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ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
EIGHT HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 6 November 1989, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. LI Luye

(China)

Members:

Algeria
Brazil
Canada
Colombia
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Malaysia
Nepal
Senegal
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
United Kingdom of Great Britain and
Northern Ireland
United States of America
Yugoslavia

Mr. DJOUDI
Mr. ALENCAR
Mr. FORTIER
Mr. PEÑALOSA
Mr. GOSHU
Mr. TORNUDD
Mr. BLANC
Mr. RAZALI
Mr. RANA
Mrs. DIALLO
Mr. SMIRNOV

Mr. RICHARDSON
Mr. PICKERING
Mr. PEJIC

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The meeting was called to order at 3.55 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES

LETTER DATED 3 NOVEMBER 1989 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF KUWAIT TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/20942)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): In conformity with decisions taken at the previous meeting on this item, I invite the representatives of Israel, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber. I invite the representative of Palestine to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bein (Israel), Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait) and Mr. Shihabi (Saudi Arabia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber; Mr. Terzi (Palestine) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I should like to inform the Security Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran 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. Kharrazi (Islamic Republic of Iran) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

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

The first speaker is the representative of Saudi Arabia, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Islamic Group at the United Nations. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia) (interpretation from Arabic): I am pleased to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We have known you as a distinguished diplomat of great ability and as an eminent representative of your great country. I wish you all good luck.

I wish also to convey our thanks to your predecessor, Ambassador Yves Fortier, Permanent Representative of Canada, who served as President of the Council last month, for the ability, efficiency and finesse with which he conducted the work of the Council.

I am addressing the Council today in my capacity as Chairman of the Islamic Group.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

The Security Council - every member of it - and the United Nations - every Member of it - must shoulder serious responsibility for what is happening every day in the land of Palestine, because it is a violation of all the principles and commitments for which the United Nations stands and is a challenge to the trust that the Security Council upholds.

United Nations documents are filled with details concerning the upholding of Arab rights in Palestine, and exposing the wrongs of the Zionist invasion of Palestine and the Israeli practices there. All this needs no repetition - except for what is contained in the new pages which Israeli practices add at every sunrise and every sunset. Israel continues to usurp Arab rights in Palestine. The Zionist occupation of Gaza and the West Bank, including Jerusalem, continues in all its horror. All segments of the Arab people in Palestine are resisting it by all means - peaceful so far - hoping that the world will stand by them in order that an end can be put to this tragedy in their homeland, where the Israeli authorities behave as if we were still in medieval times, and to this farce in the international arena, where Israel still finds some who condone and overlook its practices.

The world has witnessed over the past 23 months, and continues to witness before its very eyes today, the Palestinian Arab people revolting against the occupation and the occupiers in a peaceful intifadah that has earned the admiration of the world. It is a revolt inspired by anger and a rejection of occupation and the occupiers. All the casualties that have resulted are marginal compared to what they would be if the revolt became violent, confronting the occupation by the same means and the same approach. The civilized manner with which the leadership of the intifadah has been conducting the uprising against aggression and oppression, while so far maintaining a disciplined line of action, should earn the Council's appreciation. It is a clear message to the Council and to the world at large,

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

rejecting occupation and condemning the occupiers and holding them responsible for their acts, present and future. In that message and in the steadfastness of the Palestinian people should be read the determination of the men and women, the elderly and the children, in spite of all the ruthless measures, the starvation, and the crimes of murder and violation of rights. In that message should be read the unambiguous warning that if the peaceful uprising fails to put an end to the occupation and to send away the occupier, and if Zionist violence forces the Palestinian people to resort to counter-violence, it is here that those who condone Israel's actions will bear a historical responsibility of far-reaching consequences.

Those are the facts that we see on the ground today, on the soil of Palestine, while the Israeli occupation authorities commit themselves to the escalation of crimes of aggression against the rights of the people in the West Bank, including Jerusalem, Gaza, the Golan Heights and southern Lebanon.

The Israeli authorities impose taxes on the people in the occupied territories in order to finance the occupation of their land, the instruments of aggression, and the perpetration of crimes against those people. Taxes are imposed on the Palestinians so as to pay the wages of their executioners, the killers of their children, the plunderers of their properties, and the usurpers of their rights. The courageous people of the town of Beit Sahur rejected that persistence in oppression and that insistence on aggression; they rejected financing the occupation and supporting the occupiers. The Israeli authorities moved into Beit Sahur with their tools of war and gangs of settlers in an aggressive operation that reflects the basest qualities in human nature. They plundered houses, stealing possessions and destroying daily means of livelihood and basic sources of investment. Even medicine and other contents of pharmacies were not spared destruction, in an act of vengeance.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

International agencies have reported that at least 30 per cent of the casualties among the Arab population last year were suffered by children below the age of 15. The so-called Israeli Defence Forces, in their daring war against children, with their modern lethal weapons used against an unarmed population, have succeeded in inflicting 30 per cent of all casualties on children. In the end, God willing, victory will be for the children. We know that and the Council knows that. It is said that a régime built on oppression survives for an hour, but a State founded on justice survives for ever.

Those who have been killed by Zionist aggression have formed a daily procession of martyrs since the intifadah started, a long convoy in the land of Palestine. They number in the tens of thousands wounded, tens of thousands disabled, hundreds of thousands arrested and thrown into prisons or taken to concentration camps since the intifadah started. All that is done in disregard of any acceptable legal process - unless the law of the jungle and communities of gangs are regarded as acceptable. Before your very eyes and in the name of preserving security - the security of which they deprive those who have a right to it - the Israeli authorities permit themselves to take all the measures that undermine individual, collective, local, regional and international security. They imagine that this situation will continue, that it is really possible for it to continue.

