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

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 22 December 1987, at 4.30 p.m.

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

<u>Members:</u>	Argentina	Mr. DELPECH
	Bulgaria	Mr. TSVETKOV
	China	Mr. LI Luye
	Congo	Mr. ADOUKI
	France	Mr. BLANC
	Germany, Federal Republic of	Count YORK von WARTENBURG
	Ghana	Mr. GBEHO
	Italy	Mr. BUCCI
	Japan	Mr. ABE
	United Arab Emirates	Mr. AL-KINDI
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Crispin TICKELL
	United States of America	Mr. OKUN
	Venezuela	Mr. AGUILAR
	Zambia	Mr. MFULA

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The meeting was called to order at 6.35 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES

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

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): In accordance with decisions taken at previous meetings on this item, I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Morocco, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber; I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Dost (Afghanistan), Mr. Djoudi (Algeria), Mr. Al-Shakar (Bahrain), Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Mr. Zapotocky (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Badawi (Egypt), Mr. Hucke (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Gharekhan (India), Mr. Mahallati (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Kittani (Iraq), Mr. Bein (Israel), Mr. Salah (Jordan), Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Slaoui (Morocco), Mr. Icaza Gallard (Nicaragua), Mr. Shah Nawaz (Pakistan), Mr. Al-Kawari (Qatar), Mr. Shihabi (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Masri (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Ghezal (Tunisia), Mr. Oudovenko (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), Ms. Nguyen Binh Thanh (Viet Nam), Mr. Basendwah (Yemen), Mr. Pejic (Yugoslavia) and Mr. Mudenge (Zimbabwe) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber; Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table.

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

Members of the Council have before them document S/19352/Rev.1, which contains the revised text of the draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Congo, Ghana, the United Arab Emirates and Zambia.

Members of the Council have received photocopies of the following four communications, which will be issued as documents of the Security Council: letter dated 22 December 1987 from the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, to be issued as document S/19373; letter dated 22 December 1987 from the Permanent Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, to be issued as document S/19374; letter dated 22 December 1987 from the Permanent Representative of Tunisia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, to be issued as document S/19375; and letter dated 22 December 1987 from the Permanent Representative of Jordan to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, to be issued as document S/19376.

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

Mr. BEIN (Israel): The draft resolution before us does not constitute a reasonable and balanced attempt to address the issues at hand and the events as they have transpired over the last two weeks. Israel, therefore, objects to this draft resolution in its entirety.

There is not even a minimal attempt to consider the deliberate - and not spontaneous - incitements to violence that have been an integral part in fomenting and increasing the tensions underlying the present disturbances. Those disturbances, and Israel's efforts to restore law and order, have been presented in this Chamber to prolong and justify a one-sided political debate against my country.

Despite the baseless accusations to the contrary, the fact remains that Israeli security forces have reacted with the maximum restraint possible in the face of the violent circumstances with which they have been confronted. In this context the draft resolution purports to relate to matters of security which are the exclusive responsibility of Israel. I would like to reiterate once again that Israel will not countenance any interference in these matters.

The avenue of incitement and violence is the avenue chosen by those who reject a peaceful solution and then complain before the Security Council regarding the prolongation of the conflict and the various problems inherent in it.

This repeated use of violence to convene Security Council debates, to prolong the problems rather than deal with them through negotiations, is by now a well-known approach that the Council should reject out of hand.

Moreover, by entertaining such draft resolutions the Security Council implicitly weakens those genuinely interested in pursuing a pacific settlement to the conflict and encourages those who see violence not only as a means but also as the end.

I would like to repeat: the Arab-Israeli conflict can only be solved in the context of a political solution, through direct peace negotiations on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), with or without the

(Mr. Bein, Israel)

assistance of others, based on mutual respect for the rights of Jews and Arabs alike. Such a political solution lies not in the hands of the Security Council but rather in the hands of the States concerned. Within the framework of these peace negotiations the Palestinian issue in all its aspects can, and I believe will, find its proper and agreed solution.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The next speaker is Mr. Clovis Maksoud, Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, to whom the Council extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure at its 2772nd meeting. With the consent of the Council, I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MAKSOD: My statement will be very brief. We have just witnessed a preemptive strike by Israel against the draft resolution. We have seen a demonstration of how Israel intends to be unaccountable to the Security Council, that it wants to remove the Security Council from its functions.

