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

Mr. ICAZA GALLARD (Nicaragua) (interpretation from Spanish): First of all, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. Your country has a long tradition of supporting just causes; that, together with your well-known experience and diplomatic skill, ensures effective leadership in our work.

I wish also to congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Kikuchi of Japan, for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the Council's work last month.

My Government and people once again, in this Council, express their rejection of Israel's ongoing violations of the rights of the Palestinian people.

On 11 December 1987 in this Council the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) gave us an account of the ill-treatment meted out to students, children and women in the territories illegally occupied by Israel.

Today, 18 December, this ill-treatment has not only continued but has increased. During the past 11 days the media have reported that Israeli soldiers have shot citizens participating in demonstrations; they have besieged hospitals with tanks, arrested Palestinian citizens who had been wounded or were sick in bed. Yesterday we read about the reinforcement of Israeli troops who entered the Gaza Strip, combing the area with infantry troops and armoured cars. That brutality by the occupying Power has resulted in the death of approximately 14 Palestinians, including children and young persons between the ages of 11 and 17 years; many were wounded and a goodly number detained.

In the face of that ill-treatment the Palestinian resistance has increased in the Gaza Strip, Nablus and near Jerusalem. The violence of the occupying Power has resulted in violent acts of self-defence by the Palestinians, who have been deprived of their most elementary rights and are now tired of this unjust situation which seems to be going on indefinitely.

(Mr. Icaza Gallard, Nicaragua)

It is not the demonstrations by young Palestinians that have caused the situation which we are considering today in the Council. It is not the stones and bottles thrown by the young people at Israeli soldiers that have caused this situation. The source of the problem is the occupation of Palestine by Israel. It is the dislocation and dispersal of Palestinian society resulting from the occupation that is at the bottom of this situation.

Indeed, the Palestinian people cannot enjoy their fundamental rights guaranteed by various international instruments, and more particularly by the 1949 Geneva Conventions pertaining to occupied territories. Israel has refused to accept the application of those instruments to the occupied Palestinian territories for the simple reason that it does not intend to withdraw from them; on the contrary, it is trying to find a way to legitimize that occupation by increasing settlements, annexing territory, seizing land, and applying collective sanctions against the lawful inhabitants of those territories.

Oppression and terror are a constant feature of the everyday life of the Palestinian people: destruction of homes, mass arrests, expulsion of leaders, deportations; closing universities, institutes and schools; attacks on refugee camps, towns, neighbourhoods and even religious centres are all features of everyday life. There is a deliberate effort to affect adversely the economic infrastructure in such a way as to make it permanently dependent on the Israeli economy.

Israel's policies and conduct are in contravention of international legal principles as they have developed over the past century and codified at The Hague, the United Nations and principal international conferences.

The relationship between the occupying Power and the civilian inhabitants of an occupied territory is governed by clearly established guidelines and

(Mr. Icaza Gallard, Nicaragua)

principles. The rights and obligations of both sides are defined in numerous charters and conventions, such as the 1907 Hague Rules, the 1945 London Charter and the 1949 Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. In spite of the existence of occupation, Israel uses such euphemisms as "administered territories" in an attempt to justify conduct that in fact denies the political rights of the civilians under occupation.

Our Organization has adopted numerous resolutions along the lines just mentioned: resolution 3236 (XXIX) in which the General Assembly reaffirms the inalienable right of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination without external interference, the right to national independence and sovereignty, and their right to return to their homes and property. Additionally, there are resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III) adopted in 1947 and 1948, respectively; the former recognizes the right of the Arab people of Palestine to have an independent State in Palestine.

The establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East must be based on the complete withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories and on guarantees of the national rights of the Palestinian people within the framework of an international peace conference, to be held under the auspices of the United Nations, in keeping with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 38/58 C.

