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

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 16 December 1987, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. BELONOGOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)

<u>Members:</u> Argentina	Mr. DELPECH
Bulgaria	Mr. GARVALOV
China	Mr. LI Luye
Congo	Mr. ADOUKI
France	Mr. BLANC
Germany, Federal Republic of	Count YORK von WARTENBURG
Ghana	Mr. DUMEVI
Italy	Mr. BUCCI
Japan	Mr. KIKUCHI
United Arab Emirates	Mr. AL-SHAALI
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Crispin TICKELL
United States of America	Mr. WALTERS
Venezuela	Mr. PABON GARCIA
Zambia	Mr. ZUZE

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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 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 Bahrain, Cuba, Egypt, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the Syrian Arab Republic 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. Al-Shakar (Bahrain), Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Mr. Badawi (Egypt), Mr. Mahallati (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Kittani (Iraq), Mr. Netanyahu (Israel), Mr. Salah (Jordan), Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Mr. Shah Nawaz (Pakistan), Mr. Al-Kawari (Qatar), Mr. Shihabi (Saudi Arabia) and Mr. Al-Masri (Syrian Arab Republic) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber; Mr. Al-Kidwa (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 letters from the representatives of Algeria, Democratic Yemen, India, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Tunisia, Yemen and Yugoslavia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Djoudi (Algeria), Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Gharekhan (India), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Ghezal (Tunisia), Mr. Basendwah (Yemen) and Mr. Pejic (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them 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.

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

Mr. AL-KIDWA (Palestine Liberation Organization) (interpretation from Arabic): For eight days in a row, the Israeli occupation forces have waged a barbaric fascist campaign against our people in the occupied Palestinian territories in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

That campaign is part of a determined Israeli policy that violates the Fourth Geneva Convention and all international norms and customs relative to human rights, including the United Nations Charter, and has the aim of oppressing our people as a prelude to expelling it from its territory. It continues despite the meetings of the Security Council to consider the grave situation in the occupied territories, once again confirming Israel's defiance of the Council and the need to address this situation differently.

In the last few days the Israeli army has turned the occupied Palestinian territories into a real battlefield on which it fights the innocent civilian population. The occupation soldiers are opening fire against citizens. Tear-gas bombs and even tanks and helicopters are being used to suppress the anger of our Palestinian people.

Since last Tuesday more than 30 martyrs have fallen as a result of Israeli acts including children and the elderly, persons whose ages range from 14 to 60 years, male and female. Three hundred others have been injured, and many of them are listed in critical condition. We have here detailed information on the situation regarding more than 250 cases - detailed data including name, residence, age, kind of injury and date of injury. We do not want to leave any room for doubt in this regard.

Worse still, the Israeli forces are besieging and storming hospitals and even removing some of the injured. In this regard I would name the hospitals of El-Shifa in Gaza, Nasser in Khan Yunis, the Women's Federation Hospital in Nablus, and the Red Crescent Hospital in Balata.

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

To this must be added the continued obstruction of emergency-vehicle routes. The injured and the martyrs are all the victims of the state of total siege in many of the camps, towns and Palestinian villages, in many of which curfews are imposed. We would mention particularly the camps of Jabalia, Al-Akkad, Al-Breij, Rafah, Enseirat, Al-Maghazi, Ash-Shati, in the Gaza Strip, and Balata, Ain Betelmah, Askar, Al-Far'a and Adheisha, in the West Bank.

There are also scores of detainees. For example, more than 250 detainees have been thrown into Ansar-II camp, in the Gaza Strip.

The fascist and criminal acts could even contaminate the watertanks in the city of Khan Yunis in the Gaza Strip. They could cordon off territories in their entirety and shut down their supply of electricity.

A barbaric example of such acts is the tying of children to military jeeps and dragging them along, which has been seen on television.

I should like to give some other examples - developments that took place just a couple of hours ago. Today, 16 December 1987, at 12.30 local time, in the camp of Anseirat, the Israeli army stormed two houses, using bombs, with the following result. In the first house a two-day-old baby girl was killed. Only two days old: as though the objective was to deny the right to life. Her name was Jihad Mahmoud Abou Mattar. In the other house a woman was killed; she was Salwa Kamal Abou Abdou, 22 years old.

Also today, at 1 p.m. local time, in Beit Hanun, Israeli soldiers attacked a 17-year-old girl, beating her with the butts of their machine-guns. As a result, her skull was fractured and she died. Her name was Najwa Hassan Al-Masri.

Those are the kinds of brutal acts that have been perpetrated by the Israeli occupation authorities against our people in the occupied territories in the last nine dark days of suffering in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

Our people's resistance is increasing. It has become a real upheaval against occupation, against the criminal occupation policies and for the realization of our people's inalienable rights. What we are witnessing now is real civil disobedience to the occupation. What we fear is escalation of the Israeli brutality into a comprehensively destructive form.

What I have described reflects once again the fixed Israeli policy towards the Palestinian people, a policy that denies the national rights of that people and aims at expelling it from the occupied territories, as a prelude to the annexation of those territories. It is based on a refusal to consider the West Bank and Gaza Strip as occupied territories, and hence a refusal to make any serious attempt to establish a comprehensive, just and permanent peace in the area. That is the real Israeli position, a position that even rejects Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

That is a resolution that some insist on. It is not very difficult to prove that. Resolution 242 (1967) is based on the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and insistence on Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied in the 1967 crisis. Hence, those who accept the resolution cannot deny the applicability to the occupied territories of the fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949. Those who accept the resolution cannot go on building illegitimate settlements in the occupied territories, despite the unanimous international opposition to the settlements and despite the many Security Council resolutions in that regard. Those who accept the resolution cannot use in the Security Council expressions such as "Judaea" and "Samaria" to describe the occupied West Bank. The use of those expressions does not come only from millenary concepts and it does not come from the Israeli leadership's ignorance of international law and the genuine, legal names of those territories; it comes from an ideological and political

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

position that considers the territories part of the land of Israel - Israel, which was not satisfied with the territories allocated to it by the partition resolution; Israel, which has not yet defined its borders.

That is what Israel is doing to our Palestinian people in the occupied territories. That is the true Israeli position vis-à-vis the Palestinian land, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. What should the Security Council, the body responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, do about that? We all know that the Council has adopted scores of resolutions on the practices of Israel, the occupying Power, in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories. We know that the Council has called on Israel to heed its resolutions and the international conventions relating to occupied territories, particularly the Geneva Convention relating to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. That has not so far yielded any positive results.

The situation requires more serious measures by the Council through implementation of the provisions of the Charter, especially Chapter VII. We believe that the dangerous situation makes it incumbent upon the Council to adopt a resolution providing for the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from populated areas and their replacement with United Nations peace-keeping forces as a way to avoid a general explosion and to spare the people any further disaster. We believe that at the least the Council must take practical measures to guarantee the protection of the Palestinian citizens in the occupied territories, measures that should include resort to United Nations machinery and capacity. We also believe that the Council could form a committee or send a special fact-finding mission to the territories.

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

We believe that the international community's paramount duty in this matter is to protect, through the Security Council, the innocent civilian population in the Palestinian territories from the brutality and the plans of the Israeli occupation authorities. That would guarantee the minimum Palestinian human rights - the right to life and the right to survival.

Those would be important steps on the right road. However, a comprehensive and just solution to the disaster inflicted on our people under occupation would be total Israeli withdrawal from all the Arab and Palestinian occupied territories, including Jerusalem, and the realization of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination on their own land without any foreign interference. That is a sacred right, to which all peoples are entitled and which is guaranteed by all international instruments, particularly the United Nations Charter.

We hope that the Security Council, while dealing with the bloody and grave situation in the occupied Arab territories, will be able to take further steps on the road to solving the Middle East question, the crux of which is the question of Palestine. The Palestine Liberation Organization has repeatedly confirmed at all levels - including its National Council at its eighteenth session in Algiers - its international commitments, including its commitment to international legitimacy and United Nations resolutions, those resolutions being the basis of a just, permanent and comprehensive political settlement. We also support the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, as called for by the United Nations, under United Nations auspices and with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing, and with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

But Israeli defiance of the international will and rejection of United Nations resolutions - and indeed of the very idea of an international peace conference - are the cause of the deterioration of this volatile situation and of the lack of peace and security in the region.

Our Palestinian people in the occupied territories, in the camps and in all the cities and villages of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, are being attacked as part of a campaign of terror and liquidation. They look to the Security Council in the hope that it can put an end to the bloodshed perpetrated against them by the neo-fascists and that it will be able to restore and help them exercise their acknowledged inalienable national rights.

Mr. LI Luye (China) (interpretation from Chinese): At the outset, Sir, please allow me warmly to congratulate you, an outstanding representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a neighbour country of China, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I am confident that with you in the Chair we shall achieve good results in our work for December.

I should like also to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to His Excellency Ambassador Kiyooki Kikuchi of Japan, Permanent Representative of another neighbour country of China, for his successful performance in presiding over the Council's work last month.