But the Zionists and those who support them will be surprised, as they were surprised by the intifadah and its inherent dynamics. They will be surprised at the extent of the Palestinian people's determination to regain their rights, supported by the Arab and Muslim world and by every champion of rights and freedom. They will inevitably see that the Israeli authorities are incapable of standing up against the strength of a people's conviction about its rights, the strength of a

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

people's faith in its rights. History has proved that conviction is the strongest weapon of all, the most effective instrument of struggle.

The Israeli authorities should be warned against what some elements under their umbrella are trying to do in desecrating the religious places, especially their recent attempts in the vicinity of the Al-Aqsa mosque. The Muslim world is watching these attempts with extreme concern and with absolute determination to preserve the security and sanctity of the Holy Places.

The Israeli authorities show disdain for world public opinion, in defiance of all commitments and values. For the sake of achieving the colonialist objectives of aggressive settlers against a people on its own homeland, they kill innocent children and the elderly - merely because they have demonstrated against oppression and occupation; they throw people into prisons and concentration camps and deprive them of their means of livelihood in order to starve them; they blow up their houses; they destroy farms; they suffocate people inside their homes with tear gas; they murder and incapacitate innocent people by the use of firearms and steel or rubber bullets. Last but not least, the Zionist authorities have resorted to new and unprecedented means of terrorizing people - driving military vehicles up onto sidewalks to run people down, and trying to make that seem like an accident.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

These are all crimes that defeat their perpetrators, crimes, some of which were committed before by earlier invaders in both modern and ancient history.

These criminal means will not benefit Zionism nor will they draw support for Israel, inasmuch as the road of evil can never lead to the destination intended. The aggressor authorities will pay the price for the crimes they have committed against a people which knows its enemies and recognizes its friends. However, the question we face today is that of international responsibility: How we can discharge it and do it justice? Keeping silent in the face of the crimes Zionism is committing in Palestine is an encouragement to Zionists, deluding them into thinking that they can persist in their ways. We all know that they cannot continue on this road. We are now in the fourth quarter of the twentieth century. The former régimes of Ian Smith in Rhodesia and that of Botha in Namibia did not succeed before, nor can the régime of South Africa do so now. Similarly, Israel and Zionism can never succeed. However, our duty here today is to take action to ensure that Zionism is aware that no one can support it in its crimes, and that such practices will inevitably lead to results that are the opposite of those intended. The historical fact and the requirements of the geographical location all show the ignorance and the short-sightedness of the Israeli authorities. It is my hope that we shall not fail to take a firm stand here, and that no one will contribute to deluding Israel into thinking that it is capable of moving against the tide of history, the facts of geography, and the reality of the predominant human factor, the Arab and Islamic peoples in the region. If Israel's friends wish to lend it their support, let them help Israel in spite of itself in order to avoid frustrating all chances of peace and committing the most heinous crimes against humanity. Let them hold it back from following a path that will never lead it to security. If not, they will be deluding it and will have to bear the responsibility before God and history.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

From this rostrum we salute the struggle of the Palestinian people, which is holding out in its homeland. We salute its heroism and support its legitimate claim. We stand as one by the Palestinian people, deploring aggression and oppression. We reject invasion and the invaders, condemn the gangs dressed up in the uniforms of security men and the usurpers disguised as tax officers. We are proud of the heroism of its men and women and we see in the eyes of their innocent children, as they face the glaring sun and challenge the legions of the armed occupying forces, an unshakeable faith in right and a challenge to invasion and occupation. We see the hope of a nation and the future of a homeland.

The Arab and Islamic world and everyone who believes in right and justice have watched in the past, and are watching today, what we are doing in this esteemed Council from the position of high responsibility entrusted to us. It is to be hoped that we shall live up to that responsibility by taking a firm stand that will render service to those outlaws and restore them to law and order, and by adopting a resolution that is in keeping with the serious responsibility of this body.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I thank the representative of Saudi Arabia for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Senegal, who will be speaking also in her capacity as Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

Mrs. DIALLO (Senegal) (interpretation from French): In speaking in my dual capacity as a representative of Senegal and as Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, I should like to begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November 1989 and by assuring you of the full co-operation of my delegation and of its availability at all times. Your personal

(Mrs. Diallo, Senegal)

qualities, your experience and competence will, I am sure, facilitate our work here.

I should like also to express my heartfelt gratitude to your predecessor, Ambassador Yves Fortier, Permanent Representative of Canada, and to congratulate him most warmly on the brilliant manner in which he presided over the Council in the course of the particularly active month of October.

My delegation and the Committee which I have the privilege of chairing on behalf of Senegal fully share the concerns of Kuwait, the Chairman of the Arab Group for the month of November, who through Ambassador Abulhasan requested the holding of this meeting of the Security Council devoted once again, unfortunately, to the situation in the occupied Palestinian territory.

We should therefore like, at the outset, to reaffirm our faith in the triumph of the legitimate aspirations of the courageous Palestinian people and our active support for them in their struggle to regain their dignity and their enjoyment of the right to self-determination, to return to the land of their ancestors, and to establish an independent State in Palestine, their homeland.

Despite repeated indignant protests on the part of the international community, and despite the tireless efforts of the United Nations and its Secretary-General, the human rights situation of the civilian population in the occupied Palestinian territories has been steadily deteriorating day by day.

(Mrs. Diallo, Senegal)

Statements made on this subject by the Ambassadors of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia and by the Permanent Observer of Palestine this morning clearly show the martyrdom suffered every day by the Palestinian people. Repression is growing: more and more dead and gravely wounded, arrests and ill-treatment inflicted upon the civilian population, the demolition of houses and the growing number of settlements - in other words, grave and constant violations by Israel, the occupying Power, of the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention, relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.