The Arab countries have expressed their genuine desire for peace in the region. We might recall the recent Arab Summit Conference in Amman, where the Arab States declared their acceptance of an international conference as the most appropriate means for achieving peace. That Arab Summit Conference also rejected any solution not including Israel's complete withdrawal from all occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories or not ensuring the full exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

(Mr. Icaza Gallard, Nicaragua)

Unfortunately, Israel continues to represent a serious obstacle to the attainment of peace; the events which have been denounced here are further proof of that. Peace in the Middle East will continue to be an unrealizable hope so long as Israel fails to change its conduct and until it accepts, within the framework of recognized United Nations principles, negotiations for a just and stable peace in the region.

There is no doubt that the peoples of the Middle East, in particular the Palestinian people, the peoples of southern Africa and Central America are all today confronting the same enemy and are involved in the same struggle for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, self-determination and justice.

It is for this reason that our people and Government cannot fail to express once again our commitment to and solidarity with the Palestinian people and their vanguard, the Palestine Liberation Organization, their sole, legitimate representative.

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

Count YORK von WARTENBURG (Federal Republic of Germany): We have listened with great attention to this debate. It is, in the first place, a debate about a dangerous spiral of unrest and acts of violence.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is concerned by the worsening of tension in the territories occupied by Israel and regrets the loss of human lives that has occurred as a result of acts of violence. The victims include defenceless women and children. The international community cannot remain silent in the face of those events.

In view of the disturbing developments in the occupied territories we call upon Israel to bear in mind its obligations as an occupying Power under the provisions of international law, in particular those of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

In their declaration of 14 September 1987 the Foreign Ministers of the 12 member States of the European Community expressed grave concern about the ongoing Israeli settlement policy in the occupied territories. Other practices, too, of the Israeli occupying forces give rise to grave concern. Among those are administrative detentions, the closing down of educational institutes, the imposition of collective penalties and the demolition of houses. By the same token as the settlement policy, these practices of the occupying Power constitute violations of international law.

Today, 18 December 1987, the presidency of the Twelve issued a statement informing the press that the Twelve have today expressed to the Israeli Government their deep concern about the rapidly and seriously deteriorating situation on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip.

(Count York von Wartenburg, Federal
Republic of Germany)

The Twelve at the same time urgently called upon the Israeli authorities to ensure the immediate protection of the inhabitants of the occupied territories, in compliance with international law and human-rights standards.

In the declaration of the Twelve of 23 February 1987 and in the declaration of the European Council held at Copenhagen on 4 and 5 December of this year, we had already called, together with our European partners, for an improvement of living conditions in the occupied territories and stated our willingness to contribute towards the economic and social development of those territories.

Progress along the way towards a settlement will also depend on creating a climate of confidence between the parties to the conflict. The creation of such a climate would be welcomed most by the friends of Israel.

Measures likely to aggravate the situation will, as they are not conducive to such a climate, jeopardize all prospects for making the Israeli-Arab conflict amenable to a negotiated settlement. We therefore once again call on all parties concerned to clear the way to a negotiated settlement by recognizing the legitimate interests of all involved. In that context we restate our view that the only formula allowing the peace process to move forward is at present an international peace conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations.

Sir Crispin TICKELL (United Kingdom): It is late in the month, Sir, but I begin by wishing you well, if you need it, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. I also convey my thanks to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Japan, for his handling of the Council's affairs during the month of November.

We have all heard reports - and we have heard a lot about them during this debate - about the serious violence that has occurred over the past 10 days in the occupied territories. I wish at the outset to express my delegation's sympathy with

(Sir Crispin Tickell, United Kingdom)

those who have suffered injury as a result and with the families of those who have been killed, many of them young people.

A number of distinguished speakers have drawn important conclusions from those tragic events and from the situation which underlies them. I agree with a great deal of what has been said.

