





# **Security Council**

PROVISIONAL S/PV.2863 6 June 1989

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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORDINE CARE CROITECTION EIGHT HUNDRED AND SIXTY-THIRD MEETING

> Held at Headquarters, New York, on Tuesday, 6 June 1989, at 11 a.m.

President: Mr. PICKERING

(United States of America)

Members:	Algeria	Mr. DJOUDI
	Brazil	Mr. NOGUE IRA-BATISTA
	Canada	Mr. FORTIER
	China	Mr. YU Mengjia
	Colombia	Mr. PENALOSA
	Ethiopia	Mr. HAGOSS
4 	Finland	Mr. TORNUDD
	France	Mr. BLANC
	Malaysia	Mr. RAZALI
2 A.	Nepal	Mr. RANA
al de la surà	Senegal	Mrs. DIALLO
	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Mr. BELONOGOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and	
	Northern Ireland	Mr. BIRCH
	Yugoslavia	Mr. PEJIC

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The PRESIDENT: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of June, I should like, at the outset of the meeting, to pay tribute on YAASSIJ VU behalf of the Council to His Excellency Sir Crispin Tickell, Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations, for the Section as President of the Security Council for the month of May 1989. I am sure I speak for all members of the Council in expressing admiration and deep appreciation to Ambassador Tickell for the great diplomatic skill and unfailing courtesy with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES

LETTER DATED 31 MAY 1989 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SUDAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/20662)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bahrain, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, the Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia and Yemen in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure. JSM/edd

(The President)

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Al-Shakar (Bahrain), Mr. Salah (Jordan), Mr. Shihabi (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Al-Masri (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Ghezal (Tunisia) and Mr. Sallam (Yemen) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 5 June 1989 from the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations, which has been issued as document S/20669 and which reads as follows:

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"I have the honour to request that, in accordance with its previous practice, the Security Council invite the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations to participate in the debate on the item regarding the situation in the occupied territories". (S/20669)

The request is not made pursuant to rule 37 or rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, but if it is approved the Council would invite the Permanent Observer of Palestine to participate, not under rule 37 or rule 39, but with the same rights of participation of rule 37.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the United States.

The United States will vote against the proposal before the Security Council on two grounds. First, we believe that the Council does not have before it a valid request to speak. Secondly, the United States maintains that the Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) should be granted permission to speak only if the request complies with rule 39 of the rules of procedure. In our view, it is unwarranted and unwise for the Council to break with its own practice and rules.

As members of the Council we should ask ourselves this question: Does a decision to break with our rules and procedures enlarge or diminish the Council's ability to play a constructive role in the Middle East peace process? My delegation firmly believes it diminishes the Council's ability to play such a role.

As all members of the Council are aware, it is long-established practice that observers do not have the right to speak in the Security Council on their own request. Rather, a request must be made on the observer's behalf by a Member State. My Government sees no justification for any departure from that practice.

#### (The President)

It is clear that the General Assembly resolutions are not binding on the Security Council. In any event, there is nothing in resolutions recently adopted by the Assembly that would warrant a change in Security Council practice. General Assembly resolution 43/177, which purported to change the designation of the PLO Mission, did so

"without prejudice to the observer status and functions of the Palestine Liberation Organization within the United Nations system, in conformity with relevant United Nations resolutions and practice". (<u>General Assembly</u>

# resolution 43/177, para. 3)

That resolution does not constitute recognition of any state of Palestine; like many other Members of the United Nations, the United States does not recognize such a state.

The United States has consistently taken the position that under the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council the only legal basis on which the Council may grant a hearing to persons speaking on behalf of non-governmental entities is rule 39. For four decades, the United States has supported a generous interpretation of rule 39 and would not object had this matter been appropriately raised under that rule. We are, however, opposed to special <u>ad hoc</u> departures from orderly procedure. The United States consequently opposes extending to the PLO the same rights to participate in proceedings of the Security Council as if that organization represented a Member State of the United Nations.

We believe in listening to all points of view, but not if that requires violating the rules. In particular, the United States does not agree with the recent practice of the Security Council which appears selectively to try to enhance the prestige of those who wish to speak in the Council, through a departure from the rules of procedure. We consider that special practice to be without legal foundation and to constitute an abuse of the rules.

## (The President)

For all those reasons, the United States requests that the terms of the proposed invitation be put to the vote. Of course, the United States will vote against the proposal.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

If no other member of the Council wishes to speak at this stage, I shall take it that the Council is ready to vote on the proposal to hear the Permanent Observer of Palestine.

It is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

<u>In favour</u>: Algeria, Brazil, China, Colombia, Ethiopia, Finland, Malaysia, Nepal, Senegal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia

Against: United States of America

Abstaining: Canada, France, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern

Ireland

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 11 votes in favour, 1 against and 3 abstentions. The request has been approved.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Terzi (Palestine) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 5 June 1989 from the Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request that the Security Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to His Excellency Ambassador Clovis Maksoud, Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, during the Council's discussion of the item presently on its agenda". (S/20670)

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# (The President)

That letter has been circulated as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/20670. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation to Mr. Maksoud under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I should also like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 5 June 1989 from the Permanent Representative of Saudi Arabia to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

"In my capacity as Chairman of the Islamic Group, I have the pleasure to request that the Security Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to His Excellency Ambassador Engin Ansay, Permanent Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the United Nations, during the Council's discussion of the item entitled, 'The situation in the occupied Arab territories'".