The current session of the General Assembly has just concluded its deliberations on Israeli practices violating the human rights of the population of the occupied territories, and has adopted a number of resolutions in that connection. Statements by various delegations, along with General Assembly resolutions, have condemned the Israeli authorities for their erroneous policies towards and practices against the Palestinian people in the occupied territories.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

They have reiterated that the fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 1949 was applicable to Palestine and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, that have come under Israeli occupation since 1967, and have demanded that Israel, as the occupying Power, recognize and abide by the provisions of that Convention. It is extremely regrettable, however, that the ink on the resolutions had hardly dried when the occupied territories rang with shots of Israeli troops suppressing the Palestinian people, with cries of protest from the families of the innocent victims, and with the painful groans of the wounded. We cannot but express our serious concern and indignation in the face of intensified military suppression by the Israeli occupying authorities and their continued trampling under foot of the Palestinian people's basic right to existence, in total disregard of world opinion, international law and the authority of the United Nations.

We are in favour of the proposal by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Arab countries calling for the holding of Security Council meetings to consider the situation and to adopt measures to prevent its further deterioration. Here we should like to express our sympathy and solidarity with the Palestinian people in the occupied territories in their just struggle for the right to existence.

At the Council's meeting on 11 December, the representative of Israel employed his usual language, with which we are familiar. In his statement he termed the people's resistance in the occupied territories against brutal repression acts of incited violence, thus attempting to evade the responsibility of the Israeli occupying authorities for the consequences of their military suppression. However, such tactics will not work. It is common knowledge that where there is occupation there is resistance. As the Secretary-General has pointed out in his report,

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

"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". (S/19249, para. 35)

There the Secretary-General stated very clearly that it is the occupation that gives rise to unrest and violence. That is a fact that no one can explain away.

In recent days there have been frequent shooting deaths of Palestinians in the occupied Gaza and the West Bank. These bloody incidents have further aggravated the tension in the occupied territories, and fresh confrontations and bloody incidents on a broader scale could take place at any time. In the face of this dangerous situation, the Chinese delegation believes it highly necessary that the Council firmly reiterate the applicability of the 1949 Geneva Convention to Palestine and other Arab territories under Israeli occupation since 1967 and once again demand immediate and strict compliance with the provisions of the Convention by the Israeli authorities and the cessation of their repressive practices against the Palestinians. The Council should also consider adopting other specific and effective measures in that regard.

We all know very well that the essence of the Middle East question lies in the fact that Palestine and other Arab territories are occupied by Israel and that the Palestinian people are completely deprived of their national rights. That is the fundamental question the Security Council should strive to solve. Now that the international community has almost unanimously agreed that the best way to reach a just solution of the Middle East question is the convening of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations, it is the view of the Chinese delegation that all Council members, the permanent members in particular, should

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

work to contribute positively to the convening of such a conference. The Israeli Government should change its erroneous policies as soon as possible, go along with the trend of historical development, and demonstrate the necessary political will for the convening of an international conference aimed at achieving a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East question, including the issue which is at its heart, the question of Palestine. Continued intransigence and an obstinate clinging to its stand of aggression and occupation will lead it nowhere.

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

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

Mr. SHAH NAWAZ (Pakistan): Permit me, Sir, to begin by expressing the gratitude of my delegation to you and other members of the Security Council for the opportunity given to me to participate in the current debate on the situation in the occupied Arab territories. We welcome your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December and feel confident that the deliberations of the Council will greatly benefit from your diplomatic skill and experience.

This month has seen a great event in the successful conclusion of the summit meeting in Washington between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States. It is our hope that the summit has set in motion important processes which will provide fresh impulses to the collective actions of the international community to strengthen world peace and security.

I also wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express our appreciation of the exemplary manner in which Ambassador Kikuchi of Japan presided over the work of the Council last month.

The Council has, over the years, repeatedly debated the tragic recurrence of violence in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, in the familiar pattern of bloody confrontations between the Palestinian population and the Israeli occupying forces, resulting in death and destruction and loss of numerous innocent lives. For the past eight days, such incidents have assumed particularly tragic dimensions. In the statements they made before the Council last Friday, the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People dealt with the current situation in the area in great detail. The wave of violence, which began a week ago, continues unabated, and the increasing frequency and fury of these incidents are the subject of daily reports in the international press.

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

Many Palestinians have been killed in seven straight days of clashes, which, according to the United Nations relief officials, are the most violent in recent years. The violence, which originated in the refugee district of the Gaza Strip, has spread to the West Bank, where many Arab towns remain closed as a result of a general strike.

In what has been described as the most violent week in 20 years of Israeli occupation, the death toll, according to reports from Gaza, is rising higher as the Israeli army shoots the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip in order to kill and terrorize them into submission.

The indiscriminate shooting by the Israeli army has failed to intimidate or keep at bay the Palestinian youth, who react in fearless defiance to these outrageous acts of violence against the innocent inhabitants of the refugee camps. Today's New York Times reports that the fighting has spread throughout the length and breadth of the Gaza Strip, where some 650,000 Palestinians are packed in impoverished refugee districts and villages. The United Nations Director, on the spot, is reported to have described the situation as one of "either total lawlessness or a popular uprising".

On previous occasions, after debating the recurrence of such violence in the occupied territories, the Council, recognizing the gravity of the situation, has reaffirmed that the fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War is applicable to the Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem. On each such occasion, the Council's pronouncements have been treated with scant respect. Similar reaffirmations by the General Assembly, which has repeatedly condemned Israeli practices in the occupied territories, have also remained unheeded. The international community has remained deeply concerned with the tragedy of Palestine for the best part of the century; but the cycle of repression and revolt, oppression and violence, defiance and reprisal has

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

continued unbroken. After all these tragic years, there is neither peace nor security in these territories. Far from providing refuge, the refugee camps have become the killing fields of the innocents.

It is obvious that neither the uninhibited use of force, nor the attempts to terrorize the people of Palestine into seeking safety in exile, can bring peace and security to the region. It is equally obvious that peace and security cannot return to the region unless Israel recognizes the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to have a homeland of their own.

Without a just and durable peace based on the recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, the situation in the Middle East will continue to remain explosive. No people can forever exist in a state of war. Israel itself needs peace. It can opt for a lasting peace by recognizing the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and abandoning its expansionist policies. The uprooting of the people of Palestine from their homeland and the destabilization of this strategic region, for which the Israeli policies are responsible, will not bring peace to Israel or an end to its isolation in the international community.

General Assembly resolution 38/58, adopted at its thirty-eighth session in 1983, recommends the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East and outlines certain fundamental elements for the successful conclusion of a comprehensive settlement. Last year, the Heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries called for a speedy implementation of that resolution and stressed the necessity for the early convening of the international peace conference. They emphasized

"the major responsibility shouldered by the Security Council in facilitating the convening of the Conference and providing the appropriate institutional

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

arrangements to guarantee the implementation of the expected agreements of the Conference."

There is growing awareness and near unanimity among the members of the international community that such an international peace conference is necessary to resolve this complex problem.

We feel encouraged by the Secretary-General's remarks that his special effort to promote the convening of an international peace conference has been endorsed by leaders of all parties to the conflict. It is regrettable that an opportunity of historic proportions cannot be grasped because of Israel's negative attitude. As the Secretary-General has pointed out:

"The major obstacle at present, however, is one of a different kind, namely, the inability of the Government of Israel as a whole to agree on the principle of an international conference under United Nations auspices. Until the Israeli Government accepts that such a conference is the best way to negotiate a peace settlement, the way forward will remain difficult."

(S/19249, para. 33)

Our commitment to the cause of Palestinian self-determination and independence is deeply rooted in principle and conviction. We fully endorse the contents of the communiques issued yesterday by the members of the Organization of Islamic Conference and the Co-ordinating Bureau of the non-aligned countries at the United Nations. These communiques stress the imperatives of enabling the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and convening of the proposed international peace conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestinian Liberation Organization, on an equal footing.

The international community considers the convening of such a conference an urgent necessity. It is incumbent upon the Security Council to give its unanimous

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

support to the Secretary-General in his endeavours to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East. Procedural obstacles, created for temporary gains, must not be allowed to outweigh the objective of a lasting peace, to be achieved through the proposed peace conference. The Palestinians and the Arab States have demonstrated their readiness to work for a peaceful solution in the framework of the proposed conference. In these circumstances, it is Israel's obvious duty to eschew intransigence and procrastination and to join the international community in its effort to seek a just settlement and lasting peace in the region.

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

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

Mr. BASENDWAH (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council especially for the last month of this year. I am pleased to see you presiding over the Council for the following reasons: first, you represent a great country with which my country, the Arab Republic of Yemen, is tied by old and well established relationships based on friendship and mutual respect; and, secondly, because I am confident that, thanks to your experience and wisdom, you will ably conduct the work of this important Council - which is more important than any other council in the world - so as to contribute in a practical way to the solution of many regional and international questions and problems, both chronic and new, particularly the question of Palestine.

Allow me, Sir, to thank your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Japan, for the great efforts he exerted when he presided over the Council's deliberations last month.

While thanking you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council for acceding to our request to participate in the discussion of this item, I should like to pledge to be as brief as possible so as to allow you to make the maximum use of your precious time.