There has been a continuous insistence on the part of Israel to describe the demonstrations that are taking place in the occupied territories as if they were not spontaneous but incited. I do not know what the distinction is. The fact is that, if they were incited, the response has been total, universal, continuous and sustained. It demonstrates that the attempt by Israel to perpetually disenfranchise the Palestinian people from their rights, to dispossess them from their land, to pursue its creeping annexation, is totally unacceptable and is rejected by the entire population.

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is not only the framework of their peoplehood but the leader of their struggle; the interaction between the PLO and the people is organic and continuous. There is an attempt to say that security in the occupied territories is the exclusive responsibility of Israel. If we are

(Mr. Maksoud)

to apply the Geneva Convention, the question is: until when? This notion of security being the exclusive responsibility of Israel - unless Israel recognizes that it is an occupying Power, which it refuses to do - means that security and law and order presume the annexation of the West Bank and Gaza and the Palestinian territories. Therefore, until Israel ascertains that it is an occupying Power, recognizes that it is in a state of occupation, all its pretenses about security will be met by legitimate resistance in the occupied territories.

(Mr. Maksoud)

The fact that Israel states that it will not countenance interference is what is meant by a pre-emptive strike against the Security Council. The Council is responsible. Therefore, Israel wants to purge the Security Council of its responsibility, as laid down by the Charter, and totally to sever itself from accountability to the United Nations.

Whatever violence has taken place in the occupied territories in the past few days has been a result of Israel's oppressive measures. Therefore, the Security Council should explicitly encourage those who seek to achieve a comprehensive and just peace through Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories and the Palestinians' attainment of the right to self-determination.

The solution is in the hands of the United Nations. That is why the Arab States, the Arab League, have sought to bring about, through the United Nations, an international conference where all the issues arising from the Arab-Israeli conflict would be dealt with simultaneously and resolved in accordance with United Nations resolutions.

It is time Israel realized the true situation. I hope that the Security Council's resolve and its adoption of the draft resolution will be a signal of deterrence, that it will lead Israel to comply with the rules of international law and the resolutions of the Council. Unless it does, further polarization will take place and there will be further imposed violence. That is what we are trying to avoid, because there must be a credible outcome to the efforts of the international community to achieve justice and implement the rights of the Palestinian people.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the revised draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, we shall proceed accordingly.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

(The President)

I shall first call on the representative of Japan, who wishes to make a statement before the voting.

Mr. ABE (Japan): Allow me first to take this opportunity on behalf of Ambassador Kikuchi, who, for compelling reasons, is unable to be present tonight, to congratulate you personally, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. I believe that with your rich experience and great skill the Council will be able to discharge its responsibilities successfully. I take this opportunity, again on his behalf, to express Ambassador Kikuchi's gratitude for the kind words expressed to him by previous speakers about his presidency during the month of November.

Japan has been observing with grave concern the deteriorating situation that has resulted from the recent serious disturbances in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Japan deeply deplores the numerous deaths and casualties sustained during the disturbances.

Japan strongly urges Israel to exert the utmost restraint so as to avert any further casualties, and demands that Israel abide scrupulously and meticulously by the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and all the rules of international law on the protection of human rights.

As we are all too well aware, the core of the problem is the absence of a just, lasting and comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the harsh and depressive political, economic and social conditions which the Palestinian people are left in. Japan therefore renews its call for the resolution of the issue through the early and full implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which, among other things, require Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories. Japan reiterates its demand for resolution of the issue based on recognition of, and respect for, the legitimate

(Mr. Abe, Japan)

rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination, under the United Nations Charter.

In this respect, Japan whole-heartedly supports the efforts that the Secretary-General is now undertaking towards convening an international conference in order to achieve a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. Japan calls upon all the parties concerned to render their fullest co-operation to the Secretary-General to this end.

It is with all these considerations in mind that Japan will vote for the draft resolution.

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

I shall now put to the vote the revised draft resolution contained in document S/19352/Rev.1.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Argentina, Bulgaria, China, Congo, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Italy, Japan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela, Zambia

Against: None

Abstaining: United States of America

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The result of the voting is as follows: 14 in favour, none against and 1 abstention. The revised draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 605 (1987).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements after the voting.

Mr. OKUN (United States of America): The United States has watched with profound concern the explosion of violence in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip over the past two weeks. My Government is deeply grieved by the extensive loss of life and the large number of people who have been wounded in the demonstrations. The international media have made all of us witness to these events. The Government of the United States is keenly aware of the deep feelings of Palestinians and Israelis and of the great dangers to peace in the Middle East.