That letter will be circulated as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/20673. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation to Mr. Ansay under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

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#### (The President)

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in response to the request contained in a letter dated 31 May 1989 from the Permanent Representative of the Sudan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/20662). I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following documents: S/20609, note by the Secretary-General transmitting General Assembly resolution 43/233; S/20611, letter dated 27 April 1989 from the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/20623 and S/20668, letters dated 9 May and 1 June 1989 respectively from the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People addressed to the Secretary-General; S/20637, letter dated 16 May 1989 from the Chargé d'affaires, <u>ad interim</u>, of the Permanent Mission of Israel to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/20667, letter dated 1 June 1989 from the Permanent Representative of Spain to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

The first speaker is the Permanent Observer of Palestine, upon whom I now call.

<u>Mr. TERZI</u> (Palestine): I wish through you, Mr. President, to thank the Council for having approved our request to participate in the current debate of the Security Council with the same rights of participation under rule 37.

To you personally, Mr. President, I wish to say how pleased we are to see you here. You have breathed the clean air of Jerusalem, and you have lived with my people, so you are a man of personal experience in the horrors they have been and still are undergoing. We trust that your sense of justice, your appreciation, your passion and compassion will play a major role in expediting the work of the Council.

We should also like to reiterate our great appreciation for the efforts of your predecessor, who spent the month of May trying to get the Council at least to approve a statement showing concern, if not sympathy. Be that as it may, that is how things go: we know what the obstacles were, and we again express our great appreciation to the representative of the United Kingdom.

Days, weeks and months have elapsed while the hours have witnessed the persistence of the occupying Power, Israel, and its tools, be they dressed in uniforms or in plain clothes, and its persistence in developing new forms of acts of State terrorism. This Council was fully and immediately informed of such acts of State terrorism committed by the occupying Power against the defenceless Palestinians in the territory of the State of Palestine under Israeli occupation since 1967, including Jerusalem.

We have heard, seen and noted the communiqués of the Secretary-General; we have seen the communiqués and information from agencies of the United Nations; we have seen the communiqués from the International Red Cross; and we have seen the communiqués from Amnesty International - all expressing concern about what was going on in the occupied Palestinian territory.

But all the scenes the world had watched on television, in print and in documentaries, could not and did not have any effect on one member State of this Council in particular, a member that resorted to blockage, to frustration of the endeavours of the members of the Council to discharge their duty and their obligations.

It is unfortunate, it is sad - those might be terms one could use to describe the attitude of that Member State, but it would be the greatest understatement the Council had ever heard.

Be that as it may, at long last the blood of the innocent children, the cries of the tortured and bereaved mothers must have helped to prick the conscience of

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those who gave directives to those around this table who suffered morally and in their consciences as a result of implementing the obstructionist policy and tactics. The Council now meets not to address the "underlying problem, namely the Israeli occupation", nor to consider ways and means to put an end to the threat to international peace and security, and not how to achieve peace through a political solution, as was recommended by the overwhelming majority - almost unanimously - of the Members of the United Nations. The Council meets with a view, in our opinion, to addressing the violations and acts of State terrorism carried out against the Palestinian people under Israeli occupation.

Let us recall that it is not only moral values that regulate our action, for unfortunately moral values have proved to be at variance and to be selectively adhered to. Murdering in cold blood more than 750 Palestinians is a crime of genocide. The perpetrators of the crime consider it a means to maintain law and order. But whose law, and what order? What is to be addressed here is legal obligations - the legal obligations the High Contracting Parties have undertaken to respect.

The Charter of the United Nations clearly states that Members undertake to respect and carry out the decisions of the Security Council. That is a legal obligation, yet in the case of Israel and its policies and practices in the occupied territories, many decisions have been taken by the Council but there has been neither respect for nor the carrying out of those decisions.

The Council has affirmed on several occasions that the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention are applicable to the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem.

What are those provisions?

According to article 1, "The High Contracting Parties undertake to respect and to ensure respect" - I emphasize "to ensure respect" - "for the present Convention in all circumstances".

Article 27 states:

"Protected persons are entitled, in all circumstances, to respect for their persons, their honour, their family rights, their religious convictions and practices, and their manners and customs. They shall at all times be humanely treated, and shall be protected especially against all acts of violence or threats thereof and against insults and public curiosity.

"Women shall be especially protected against any attack on their honour, in particular against rape, enforced prostitution, or any form of indecent assault."

Article 29 reads as follows:

"The Party to the conflict in whose hands protected persons may be, is responsible for the treatment accorded to them by its agents, irrespective of any individual responsibility which may be incurred."

Article 49 states:

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

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Article 50 says:

"The Occupying Power shall, with the cooperation of the national and local authorities, facilitate the proper working of all institutions devoted to the care and education of children."

All those are provisions of a Convention for which all members of the Council are duty-bound to ensure respect.

What are the legal obligations of the Palestinian people? What are the moral, political and legal obligations of the Palestinians under occupation? In one word, their obligation is resistance. That is exactly what the Palestinians are carrying out. That would be the balanced approach to the issue: legal obligation on one side to respect and treat humanely; legal obligation on the other side to resist.

But what action has been taken by the High Contracting Parties to the Convention to ensure respect for it? Here one must point a finger at this Council and try to understand why no action has been taken. It might seem mysterious, but we all know.

On 11 December 1987 the Council responded immediately to the request of the Group of Arab States. The <u>intifadah</u> had just started and the Palestinian people had resorted to yet another phase of their legitimate struggle against foreign occupation. The proceedings of the Council over seven meetings lasted for 11 days, and culminated in the adoption of resolution 605 (1987) on 22 December 1987, albeit with the abstention of the representative of the Government of the United States. In that resolution the Council requested the Secretary-General to

"examine the present situation in the occupied territories by all means available to him, and to submit a report ... containing his recommendations on ways and means for ensuring the safety and protection of the Palestinian civilians under Israeli occupation". (resolution 605 (1987)) JP/ASW

## (Mr. Terzi, Palestine)

A report was submitted on 21 January 1988. On 1 February 1988 a draft resolution was vetoed by a permanent member, the United States. In explaining the resort to the veto, the representative of the United States said:

"The prestige and authority of the United Nations Security Council are very important assets. ... The adoption of resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which remain the foundation for a peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian issue and which are accepted by virtually all parties, were examples of effective intervention by the Council. ...