The violent raids launched in September 1989 against the Palestinian city of Beit Sahur - which was put under siege and where houses were systematically looted and many Palestinian civilians arrested and beaten - clearly demonstrate what was already known: how Israel is stubbornly seeking a military solution to the Palestinian problem. In my letter of 21 September 1989, I had already drawn the attention of the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council on such intolerable actions and practices which are in flagrant violation of human rights and a threat to international peace and security.

My delegation, as well as the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, are particularly concerned by the persistence and aggravation of extortion, harassment and humiliation of all kinds. Our concern is all the more acute since the Security Council has still not succeeded in agreeing to measures to guarantee the security for the civilian population, women and children in particular, as it was called upon to do by the General Assembly in its resolution 44/2 of 6 October 1989.

This is why, despite the differences of opinion that still persist and perhaps because of them, the Security Council must do more with regard to the Middle East, must become more involved in the question of Palestine and must initiate and oversee

(Mrs. Diallo, Senegal)

the peace process in the region. In our opinion the United Nations has now more than ever before the duty and the responsibility to promote the establishment of peace and coexistence between the Palestinian and Israeli peoples.

Indeed, it is the role of the Security Council to help the men, women and children in that region to return to the path of brotherhood and to overcome prejudice of race and religion, feelings of superiority and the thirst for power that engender aggressiveness and alienation among the protagonists.

In carrying out this mission, the Council will need the support and assistance of all of its members, especially of its permanent members. My delegation, as well as the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, assure the Council of our abiding commitment to follow this path.

However, Israel's attitude does not give us cause for optimism. While the Palestinians have had the lucidity, the realism and the courage to express outright their firm resolve to achieve peace through negotiation, and while the Palestinian initiatives have been hailed and supported by the international community, as far as we know, no positive reply has yet been received from Israel.

On the contrary, by violating the human rights and property of the Palestinian populations, Israel is further sharpening their determination to resist and to continue the struggle in order to achieve their legitimate aspirations to peace and justice. That is the real meaning of the intifadah - this internal struggle, this refusal to be dominated, this combat to achieve human dignity and the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. How can we then fail to recall the fact that no people can dominate another people forever with impunity by the use of force and the ordeals of war.

(Mrs. Diallo, Senegal)

After so many years of bloody confrontation, the voice of wisdom is calling upon Israel to show the kind of moral and political courage which, coupled with lucidity, leads to the negotiating table.

The main guidelines of a just and lasting peace between Palestinians and Israelis are recalled in General Assembly resolution 43/176, adopted on 15 December 1988. This is the most widely accepted, practical framework for the establishment of a comprehensive peace that meets the concerns of all the parties. We hope that our debate will prompt the Council - all the members of the Council - to work resolutely with the Secretary-General to organize the international peace conference in the Middle East. We hope that the Security Council will adopt unanimously the draft resolution before us in order immediately to assure impartial and international protection for the Palestinian civilian population. Thus, once again called upon in such pressing terms, the other High Contracting Parties will undoubtedly make it their duty to shoulder their responsibilities in order to guarantee strict respect for the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.

Paraphrasing the poet, I should like to say that the time has come for everything to be written in three languages: Arabic, Hebrew and Peace.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I thank the representative of Senegal for her 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. BEIN (Israel): It is a personal pleasure for me to be able to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November. I have no doubt that your wealth of proven diplomatic experience will be of invaluable - indeed crucial - importance during the coming days and weeks.

I should also like to congratulate Ambassador Yves Fortier on the way in which he conducted the Council's affairs last month.

On 28 September 1989, at the entrance to the central mosque in Han Yunis, Shachda Ahmad hallil Abu Tir was brutally attacked by three masked men in front of his family. One of the attackers stabbed him repeatedly and the others joined in with axes, hacking off two of his fingers and dealing him blows to all parts of his body. He died in a local hospital.

A few days later, on 10 October, Adel Farse Baadar was brutally murdered on the road leading to Ramallah. His body was found mutilated, with his hands and feet hacked off.

Again, on 13 October three masked men armed with knives and axes broke into the house of Fatma Sabitan Razak Shaer in Gaza. The men struck blows to her head with an axe, and slit her throat in front of her terrified family.

In the same month, on 20 October at 1.30 in the afternoon, Hareb Uda Hareb Isa was busy praying in his local mosque in the village of Breige. He was assaulted during his prayers by four masked men wielding axes. His mutilated body was left on the floor of the mosque.

On 31 October masked men broke into the residence of Suriya and Sumiya Ahmed Al-Kadi, aged 22 and 19. The young sisters were assaulted and stabbed on all parts of their bodies. The oldest died from her wounds.

Those are only five gruesome examples of the violent murders perpetrated by PLO hit squads, 5 out of 23 similar murders committed in October, in only one

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

month. Since 1988, over 150 Palestinians have been murdered by PLO hit squads for failing to toe the line. The methods used in this horrid campaign of terror have been particularly brutal. The victims are often kidnapped, tortured and finally executed by beatings, hatchet blows or multiple stabbings. Some are burned or buried alive, hanged in the streets and school yards, while others are found with their ears, arms or legs hacked off.

The proposal before us mentions the continuing deterioration of the situation, and expresses strong concern about the level of violence. Indeed, the rate of PLO attacks against Palestinians increased sharply following the promulgation of Israel's peace initiative in April 1989. In fact, the number of Palestinians murdered by the PLO has increased sevenfold in 1989 as compared with 1988. Eighteen were murdered in all of 1988; 130 were assassinated in the first 10 months of 1989.

The numbers are increasing at alarming rates. Not a day passes without the shedding of Palestinian blood by other Palestinians. This drastic increase in violence is the PLO's direct response to the challenge posed by Israel's peace initiative. The violence is intended to intimidate the local population and ensure the complete domination of PLO terror.