But one argument with which my delegation cannot agree is that used at the close of Wednesday's debate by the Permanent Representative of Israel. It is an important one, and I should like for a moment to say a word about it. He said:

"It is well known that Israel does not consider itself to be an occupying Power. It is equally well known that Israel does not formally accept the de jure applicability of the Geneva Convention to Judea, Samaria and Gaza. The principal reason is that this Convention applies in cases where the ousted Power was a legitimate sovereignty. But that condition does not pertain either to Judea and Samaria, illegally annexed by Jordan for 19 years, or to Gaza, administered by the Egyptian military during the same period. We have decided, however, since 1967 to act in de facto accordance with the humanitarian provisions of that Convention." (S/PV.2774, p. 74)

Unless the Permanent Representative of Israel is claiming that the territories occupied in 1967 and since were, at the time of occupation, part of the State of Israel, that argument is ill founded. As my delegation has repeatedly stated in the Council, the territories occupied by Israel in 1967 and since then are just that: occupied territories, to which applies the Fourth Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. Those territories comprise the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, that part of Jerusalem over which my Government does not recognize Israel's de facto authority, the Golan Heights and, in more recent times and in another context, parts of southern Lebanon. I should in this connection repeat that the British Government has long recognized Jordanian

(Sir Crispin Tickell, United Kingdom)

sovereignty over the West Bank and that my Government's long-standing position remains that it is unable to recognize the sovereignty of any State over Jerusalem pending a final determination of the status of that area.

(Sir Crispin Tickell,
United Kingdom)

As a party to the Convention, Israel is obliged, as a matter of law, to comply in good faith with its provisions. We reject any attempt to cloud the issue by talking about application de facto rather than de jure. What we look for from Israel is compliance - which means strict and full compliance.

In our view, on the evidence available to us, the use of force by the occupation authorities has been excessive, and has clearly contravened the requirement placed upon the occupying Power by article 27 of the Convention that all protected persons be treated humanely at all times. The very purpose of the Convention is to protect civilians.

More widely, my delegation has expressed serious concern at a range of Israeli policies and practices in the occupied territories which are contrary to international law and in violation of the human rights of their inhabitants. Our views were set out by the current presidency of the European Community speaking on behalf of its member States in the General Assembly debate last month under agenda item 75. I also follow my German colleague in drawing attention to the statement that was made today.

I have made clear the firm legal basis for Israel's obligation to administer the occupied territories in humane fashion. But our concern is not only humanitarian: it arises also from the Council's duty to apply itself to the serious consequences of the continued Israeli occupation for international peace and security - not least in view of its resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) - and to do its utmost to bring about a just, lasting and comprehensive settlement. My Government has given its full support to all realistic efforts to that end. It is essential that early progress be made towards the convening of an international conference - in a form to be agreed by the parties concerned - which would serve as a framework for negotiations to resolve the points at issue.

(Sir Crispin Tickell,
United Kingdom)

The tragedy of what is now happening in Gaza and elsewhere in the occupied territories underlines the need for urgent efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement. In the meantime, we urge all concerned to do their utmost to put an end to the violence which has claimed so many lives.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for the kind words he 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. NETANYAHU (Israel): Before I address myself to the draft resolution that is before the Security Council, I should like briefly to respond to two statements made here.

The first is the statement by the representative of Nicaragua. He presumes to lecture Israel on the question of human liberties and human rights. He is the representative of a régime that is no doubt a champion of these qualities. It showed them very well in the wanton destruction of the Mesquite Indians, as it shows them in the way it treats its own citizens. We have recently learned from a defector from this human paradise that the régime in Nicaragua is preparing an army of 600,000 - this in a country of less than 3 million people - which presumably will do much to secure human liberty and human rights in Central America.

The second statement on which I wish to make a brief comment is the one by my colleague the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom. It is true that Britain recognized the Jordanian annexation of Judea and Samaria. But it is also true that, save for Britain and one other country, Pakistan, no country represented around this table - or outside this Chamber, for that matter - did. Therefore, we

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

stand by all the statements we made, and especially the one in which we called this an illegal annexation of territory - as we view it, and as many others apparently agree.

I turn now to the draft resolution before us. There are two issues which it purports to address. The first one is the question of the recent events - the recent riots. The second is a broader political agenda. This draft resolution fails on both counts.