There is no need to go into the details of what has been happening in the occupied Palestine territories, because the presentation of my brother and colleague Mr. Zehdi Terzi of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the statement made today by Mr. Nasser Al-Kidwa, Vice-Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, were comprehensive and fully convincing of the horrors that have been committed.

In fact, what we have seen on television and heard over international broadcasts about what is taking place - despite the fact that most of them favour

(Mr. Basendwah, Yemen)

Israel - are crystal-clear proof that the Palestinian people is determined to liberate its land and regain its freedom. They also indicate that the Israeli occupier would like to continue to impose its authority by fire and force.

I feel much pain - in fact, I bleed - whenever I see pictures on American television of what is happening in towns of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. As representatives might have seen, Israeli foot soldiers and military tank crews armed to the teeth with the most sophisticated weapons were shooting at random in all directions against defenceless Palestinian citizens. Many of them fall either dead or wounded, saving not even little children, old men or women who, perhaps, left their houses to inquire about their dear children or brothers; saving not even students and young persons. Have we seen more barbarity than this?

But the representative of Tel Aviv, Mr. Netanyahu, instead of being ashamed and hiding his face, came here and said with pride that the Israeli authorities by their army's acts of killing and aggression were just doing their duty and did not violate any international law; on the contrary, they were trying to establish order and implement law. He seemed to be saying once again that the presence of the Israeli occupation army in the occupied Palestinian territories was totally legal. He also indicated that the forcible occupation of the territory of others was sanctioned by international law, whether or not the Council and the international community accepted that. What defiance!

That represents unprecedented disregard of the United Nations Charter, international law, the international community, and the entire United Nations - especially this important and prestigious Council. That is a clear falsification. Mr. Netanyahu gave the right to use force to the aggressor - not to those attacked and whose countries have been occupied, as indicated in General Assembly resolution 40/61. Those falsifications will deceive nobody.

(Mr. Basendwah, Yemen)

There was another attempt to try to divert our attention from what we are discussing here to another matter. He tried to blame other Arab countries, seemingly forgetting that we are discussing here incidents not in independent countries but in the occupied territories. As always, he attributed the daily heroic and popular resistance in the occupied Palestinian territories to the Palestine Liberation Organization. He seems to forget that that in itself indicates the allegiance of the Palestinian people to its leadership. It implicitly indicates that any solution of the Palestinian question and the Israeli-Arab conflict cannot be achieved without the Palestine Liberation Organization and its participation. His intelligence has not served him well this time.

Mr. Netanyahu always tries to limit any discussion of the Palestinian territories to the results and in accordance with his concept that the Israelis are the victims. He knows - perhaps more than any other person - that the discussion of any subject, if not dealt with logically, would be tantamount to treating cancer with aspirin. Had he studied seriously the reasons behind the Palestinian resistance he would not have misled himself. But he does not want to take the trouble or to exert serious efforts to find that out. He knows the truth, but only does not want to admit it. Does he not know that his people are the occupiers and that the Palestinians are the ones who have been suffering under the yoke of Israeli occupation?

The discussion of the dangerous incidents in the occupied Palestinian territories has so far not diverted the Council's attention from the fact that what is now happening in that part of Palestine, and ever since 1967, is nothing but the natural result of an illegal and illegitimate introduction there. But for the Israeli occupation of Palestine we would not have seen Palestinians taking to the streets demanding freedom, self-determination and an independent State.

(Mr. Basendwah, Yemen)

As is known, Israel does not agree to return the land to its people; it refuses to withdraw from that land. It is prepared to use all forms of oppression and suppression against the Palestinians so as to continue its occupation of Jerusalem, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. It wants the Palestinians to surrender to its might and authority. It wants to annex the remaining part of Palestine which has been occupied since 1967.

(Mr. Basendwah, Yemen)

Had Israel wanted peace, peace would not have been delayed until this very day. The path to peace is crystal clear, as indicated in General Assembly resolution 38/58 C. Israel does not want peace by that path. It wants a peace imposed by itself - the peace of status quo, the peace of capitulation. That is why it has persistently rejected the convening of an international conference on peace in the Middle East, as confirmed by the Secretary-General in his latest report to the General Assembly.

Perhaps Israel has resorted to this conduct because it is under the illusion that imprescriptibility is enough to legalize its occupation of the Palestinian and Arab territories after its aggression against Egypt, Syria and Jordan in June 1976, or at least to render that occupation a *fait accompli* - as in 1948, when Israel was created.

It is God's will - and as history indicates and recent events have once again confirmed - it is necessary to accelerate the convening of an international conference on peace in the Middle East. But pending that conference the Council must assume its duties: it must put an end to the horrendous massacres and blood-letting of civilian citizens perpetrated by the Israeli army and to ensure the Palestinians decent living conditions in peace, security and safety, free from the acts of aggression committed against them by the Israeli authorities until their lands are liberated.

Israel's designs are aimed at preventing the establishment of an independent Palestinian State and at keeping the West Bank, Jerusalem and Gaza under its control and settled by Jewish immigrants from other States, as has happened in the past.

Is it possible for the world to stand by as a spectator while Israel tries to implement its criminal designs since before and after 1948? Our only consolation is that as long as Israel occupies the occupied Palestinian territories the popular

(Mr. Basendwah, Yemen)

resistance will continue. The fact is that what is happening these days is not just a little accidental uprising but a huge popular revolution, as admitted even by Israel's friends.

Condemnation alone is not enough. The Council must seek to impose sanctions against Israel in order to oblige it to accept the convening of the international conference on peace in the Middle East with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing, as was confirmed by the resolutions adopted by the Amman Summit Conference, which the Israeli representative tried to distort. He claimed that the PLO had not received the same attention at the Amman Summit Conference as it had at previous conferences. However, he is advised to refer to the resolution (A/42/209 A) adopted by the General Assembly a few days ago. It contains a whole paragraph from the Amman Summit Conference. He will see that he was deceiving no one but himself.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Yemen for the kind words he addressed to me personally and to my country.

Mr. DUMEVI (Ghana): You represent a Government and people, Sir, with which my country, Ghana, shares long and friendly relations based on our two countries' mutual respect. It is therefore a particular pleasure for the Ghana delegation to see you occupying the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December. I convey to you, Sir, the congratulations of the Ghana delegation.

I should also like to pay a well-deserved tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Kiyooki Kikuchi of Japan, the representative of another country with which Ghana has friendly relations.

(Mr. Dumevi, Ghana)

The Security Council has convened yet another session in response to the deteriorating situation in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories. For nine consecutive days there has been widespread violence in the occupied territories. The resulting casualty figures, according to the latest reports, have climbed to 12 persons killed and several others wounded.

Since the Council began its consideration of the subject last Friday, 8 December, the Ghana delegation has listened very closely to the statements of the various speakers, particularly the representative of Israel, who has given his Government's version of the events of the last few days. One fact stands out clearly, namely, that the latest tragic events stem directly from the attempt by the Israeli occupation forces to suppress a demonstration by Palestinian Arab youths who were protesting the killing of four of their compatriots in Jabaliya in the occupied territories by a truck driven by an Israeli driver. While the Israeli representative tried to dismiss the incident lightly as one of the common motor accidents in Israel, the Palestinian youths believed that the death of the four Palestinians was in revenge for the fatal stabbing of a Jewish businessman on 6 December.

In the ensuing violence the Israeli occupation troops shot two Palestinian youths dead and wounded 18 others in a day-long disturbance in Gaza. In a related incident, Israeli helicopters are reported to have dropped tear-gas canisters into groups of Palestinian youths who had gathered in the court-yard of Shifa hospital, where their wounded colleagues had been admitted for treatment. The Israeli troops are also reported to have killed four Palestinians in the Balata refugee camp on the West Bank, wounding 30 in another protest demonstration in that area. Further reports also have it that at Kalandia refugee camp north of Jerusalem 23 students who raised the Palestinian flag during a demonstration were arrested, while another 12 were hurt in scuffles with the police.

(Mr. Dumevi, Ghana)

There is a striking similarity between the current tragic events and the violence of the previous years. Last year the victims were students of the Bir Zeit University on the West Bank. In that incident, Israeli occupation forces, armed with machine guns and tear-gas, opened fire on the students, killing two and wounding 15.

(Mr. Dumevi, Ghana)

The dead and the wounded were among a group of students protesting against aerial, artillery and naval attacks on Palestinian camps in southern Lebanon, and in acknowledgement of the solidarity expressed by the rest of the world in the observance of Palestinian Day.

In the current violence, the casualties are again Palestinian Arab youths, in their teens, including an 11-year-old boy from the town of Khan Yunis in Gāzā. He is reported to have died after having been shot in the head by the Israeli forces.

The representative of Israel has defended the shootings as an exercise by his Government in the enforcement of law and order. At this point one may ask: is the enforcement of law and order achieved by shooting defenceless youths in the head? The Ghana delegation finds it difficult to accept the defence used by the representative of Israel.