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"... the United States is consulting with the parties directly concerned on ways to resolve the Palestinian conflict and achieve a permanent and comprehensive peace through negotiations on the basis of resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Agreement on a negotiating process and the appropriate auspices for negotiations can succeed only through the consent of the parties directly concerned. It cannot be imposed upon them, even by implication, as this draft resolution attempts to do.

"... We disapprove, however, of the Council's effort, in this instance, to address the current unrest and Israel's response in a fruitless and redundant way and to direct a negotiating process before agreement is reached among the parties on appropriate auspices for negotiations. ..." (S/PV.2790, pp. 39-42)

That was said way back in February 1988. I hope that the representative of the United States will not deem the current "unrest" - 750 people killed is some unrest! - somehow futile or redundant.

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## (Mr. Terzi, Palestine)

The veto was motivated, as the representative of the United States said, by provisions in the draft resolution that requested the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to promote a peaceful settlement and to keep the Council regularly informed. It was with that position of the permanent member in our minds that the request was made for the convening of this meeting to consider ways and means to ensure respect for the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention, and in particular its provision, in Article 27 that:

"Protected persons ... shall at all times be humanely treated, and shall be protected especially against all acts of violence or threats thereof and against insults and public curiosity."

Moreover, Article 29 provides:

"The Party to the conflict in whose hands protected persons may be, is responsible for the treatment accorded to them by its agents, irrespective of any individual responsibility which may be incurred."

Today we are here to consider exclusively - I emphasize "exclusively" - the recommendations on ways and means for ensuring the safety and protection of the Palestinian civilians under Israeli occupation. I hasten to stress that this should in no way be construed as an appeal to the Council to forgo its responsibility to contribute towards the achievement of a comprehensive, just and durable peace in the Middle East through political and diplomatic means under the auspices of the United Nations, and precisely in exercise of the powers vested in the Council by the Charter to maintain international peace and security. But, I say to the Council: first make peace, please.

With regard to recommendations, we recall that 10 years ago the Council established a special Commission, under resolution 446 (1979) to

"examine the situation relating to settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem". (resolution 446 (1979))

The Commission submitted its third and last report (S/14268) on 25 November 1980. That report has yet to be considered by the Council. But it might be of interest to recall some of the observations made by the Commission, as follows:

"The Commission considers therefore that, by its consequences on the living conditions of the Arab population in the occupied territories, Israel's policy of settlement is a constant cause of violation of the basic human rights of the Arab inhabitants." (S/14268, para. 221)

The Commission reported that it had examined the situation and had "noted deep anxiety about what was unanimously considered as a continuous process of deterioration of the situation in the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, which is marked by heightened tensions and increased conflict and could lead to a major conflagration". (<u>ibid, para. 233</u>)

It added:

"In view of the recent deterioration of the situation in the occupied Arab territories, the Commission considers that Israel's settlement policy, with the unjustified sufferings which it imposes on a defenceless population, is an incitement to further unrest and violence." (<u>ibid, para. 236</u>) What that Commission envisaged is exactly what is going on; the Council was warned 10 years ago of those consequences.

The Commission also made relevant, concrete recommendations on how to address the situation, but to the best of our knowledge the report was simply filed and stored away.

In the context of the subject of settlements, the Government of the United States did pronounce itself. On 4 June 1979 the State Department spokesman was quoted as saying:

"I think the point we would find most disturbing about the announcement of the settlement is that the establishment of new settlements is harmful to the peace process."

The White House spokesman said that day:

"We consider the settlement to be illegal and an impediment to peace".

Yet, Mr. Ariel Sharon, the Sabra-Shatila butcher and member of the Israeli cabinet, had already given us a clear answer. He said: "Massive settlement all over the West Bank is the best answer to the various plans that outsiders are trying to foist on Israel." The date of that announcement by Sharon was 26 October 1982 and we all might recollect that it was a comment on the so-called Reagan peace plan.

But what action did the Council take? Unfortunately, it was prevented from taking any action, and we all know why.

I shall spare the Council details of the most recent acts of State terrorism by Israel against the Palestinian civilians. We all read the story about the fate of the people of Al Ezariyah - the Tomb of Lazarus - just outside Jerusalem, on 28 and 29 May; it was reported in <u>The New York Times</u> on 3 June 1989. We are all informed of the aggression and vigilante attack against Kafl Harith and of the horrors in Hebron when the so-called settlers fired 4,000 rounds of ammunition in one night and their leader declared that the aim was "to frighten and intimidate the Arabs" in the city of Hebron.

But what is even more alarming is the report carried in the daily <u>News</u> <u>Bulletin</u> of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency of 31 May 1989, which reads as follows:

"IDF soldiers used the Koran as makeshift toilet paper

"Israel Defence Force soldiers used pages torn from the Koran as makeshift toilet paper while billeted at a school in the West Bank village of Deir Balut.

"The desecration of the Islamic bible, which the IDF insists was unintentional, was discovered after a week-long curfew was lifted from the village last Thursday morning.

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## (Mr. Terzi, Palestine)

"A military spokesman said Sunday night that 'an IDF soldier apologized when he learned that three pages of Arabic print he had used innocently and unknowingly were pages from the Koran'.

"He said the area commander has taken measures to prevent their recurrence.