If there is any deterioration and any increase in the level of violence, it involves not the efforts of the Israeli authorities to maintain public order and safety, in conformity with their duty under international law, but the terrible escalation in inter-Palestinian violence. Ironically, the draft resolution, which purports to express concern about the Palestinians, completely ignores the premeditated and cold-blooded murder of 150 Palestinians at the hands of the PLO. Instead, the draft resolution directs all its fury at entirely legal measures, such

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

as tax collection. This is a cynical manoeuvre which is loaded with selective judgements and double standards.

The draft resolution is part of a long list of biased resolutions orchestrated by the Arab States in their multifaceted campaign of political Jihad - the holy war of extermination - against Israel. As in previous years, the opening volley was fired by the Arab group, when our Minister for Foreign Affairs rose to address the Assembly during its general debate. The representatives of every Arab State, with only one exception, answered his call for a dialogue by marching out of the Hall. The call for a dialogue was also answered by the Observer of the Arab League, who was proud to state, with rare candour, that indeed the Arab States continued to maintain a state of war with Israel. The third response to Israel's call was the annual attempt to reject Israel's credentials, a euphemism for rejecting Israel's place among the nations.

Meanwhile, the prime movers of several draft resolutions requesting Israel's co-sponsorship find their hands tied following open and unabashed threats from the Arab bloc. God forbid that Israel should be permitted to sponsor a draft resolution involving youth; God forbid that Israel should sponsor a draft resolution on the International Plan of Action on Aging. The obsession with isolating Israel at all costs evidently overrides the promotion of matters of real concern and importance.

The underlying reasons for convening the Security Council today transcend any immediate issue at hand. Nothing can justify this annual ritual practised by the Arab bloc every November. Its members sharpen their swords in anticipation of the General Assembly debate on the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East.

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

The charge that Israel, by collecting taxes in Beit Sahur, has supposedly committed a violation of international law meriting a special convening of the Council is completely baseless. The ruling of international law in this respect is unequivocal. According to articles 48 and 49 of the Hague Regulations, the collection of taxes, dues and tolls, as well as other forms of payment, is permitted. Moreover, by customary international law, the occupant may even utilize for his own purposes the balance left over after administration costs have been met.

Not only has Israel declined to use for its own purposes surplus taxes raised in the administered territories, but it has chosen an entirely contrary policy: Israel complements the budget of the region with its own funds whenever necessary. The taxes levied in the territories are used solely to finance the provision of services for the Palestinian residents of Judea, Samaria and Gaza, such as health, education and welfare. Thus the refusal to pay taxes only harms the overall population.

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

Once again, the Security Council has been convened by countries that claim to be concerned about the welfare of the Palestinians. Yet, this is only a pretext with which to attack Israel. Had their concern been genuine, they would have condemned the slaughter of Palestinians by the PLO, they would have appealed for restraint, they would have called for a dialogue, and they would have added their voices in support of Israel's peace initiative instead of political warfare.

While nations all over the world act in accordance with the prevailing international atmosphere marked by dialogue, rapprochement and normalization of relations, the deliberations here continue to be detached from this and any other reality.

Moreover, serious negotiations are currently being undertaken, with the goal of opening a dialogue between the representatives of Israel and representatives of the Palestinians residing in Judea, Samaria and Gaza. The Israeli peace initiative is the only realistic, viable and practical endeavour towards a solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Let us not lend a hand to the manoeuvres initiated in this Chamber which are aimed at aborting this positive initiative.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I thank the representative of Israel for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. PEJIC (Yugoslavia): I am pleased to extend to you, Sir, the representative of the People's Republic of China, a country with which Yugoslavia maintains relations of traditional friendship and co-operation, my cordial congratulations on your assumption of the responsible task of President of the Security Council. The wisdom and vast diplomatic experience with which you have guided the deliberations of the Security Council in the past convince us that you will now discharge these duties with equal success.

I take this opportunity to express my delegation's particular appreciation and gratitude to Ambassador Yves Fortier of Canada for his fruitful co-operation and

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

exceptionally successful and effective guidance of the Council's deliberations during the busy month of October.

As the representative of Yugoslavia, as well as in my capacity as Chairman of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in the United Nations, I should like to express deep concern over the most recent deterioration of the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories as a result of the continuation and intensification of the repressive policies and measures of Israel aimed at the suppression of the intifadah, the uprising of the Palestinian population against foreign occupation and domination. For almost two years the intifadah has captured the attention and the broadest sympathies of the international public. The reason for this meeting of the Security Council is the recent blockade of the town of Beit Sahur in the occupied Palestinian territories by the Israeli occupation authorities and the repressive measures of forcible confiscation of the property of the Palestinian inhabitants.

These latest negative developments have forced us once again to note with regret that in seeking the solution of outstanding international problems that have burdened international relations for years the tendency to have recourse to dialogue and negotiations has not thus far been adequately reflected in opening prospects for an early solution of the Middle East crisis and the problem of Palestine. Of particular concern is the fact that owing to the positions of some elements, the United Nations is not in a position to play an appropriate role in the consideration of this problem, which has the potential of posing one of the most serious threats to peace and stability. The non-aligned countries have therefore repeatedly pointed out the need for the continued consideration of the problem of Palestine in the Security Council until a basis is found for launching a process leading to a lasting, just and comprehensive solution.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

The two-year resistance of the Palestinian people to foreign domination unequivocally proves the untenability of the situation created by many years of Israeli occupation. The tense situation in the occupied territories, which is constantly on the brink of a larger conflict in the region, has strengthened the conviction of the broadest elements of the international community of the need for urgent efforts to reach a political solution of the problem on the basis of granting the Palestinian people their inalienable rights and aspirations to self-determination and independence.