The brutal killing of the 11-year-old boy of Khan Yunis, and indeed those shot and killed in various parts of the occupied territories, tempts one to conclude again that excessive force has been used by the Israeli authorities to stifle the expression of legitimate political dissent.

The Ghana delegation strongly condemns the brutal killing of defenceless Palestinians and the violent excesses of the occupying Power and its army. This situation is of such gravity and the tragedy is so immense that the almost superficial and dismissive attitude adopted by the Israeli representative in his statements is most regrettable and unfortunate.

Viewed against the accumulated Israeli actions of indiscriminate killing, abduction, administrative arrest and harassment of the Palestinian Arabs in East Jerusalem and other occupied territories, one can hardly resist the conclusion that the latest incidents are calculated to demonstrate once again the superiority of Israeli military power and therefore its capacity to crush the aspirations of the

(Mr. Dumevi, Ghana)

Palestinians. Apart from the fact that this attitude is an illusion, it can only further aggravate an already volatile situation, with inevitable serious implications for international peace and security. The truth of the matter is that history has consistently shown that the legitimate aspirations of a people cannot be indefinitely suppressed. Israel would do well to learn from this.

The events that have been unfolding in the past few days have again brought into sharp focus the gravity of the challenges which the unresolved Palestinian question poses to the Council and the international community. Considering the potential threat to peace and security resulting from the deteriorating situation, the Council, in the Ghana delegation's view, must act swiftly and firmly.

In this connection, the Ghana delegation sees three possible courses of action - and let me emphasize that this is by no means an exhaustive list:

First, the Council should again call upon Israel to fulfil its responsibility towards the populations in the occupied Arab territories in accordance with the 1949 Geneva Convention. By resolution 592 (1986) this very Council last year affirmed the applicability of that Convention to Palestine and the other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967. The Council must therefore call upon Israel to abandon what has become a habitual breach of the Convention.

Secondly, the Council should call upon Israel to release any persons detained as a result of the week-long riots.

Thirdly, it is the view of the Ghana delegation that the question of the proposed International Conference on the Middle East should be addressed with urgency. The decisions of the current session of the General Assembly have again demonstrated overwhelming support for the idea.

(Mr. Dumevi, Ghana)

Ghana appreciates the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General and his staff, who, in spite of the initial set-backs, continue to keep up the momentum by maintaining dialogue with the parties concerned. The main obstacle continues to be the unconstructive attitude of the Israeli administration. We should like to hope that Israel would heed the advice of the overwhelming majority and demonstrate greater realism and avoid insisting on pre-conditions which, in our view, not only are unrealistic but also perpetuate a state of animosity and conflict. After all, 20 years of unbridled display of force by Israel in its relations with its neighbours have not in any way diminished the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people nor achieved for Israel any enhanced security. Perhaps the time has come for Israel to reassess its policies and work towards the establishment of good neighbourliness, which every country, weak or powerful, needs.

I should pause here and address a few words to the friends of Israel. The present stubborn attitude of Israel derives largely from the fact that it can count on its friends to weaken any collective decision of the Council which may relate to the Palestinian question and the situation in the Middle East. The apparent over-indulgence of Israel only helps to harden its attitude and has been a major factor in undermining the credibility of the Council on the question of the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is our hope that Israel's friends will reassess their position and join the majority in taking urgent action on resolving the problem in all its aspects.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Ghana for the kind words he addressed to my country and to me personally.

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. MAHALLATI (Islamic Republic of Iran): Allow me first to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of this important body, which is responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security and therefore one of the most essential bodies for the humane conduct of international relations. I am confident that your wise conduct will substantiate the efforts of the Council on all issues of international importance during this month.

Thanks are due to the Ambassador and the delegation of Japan for the excellent manner in which they conducted the affairs of the Council last month.

The recent acts of extreme violence by the forces of the Zionist occupier are neither surprising nor different in any conceivable way from the established original policy of the Zionist entity throughout its 40 years of bloody existence. The Zionist agents and their supporters occupied the Palestinian lands through violence, treachery and crimes against the whole of humanity. The atrocities and violent behaviour of the Zionist occupiers in the past 40 years against the Palestinians and other Muslims in the region are no secret to anybody.

The introduction of terrorism to the region by the Zionist leaders 40 years ago, the occupation of Muslim lands through a policy of terror and expansion, the invasion of Lebanon, the massacre of innocent Muslims in Sabra and Shatila refugee camps, the recent acts of genocide in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, as well as yesterday's brutal and all-out attack against the Bakka Valley, are all inevitable manifestations of one single phenomenon: Zionism. Violence, terror, genocide, expansion, treachery and crime for the purpose of domination are simply the ingredients of the philosophy of Zionism. We are under no illusion. We are indignant, though not surprised, at the recent Israeli massacre of Palestinian Muslims.

(Mr. Mahallati, Islamic
Republic of Iran)

How long have we been complaining to the United Nations about atrocities of its very own illegitimate offspring, the Zionist non-entity? How many times have the General Assembly and the Security Council condemned the occupying régime for its brutal crimes against Palestinians to no avail? Is this time any different - even if the Security Council finds the political will to condemn the Zionist non-entity, which of course it constitutionally should? We are under no illusion.

Following the recent Amman Arab summit, at which the cause of Palestine was betrayed, the Zionist régime, receiving the green light, intensified its suppression of the Muslim inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in the hope of depopulating the area and perpetuating its treacherous occupation of Muslim land. The Palestinian Muslims under Zionist occupation, being discouraged by the Arab summit and alienated from its participants and their submissive final communiqué, took the matter into their own hands. Unarmed teenagers and old men and women strengthened their expression of resistance to the occupation of their land.

The heroic resistance and the unprecedented perseverance of the Palestinian Muslims in their struggle against the American-backed Zionist régime have instilled fresh hopes in the hearts not only of the oppressed Palestinians but of the whole Muslim nation. The courageous struggle of the Palestinian Muslims once again sealed the doomed fate of all conspirators who wished to legitimize the Camp David accord and to compromise with the Zionist non-entity.

At this hour, an uneven battle is raging on in the occupied territories: on one side, Palestinian youngsters armed with fearless faith and stones; on the other, Zionist forces armed with American dollars, machine-guns, tanks and armoured vehicles. The sufferings and sacrifices of the Palestinians and the brutality and

(Mr. Mahallati, Islamic
Republic of Iran)

savagery of the Zionist enemy in this uneven battle are naturally clear to everyone and have in part been alluded to by preceding speakers.

Our information as of this morning indicates that 30 Palestinian Muslims have been martyred and more than 300 others wounded by the Zionist forces of occupation. The Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran emphatically condemns the massacre of the unarmed Muslim inhabitants of the occupied territories and at the same time reaffirms its full and unreserved support for the struggle of the Palestinian Muslims to gain the whole of their territory.

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

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

Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) (interpretation from French): It is with great satisfaction that the Algerian delegation sees you, Sir, presiding over the work of the Security Council for the month of December. Our satisfaction is increased because you represent a great country, the Soviet Union, with which Algeria is very pleased to have traditional relations of friendship and co-operation. We are convinced that your competence and personal qualities, which are acknowledged and appreciated by everyone, will not be the least of the guarantees required for the successful accomplishment of your task.

Our appreciation goes to Mr. Kikuchi, the Permanent Representative of Japan, for the effective way in which he presided over the work of this body last month.

At a time when the General Assembly was reaffirming the urgent need to convene an International Peace Conference on the Middle East and calling on the Secretary-General to spare no effort to speed up its convening, the Zionist régime,

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

resorting to methods the international community is now accustomed to witnessing, was perpetrating further crimes against the Arab peoples in the occupied territories.

Once again innocent people, including youths and children, have fallen to Israeli bullets, victims of blind repression, just because they were Palestinians and intended to remain Palestinians. Once again, by laying down their lives and shedding their blood, the sons of Palestine have borne witness to the intolerable injustice that has been meted out to the Palestinian people and the indefatigable will of that people one day to recover all its national rights.

The facts are clear, and no attempt to juggle them, no rhetorical exercises, no effort to misrepresent events could change them or minimize their seriousness. The images are there in all their starkness on television screens throughout the world.

Fire was deliberately opened against unarmed civilians, most of them schoolchildren and students, in a number of places in the occupied territories, sowing death and destruction among the civilian population.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

These unjustifiable acts, which have been repeated as the days have gone by, claiming dozens of innocent victims, amount to premeditated murder, bearing witness to the Zionist régime's contempt for human life and its determination to resort to every possible means to attempt to stifle the voice of the Palestinian people.

The bloody events in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank of the Jordan in recent days, the seriousness of which is revealed in a report by the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), reminds us of all the horror of the Israeli occupation and of the responsibility of this Organization, particularly the Council, to put an end to it once and for all and to do justice to a people dispossessed of its homeland and its national rights.