On the question of the riots, it is imbalanced and one-sided. It does not reflect accurately the events as they transpired. It does not make any mention of the deliberate campaign of incitement by the PLO; nor does it condemn, let alone mention, the murder by the PLO - of which it openly boasts - of Arabs and Jews in Judea, Samaria and Gaza. In this, it can only reward the inciters and bring about more violence, more bloodshed, more disturbances.

The draft resolution also seeks to introduce a new element: a Security Council request of the Secretary-General to involve himself in issues relating to security matters which are the exclusive responsibility of Israel. Israel shall not countenance any interference in this matter - period.

On the political side, this draft resolution merely serves as a springboard for political attacks against my country by the most extreme rejectionist of peace and coexistence in the Arab-Israeli conflict. These are the people who rejected Camp David, who reject peace, who reject conciliation, who reject the very existence of Israel - a Member State and a party to this conflict. They are not the ones who should lecture, or for that matter guide, the Security Council on how to achieve peace.

For our part, we shall continue our efforts to restore calm and tranquillity in a very difficult situation. We shall continue to seek efforts to achieve a

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israeli dispute in all its aspects, especially through the mechanism of direct, unencumbered and free negotiations, which will not be supplanted by any other mechanism, including the attempt to impose the wish of some of the Council members, or the Council as a whole.

One thing is certain. Our efforts to achieve tranquillity and our efforts to achieve peace will continue. But this draft resolution, by the encouragement it offers the inciters and fomenters of violence and the forces that are opposed to peace, will not contribute to that goal.

Mr. AL-SHAALI (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): It is a great pleasure for our delegation to see you presiding over the Council, Sir, as you represent a country with a long history of support for just international causes. Your well-known expertise and diplomatic experience make us confident that you will conduct our deliberations in a manner that will lead to the desired results.

I also take this opportunity to thank Ambassador Kikuchi, Permanent Representative of Japan, for his expertise and the efforts he made while conducting our work last month.

The Israeli practices against the Arab Palestinian citizens in the occupied territories are links in a single chain of events since the Israeli aggression took place in 1967. If the events of the past few days bear witness to anything, it is to one important fact - that the Palestinian people, like any other people, cannot coexist with occupation, and that this occupation is rejected, no matter how ferocious its war machine is. They also bear witness to the ferocity with which the occupation authorities are dealing with the Palestinian citizens.

The facts are made very clear by the insistence of this defenceless people on resisting one of the most ferocious war machines and one of the most racist ideologies - the settler Zionist ideology. Those who are falling victim to the Israeli occupation forces and the settler gangs supported by the Israeli military establishment are aged 14 to 17, which means that they were born under occupation and have seen only soldiers and institutions of occupation and have witnessed only repeated acts of aggression, imprisonment, expulsion and confiscation of property. It is estimated that 46 per cent of the total 1.4 million Palestinians under occupation are under 14. Naturally, that generation, known as the generation of occupation, will escalate its resistance to occupation, regardless of the tyranny of the Israeli war machine.

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United Arab Emirates)

What gives this phenomenon special importance is the fact that the Palestinian resistance inside those territories has progressively and gradually become a popular uprising, in which different sectors of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories are participating. What is called the revolution armed with stones waged by the people of Palestine against the Israeli occupation forces confirms once again that we are duty bound as an international community to concentrate collectively on dealing with the crux of the crisis in the Middle East. The events in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip have their roots in the Israeli occupation and the international community's failure to find a solution to the Palestinian question.

The Palestinian people is in revolt not because it seeks social services, nor because it seeks a solution to an economic emergency. It is in revolt because it wants to enjoy the most noble of rights, which the Charter of our Organization has consecrated, the right of peoples to live in peace. There is no peace, except with freedom and self-determination.