In that context, the non-aligned countries have for years pointed out that the existing situation in the occupied territories cannot be settled by a policy of *fait accompli*, diktat, repression or military force, but only by political means, with full respect for the genuine interests and rights of all peoples and countries in the region. In our opinion, the present positive atmosphere in international relations favours the launching of more resolute action within the Security Council for opening a process for the peaceful solution of the Middle East crisis and the Palestinian problem.

The evolution in the positions of some main elements of the crisis has helped by and large to remove some important psychological and political obstacles which in the past had hampered the efforts to reach a political solution of this exceptionally complex and dangerous problem. In that connection, we have in mind in particular the far-reaching historical decisions adopted by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in the last year, as well as the establishment of the United States-Palestinian dialogue.

We are very much concerned that some most influential circles in Israel continue to avoid openly facing the existing realities and refuse to engage in a dialogue with the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people. In

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

saying this, we proceed from a genuine motivation and desire to see Israel and its citizens live, after so many years, in conditions of peace and stability.

The non-aligned countries rightfully expect the Security Council on this occasion to take a resolute position on the continuing deterioration of the situation in the occupied territories. We consider that, as a first step in that direction, it is indispensable urgently to secure implementation of and compliance with Security Council resolution 605 (1987), which requests Israel to respect and implement the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War in the occupied territories and to desist from the inhuman practices of the Israeli occupation authorities.

We also believe that the meetings should mark the beginning of a more active involvement of the Security Council in seeking the most suitable basis for opening the process leading to a political solution of the Middle East crisis and the problem of Palestine, which is at its core, on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and other relevant United Nations resolutions. A lasting and just solution of this problem - at this moment probably the most difficult of international problems - implies Israel's withdrawal from all the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since the June 1967 war, realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, to self-determination, and respect for the rights of all countries in the region, including Israel, to peace, security and existence within internationally recognized borders.

At their ninth summit Conference in Belgrade, the non-aligned countries reaffirmed the position shared by the vast majority of Members of the United Nations that the most realistic and acceptable way to achieve a solution of the Middle East crisis and the Palestinian problem at this time is the early convening of an international conference under United Nations auspices, with the

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council and all directly interested parties, on an equal footing, including the PLO, which is firmly supported by the Palestinian people in the occupied territories as their sole and legitimate representative. The non-aligned countries offer their full support for the efforts made by the Secretary-General along these lines.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

We consider that it is now high time to begin substantive consultations within the Security Council to direct developments in the Middle East towards the creation of a basis for launching efforts that can lead to stable and lasting peace in that vital part of the world. It is particularly necessary to work towards the removal of all remaining political obstacles. In view of the existing situation in the occupied territories, such efforts brook no further postponement. The Security Council's active role in overcoming the existing situation in the occupied Palestinian territories should therefore be one of its main preoccupations in the forthcoming period. At the same time, this is the debt the world Organization owes to the legitimate and inalienable aspirations and rights of the Palestinian people, as well as to the interests of peace and stability in that exceptionally important region. Each and every delay in addressing the problem is fraught with new risks to international peace and security that we must jointly and resolutely avert. That is why we hope that the Security Council will adopt the draft resolution before it.

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

Mr. RANA (Nepal): I should like to extend the warm felicitations of my delegation to you, Sir, on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council for the month of November. It is indeed a pleasure to see a representative of a great country and close neighbour, the People's Republic of China, whose friendship and goodwill we greatly cherish, preside over the deliberations of the Council. Your wide experience and skill as a diplomat are well known to us all. We are therefore confident that the Council will benefit from your able and wise guidance.

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

I wish also to express my delegation's appreciation to Ambassador Yves Fortier, Permanent Representative of Canada, for the admirable manner in which he guided the business of the Council during the month of October.

My delegation does not need to emphasize here the gravity of the situation, which is deteriorating daily, in the territories occupied by Israel since 1967. The international community and, particularly, members of the Security Council are fully aware of the continuing tragedy in the area. The international media have been giving regular and graphic details of the plight of the Palestinian people under Israeli occupation. As the Council meets once again to consider the situation, my delegation expresses full support for the Palestinian people in their legitimate struggle for freedom and justice.

We are convinced that the Security Council must persevere in its efforts to find a comprehensive and just solution to the problem of the Middle East within the framework of resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). The immediate responsibility of the Council is, however, the protection of the Palestinian people under occupation. The uprising of the Palestinians in the territories is now in its 23rd month, and that spontaneous opposition has established at least one thing beyond any doubt - that the continuation of the present situation is untenable. There must be movement forward; there must be change.

Faced with popular defiance of its occupation, Israel has resorted to harsh measures. While the international community endeavours to end the tragic situation, the repressive and arbitrary measures adopted by the occupying Power continue to create tragedies such as that of Beit Sahur. Nepal has repeatedly urged upon Israel that its way of dealing with the uprising is consistent neither with law nor with justice. Systematic destruction of life and property, mass detentions, collective punishments, deportations and economic coercion cannot be explained in terms of the necessity to maintain law and order. Vigilante attacks

(Mr. Rana, Nepal)

by illegal Israeli settlers taking the law into their own hands have added another dangerous dimension to the cycle of violence and hatred in the occupied territories.

The experience of the past two years should convince the Israeli authorities that the uprising of a people with a common national consciousness and identity cannot be subdued, much less suppressed. The iron-fist policy used by the occupying Power to break the popular uprising has merely served further to deepen hatred and suspicion between the two peoples, making the cycle of violence even more endemic. The result has been tremendous suffering and hardship for the Palestinian people. But in the process the moral and physical well-being of the Israeli people has also been seriously undermined. Mutual restraint by all parties concerned is crucial, but Israel bears the primary responsibility for protecting the civilian population in territories it occupies.