It is in this atmosphere of terror and violence that a new generation of Palestinians, which was born under occupation and grew up under occupation, is today withstanding with remarkable courage and determination the forces of repression and proclaiming its unshakeable faith in the justice of its cause. This heroic resistance, which is being shown in a striking manner throughout occupied Palestine, deserves the admiration and support of all the peoples of the world. This is an opportunity for my delegation to pay tribute to that resistance, which constitutes an act of faith in the inevitable outcome of the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

One of the essential characteristics of the Middle East conflict, presenting a continuing danger, is that it is constantly unpredictable because of the multiplicity of its forms and the diversity of its threats to international peace and security. Despite repeated attempts to reduce it to one or another of its elements, it inevitably comes down to its essential dimension: the question of Palestine.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

If considered as local, the conflict has nevertheless shown that it could develop to such an extent as to affect those countries that are the most certain of their ability to keep it within limits that are tolerable with regard to their own security.

If regarded as regional, the conflict has also shown - because of the very existence of the Zionist régime - that no part of the Mediterranean or the geographical area from the Atlantic to the Gulf has been spared from designation by the official spokesmen of zionism as a theatre for aggression.

While the Zionist régime's lust for power has prompted it to extend the outer limits of its aggression, its very base in occupied Palestine is now shaken by those whom it had thought it could subjugate indefinitely.

The crisis in the Middle East originated in the dispossession of a people of its land, a people whose national rights have been denied. Forty years later that people is still showing, by its exemplary struggle, its irresistible determination to establish itself as a free people on its historic land.

The conflict in the Middle East was worsened by the occupation of Arab territories. Today, 20 years later, the whole of Palestine is again teaching the occupier a lesson of history: that the only way to cope with occupation is to resist it, even when spontaneous uprisings provoke fierce and disproportionate repression. Because it cannot fail to pay heed to this authentically national resistance, which today is acquiring a new dimension, the Zionist occupier is trying to overcome its disarray by brutal resort to violence and oppression. Thus, if the tragedy of occupation and repression, which cannot be hidden, is a daily experience, heroism is also a daily experience, showing that the prolongation of the Israeli fait accompli cannot circumscribe the national rights of the Palestinian people.

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

At the same time, who can doubt that the resistance has refuted the proponents of annexation, whether declared or creeping, who had thought that time was on their side in forcing acceptance of faits accomplis? Time does not erode the rights of a people or its identity. The time of apparent apathy in a people that has decided to struggle to preserve and strengthen its national identity is precisely the time when it is gathering its strength, as is proved by the final accession to independence of peoples, sometimes after centuries of colonial domination. From that point of view, 40 years of faits accomplis could not change the determination of the Palestinian people, today imbued with fresh vigour, since it is the determination of a third generation of resistance fighters.

It was 70 years ago that the conspiracy was hatched to dispossess the Palestinian people of its historic land. Forty years ago the Zionist usurpation took its institutionalized form in Palestine, and for 20 years the occupation of other Arab territories has been continuing. Since its beginning the Middle East conflict has been regularly marked throughout its development by anniversaries bearing witness to the tragedy of Palestine. They are commemorated today above all in the occupied Arab territories, where the resistance of the Palestinian people reaches this very Chamber as an outcry against the lethargy of the consciences of those who have the means, if not the desire, to work to restore justice.

The events the Council is now considering reveal the true situation in the occupied territories and therefore symbolize the nature of the problem with which the international community is again confronted.

By asking the Security Council to hold emergency meetings, the Arab Group intended to enable it to gauge the seriousness of the situation so that it could shoulder the responsibilities incumbent upon it under the Charter. That involves taking the measures required by the circumstances to ensure without delay respect

(Mr. Djoudi, Algeria)

for the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention, and thus guarantee the security and safety of the populations of the occupied territories. This also means that no final solution to the crisis can be envisaged if it does not properly satisfy the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and involve the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied Arab territories.

In that regard, the holding of an international conference under United Nations auspices, with the participation on an equal footing of the Palestine Liberation Organization, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, is the only appropriate framework to bring about a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict. The Security Council, which has a leading role to play in the convening of such a conference, should do all it can to remove the remaining obstacles to its being held. The Council should resolutely carry out that task if it wishes further to confirm its desire fully to use its authority in the settlement of conflicts threatening international peace and security.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Algeria for his kind words about my country and those he addressed to me.

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

Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): I wish at the outset, Sir, to thank you and all the other members of the Council for responding to our request to speak before the Council.

On my delegation's behalf, Sir, I also wish to express our appreciation and congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency for this month. We are confident that your ability and wisdom will enable the Council to achieve the desired results.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

It is a special pleasure for me personally, because your country and mine enjoy close links of friendship. We in the Arab world are gratified by your people's historical support for just causes world-wide, particularly the Palestinian cause.

I wish also to convey our thanks to Ambassador Kikuchi, Permanent Representative of Japan, for his valuable work as President of the Council last month.

The Council is meeting again, and probably not for the last time, to discuss the acts of aggression and repression carried out for the past 40 years in Palestine and the occupied Arab territories by the Zionist gangs. For 40 years we have been discussing these barbaric acts in Palestine; for 20 years we have been discussing the spread of this aggression to engulf other Arab territories. The current events in Palestine underscore the fact that a people cannot be defeated, and that injustice cannot last forever. Despite Zionist repression, despite a broad international conspiracy, despite the political and material support enjoyed by the Zionist gangs in Palestine, neither might nor terror can erase the memory of the Palestinian people. The events in Palestine confirm the inevitability of the victory of peoples against the forces of injustice and evil.

I could speak in detail of the martyrs who have fallen, of the wounded, of torture and of imprisonment, but that would not suffice. Should we weep for our martyrs or take pride in their martyrdom? We are proud of them, because what was taken away by force can be restored only by force. History has taught us that only the struggle of peoples can put an end to injustice and aggression.

There has been a broad international conspiracy against the Palestinian people and the mass media - which are controlled by Zionism - have attempted to alter the facts and to describe the Palestinian people's liberation struggle as "terrorism". The victims of violence and aggression are labelled as "terrorists", while the

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

occupier and aggressor is supplied with weapons and money. There are constant attempts to change the demographic composition of Palestine and the occupied Arab territories; there is constant pressure in favour of immigration to Palestine, and immigration means the expulsion of Palestinians and the establishment by the aggressor of more settlements with the money it is provided without limit.

We have heard it claimed that the Palestinian people's overwhelming uprising was instigated from outside. By "outside" they mean the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is the representative of the Palestinian people and an expression of the will of that people. Continued resistance by Palestinians subjected to murder and terror by Zionist gangs in Palestine is the same as continued resistance by Palestinians outside in their diaspora. We have heard it claimed that this happened on the anniversary of the Balfour Declaration. What is wrong with that? Is it not our right as Arabs to commemorate the international tragedy that was devised to expel our people and establish a State ruled by Zionist gangs?

The Balfour Declaration is a blot on our memory. The late President Nasser said that it was a case of those without ownership giving to those without rights. We are now seeing the repercussions of the Balfour Declaration in a long march of occupation and in repeated acts of repression.

Should we weep? Should we ask for mercy? Should we wait for inspiration? Or should we demand the adoption of resolutions? The Security Council and the General Assembly have adopted scores of resolutions, but they all remain unimplemented dead letters. The Zionist entity has flouted all the Council's resolutions time and again. Should the Council adopt yet another resolution? No matter how binding its provisions might be, it cannot save a child, a woman or a student from inevitable death.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

This is nothing new; it has been going on for a long time. The Council must take decisive action, for that can end the tragedy and the occupation. We have tried asking the Zionist entity to respect international resolutions, but what resolutions has it respected? The Geneva Conventions? The presence of the Zionist entity is a violation of the Charter and United Nations resolutions. The Zionist entity is an illegitimate child of the United Nations that has flouted all the Organization's resolutions and ignored all the resolutions of this Council.

In 1967 General De Gaulle decisively imposed an arms embargo against the Zionist entity. That was a practical measure. Cannot other countries follow suit? Do those who condemn the Zionist entity impose embargoes against it? Or do we see certain quarters supporting the Zionist entity to the tune of billions of dollars annually? Can they not act logically at least once in their history?

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

The money they provide will contribute to the killing of Palestinians and to the establishment of settlements, unless, of course, we consider that the Palestinians are not human beings and do not deserve to live. The Palestinians have raised their banners today, shouting "Get out or kill us." Yes, they have exposed themselves to death. But instead of that, we see that there are those who say that they do not want that, that they want something practical. We say that we would like all support to be stopped. We would like those who are providing the enemy with weapons to end that practice. Such a course could deter aggression. We do not want another resolution to be added to the United Nations archives. We want action by this Council.

We in Africa and in the Arab world have almost lost hope in the United Nations. But our hope, regardless of how rudimentary it is, is for this Council to shoulder its historic responsibility to deter aggression and put an end to occupation. What we are witnessing in occupied Palestine today is simply the law of the jungle. If this situation persists and if the policy of strength continues, it would only result in the beginning of a new era of chaos, oppression and occupation, an era in which the strong would devour the weak.

At a time when we call upon everyone to adopt realistic resolutions, we should like to confirm that the Arab people of Palestine and the Arab nation will stand steadfast. We are a determined people: even if we encounter setbacks, we shall be victorious in the end, regardless of how strong the aggressor and those who support him may be. The inevitability of history is that the people will be victorious; we have no doubt about that.