"But the principal of the school, Khalil Abdel Jawad, was inconsolable. He showed filth and litter left behind by the soldiers and expressed his shock and anger over what he called 'an insult to our religion'.

"The evidence included dozens of pages torn from the Koran smeared with excrement. A volume of the Koran was wedged between a door and a door handle to make it easier to use as toilet paper.

"An embroidered tablecloth was also smeared with excrement. A hole was punched through the seat of the chair to provide the soldiers with a commode." Nobody can mistake the Holy Koran or any sacred book, whether it be the New Testament or the Old Testament of the Bible, for pages of a novel. We all know that such books are kept in clean places, and no one can expect us to believe that he did not know what he was doing. Such an act is shameful.

I cannot say whether it was intentional or not; but that constitutes desecration. And the perpetrators of that desecration were soldiers of the Israel Defence Force and Israel, as the occupying Power, is responsible. But such acts do not involve the Holy Koran exclusively. I should like to read out a statement by the heads of the Christian communities in Jerusalem, issued on 26 April 1989, which reads as follows:

"We, the Heads of the Christian Communities in the Holy City, have met together in view of the grave situation prevailing in Jerusalem and the whole of our country.

"It is our Christian conviction that as Spiritual Leaders we have an urgent duty to follow up the developments in this situation and to make known to the world the conditions of life of our people here in the Holy Land.

"In Jerusalem, on the West Bank and in Gaza our people experience in their daily lives constant deprivation of their fundamentnal rights because of arbitrary actions deliberately taken by the authorities. Our people are often subjected to unprovoked harassment and hardship.

"We are particularly concerned by the tragic and unnecessary loss of Palestinian lives, especially among minors. Unarmed and innocent people are being killed by the unwarranted use of firearms and hundreds are wounded by the excessive use of force.

"We protest against the frequent shooting incidents in the vicinity of Holy Places.

"We also condemn the practice of mass administrative arrests, and of continuing detention of adults and minors without trial.

"We further condemn the use of all forms of collective punishment, including the demolition of homes and depriving whole communities of basic services such as water and electricity.

"We appeal to the world community to support our demand for the re-opening of schools and universities, closed for the past sixteen months, so that thousands of our children can enjoy again their basic right to education.

"We demand that the authorities respect the right of believers to enjoy free access to all places of worship on the Holy Days of all religions.

"We affirm our human solidarity and sympathy with all who are suffering and oppressed; we pray for the return of peace based on justice to Jerusalem and the Holy Land; and we request the international community and the United

Nations Organization to give urgent attention to the plight of the Palestinian people, and to work for a speedy and just resolution of the Palestinian problem."

I do not know whether the Council is aware of the fact that in August there will be 110,000 Palestinians six and seven years of age who will be deprived of schooling. Those 110,000 young people will be denied that basic necessity, regardless of what the Convention says.

We are told that the Government of the United States has condemned the vigilante attacks by Jewish settlers against the Arab inhabitants. But so did President Chaim Herzog, who expressed "his strongest ever condemnation of the vigilante tactics used by Jewish settlers". Let us face the truth and ask the following question: "Are not the so-called settlers members of the security and armed forces of the occupying Power?" The Fourth Geneva Convention clearly states: "The occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies". These settlers and their families are not civilians; they are members of the armed forces and their families live with them in their barracks and not in civilian townships. The point to be made is that all such acts are committed by the armed forces and Israel is fully responsible for the treatment accorded to the Palestinians under occupation, and Israel is duty-bound to respect scrupulously the provisions of the Convention. What is more, the High Contracting Parties to the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War - and that includes all the members of this Council - are duty-bound to ensure respect for that Convention.

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## (Mr. Terzi, Palestine)

The issue now is: what is to be done, when, how and by whom? Will the Council obligingly accept the apology of the Government of Israel and let bygones be bygones until next time? Or shall we be satisfied with the reaction of General Shomron, Chief of Staff of the Israeli Defense Force, who told the Israeli cabinet on 28 May that he "was fed up with the behaviour of the settlers"? But we know that the Israeli army supplies those so-called settlers with arms, ammunition and even protection.

Though hundreds have given up their lives, their souls are appealing to the Council. Thousands have been wounded; their blood was and is still being shed for a cause. Tens of thousands have been through concentration camps and they join in the appeals to the conscience of the international community - and specifically through this organ, the Security Council. They join as in a church choir in saying:

"We shall not give up: we shall overcome. It is peace and dignity that we struggle for; it is the realization of our aspirations and our right to live in peace in our own homes, free from foreign occupation, free, as all peoples deserve to be, to exercise our human and political rights. We struggle for our independence and freedom. We have faith in you, in the international community, in the United Nations, in the Security Council. We appeal to you. We demand your protection of our safety and our security, and, pending your realization of peace and in conformity with the lofty principles in your Charter, we demand that you provide the adequate protection it is your responsibility to provide. We shall persevere in our just struggle but you must also help, and pending the achievement of that peace, the termination of the occupation and the withdrawal of the forces of occupation, you, the Security Council, must assume responsibility and discharge your functions."

Let us recall that exactly 50 years ago this week more than 900 Jewish refugees from Europe were denied refuge on this side of the Atlantic. They sought refuge from localities where they were compelled to wear a ribbon of a particular colour because they were to be distinguished from the rest of the humans in that society. No action was taken then to pre-empt the ensuing horrors and the loss of tens of millions of innocent lives, innocent victims of racist policies and practices.