The Security Council has on several occasions in the past reaffirmed the applicability to the occupied territories of the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention. My delegation also wishes to recall the report of the Secretary-General submitted in January 1988, which contains important recommendations. Israel's defiance of the decisions of the Council, together with the failure of the Council to enforce respect for the provisions of the Geneva Convention, has already produced serious and tragic consequences. It is therefore incumbent upon the Council to take firm action now to create an atmosphere of mutual respect in which negotiations between the parties concerned can begin in earnest. The convening of an international conference as soon as possible under the auspices of the United Nations will be a major step towards that goal.

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

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

Mr. KHARRAZI (Islamic Republic of Iran): At the outset, Sir, I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council, particularly at this juncture when the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and their situation are at issue. I am confident that, under your wise and capable leadership, a national Chinese trait, the Security Council will succeed in fulfilling its tasks under the United Nations Charter.

I also wish to express thanks to Ambassador Fortier, the Permanent Representative of Canada, for the exemplary manner in which he guided the work of the Security Council during the month of October.

I would like to salute each and every member of the heroic uprising of the Moslem and valiant Palestinian people and to honour the souls of all Palestinians martyred by the Zionist forces, particularly since the inception of the intifadah. More than 40 years have elapsed since the Zionist occupation of Palestine, which has seriously disturbed the peace and security of the region and led to the homelessness of the Palestinian people and their present plight. During that time Palestine has lived through a history replete with tragedies and catastrophes perpetrated by the Zionist occupier. The usurpation of Palestine, the continued commission of horrifying crimes against its inhabitants and the denial of their inalienable rights by the occupying Zionist régime have all contributed to the uprising of the Palestinians and to their struggle for the restoration of their legitimate rights. The heroic uprising of the Palestinian people - the intifadah - in the occupied lands keeps nagging at the conscience of the international community, urging it to take a just stand with regard to the people who have put their lives at stake to gain their natural rights. Unfortunately, however, while the régime occupying Al-Quds has continued its occupation and the expulsion of the Palestinian residents from their homeland, the international

(Mr. Kharrazi, Islamic Republic of Iran)

community has not yet taken decisive action to end the occupation of Palestine, limiting itself to a mere expression of concern.

How long have we been complaining to the United Nations about the atrocities committed by its very own illegitimate offspring, the Zionist entity? And how many times have the General Assembly and the Security Council condemned the occupying régime or deplored its crimes against Palestinians?

Violence, terror, genocide, expansion, treachery and crime committed for the purpose of domination are the ingredients of Zionism and the régime occupying Al-Quds. Those are the conditions under which Palestinians driven from their homeland or living under the subjugation of the Zionist oppressors have intensified their struggle to liberate their homeland. In responding to that struggle the Zionist régime has resorted to the most oppressive measures to suppress the Palestinians.

According to the report of the Commissioner General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) in document A/44/13 and the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, document A/44/352, the Zionist authorities have adopted harsh measures in the face of the incidents and demonstrations, and gunfire has frequently been used. The use of firearms, including live ammunition and plastic bullets, increased substantially between 1 July 1988 and 30 June 1989, and hundreds of Palestinians were killed in Gaza and the West Bank. Since the beginning of the intifadah in the West Bank and Gaza, more than 30,000 Palestinians have been injured.

In addition to the use of firearms, severe measures have also been employed against Palestinian refugees. A substantial number of individuals have been arrested or detained, houses have been demolished, curfews imposed, schools remain

(Mr. Kharrazi, Islamic Republic of Iran)

closed and aggressive behaviour and physical harassment - towards international staff as well - have become more frequent; Zionist settlers have harassed refugees and staff alike.

Those reports clearly demonstrate that the Zionist authorities' persistence in committing serious violations of all manner of fundamental and basic human rights, aimed at altering the political, religious, cultural and demographic features of Palestine, have resulted in a dramatic deterioration of the situation.

The occupation of Palestine and the fall of Al-Quds into the hands of Zionist usurpers vividly demonstrate the depth of the tragedy in the Middle East. The Palestinian people are the greatest victims of that tragedy, but not its only ones. Al-Quds is the symbol of the belief of all Moslem people, and the Zionist occupation is the symbol of the oppression of all Moslems. It is the Holy Land, the first Qibla - or direction - of Moslems, the second-holiest place in Islam, the site of the ascension of the Prophet Mohammad, Peace Be Upon Him, the centre of revolutionary and monotheistic thinking, and the site of the Al-Aqsa Mosque.

The Zionist enemy, realizing that the only element capable of uniting the people of the region against its aggression and the only impetus for prolonging the endurance of the Moslem Palestinian people is their Islamic belief and identity, has thus sought to destroy the sanctuaries of Moslems. The recent attempt by the Zionist régime to insult Islamic values and to desecrate and ravage sacred Islamic places under the guise of rebuilding the Temple of the Mount - Solomon's Temple - is a manifestation of the Zionist fear of Islam. We condemn the evil Zionist plot to destroy the relics of the sacred Islamic shrine inside the Al-Aqsa Mosque. Thanks to the resistance and alertness of Moslems, the earlier plots of the Zionists to annihilate Islamic symbols and sacred shrines, including setting fire to the Al-Aqsa Mosque, were foiled.

(Mr. Kharrazi, Islamic Republic of Iran)

The continued Zionist occupation of Palestine and sections of other Islamic and Arab lands and their aggression against Lebanon are made possible by the unlimited technological, financial, military and political support offered by the United States and certain other Powers, which bear the prime responsibility for the survival of the Zionist base and the plight of the Palestinian people.