My people, which is part and parcel of the great Arab nation, would like to reiterate its commitment to the liberation of Palestine, to stand by the side of

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

the Palestinian people and to struggle with them under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, until Palestine is liberated.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for his kind words addressed to me and to my country.

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

Mr. AL-ASHTAL (Democratic Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): In my capacity as Chairman of the Arab Group for this month, I am pleased, Sir, to congratulate you most warmly on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I need not pay a tribute to you or praise your diplomatic talents: you have demonstrated them during your wise guidance of the Council's work since the beginning of your presidency. I am all the happier that you represent the Soviet Union, which supports Arab causes and, first and foremost, the just struggle of the Palestinian people. The Soviet Union maintains strong bonds of friendship and co-operation with my country, Democratic Yemen.

I should like to express my thanks and appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Kikuchi, the representative of Japan, for the exemplary manner in which he presided over the work of the Council last month.

This is not the first time that the Security Council has been called on to discuss the historic tragedy which the Palestinian people continues to suffer in resisting the usurpation of its land, the occupation of its nation and the violation of its national rights, including civil rights stipulated in the fourth Geneva Convention and in international law. The Palestinian people has consistently resisted Israeli occupation by every means at hand, without losing hope that the United Nations would be able to offer support and assistance to

(Mr. Al-Ashtal, Democratic
Yemen)

permit that people to exercise its inalienable right to national self-determination and to establish an independent State on its soil. But this is the first time that the Security Council is dealing with the situation in the occupied territory following a massive and unprecedented popular uprising, unprecedented in Palestine since 1936.

The heroic popular resistance of the Palestinian people, like that of other peoples that have struggled against foreign colonization and occupation, has never ceased. We have seen ups and downs depending on internal circumstances as they have prevailed under the occupation and outside Arab and international situations. The resistance began with the rejection of the occupation. That resistance was manifested in a variety of ways: for example, by expressions of rejection written on walls or by military resistance. Today the world is witnessing a heroic saga written by the Palestinians following their disappointment in the political solutions which they have always heard about but which have never been implemented. The young, the elderly, women and children, are all organizing a popular resistance against the forces of Israeli occupation. They are not only expressing the will of the people, but at the same time they are also reminding the international community quite clearly that they have waited all too long, that they reject the fait accompli and that they are struggling to change the situation.

One of the Israeli journalists said, in seeing women and children throw stones at Israeli soldiers in the streets of Gaza, "the day will come when we will look for someone in order to rid ourselves of Gaza". That journalist is right, for he knows without question that a people that believes in its cause and resists foreign occupation by throwing stones can never be crushed by military force. Many important lessons can be drawn from the history of peoples that have struggled to gain their independence.

(Mr. Al-Ashtal, Democratic
Yemen)

The relative calm which sometimes prevails in Palestinian territories is often interpreted by the occupation forces to mean that the fait accompli has been accepted by the Palestinian people. But that is a false calm. Resistance grows until it explodes at an appropriate time. At present, the Palestinians are living through this time in history, through their martyrdom, displaying an example of sacrifice by offering their lives for the independence of their nation.

(Mr. Al-Ashtal, Democratic Yemen)

I need not speak of Israeli practices in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, the settlements policy, and the measures that violate international law, such as the annexation of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights. The United Nations has adopted hundreds of resolutions on Israeli practices and measures that violate international law and norms. Such practices are but a manifestation of the problems of occupation.

The popular uprising that is occurring in the occupied territories goes beyond a simple reaction to the persistent Israeli occupation; it shows the profound meaning of that occupation. The Palestinian people has decided to exercise its national rights by action - rights which have been recognized by the United Nations and unanimously adopted by the international community. Furthermore, the popular uprising in the occupied territories reminds those who ignore the Palestinian people and try to avoid the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, that the question of Palestine is at the very heart of the Arab-Israeli conflict and that there is no acceptable solution to that conflict but a comprehensive and just one; that partial solutions run into deadlock; and that the policy of *fait accompli* meets with resistance.

The fact that the Security Council acceded to the Arab request to consider the situation of Israeli occupation and convened meetings coinciding with the heroic resistance of the Palestinian people against that occupation is a tribute to that heroic resistance, without which the just plans for peace would not be represented and the conscience of the world would not have acted to replace *fait accompli* with peace.

We hope that the Council will shoulder its responsibility by adopting immediate, practical measures to deal with the Israeli occupation of those

(Mr. Al-Ashtal, Democratic Yemen)

territories and redress the situation perpetrated against the Palestinian people over the past 40 years. The Security Council would thus prove that the conscience of the world is still alive and that those stones thrown at occupation forces are the light which will bring back hope for the Palestinian people - hope for a comprehensive, just solution of their cause. We believe that we can aspire to that.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Democratic Yemen for the kind words addressed to my country and me personally.

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

Mr. PEJIC (Yugoslavia): First of all, I should like to extend to you, Sir, my cordial congratulations on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council for the month of December in which, we believe, a new page in international relations was opened by the signing of the United States-Soviet treaty on the elimination of medium-range and shorter-range missiles. That event clearly shows that each and every outstanding international problem, irrespective of differences that may exist between States, can be successfully resolved if there are goodwill and sincere readiness to engage in dialogue and patient negotiations. With your political experience, we are confident that you will conduct the Council's work in the best interest of the Organization.

My appreciation goes also to your predecessor, Mr. Kiyooki Kukuchi, Permanent Representative of Japan, for his successful conduct of the Security Council's deliberations during the month of November.

The constantly dangerous situation in the Middle East, caused by the expansionist and annexationist policy of Israel, is one of those hotbeds of crisis which, owing to its potential consequences for international security, have been the subject of the continuous and justified concern of the international

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

community. The last wave of violence and brutality against the Palestinian population in the occupied territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is yet another confirmation of the warnings expressed so very often in the recently concluded debate in the General Assembly that the existing state of no-war, no-peace and the absence of serious political efforts and readiness to seek solutions to the Middle East crisis and the question of Palestine, which is at its core, can at any moment explode into a conflict of the broadest proportions.

The explosive situation and the justified protests of the Palestinians on the West Bank and in Gaza are, for those reasons, neither accidental nor unexpected. They are natural consequences of the untenable situation created by Israeli occupation and the continuous denial of the legitimate rights and aspirations of the Palestinian people to self-determination and a State of their own.

Yugoslavia has always pointed out that one cannot ensure one's own security by denying and trampling upon the rights of others. The General Assembly has already passed its own judgement on the Israeli practices in the occupied territories and the daily violations of the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

Despite all the efforts to portray a different picture of the situation, the increasing nervousness of the Israeli occupying forces and their impotence to suppress the resistance and demonstrations, regardless of the methods and means employed, including aggressive military force against unarmed people, have laid bare the true nature of Israeli occupation.

The resistance of the Palestinian people and the daily clashes of demonstrators with the occupying authorities are telling proof that it is illusory to expect and attempt to legalize a fait accompli created by occupation, regardless of the force and might that may stand behind it.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

Violence, terror and reprisals against unprotected Palestinian children, women and old people will not, nor can they, bring about peace in the occupied territories. If anything, they can lead to increasing revolt and resistance to Israeli occupation. At the same time, such a situation shows that no solution of the crisis can be achieved by a policy that is pursued from the position of superiority and diktat. Similarly, each and every attempt to decide the fate of the Palestinians without their adequate participation and representation is doomed to failure.

Yugoslavia has always maintained that the only way to stabilize the situation in the Middle East is to open up prospects for a political solution of the problem, based on assurance of the legitimate aspirations and rights of the Palestinian people. As an active member of the Committee of nine Non-Aligned Countries for Palestine, Yugoslavia has always fully supported all constructive efforts in that direction. The latest events in the occupied territories are just another warning that the solution of the question of Palestine cannot be postponed indefinitely.

The recently concluded debate in the General Assembly confirmed that there is a growing awareness of the need for and support of convening the international conference on the Middle East under United Nations auspices, on the basis of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, with the participation of all directly interested parties on a footing of equality, including the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. In our opinion, that is the only realistic way to achieve a just, lasting and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East crisis and the question of Palestine.

(Mr. Pejic, Yugoslavia)

However, I should like to point out also on this occasion that the essential condition is the complete withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, to self-determination and a State of their own, as well as the respect for the rights of all countries, including Israel, to live in peace and security within internationally recognized borders.

The continuous exacerbation of the situation and the disturbances in the occupied territories are a warning sign that there is an urgent need for renewed consultations with directly interested parties and all those that can contribute to a constructive solution of the problem for the purpose of an early convening of the international conference. Along these lines we fully support the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General, whose endeavours so far to find a basis for the solution of the crisis deserve our recognition.

We are certainly well aware of the difficulties that obstruct the realization of this idea, due primarily to the negative stand of Israel. We therefore earnestly hope that the last escalation of violence and brutality against the Palestinian people will influence the countries that can do so to bring pressure to bear on the Israeli Government to change its negative position regarding the international conference and the solution of the problem. We also hope that Israeli political circles will draw appropriate conclusions and realize that the protraction of this situation in the occupied territories harms Israel itself and that a political solution of the question of Palestine must be sought based on full respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination. If this is not achieved, the situation will continue to deteriorate with all the risks it poses for international peace and security.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Yugoslavia for his kind words about the results of the high-level United States-Soviet meeting and for the kind words he addressed to me.