These memories haunt us as we learn that Palestinians, in their own homes and on their own soil, are ordered to wear a distinctive badge. They are marked by the occupying Power as foreigners. Yes, we are haunted. Is this the tip of the iceberg that covers the implementation of the so-called "transfer policy"? Will the world react now, in 1989, in a more positive and decisive way than it did in 1939, and thus prevent the loss of more innocent human lives, lost simply because they are Palestinian Arabs? The Council and the international community must immediately intervene to prevent the return to yellow ribbons and the application of racist badges, and put an end to the situation. They are called upon to provide immediate international protection. That would be a step towards peace.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the Permanent Observer of Palestine for his kind words addressed to me.

I should like to inform the Council that I have just received a letter from the representative of Egypt in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda.

In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

(The President)

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Badawi (Egypt) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of Arab States for the month of June. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

<u>Mr. AL-MASRI</u> (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): It is a great honour for me to address the Security Council on behalf of the Arab Group, which my delegation has the honour to head for the month of June.

At the outset, permit me, Sir, to convey to you our most sincere congratulations on the occassion of your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. We are certain that your vast diplomatic experience and your capacity as a Permament Member of the Security Council will facilitate Council deliberations, especially at this time when the situation in the occupied Arab territories is deteriorating acutely, owing to increased repression on the part of the Israeli occupation, a repression that is practised by the Israeli settlers against the Arab inhabitants.

I should like to take this opportunity to convey to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Crispin Tickell, our thanks for the skillful manner in which he conducted the Council's deliberations last month.

During the month of February this year, the Security Council met in order to consider the deteriorating situation in the occupied Palestinian territories, with a view to adopting urgent measures to put an end to the cycle of death and destruction inflicted by the Israeli occupation forces and the Israeli settlers against defenceless Arab inhabitants and in order to protect their children and

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# (Mr. Al-Masri, Syrian Arab Republic)

property. The Security Council had held other meetings to that end. In January 1987 - the beginning of the <u>intifadah</u> - the Council adopted resolution 605 (1987), in which, while expressing grave concern and alarm over the deteriorating situation in Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel, and taking into account the need to consider measures for the impartial protection of the Palestinian civilian population under Israeli occupation, it reaffirmed that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, was applicable to the Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories. The Council called once again upon Israel, the occupying Power, to abide immediately and scrupulously by that Convention and to desist forthwith from its policies and practices that were in violation of its provisions. To that end, the Council requested the Secretary-General to examine the situation in the occupied territories by all means available to him, and to submit a report containing his recommendations on ways and means for ensuring the "safety and protection of the Palestinian civilians living under Israeli occupation. JVM/9

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## (Mr. Al-Masri, Syrian Arab Republic)

The Secretary-General conveyed his views very clearly with regard to the methods to be used. Unfortunately, despite all those meetings held by the Council, despite the clarity and equity of the Secretary-General's recommendations, and despite the seriousness of the Israeli repression, which led to untold suffering, the Council was unable to adopt measures aimed at ensuring the protection of Palestinians and putting an end to their daily sufferings stemming from the savagery of the Israeli occupiers. The repression has continued, with killings and arrests becoming the daily lot of the Palestinians meted out by the occupation forces and the Israeli settlers against Palestinian civilians and their children, and not sparing their homes.

Today the Security Council has one again convened to consider the deteriorating situation in the occupied Palestinian territories with a view to ending the vile Fascist massacre of Palestinians and their children and to adopting the necessary emergency measures to ensure their protection and the immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied Palestinian territories as well as from other occupied Arab territories.

Since the Council's last meeting on the situation, in February this year, many massacres have taken place in Palestinian towns and cities. Dozens of children and youths have been killed and many houses demolished; and thousands of fruit trees have been uprooted in Arab orchards. The representative of Palestine has given us an account of these bloody events, and Mrs. Absa Claude Diallo, Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, addressed a message to the Secretary-General, distributed as an official document (S/20668), dated 2 June 1989, in which she draws attention to the deteriorating situation and Israel's stepped-up repression against the inhabitants of the occupied Palestinian territories. She cast a new light on the gravity of this JVM/9

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#### (Mr. Al-Masri, Syrian Arab Republic)

savage repression and, in particular, I wish to draw the Council's attention to the second paragraph of that letter, which quotes from a statement by Yitzhak Rabin that:

"472 Palestinians were killed since the beginning of the <u>intifadah</u>, 10,000 wounded and 35,000 imprisoned, of whom 7,000 are still in gaol or detention camps. However, according to figures published by the Data Base Project on Palestinian Human Rights, violent actions by the Israeli armed forces and armed Israeli settlers have brought the casualty toll since the beginning of the <u>intifadah</u> to 611 Palestinians dead, of whom at least 118 were children under 15. Further, Amnesty International has reported that since the beginning of the <u>intifadah</u> 5,000 Palestinians have been the victims of the Israeli practice of 'administrative detention' and that 1,100 Palestinians are still under such detention at present." (<u>S/20668, p. 1</u>)

We cannot but be deeply concerned over the increased participation by Israeli settlers in acts of barbaric repression. This new role they are playing in support of Tel Aviv power and the occupation forces reflects the madness that has taken hold of the Tel Aviv régime, which, in a challenge to international public opinion and in disregard of human conscience, openly affirms that it will resort to all means possible to put an end to the <u>intifadah</u>, to crush it.

Fresh proof has come to light attesting to the fact that this role of the Israeli settlers is not accidental and not merely an act of reprisal. It is a systematic undertaking, fully orchestrated by the occupation forces as part of an official terrorist plan carefully conceived to provide for the formation of armed groups outside what is called the regular army, groups that include members of a terrorist, extremist and Zionist cell - Rosh Anonim - as well as from other Fascist terrorist groups and Israeli settlers. Those groups plan and carry out

## (Mr. Al-Masri, Syrian Arab Republic)

sabotage and assassinations in Palestinian towns and cities and in the other occupied Arab territories, as well as in Palestinian refugee camps.