The Islamic Republic of Iran, like the entire Moslem Ummah, supports the holy struggle of Palestinians for the emancipation of the occupied land of Palestine.

If the international community seeks to find a solution to this agonizing crisis it should realize that the only viable remedy lies in the full restoration of the right of Palestinians to establish an independent State in the entire land of Palestine. Any other solution that falls short of meeting the legitimate aspirations of the people of Palestine cannot guarantee peace and security in the Middle East.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I thank the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is Mr. Clovis Maksoud, Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, to whom the Council extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure at the 2887th meeting. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MAKSOD: First of all, Sir, I should like to say that I share the universal assessment of your wisdom and dignity in the conduct of the deliberations of the Security Council for the month of November. I should like also to take this opportunity to express the gratitude of the League of Arab States for this kind invitation to address the Council on a very important issue pertaining to the Palestinian people and to the Arabs in general. I should like moreover to affirm that the friendship between China and the Arab nation is long-standing and has been very fruitful, and that we hope to continue the endeavour of promoting our relations and our friendship.

I take this opportunity also to pay a tribute to the excellent way in which the Ambassador of Canada, last month's President, conducted the deliberations of a very active Security Council.

When the Arab group comes to the Security Council it is to affirm its commitment to the United Nations and to the mechanism of the Security Council as the means by which to resolve problems that threaten security and peace in the region and in the world. It is an expression of our commitment. There are times when people think that when we resort to the Security Council there is a level of redundancy in the complaints we make, but we intend, in our commitment to peace and justice in the Middle East, to continue to resort to the Security Council and the United Nations system, because we want to and we are committed to salvaging the peace option in the Middle East. That is our intention, and it is the basic

(Mr. Maksoud)

explanation of why the Arab group resorts to the Security Council whenever the escalation of Israel's inhuman measures in the occupied territories constitute a serious danger to peace.

We are faced at this moment with a situation of escalated violence. The siege of Beit Sahur and the incidents there are but the latest manifestation of the innovative manner in which Israel practices its occupation and of the oppressive measures it has undertaken deliberately to pre-empt the capacity of the Palestinian people to exercise their right of self-determination in accordance with the United Nations Charter and United Nations resolutions.

Therefore, we are faced with a situation where those diverse measures - this creativity in oppressive measures - that Israel applies have also led to a measure of innovation and creativity in the modalities of resistance by the Palestinian people. The intifadah, the Palestinian uprising, which has jolted the conscience of the world into realizing the vital importance and the resilience of the Palestinian people in resisting occupation, has brought out the worst in the Israeli establishment, in Israeli practices, in Israel's obliviousness to world opinion as represented in the United Nations and in the various media criticisms of Israel's behaviour. But it has equally brought out the best in Jewish values and sensitivity to human suffering. That is why the outrage of the international community has been shared by a large number of people of Jewish persuasion, who have seen in the inhuman practices of the Israeli establishment a sort of dehumanization of a noble religion, which Judaism is.

Therefore when we come to the Security Council we come emboldened by the sensitivity of world opinion to justice and the rights of the Palestinian people in having their independent State and their legitimate representatives.

(Mr. Maksoud)

The continued disenfranchisement and dispossession of the Palestinian people are a critical source of the problems that exist in the Middle East, which have reverberated in many crises in the Middle East. Therefore, we have always defined Palestinian rights as the core issue in the Middle East conflict. To address that core issue will ultimately help to resolve many subsequent crises existing in the situation in the Middle East.

The siege of Beit Sahur, the brutalization that has been undertaken and the mechanism of the repression that has been inflicted are truly mind-boggling. Although I say they are innovative methods, they have brought out the inherent non-violent aspect of civil disobedience in tune with the traditions of non-violence of Mahatma Gandhi in the liberation movement of India and Dr. Martin Luther King's fight in the United States. Non-violence is not an abdication of one's insistence on one's rights. On the contrary, non-violence is expected to infect one's adversary with the ennobling capacity to recognize human equality.

That was attempted in Beit Sahur and was brought to its climax. Yet instead of infecting the adversary, the occupier, with the corrective, it has in fact manifested further the deliberate consummation of self-righteousness by the Israeli occupation authorities. Beit Sahur is the latest example, and it is not the only example. There are many ways the Palestinian people in the Palestinian uprising have to bear the brunt of an Israeli occupation that has been licensed and allowed to continue because many in the world community have treated Israel in an exceptional way.

Israel has succeeded in projecting itself as an exception to the rules. Its own laws and its definition of facts - or may I say distortion of facts - run counter to the near-unanimous consensus about what the facts are.

(Mr. Maksoud)

Its unique way of explaining realities, or distorting realities, runs in face of a universal judgement of what realities are - whether in the occupied territories or elsewhere - even of those who partake in the unanimous consensus on what the facts are.

Yet by all sorts of manipulations Israel seeks to project itself as being unique and therefore exceptional, and that any attempt at criticizing or deploring or condemning its acts becomes a licence for it to act unilaterally in contempt and defiance of this international consensus.

So why does this take place? Is it rooted in the ideological basis of the Israeli State? Does the fact that it has an exclusionary policy make it immune from criticism? Or do the circumstances in which Israel was created by the United Nations partition plan give it a unique way of being oblivious to world concerns about its positions, policies and practices in the occupied territories?

These are questions that have to be answered. They have been answered in the world of public opinion. They have been answered in a series of United Nations resolutions. And every time a United Nations resolution is adopted we are entreated that we are rendering it controversial, that we are pursuing polemics, politicizing issues. But of course we are politicizing. We are politicizing because in all mankind's recorded history, when there has been institutional injustice there has been rebellion against it. And politics - not the politics of manipulation but the politics of commitment - is the vehicle by which, though we may not achieve justice, we at least mitigate injustice.