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

Mr. GHAREKHAN (India): At the outset, Sir, I should like to extend to you my delegation's warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are fully confident that your well-known abilities and experience will enable the Council to work effectively on the important issues threatening international peace and security.

I should also like to express our appreciation to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Japan, Ambassador Kikuchi, for presiding over the Council with such distinction during November.

This meeting is a vindication of the Secretary-General's report on the situation in the Middle East where he referred to the unrest, violence and loss of innocent lives in occupied territories. Indeed, he warned that the situation was "explosive", with ramifications not only for the region but for the entire international community. The renewed acts of violence by the occupation forces have resulted in the killing and wounding of many Palestinian men, women and children. Day after day we read reports of murders of innocent and defenceless people in the Gaza and West Bank, as well as the arrest and detention of Palestinian youths in the occupied territories. These atrocities constitute one aspect of the "iron-fist" expansionist policy that Israel has been practising with a view to enforcing its annexation of Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories.

The popular uprisings in the occupied territories are not mere demonstrations. They are a reflection of the will of an entire people for an

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independent homeland of their own. There are some countries which vociferously advocate human rights in other parts of the world while remaining silent on the plight of millions of Palestinian refugees who live in the occupied territories and face policies of discrimination, exploitation and humiliation.

The struggle of the people of Palestine has been a saga of bravery and sacrifice. We in India have always considered their cause as our cause, and their struggle as part of the wider movement against colonial rule and oppression. It is, indeed, a tragedy that in spite of their long struggle the brave Palestinian people remain without a homeland of their own.

Early establishment of the preparatory committee to convene an international conference on peace in the Middle East, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions, is a key element in this regard. It goes without saying that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, should have the right to participate in the conference on an equal footing. A just and lasting solution to the conflict must include the exercise of the right of self-determination by the Palestinian people.

The problem of Palestine has been one of the fundamental preoccupations of the countries of the Non-Aligned Movement. Their support of the Palestinian cause was reaffirmed at the summit meeting of Heads of State or Government in Harare. The Non-Aligned Committee on Palestine, of which India is a member, has made efforts to explore, through dialogue and consultation, ways and means to convene the international conference as early as possible.

The Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement in its communiqué of yesterday has called upon the Security Council to send a fact-finding commission to the occupied Palestinian territories to investigate the situation and to report to

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the Council as soon as possible. Needless to say, as a member of the Co-ordinating Bureau, my delegation fully supports this proposal. We hope that the Council will take timely and effective action - indeed, we urge it to do so - to arrest the deterioration of the situation in the occupied territories. Failure to do so might have grave consequences for peace and stability in the region and beyond.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of India 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): Amidst the din and clutter of vituperation, let me try to view this series of Security Council meetings in a sober perspective.

First, a recapitulation of the facts:

Throughout the month of November and in early December, the PLO openly incited for riots and violence in Judea, Samaria and Gaza. The riots would be organized around a succession of dates marking certain events in the Arab-Israeli conflict which occur during that period. The idea behind this campaign - an idea openly expressed by the PLO - was to bring about the loss of life not only of Israelis but also, indeed especially, of young Arabs. This violence would be used to convene the Security Council for the purpose of conducting the usual tirade against Israel and "Israeli occupation". The actual convening of the Council is then further used, as Arafat himself has exhorted, to draw out the violence for as long as possible.

That is exactly what the PLO did last year at the end of the General Assembly session. I said it then, and perhaps some people here had doubts. Well, if anyone did have any doubts about the co-ordinated nature of this effort, he would be hard-pressed to overlook the extraordinary coincidence of timing and tactics between the occurrences then and the occurrences now.

The PLO's task this year was at once made more urgent and less difficult than last year.

It was made more urgent because the PLO was relegated to the sidelines at the Amman summit. In fact, we owe a debt of gratitude to the representative of Iran, who said as much in his statement here. I suppose we should also congratulate him on finally appearing in the Security Council. That position of being relegated to the sidelines makes a campaign in the field and in the Security Council absolutely vital to rescue the PLO from a growing political irrelevance in the Middle East,

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and especially in the genuine search for a peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

But it also became less difficult for the PLO to do what it seeks to do this year because of two recent events. The first was the murder by the PLO of an Israeli, a man named Shlomo Sakel, who was stabbed to death while shopping in an Arab market on 6 December. Sakel's murder followed a series of murders of Israelis in Gaza during the last year, such as the fatal stabbing of Haim Azran, Israel Kitro and Ibrahim Salem - Salem was mistaken for a Jew. Of course Sakel's murder - or, for that matter, the murder of any Israeli - would not have caused these demonstrations and certainly not the convening of the Security Council, let alone condemnation by the Council of the PLO, which openly boasts of committing these crimes. That would not happen here; that is not even thinkable.

Fortunately for the PLO, Sakel's murder was followed by a second event: a traffic accident the next day in Gebalia in which a veering truck tragically claimed the lives of four Arabs. The PLO quickly seized this opportunity and spread the malicious lie, among other means through the pro-PLO newspaper Al-Fajr in Jerusalem, that this was "a deliberate and intentional" act of revenge by Sakel's brother. Now that is of course nonsense. But nonsense manipulated for political purposes has a way of rapidly assuming the mantle of truth. For example, the representative of Senegal said this in his statement on Friday last:

"The students were demonstrating following the killing of four Palestinians in a road 'accident' in which, apparently, an Israeli truck had been used to avenge the death of an Israeli businessman stabbed on 6 December".

(S/PV.2770, p. 28)

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

I would ask members of the Security Council to stop for a moment and analyse that statement. It tells us a great deal about what actually happened and the systematic incitement behind it. Why were these people demonstrating in the first place? Because of a road accident. And why does one demonstrate against a road accident? Because, as the PLO convinced not only the demonstrators but also, it appears, the representative of Senegal, it was not really a road accident but an act of political vengeance.

This lie immeasurably helped the PLO inflame passions. The demonstration in Gebalia was followed by other demonstrations and other riots, with the ensuing and regrettable loss of life.

Throughout these events, the PLO has been calling not for the return of tranquillity but for continued violence and bloodshed. "Increase the disturbances," urged Arafat in a message broadcast from Baghdad on 10 December; "teach the enemy an unimaginable lesson". Yet, on the same day, he complained to representatives of Western and Arab countries in Kuwait about the bloodshed. In other words, foment bloodshed and weep about it.

This is vintage Arafat doublespeak. But what about the doublespeak in this Chamber? What is Israel asked to do in the face of these riots? It is asked to abide scrupulously by the Fourth Geneva Convention by the very people who in the same breath call for the escalation of "the armed struggle against the occupying forces". Now, since these representatives repeatedly invoke the Geneva Convention, I shall read out to them the relevant article from that Convention, which evidently escaped their attention:

"The Occupying Power may ... subject the population of the occupied territory to provisions which are essential to enable the Occupying Power to fulfil its obligations under the present Convention, to maintain the orderly

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government of the territory, and to ensure the security of the Occupying Power, of the members and property of the occupying forces or administration, and likewise of the establishments and lines of communication used by them". That is article 64, paragraph 2 of the Convention.

Let me make a quick point here. 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.

That clarification aside, let me return to the argument of our antagonists. They insist that we are bound by the Geneva Convention. Now, that Convention explicitly recognizes that Israel, under the very definition of "occupying Power" which they seek to affix to us, has the right, indeed the obligation, to maintain the orderly government of the territory and to ensure the security of its forces. In other words, the Geneva Convention fully supports the point we have been making all along - namely, that the first responsibility of any Government, military or civilian, is to maintain law and order.

Maintaining law and order in the face of deliberate incitement is not an easy task. Our soldiers are under strict instructions. Even when surrounded by mobs whipped up to a frenzy and brandishing Molotov cocktails, iron bars and the like, they are to use non-lethal means such as tear gas and rubber bullets. Live ammunition is to be used only as a last resort, when their lives are threatened or

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when they have already been injured. However tragic the casualties, their numbers would have been much greater in the absence of this procedure and this restraint. They would undoubtedly have reached the levels of casualties in the disturbances in the period of Jordanian rule in Judea and Samaria - I cited the other day just a handful of such disturbances, with 50 persons killed in one day; or, for that matter, the hundreds who lost their lives in the disturbance in Mecca recently; or the heavy toll of casualties in the riots in India in recent years - in the Golden Temple, to name only one example, when over 400 persons were killed in one disturbance.

In fact, I could cite dozens of such cases from many of the countries that have been so ready and so righteous to criticize Israel in this debate. Needless to say, the Security Council was not convened even once to discuss these cases. It is convened only to discuss a case involving Israel which pales in a comparison of casualties and violence, and which does not stand against - to use the argument that has been used here - the Geneva Convention.