While the Zionist movement and its supporters are waging a world-wide campaign for the emigration of Soviet Jewry under the pretext of human rights, that same movement is waging another emigration campaign against another people in another place under a different pretext, that of security. Hence, the same Zionist authorities that claim to defend human rights are destroying the human rights of the Palestinian individual in the occupied territories to force the Palestinians out and to install new settlers in their territories. That pretext enables us to explain Israel's inhuman practices against the Palestinians in the occupied territories, and the Israeli strategy becomes clear with the wider pretext: it aims at replacing the whole Palestinian people with Jewish immigrants.

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United Arab Emirates)

What we cannot understand is the double standards applied by the supporters of Israel in the field of human rights.

More than a hundred years have passed since the Zionist attack on Palestine took place. The Palestinian people is still resisting occupation. If that long history means anything, it is that the state of war in the Middle East will continue until justice is restored, until the Palestinian people enjoys its inalienable national rights on the basis of international legitimacy, under the leadership of its sole representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

In his repeated interventions the Israeli representative has tried to question the importance of the matter on the agenda and the way in which the Security Council was convened. I wish briefly to recall that this is the Security Council of the United Nations; it is not another Security Council. Therefore, the Council does not receive instructions from Israel. It is convened according to rules governing its procedure. It is the master of its own decisions, and it was convened as a collective response to a request by a Member State.

The agenda and the subject under discussion concern not simply a legitimate right of the Members of the United Nations but a duty of the Council. The blood of the Palestinians being shed by the occupation forces is not cheaper than the blood of others. The Israeli occupation of Arab territories is a subject of which the Council has been seized since 1967, the date of the Israeli aggression. The Council has adopted many resolutions declaring the occupation null and void and confirming the applicability to the occupied Arab territories of the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. This is the Council that decided that Israel is an occupying force.

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United Arab Emirates)

The Israeli practices are among the items before the General Assembly, but, more important, the whole question of Palestine is one of the matters that have been before the United Nations since its inception, and Israel owes its existence to this Organization, whose resolutions it is now ignoring.

As for the oppression from which the Palestinians are suffering in the land in which they took refuge, the Israeli representative knows very well that the basic injury inflicted on the Palestinians is Israel's expelling them from their territories and depriving them of the right to self-determination; otherwise, they would not have needed to go anywhere else.

This Council is at a critical stage: it either decides to shoulder its responsibilities under the Charter, or it shirks them and lets the outcome of these problems be decided there, on the ground. I do not believe we are seized of a mysterious question, one whose details are doubted. We either condone the tyrant, or make it known to the victims that there is a conscience represented in this Council that cannot accept the continued injustice. I believe we are not asking for the impossible if we say that those States that have been supporting Israel unjustly must strike a balance between such policies and their international responsibilities.

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

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

Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): It seems I always have the sad duty of bringing sad news to the Council. Today, at noon Jerusalem time, after several thousand Palestinians left the Muslim shrine - it is Friday - of the Al-Aqsa Mosque they were confronted by hundreds of Israeli troops in riot gear, equipped with tear-gas equipment. There was a confrontation; the troops used tear gas to break up the marchers. A 75-year-old Palestinian, Khaled Husni Saadeh, died as a result of that brutal Israeli behaviour.

Also today, in the Gaza area, Maysara Batnigi, 20 years old, died of bullet wounds sustained when Israeli troops opened fire on demonstrators as they were emerging from their Friday noon prayers. Then, the victim was taken by his family to be prepared for burial. The Israeli army went to the Shajaia area demanding that the remains be handed over to them.

In Khan Yunis the Israelis used helicopters to drop tear-gas cannisters and bombs on our people. Scores of people were taken for treatment to Nasser Hospital in Khan Yunis; hundreds rushed to the hospital to offer blood as and if needed. The Israeli army then declared the area around the hospital a military zone, to prevent the people from offering blood for transfusions should they be necessary.

Three days ago, Nafez Yusef Kteifan, 14 years old, was wounded by Israeli army bullets; last night he died, and only five members of his family were permitted to take him, late at night, and bury him.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

Many more people have been injured, some having been beaten with Israeli army rifle butts.