To realize the seriousness of these events, one need only recall the raid carried out by Israeli settlers on 30 and 31 May last against the Palestinian village of Kifl Harith. They fired upon the inhabitants, destroying houses and killing and wounding many of the Palestinians, including a young girl barely 14 years old, Ibtisam Abdel Rahim Badawia, whom the Israeli settlers deliberately killed when she was standing outside a house they had demolished.

The infernal campaign against the Palestinian people in the occupied territories is aimed at adopting new racist measures, one of which is to compel Arab workers in the occupied territories to wear an identity card reminiscent of the yellow star the nazis forced the Jews to wear during the Second World War. Another such measure is the sending by the Tel Aviv régime of special licence plates for the Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories. There are also discrimination and racist segregation measures, such as the issuance of special permits to Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories showing their place of residence.

# (<u>Al-Masri, Syrian Arab</u> Republic)

Everything I have said shows in the clearest of terms and brings to the eyes of the world the organic link between zionism and nazism. One cannot close one's eyes to the direct relationships between these two racist régimes and the repression they practice against the indigenous inhabitants; nor can one ignore their policies of expansion, their seizure of others' territory, or their attempts to bring the inhabitants and legitimate owners of the land under the yoke of racism and racial segregation.

That is why we reaffirm the importance for the Security Council to shoulder its responsibilities and adopt the necessary urgent and effective measures to contain this new manifestation of racism and fascism, to ensure the protection of the inhabitants of the occupied territories, their children and property, and to achieve the immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from those territories, permitting the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable national rights.

The Security Council has had many opportunities to carry out its objectives. One can easily imagine the number of lives that might have been saved and the amount of suffering that could have been avoided had those opportunities been seized. In this connection, we wish to recall the Secretary-General's report of 21 January 1988 - two months after the beginning of the <u>intifadah</u> in the occupied territories - in which he describes the scope of the problem and its deep roots, saying:

"... one point of fundamental importance must be underlined. It is certainly necessary that more should be done to ensure the safety and protection of the civilian population. But such measures can only be palliatives. They cannot cure the underlying problem, which is the continuing occupation by Israel of the territories captured in the 1967 war." (S/19443, para. 20) JSM/bg

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# (Al-Masri, Syrian Arab Republic)

Consequently, the central issue, as we have said and as stated by the Secretary-General, rests with Israel's continued occupation of Arab land. In dozens of resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly, the international community has repeatedly called for an end to that occupation because occupation is an act of aggression, and continued occupation is continued aggression; indeed, it behoves the Security Council to end it.

But the end to occupation cannot be subject to conditions, and those who thought that the <u>intifidah</u> was a passing phenomenon and that there would be no point to implementing the Secretary-General's recommendations contained in the aforementioned report certainly misjudged events, because the <u>intifadah</u>, as well as the courageous resistance of our people in the Syrian Arab Golan and in southern Lebanon is, by dint of its scope and objectives, a popular and political revolution against the Israeli occupation.

In the course of the past 18 months this revolution and the national resistance in the Golan and southern Lebanon have shown their effectiveness and the steadfast resolve of the Arab people in the occupied territories cannot be doubted: they are resolved to free their land and holy places from Israeli occupation - by the military and the settlers alike. They will not renounce the revolution until their total liberation.

In his report, the Secretary-General recalls resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly that reaffirm the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and insist on Israel's withdrawal from territories occupied since 1967. For his part, the Secretary-General has reaffirmed that the territories that came under Israeli control during the 1967 war are "occupied territories" within the meaning of the Fourth Geneva Convention, and that the Fourth Geneva Convention applies to all those occupied territories.

# (Al-Masri, Syrian Arab Republic)

The Secretary-General recommends that the Security Council consider making a solemn appeal to the High Contracting Parties to the Fourth Geneva Convention that have diplomatic relations with Israel, drawing their attention to their obligation under article 1 of the Convention to "... ensure respect for the present Convention ..." and urges them to use all the means at their disposal to that end.

Israel is pursuing and has repeatedly reaffirmed its expansionist plan. Indeed, Israel continues to say "no" to a withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, "no" to putting an end to the Israeli settlers' colonies, "no" to a Palestinian State, and "no" to the proposed international Middle East peace conference. Israel has once again reaffirmed these "no's" and rejected the appeal of Mr. Baker, the United States Secretary of State, that it renounce its dream of establishing a greater Israel and to put an end to the settlements in occupied Arab territories.

In the face of this illegal situation which Israel continues to maintain, the following question arises: what can the Security Council do to prevail upon Israel to put an end to its massacres and to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories? The answer to this question could not be clearer: it is found in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic for his kind words addressed to me. EMS/11

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<u>Mrs. DIALLO</u> (Senegal) (interpretation from French): In my twofold capacity as representative of Senegal and Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, I should like at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for June 1989 and to assure you of my delegation's full  $\infty$ -operation and constant availability. Your personal qualities, your vast diplomatic experience and your ability are guarantees of success for the work of the Council.

I wish also to thank your predecessor, His Excellency Sir Crispin Tickell, Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and to congratulate him on his outstanding presidency of the Council in May 1989.

Once again the Security Council is meeting at the request of the Arab Group to discuss the disturbing situation in the occupied Palestinian territories. We have before us an urgent appeal because of the concern that has gripped the international community in the face of Israel's intransigent insistence on its policy of occupation, domination and repression, the near-paralysis of the Security Council and the numerous delays holding up the convening of the international peace conference on the Middle East.

My delegation and the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People are particularly concerned at the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories. In the statements of the representatives of Palestine and Syria, the Council was reminded of the tragedy of that people.