Well, to those permanent representatives I have this to say: You cannot have it both ways. You cannot call for the "intensification of the armed struggle" - to use your phrase - and complain when Israel takes action to restore law and order. You cannot invoke the Geneva Convention and disregard its principal provision.

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

Clearly the purpose of our antagonists in this Chamber is not to bring an end to the disturbances, to end the loss of life or even objectively to discuss the actions taken by Israel. It is to convene a kangaroo court where Israel is to be hung, drawn and quartered and given an unfair trial to boot; it is, in fact, to incite and legitimize further rioting, further violence, further bloodshed - because the last thing the PLO and its ilk want is a peaceful resolution of these disturbances or, for that matter, a peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict, including, and especially, its Palestinian aspect.

But there are people who think and act differently - courageous people, moral people, people who seek the path of coexistence, compromise and conciliation. Many of them are Palestinian Arabs. Many of them have been gunned down by the PLO. But some refuse to be intimidated.

I want to cite the example of one such man. His name is Ahmed Abu-Shab. He is the deputy director of Ansar Hospital in Khan Yunis, in the Gaza. His hospital was close to the disturbances and was surrounded and blockaded by a PLO-inspired mob. Abu-Shab was barely rescued from this mob. He sustained deep cuts in his skull and his left eye was badly hurt. There are doctors in Israel, in Soroka Hospital in Be'er Sheva, where he was later treated, who sewed 60 stitches to close the gashes in his skull. Mr. Abu-Shab related his experience to the press today. He is a very courageous man, because he speaks the truth:

"Several wounded people arrived in serious condition. I decided to transfer them to Israeli hospitals since they needed complicated surgery which we were unable to perform. I called in a military helicopter to transfer the patients to a hospital in central Israel. At this point pandemonium broke out among the crowd. Dozens of youths attacked me with broken pieces of glass and iron bars, surrounding me, yelling that I was co-operating with the Israeli army. Despite this, I intend to carry out my duties at Ansar Hospital. I

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am not afraid. When I recover I will return to my home in in Khan Yunis, where I live."

Just as the PLO prevents the healing of the wounded, so it prevents the healing of the Arab-Israeli dispute; just as it assassinates the men of peace, so it tries to assassinate peace itself. As long as it us up to the PLO, there shall never be peace. There will be riots and violence and blood and gore, but not peace. The possibility of moving on to a peaceful settlement where the conflicting claims of sovereignty and the political status of the inhabitants will be directly negotiated and respectfully resolved is something the PLO will fight against to, and behind, the last Palestinian child.

We cannot allow the prospects for such a paeceful settlement to be made more remote by the campaign of incitement and hate drummed up by the PLO and by any encouragement it may have received from the debate in this Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The representative of India wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply. I invite him to take a place at the Council table -

I call on the representative of the United Kingdom on a point of order.

Sir Crispin TICKELL (United Kingdom): A small point of order. I look forward to hearing the statement to be made by the Permanent Representative of India. But I understand that in fact there are no rights of reply in the Security Council, and that representatives who are not members of it are invited simply to address the Council and make statements. So I think it important that members of the Council should agree, and we would be glad to do so, and in fact I look forward to the statement. But I think it important that no wrong precedent should be set. There is no right of reply, although we welcome statements.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I am obliged to beg to differ with the statement made by the representative of the United Kingdom. We have, with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of India to make a statement. According to established practice in the Council, he has the right to exercise his right of reply, and I now call upon him.

Mr. GHAREKHAN (India): In his statement the representative of Israel made a reference to my country in an attempt to mislead the Council and divert it from its main task of dealing with Israeli aggression and continuing occupation of Arab territories.

He referred to the riots in Golden Temple, in a state of India, and did so in such a way as to justify the atrocities committed by Israeli occupation forces against defenceless people in the occupied territories.

As the Council is aware, Golden Temple is situated in the state of Punjab, which is an integral part of the Indian Union, and I am sure Israel would not challenge the right of any duly constituted Government to do anything within its power to enforce law and order within its own territories.

But here we are talking of occupied territories; we are not talking of parts of an independent State. What the Israeli representative in fact is trying to do is to say to this Council and to the international community that the West Bank in fact is a part of Israel. That is the claim that the representative of Israel has this afternoon tried to put forward in justification of Israeli atrocities in the occupied territories.

The insinuation he has attempted is obviously not acceptable to my delegation or to my country, but I am quite confident that the Council and the international community will totally reject his untenable analogy.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The representative of Israel wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. NETANYAHU (Israel): I am afraid the representative of India misconstrued or did not understand what I was saying. I was saying something very simple; we have been saying it for quite some time. Whether a Government is civilian or military, its responsibility is the same - to maintain law and order. That is exactly the sense of the passage I have just read from the Geneva Convention. The Geneva Convention is not interested in whether the territory is occupied or contested or is any other kind of territory. It says that as long as there is a Power there, a Government, whether military or civilian, in this case military, it has the responsibilities that accrue to any Government - that is, to do what it needs to do to maintain law and order and also to maintain the security of its own forces, to keep roads, other lines of communication and so on open.

I brought only a handful of examples; there are many more. What I was arguing when I brought them was not that principle. I was arguing the question of the application of that principle. Are the measures used by Israel in these very, very difficult conditions excessive? Do they produce excessive bloodshed? Obviously, every casualty is a tragedy. There is no question about it. But in similar circumstances what we have seen is violence and bloodshed where the casualties have been tenfold. I cited the other day 400 Iranians in Mecca, but I have checked the figures again and find that there were over 600 pilgrims massacred there in one incident. In the Golden Temple there were over 400, according to The New York Times, in one incident.

We have had a succession of incidents in which we have rigidly kept our forces on a tight rein. We have instructed them - their commanders, down to the squad commanders, down to corporals - about these procedures. They have kept to them often at the risk of their own lives, to the point of risking their own lives - hence the number of casualties we are talking about. Nobody is arguing seriously that it is in the order of dozens. We are talking about a much smaller number; in

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fact, around 10. I do not have the exact number right now, because we shall wait to verify today's report, but it is clear that it is in the neighbourhood of a dozen people. A dozen people killed is a lot. I do not minimize that, or the pain and the sorrow of the families. But I say that this is demonstrably different and moderate and restrained compared with those other instances.

Those are the two points. First, the obligation of every Government, military or civilian, to maintain law and order, in contested or uncontested territory, is the same. Secondly, the responsibility - although it is not stated in the Geneva Convention, I believe - is also to do so with the minimum use of force. On any test, on any comparison with the cases that I have cited and many others that I have not, Israel stands close inspection, and stands by that inspection.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The representative of India has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. GHAREKHAN (India): I must once again protest against the unwarranted reference by the representative of Israel to my country.

What is Israel's locus standi in the occupied territories, in the West Bank and Gaza? Is it trying to tell the international community that the West Bank is a province of Israel, an integral part of Israel, or that Israel is in legal occupation of those territories as an occupying Power?

On the one hand, Israel says that it is not an occupying Power under the Geneva Conventions. Then is it Israel's contention that the West Bank and Gaza are integral parts of Israel? What is Israel's locus standi? How can Israel invoke any Convention at all? How can Israel dare to compare what is going in my country, the activities of my Government in my country, where there is a democratically elected Government, as there is in the Punjab as well, to what Israel is doing?

The PRESIDENT (interpretation by Russian): I call on the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, who has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

Mr. AL-KIDWA (Palestine Liberation Organization) (interpretation from Arabic): I had not intended to ask to speak in exercise of the right of reply, since the Israeli representative's statement was nothing but repetition of what he said earlier, an exercise in demagoguery, with ludicrous arguments. Therefore, I shall not deal with what he said about the causes of what is happening - the ridiculousness of his attempt to convince us that all that is happening is the result of a traffic accident exploited by the PLO. That ridiculousness has reached incredible heights.

As I have said, I shall not deal with that. I wish merely to make the following points.

First, the Israeli position vis-à-vis the fourth Geneva Convention is one of double standards. On the one hand, Israel refuses to accept its applicability to the occupied territories - the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. On the other hand, it would have us believe that it is the duty of the Israeli military authorities to impose law and order in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention. That is a glaring example of double standards.

The most important point is that the representative of Israel says that the West Bank and Gaza Strip are no-man's-land; they are owned by nobody. Therefore, he says, Israel has the right to seize those territories. That is the essence of the problem - Israel's position vis-à-vis the occupied territories.

My second point concerns the maintenance of law and order. Even if we accept that argument, we cannot understand how law and order could be maintained by the

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Liberation Organization)

shooting of defenceless demonstrators. We cannot understand how the beating of a 17-year-old girl with rifle butts until her skull was smashed could be a way to maintain law and order.

I believe we are not the only ones who are tired of such arguments. The essential question is very clear: what is Israel's position on two matters? The first is the land: is the territory occupied territory or not? The second is the people: does this people have legitimate national rights or not?

Regrettably, Israel's position on the two subjects is negative. That is the major cause - indeed, the only cause - of all the tragedies occurring in the occupied territories and the region as a whole.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): There are no further speakers for this meeting. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on the agenda will take place tomorrow at 3.30 p.m.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.