In Beit Lahia too the army opened fire. An 18-year-old girl named Hannan el-Beik was rushed to hospital suffering from injuries received as a result of the brutality of the Israeli army.

Today the Israeli army bulldozed through the Shifa Hospital in Gaza and arrested 40 Palestinians, seven of whom were being treated for wounds.

Abdul Salam Shehadah, a 29-year-old from Breij refugee camp, died from bullets fired into his head by the Israeli army today.

While we sit here and indulge in debate, we see newspapers such as today's Newsday, showing a civilian, protected by the army, firing his Uzi submachine gun into what the paper calls unseen Palestinian demonstrators on Wednesday.

The Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), Mr. Giorgio Giacomelli - prompted, I think, by his human feelings - made a trip to see for himself what is going on there. I should like to quote from what he said about that trip:

"I thought it proper for me to see the Government of Israel and to explain the Agency's views on the situation. Our impression is that the unrest has been dealt with in a way that may serve to create more turbulence rather than improve security. There seems to have been a rather heavy-handed reaction in some cases. ... While I do not presume to be able to advise the Israeli authorities on security measures, I feel obliged to point out that what is happening is extremely dangerous. More and more Palestine refugees, especially young people, have lost all fear and are becoming involved in violent confrontation."

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

An UNRWA information bulletin further reports that among the 21 Palestine refugees known to have been killed in violent incidents in the occupied territories this year - 12 in the Gaza Strip and nine in the West Bank - two were 17-year-old schoolgirls and seven were youths aged between 11 and 19. Reports from UNRWA area staff indicate that more than 200 refugees, mostly young people, have been seriously wounded in these incidents. More than 600 refugees have been arrested or detained during the period.

Yet we sit here arguing whether or not the Geneva Convention is applicable; whether the name should be the land of Canaan, or Judea and Samaria, or Palestine. We are dealing with an issue that involves human lives, an issue that has shown beyond any doubt that the Palestinians under occupation, of whom we are proud, cannot and will not permit the perpetuation of occupation. But at the same time we feel it our duty here to secure for those Palestinians concrete measures by the Security Council - naturally, as I said yesterday, with the advice and recommendations of the Secretary-General - to ensure the safety and security of those refugees.

We cannot sit and watch the occupied Palestinian territories become an Auschwitz or a Dachau. We leave it to the conscience of the members of the Council to respond to this historic moment.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations.

More than 20 years have now passed since Israel's occupation of the Arab territories, but despite its methods of terror and violence Tel Aviv has not been able to break the Palestinian people or its will to resist and to establish its own State; nor has it been able to destroy that people's political vanguard, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which defends and represents its legitimate interests. The Arab people of Palestine and the Palestine Liberation Organization are objective realities, and it is impossible not to take them into account.

I shall not now list all the crimes Israel is perpetrating in the occupied territories. They have been set forth in detail in statements made here. Israel's crude mass violations of human rights in the occupied territories have been pointed out in many United Nations documents. They have been condemned in the General Assembly, in the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories and in the course of consideration of the question of Palestine, the situation in the Middle East and other items.

The observations of the Secretary-General in his recent report on the situation in the Middle East are fully justified. He states:

"Israel's occupation of Arab territory for over 20 years has been and continues to be deeply resented by the inhabitants. The occupation has given rise to much unrest and violence, with the result that many innocent lives have been lost. It was in the wake of such unrest that the Security Council adopted resolution 592 (1986) on 8 December 1986. Since then there have been

(The President)

more violent incidents, and more lives have been lost. ... the situation will remain unstable as long as a settlement is not reached." (A/42/714, para. 35)

No references to the need to ensure its own security through what Israel calls the struggle against terrorism and no loud declarations regarding the peaceful intentions of Tel Aviv can justify Israel's crude violation of the norms of international law and the United Nations Charter. Israel's trampling underfoot of the human rights and dignity of the population of the West Bank and Gaza negatively affects the situation throughout the Middle East. As is emphasized in the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, Israel's policies and practices

"have continued to pose obstacles to the efforts towards a comprehensive, just and lasting solution, and to exacerbate tension and conflict in the area, further endangering international peace and security". (A/42/35, para. 5)

Throughout the world there is growing understanding that one's own security can be ensured only by taking into account the security of other peoples and their aspiration to decide their destinies for themselves. That is being demonstrated by experience.