Today's meeting is of particular importance to us since it is taking place when the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories is deteriorating despite the international community's indignant protests. Repression by the occupation forces has grown increasingly brutal, with its daily succession of death, serious

# (Mrs. Diallo, Senegal)

injury, massive destruction, all manner of humiliation, oppression and other serious violations of human rights, all in an atmosphere of increasing provocation by wild Israeli settlers.

In my most recent letter to the Secretary-General, dated 1 June 1989, I again drew attention to the tragic nature of the situation. Yet the Security Council cannot even agree on effective measures to protect the Palestinian people and guarantee its security in conformity with the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

We have already stated that it is high time for the Security Council, responsible for the maintenance of international peace, to increase its involvement by making a positive contribution to international efforts to bring about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

Appropriate action by the Security Council could do much to relieve the suffering of Palestinian civilians, including women and children, as requested by the General Assembly in its resolution 43/233 of 20 April 1989.

In that connection, I wish to recall the 21 January 1988 report prepared by the Secretary-General in conformity with Security Council resolution 605 (1987); and I pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts. His report contains recommendations and observations concerning protecting the Palestinians through legal means, general assistance, and information. That document deserves special attention from members of the Security Council.

We can never repeat too much that only political action can meet in a just and lasting manner the legitimate aspirations of a people whose rights have been stripped away and whose dignity has been violated, but a people convinced of the justice of its cause. EMS/11

## (Mrs. Diallo, Senegal)

Of course, obstacles remain to the solution of the complex problem of the Middle East. These are due in large part to differences within the international community, to Israel's intransigence and to a lack of political will on the part of some States that could have acted to create conditions conducive to a joint search for a comprehensive solution.

But however complex the question is, the ideals of peace, justice and freedom that form the basis of the United Nations Charter should cause the Security Council right now to support the solidarity that is growing daily in favour of the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in conformity with the wish of the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Organization of African Unity.

Among other measures, the Security Council could take action on decisions and recommendations of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine with respect to the establishment of a just and lasting peace. The guiding principles for such a peace are set out in General Assembly resolution 43/176 of 15 December 1988. They were recently reaffirmed at the special Arab summit held at Casablanca from 23 to 26 May 1989 and at the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement, held at Harare from 17 to 19 May 1989.

The Security Council's role is to realize the hopes aroused by the first moves towards a settlement of the question of Palestine. These include the acceptance by the Palestine Liberation Organization of resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), bearing in mind the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination, and its full participation in any talks and negotiations on such a settlement. In this time of trial for the Palestinian people, its leaders have resolutely adopted a courageous policy of openness, and have done their part; the international community has the duty to prevail upon Israel to respond in a positive way, for no repression can overcome the intifadah.

# (Mrs. Diallo, Senegal)

That is why we hope our deliberations will lead to greater participation by the Council in the peace effort, which alone can put an end to passion and violence and bring about a just and lasting settlement of the question of the Middle East.

It is urgent that the Council should focus its energy and efforts, and lend to the process the sense of realism and spirit of compromise so well known in its members.

My delegation and the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People assure you, Mr. President, of our full co-operation in continued efforts in that direction. S/PV.2863 46

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Senegal for her kind words addressed to me.

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

<u>Mr. SALAH</u> (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): It is my pleasure, on behalf of my delegation, to extend congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. As I came to know you personally during your tour of duty as your country's Ambassador to mine, Jordan, I am confident that your wide experience and knowledge, and your personal qualities of wisdom, vision and even-handedness will, with the co-operation of all the other members of the Council, enable the Council at these urgent meetings to achieve the desired outcome.

I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Crispin Tickle, for the impressive manner in which he steered the work of the Council last month.

The Security Council is meeting in a new attempt to fulfil a great humanitarian mission in which it has so far failed: ensuring the safety and security of Palestinian citizens living under Israeli occupation and preservation of their fundamental human rights. If the Council has not been able to take the necessary urgent measures to achieve that goal, it now has a new opportunity to give this serious issue the attention it deserves and to take appropriate action.

As all are aware, the Israeli practices in the occupied Palestinian territories daily increase in violence and brutality. They represent violations of the human rights of the Palestinians living under occupation, violations that Israeli commits regardless of world condemnation. Israel continues to reject the resolutions of the Council and other competent bodies of the United Nations.

# (Mr. Salah, Jordan)

Unless this Council causes Israel to comply with the relevant international conventions, in all likelihood it will continue its brutal policies aimed at crushing the uprising of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and suppressing its burning national spirit.

It need hardly be recalled here that Israeli practices in the occupied Palestinian territories did not begin with the uprising, but after the uprising they increased in brutality and terror.

Since the beginning of the occupation in 1967, it has seemed to be Israel's aim to destroy the Palestinians' hope of freeing themselves from Israeli control and exercising their right to self-determination so that they may live in freedom and dignity on their national soil.

All observers well know the facts of the situation in the occupied territories despite Israel's attempts to impose a blackout on the situation. Attacks upon the Palestinians continue; the use of live ammunition with intent to kill continues; the destruction of homes, the widespread detentions, the imposition of repeated curfews, the closing of educational institutions, the profanation of houses of worship, the use of various types of poisonous gas, the economic strangulation, the expropriation of land, the building of Jewish settlements - those are but some examples.

The killing of martyrs has become such a routine, daily occurrence that it is feared the world will lose interest in the loss of human life unjustly caused by Israel. To give a few examples, in a single day last month, on 19 May, eight persons were martyred - three in the West Bank and five in the Gaza Strip. In the village of Najallin, in the West Bank, five persons were martyred and 15 others were injured by the border police, who raided the village at dawn and indiscriminately fired live ammunition at the people of the village.