In determining its position on the draft resolution before the Security Council today, the United States has taken careful note of the underlying conditions that have led to the unfortunate and tragic events of recent days in the West Bank and Gaza.

(Mr. Okun, United States)

The state of war, now in its fortieth year, and the occupation, now in its twenty-first year, inevitably exact a toll on the 1.5 million Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza as well as on the people of Israel. In the absence of peace and a political agreement, the prevailing atmosphere is one of tension and mutual mistrust. This environment has again produced protest demonstrations, acts of violence by both sides, and unacceptably harsh measures by Israeli occupation authorities to restore security. To the best of my Government's knowledge, these demonstrations were spontaneous expressions of frustration, and not externally sponsored.

The situation in the occupied territories is clearly unsatisfactory to Palestinians, Israelis, and the international community. It has fluctuated between periods of calm and periods of unrest. Tensions have been chronic and increasing, especially in the refugee camps and among younger Palestinians. This latest eruption of violent confrontation is a forceful reminder of the unresolved political status of the West Bank and Gaza, as well as of the deep frustration of the Palestinian people, whose daily lives are so profoundly affected.

These events inevitably have serious implications for the cause of peace. Violence impedes efforts to promote an atmosphere conducive to reconciliation and dialogue, not merely between Israelis and Palestinians, but between Israel and its other Arab neighbours as well. Over the years, provocations and harsh reprisals have inhibited those concerned from addressing the fundamental issue of how to find ways to achieve a just and lasting solution to the Palestinian issue. The United States has expressed these concerns in this forum, in its public statements and in its diplomatic representations.

The United States has abstained in the vote on the draft resolution before the Council for several reasons. The views of the United States on the use of live

(Mr. Okun, United States)

fire in certain circumstances are clearly known. However, this resolution, in addition to deploring this practice, goes beyond this in its first operative paragraph to a generalized criticism of Israeli policies and practices. The United States has repeatedly made known its view that Israel should meet its obligations under the Geneva Conventions. The resolution, however, ignores the fact that Israeli lives are also at risk and that Israeli security forces have been faced by provocations and, in some cases, by life-threatening situations.

My delegation believes that the Council should refrain from polemics in dealing with these tragic events. The challenge before all members of the Council is how to assist in the search for a mutually acceptable political settlement of the Arab-Israel conflict that will enable Israelis and Palestinians, and indeed people throughout the region, to live in peace and security.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): Does any other member of the Council wish to make a statement after the vote? As I see none, I call on the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, who has asked to speak.

Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)): It is my wish that the termination of the debate here would also signal the termination of the brutality of the occupying Power against the civilians in occupied Palestinian territory. It is only a wish, but we hope it could be realized, especially at this moment when the world will be celebrating peace on earth. And yet Bethlehem is denied that peace.

With respect to the resolution that the Security Council has just adopted, we wish to thank every member of the Council for having responded in a positive way to the efforts to put an end to the misery and bloodshed in the region. We are sure that the Secretary-General will, within the time frame mentioned in the resolution, provide us with a report containing his recommendations on ways and means to

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

ensure the safety and protection of our brothers under Israeli occupation. We thank you, Mr. Secretary-General, in advance. I know we are putting additional burdens on your shoulders, since you are involved in the overall approach to bringing peace to the area at its source and at its roots, and not only dealing with the derivative of the continued occupation.

We note the statement of the representative of the United States that: "This latest eruption of violent confrontation is a forceful reminder of the unresolved political status ...". That is true, but how much longer can our people live under foreign military occupation, with all that it entails? We are sure that the call for peace and the efforts of the Secretary-General will be heeded and that this Council, in particular, will support those efforts in their totality.

We trust that this message coming from the Security Council this evening will immediately be brought to the attention of the occupying Power and that it will desist from its brutalities.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): There are no further speakers at this meeting. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of this item on its agenda.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I should like to draw the attention of the Council to the fact that the President has received a letter from the following members of the Council: the representatives of the Congo, Ghana and Zambia, requesting the urgent convening of a meeting of the Security Council in implementation of resolution 602 (1987).

(The President)

I propose to convene an official meeting of the Security Council to consider that question tomorrow afternoon, immediately following the conclusion of consultations among members of the Council, which are set for 3.30. I should like to add that, according to the information available to me, the official meeting of the Security Council will be a short one and that the Council will adopt the relevant draft resolution without discussion.

If the members of the Security Council have no objection to that proposal, we shall proceed accordingly. As there is no objection, it is so decided.

The meeting rose at 7.10 p.m.