In the course of the meeting at the highest level in Washington which ended a few days ago, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Gorbachev, stated:

"People want to live in peace, with everyone assured of the right to life, freedom and happiness, and, of course, other human rights, for not a single developed society can live normally in a world where the welfare of the few is achieved through the poverty and suffering of others. People want to live in a democratic and free world, where all are equal, where each people has the right to its own social choice without external interference."

Such a world can be established - we are profoundly convinced of this - in the

(The President)

Middle East, but on one absolute condition: that each of its peoples understands that implementation of its own rights is not to be achieved at the expense of the rights of others.

It is not by chance that here in the Security Council, as also in the General Assembly, with few exceptions all who have spoken have emphasized the need to begin practical measures to implement United Nations decisions on the entire range of problems of the Middle East and pointed out that without a solution to the question of Palestine it will be impossible to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

There is increased understanding in the world that the achievement of mutually acceptable agreements on this key problem as well as on other fundamental aspects of a Middle East settlement are possible only within the context of an international conference with the participation of all parties directly involved, including the Palestine Liberation Organization. The proposal to hold an international conference has again received the broadest support and approval at the present session of the General Assembly. The establishment of such machinery would allow for unification of the efforts of all States in the achievement of an immediate and just political settlement and would give real impetus to the launching of a movement towards peace and make it possible to put an end to negative tendencies in the region that are fraught with explosive danger. Effective preparation for such a conference with the participation of all parties involved, including the Arab people of Palestine - whose sole, legitimate representative is the Palestine Liberation Organization - and the five permanent members of the Security Council would promote the commencement of a negotiating process to achieve a settlement on a just and lasting basis, as is demanded by the interests of all the States and peoples of the region and the interests of international peace and security.

(The President)

In our view, there now exist objective possibilities for ending the dangerous course of events in the Middle East. It is most important in present conditions to begin practical movement in the direction of a comprehensive settlement, which must provide for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, the implementation by the Arab people of Palestine of its inalienable national rights to self-determination and the establishment of its own independent State; it must also ensure the rights of all States of that region to a safe and independent existence and development.

In the hope that the Security Council will give an appropriate assessment to the illegal actions of Israel in the Gaza and on the West Bank and will take necessary steps in this connection, the Soviet Union once again calls on all States to make their contribution to defusing the conflict situation in the Middle East. At the same time, we state our readiness to co-operate with all those who truly aspire to implement a Middle East settlement on a just and lasting basis, taking into account the interests and rights of all States and peoples of that region.

I now resume my function as President of the Security Council.

As members are aware, intensive consultations have taken place today between the sponsors of the draft resolution and several members of the Council in order to produce a text that would have the maximum broad support within the Council. I have been informed that the consultations on this matter have not yet been completed. In that connection, I have been requested to suspend the meeting for one hour.

If there are no objections, we shall proceed accordingly.

There being none, the meeting is suspended.

The meeting was suspended at 5.45 p.m. and resumed at 7 p.m.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I have been informed that further consultations are required among the co-sponsors of the draft resolution and members of the Council. Hence, with the consent of the Council, we shall defer a decision until the afternoon of Monday, 21 December.

I propose that at 3.30 p.m. on Monday we hold informal consultations among members of the Council, for the purpose of hearing the Secretary-General's report on the question of the implementation of the Security Council resolution adopted in connection with the complaint of Angola. Immediately after those consultations, we would resume, in this Chamber, consideration of the item on today's agenda.

There appear to be no objections to that proposal. It is therefore so decided.

The meeting rose at 7.05 p.m.