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## (Mr. Salah, Jordan)

As is well known, such practices continue despite the adoption of several resolutions by this Council emphasizing the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention, of 1949, to the Palestinian and other occupied territories and calling upon Israel to comply with its provisions.

How ironic it is to see Israel denying that Convention's applicability to the territories it is occupying though that Convention was promulgated as a rejection by the international community of the treatment of Jews during the Second World War. That is recorded in a United Nations document, A/8089:

### (spoke in English)

"The Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 may be considered as the expression of the international community's sense of revulsion at the treatment accorded to Jews who came under the Nazi régime during time of war and occupation and who were subjected to indignities, abuses and deprivations in gross denial of human rights."

# (continued in Arabic)

A few days ago Amnesty International issued a report (MDE/15/06/89) emphasizing the Israeli violations of human rights in the occupied territories, in particular administrative detention. I need not review the report in detail; I am sure it has been perused by all who are interested in the issue, but the following words from its second page reflect the thrust of the report:

#### (spoke in English)

"Amnesty International has for some years been concerned that administrative detention in Israel and the occupied territories has been abused to detain prisioners of conscience held solely for the non-violent exercise of their right to freedom of expression and association ... Since the start of the <u>intifadah</u> the use of administrative detention has become widespread."

#### (Mr. Salah, Jordan)

## (continued in Arabic)

While the Palestinians suffer all forms of oppression and torture at the hands of the Israeli occupation forces, they also face a brutal campaign by the Jewish settlers, which has escalated dangerously. It is a campaign of aggression and hatred, grounded in racism and sponsored and supported by the Israeli authorities. The attacks by Jewish settlers on Palestinian citizens have reached a point where they have caused discontent among several Israeli officials. It is true that that dissatisfaction results not from sincere concern for the Palestinian victims, but, rather, from concern that the settlers' practices will inevitably generate an angry reaction by the Palestinians.

As the news media have reported recently, a number of Israeli settlements have formed their own special armed patrols, which carry out attacks on Palestinians, attacks that do not fall within the accepted meaning of self-defence. It is known that the Israeli army issues the settlers weapons, communications equipment and jeep-type vehicles.

I shall give some examples. A number of settlers in the Kiryat Arba settlement formed a militia force for rapid intervention against the Palestinians, under the pretext that the Israeli army did not act against the Palestinians quickly enough or firmly enough. The attacks by the settlers are usually committed with the tacit protection of the occupation forces, as occurred on 3 May, when a number of settlers from Kiryat Arba attacked several Palestinians in the city of Hebron and tried to set fire to the Khalid ibn-al-Walid Mosque.

The practices of the Jewish settlers have gone beyond any pretext of self-defence. They include repugnant racist demands, such as the imposition by the council of the settlement of Ariel of a requirement that Palestinian citizens working there carry a special badge distinguishing them as "foreign workers".

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## (Mr. Salah, Jordan)

By virtue of its composition and functions, the Security Council is entrusted with a special mission on behalf of the Palestinians living under occupation. That mission calls for immediate action to put an end to their suffering and to guarantee their dignity and basic human rights.

Furthermore, it is the Council's responsibility to make earnest and sincere efforts to bring about peace in the Middle East. Measures taken by the Council to guarantee the safety of the population of the occupied territories will remain stop-gap palliatives pending a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and its root cause - the question of Palestine. Here we once again remind the Council of the report (S/19443) of the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, submitted to the Council on 21 January last year. We call upon the Council to reconsider that valuable document and use it as the basis of its assessment of the situation, implementing its recommendations and following its conclusions.

If the Palestinian national uprising, which in three days will enter its nineteenth month, came as a surprise to many observers and experts, including Israel, its continuation and intensity are a cause of wonderment and surprise - and great admiration.

The uprising has underscored the fact that the national liberation spirit of the Palestinians remains vibrant, despite two decades of occupation. The continuation of the <u>intifadah</u>, in spite of the untold sacrifices made by the Palestinians and the brutalities they have suffered at Israel's hands, adds further evidence to the daily testimony to the determination of the Palestinian people to rescue itself from the grip of oppressive Israeli occupation, whatever the cost.

Israel would perhaps do better to face the truth squarely and abandon its illusions about its plans to consolidate the occupation, accepting the new realities on the ground, as fashioned by the <u>intifadah</u>, which led to the

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## (Mr. Salah, Jordan)

Palestinian peace initiative and was endorsed by the recent Arab summit meeting held in Casablanca from 23 to 26 May.

There can be no settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, at the core of which lies the Palestinian problem, without Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories, in order to enable the Palestinian people to determine its destiny in freedom and establish its own independent State on its national territory, under its national leadership, the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Notwithstanding the recognition by the whole world of those obvious facts, Israel persists in basing its arguments on perverted logic and swimming against the mainstream of events, in a desperate endeavour to reverse the facts of the new situation. Deep in its heart Israel knows full well that it will not be possible to return to the pre-<u>intifadah</u> situation.

If Israel is indeed interested in peace, it must reach out with the hand of peace to the Palestinians, thus responding to their move in the same manner, and meet their legitimate national demands. If, however, Israel persists in its current course, the only possible conclusion is that it is determined to perpetuate the conflict and destroy any hope of a peaceful, comprehensive, just and permanent settlement of the conflict.

In the final analysis, such a stance would work against Israel and others. If Israel perceives the situation from a different perspective and operates on a different premise, it needs the advice of those who can point out that it is following the wrong course and who can return it to its senses, in the interests of the future of the whole Middle East and of world peace.

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

# (The President)

In view of the lateness of the hour, I intend to adjourn the meeting now. In order to permit additional time for consultations among the members of the Council, the next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on the agenda will take place tomorrow, Wednesday, 7 June 1989, at 3.30 p.m.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.