The Palestinian uprising has succeeded in bringing about a clarity of purpose and defining the parameters of the national patrimony of the Palestinian State, not as incursive or intrusive or beyond the prescribed borders of Security Council

(Mr. Maksoud)

resolution 242 (1967), but in compliance with it, thus terminating not only all attempts at overbidding the Palestinians but equally all attempts at underbidding and undermining Palestinian national rights.

It is this fundamental reality, the political clarity of the Palestinian uprising that has enabled its representatives once and for all to extricate the world community and the Palestinian situation from being prisoners of indecision, and that is why the PLO and the Palestinian State's commitment to peace is in absolute conformity with prescribed resolutions and the collective jurisprudence that has evolved in the Security Council.

It is in the light of this fundamental reality that the peace option is salvageable. Of course we in the League of Arab States, of which the State of Palestine is a full member, share in the relief from the anxieties of the cold war. We understand the new language of pragmatic realism that is evolving in the world order. We are sensitized to the need to address the new problems of environment, drugs and disease. We are equally involved in bringing about the relaxation of international tensions and securing détente in the world community.

But stability is not equal to stagnation. If Palestinian rights are denied, stability cannot be asserted because stability which stabilizes injustice is a prescription for renewed conflict. That is why, when we come before the Security Council, as the Chairman of the Arab Group mentioned this morning, and when the facts of the situation are presented to this Council, as they were by my colleague the Ambassador of the Palestine State this morning, we feel the need for understanding of the broader implications of the various measures that have been undertaken by the Israeli authorities in Beit Sahur, in Gaza and in other places.

The proliferation of settlements in the occupied territories is intended to distort and mutilate the cultural and national unity of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. These settlements have been declared illegal. They have

(Mr. Maksoud)

in many instances been declared by President Reagan as obstacles to peace. In both instances - whether illegal or obstacles to peace - they should be addressed because they are intended to facilitate the creeping annexation of the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem. The record of Israel is replete with evidence of its intent of annexation. It has declared the Golan Heights a part of Israel. It has declared East Jerusalem a part of Israel. It has refused, throughout the last 21 years, to consider itself an occupation authority. It has behaved as, and advocated policies as though it is, a claimant to the right to have ultimate sovereign rights over the occupied Palestinian territories. Even when some of the so-called moderate Israelis in the Government said that they had no objection to trading land for peace, they never defined the land of 1967 occupation. It has been a deliberate abstraction - some land for peace. They have not committed themselves to evacuating their occupation of the lands occupied in 1947, which is the thrust of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). In a way Israel has interpreted Security Council resolution 242 (1967) to mean that any territorial withdrawal, such as happened in the Sinai, constitutes compliance with the Security Council resolution.

Have we, has the Security Council, been able to extract from the Israeli authorities a definition of their objectives in the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem? Have they not transformed the names into Judea and Samaria and the Gaza Strip? Has not Israel considered the population of Palestine as sort of residents, as if they are there not by right but by sufferance?

(Mr. Maksoud)

These are all questions of substance. One must come to grips with all these ideological hang-ups of the Israeli State in order to understand Israel's structured and institutionalized contempt for the deliberations and resolutions of the Security Council.

Today, we heard the Israeli representative state very clearly that the measures taken at Beit Sahur were in accordance with the Hague Regulations, and then he said that by customary international law the occupant may even utilize for his own purposes the balance left over after administrative costs have been met.

What does he mean by occupant? If Israel is an occupying Power, which the Israeli representative does not recognize and concerning which there is nothing on record except this word "occupant" used today, then, according to the Geneva Conventions, blowing up houses is forbidden, deportation of people is forbidden, closure of universities and schools is forbidden. He cannot be selective. Israel wants to be treated as an occupant, when it collects taxes forcibly and sells the property of the people of Beit Sahur, but it does not want to be treated as an occupant when it deports Palestinians from their homeland.

Then there is the audacity manifested by the assertion that there is only, as it were, one game in town - Mr. Shamir's so-called election plan - and that therefore any resort to the Security Council by the Arab Group is an attempt to circumvent the so-called peace plan of Israel. Perhaps this is not the place for me to evaluate the so-called peace plan, but it is important to mention very briefly that we are for the peace plan, for the international conference sponsored by the United Nations. Neither Mr. Shamir nor the Israeli Government can, for the purpose of gimmickry and attempts at public relations to precede his visit to the United States, try to flash before us a so-called peace plan on elections, as happened last May. Elections for what, and for whom, and by whom? The restrictions are suffocating.

(Mr. Maksoud)

In no circumstances will Israel negotiate with the PLO. For the first time in the records of diplomatic history and the annals of negotiations, the adversary chooses, or wants to choose, or even wants to have an input in the choice of, his adversary's negotiating team. If that were indeed the pattern we should have tremendous objections based on the historical record and actual practices of many of the Israelis proposed for the negotiations. But if one is serious about negotiations and really seeks a credible outcome, one negotiates with those that can deliver the outcome.

Besides, the PLO, having been recognized internationally and by the Arab League as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and having been accepted as such by the Palestinian people, is the source of any mandate for any negotiations on any level. This has to be understood as the reality. Any attempt to establish anything else as the reality is an exercise in futility. It provides Israel with a chance to buy more time, to establish more settlements, to diversify more and more its techniques of repression and oppression in the occupied territories.

That is why we urge the members of the Security Council to adopt the draft resolution in the hope that it might help to prevent inhuman practices against the Palestinian people in the future.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I thank Mr. Maksoud for the kind words he addressed to me.

There are no further speakers on my list for this meeting. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on the agenda will take place tomorrow, Tuesday, 7 November 1989, at 10.30 a.m.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.