



Security Council

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ENGLISH

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

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 5 December 1986, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. WALTERS

(United States)

Members: Australia
Bulgaria
China
Congo
Denmark
France
Ghana
Madagascar
Thailand
Trinidad and Tobago
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
United Arab Emirates
United Kingdom of Great Britain and
Northern Ireland
Venezuela

Mr. WOOLCOTT
Mr. TSVETKOV
Mr. YU Mengjia
Mr. ADOUKI
Mr. BIERRING
Mr. de KEMOULARIA
Mr. GBEHO
Mr. RABETAFIKA
Mr. KASEMSRI
Mr. ALLEYNE
Mr. BELONOGOV
Mr. AL-SHAALI
Mr. GORE-BOOTH
Mr. AGUILAR

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The meeting was called to order at 4.20 p.m.

EXPRESSION OF THANKS TO THE RETIRING PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of December, I should like - in violation of my own already established principles - to pay a well-deserved tribute, on behalf of the Council, to Sir John Thomson, Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of November 1986. I am sure I speak for all members of the Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Thomson, who earned our gratitude for the great diplomatic skill and distinction 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 4 DECEMBER 1986 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ZIMBABWE TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/18501)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco and Zimbabwe 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. Mudenge (Zimbabwe), took a place at the Council table; Mr. Badawi (Egypt), Mr. Netanyahu (Israel), Mr. Salah (Jordan), Mr. Abulhassan (Kuwait) and Mr. Slaoui (Morocco) 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 December 1986 from the Permanent Representative of the United Arab Emirates to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request that the Security Council extend an invitation to Mr. Zehdi Labib Terzi, Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations, in accordance with the Council's past practice, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item 'The situation in the occupied Arab territories'."

That letter will be circulated as document S/18504.

The proposal by the United Arab Emirates is not made pursuant to rule 37 or rule 39 of the Security Council's provisional rules of procedure, but if approved by the Council the invitation to participate in the debate would confer on the Palestine Liberation Organization the same rights of participation as those conferred on Member States when invited to participate pursuant to rule 37.

Does any member of the Council wish to speak on that proposal?

Since it appears that no other member of the Council wishes to speak at this stage, I shall make the following statement in my capacity as representative of the United States.

The United States has consistently taken the position that under the Security Council's provisional rules of procedure the only legal basis on which the Council may grant a hearing to persons speaking on behalf of non-governmental entities is under rule 39.

(The President)

For 40 years the United States has supported a generous interpretation of rule 39 and would certainly not object had this matter been raised under that rule. We are, however, opposed to special, ad hoc departures from orderly procedure. The United States consequently opposes extending to the Palestine Liberation Organization the same rights to participate in the proceedings of the Security Council as if that organization represented a Member State of the United Nations. We certainly believe in listening to all points of view, but none of 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 this special practice to be without legal foundation and to constitute an abuse of the rules.

For those reasons, the United States requests that the terms of the proposed invitation be put to the vote, and 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, I shall take it that the Council is ready to vote on the proposal by the United Arab Emirates.

It is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Bulgaria, China, Congo, Ghana, Madagascar, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela

Against: United States of America

Abstaining: Australia, Denmark, France, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows: 10 votes in favour, 1 vote against and 4 abstentions. The proposal has been adopted.

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

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 5 December 1986 from the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, which reads as follows:

"I have the honour to request that I be allowed to participate in the Security Council's consideration of the item 'The situation in the occupied Arab territories', in accordance with the provisions of rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, in my capacity as Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People".

On previous occasions, the Security Council has extended invitations to representatives of other United Nations bodies in connection with the consideration of matters on its agenda. In accordance with past practice in this matter, I propose that the Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

(The President)

I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 5 December 1986 from the Permanent Representative of the United Arab Emirates, which reads as follows:

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

That letter will be published as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/18505.

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Clovis Maksoud.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

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

The Security Council is meeting today in response to the request contained in the letter dated 4 December 1986 from the Permanent Representative of Zimbabwe to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/18501).

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to document S/18502, which contains the text of a letter dated 5 December 1986 from the Permanent Representative of the United Arab Emirates to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The first speaker is the representative of Zimbabwe, on whom I now call.

Mr. MUDENCE (Zimbabwe): Mr. President, my delegation is pleased to see you in the Chair for this month and feels confident that, with your wide experience and diplomatic skills, the Council's affairs are in reliable hands.

My delegation congratulates the representative of the United Kingdom on successfully presiding over the Council's affairs during November.

It is only three days since the Security Council felt constrained to issue a presidential statement appealing for restraint by the parties concerned in the Middle East. It was a timely response by the Council, but, sadly, Tel Aviv has not heeded the appeal for restraint.

Once again we come before the Council as a direct result of Israel's actions - more specifically, because of the actions of the Israeli forces occupying Palestinian and other Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem.

Early yesterday morning the occupying forces shot and killed two unarmed Palestinian students from Bir Zeit University and wounded many more, two of whom are in a critical condition. In addition, the students, who were only holding a sit-down strike, were tear-gassed and harassed. The University is now under siege. The town of Bir Zeit was yesterday declared a military zone, out of bounds to the press. An occupation force of nearly 500 troops was roaming the streets of the towns of Bir Zeit and Ramallah, and, according to Reuters news agency,

"Several left-wing Israeli parties today demanded an urgent parliamentary debate on what they called the Army's excessive use of force."

The atmosphere in the Middle East is already highly charged. Palestinian blood is being shed needlessly. At such a time, when maximum restraint and care are required - indeed, demanded - so as to avoid the unnecessary spread of violence and death, we find that the Israeli response is, deliberately and predictably, to provoke more violence and inflict more death and suffering upon the Palestinian people.

(Mr. Mudenge, Zimbabwe)

There can be no excuse at all for heavily-armed troops to open fire and cause the death of, or injury to, innocent, defenceless civilians. The action yesterday therefore stands to be condemned, and must be condemned, in the strongest possible terms, not only as an act of murder, but as a further demonstration of Israel's total contempt for the findings and demands of this body and the General Assembly with regard to its continuing illegal occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and its brutal and inhumane treatment of the Palestinian people, who suffer under the yoke of its occupation and oppression.

In the recent General Assembly debates and resolutions on the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East the position of the international community with regard to Israel's occupation and annexation of Jerusalem and its obligations towards the Palestinians and other Arab peoples under its control has been made quite clear. The vast majority of nations have condemned and rejected Israel's occupation of Jerusalem, and refused to recognize the Israelis' declaration of that city as their capital. Similarly, Israel's Judaization of the Holy City through its decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on Jerusalem has been judged by the General Assembly - most recently only yesterday - as null and void and of no validity whatsoever.

Israel is an occupying Power, and as such its actions must be governed by the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention. It therefore has definite obligations and duties, in terms of international law, inter alia, to ensure the protection and safety at all times of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples under its control, including the inhabitants of Jerusalem. And in connection with Jerusalem the Security Council has pronounced itself on these and other aspects in its resolutions 446 (1979), 476 (1980) and 478 (1980).

(Mr. Mudenge, Zimbabwe)

Israel's recent activities, its deliberate policy of ignoring the rulings of this body and the total contempt it shows for the Palestinian and other Arab peoples under its control necessitate and indeed demand further and stronger action from the Security Council.

Quite apart from the current issue which brings us here, and Israel's continuing arrogance towards the United Nations system as a whole, we believe that careful note should be taken of the various reports which were submitted to the General Assembly recently on the situation in the Middle East. Those reports indicated a sharp and alarming deterioration in the situation there - something which we cannot afford to ignore, especially when Israel appears to be doing its utmost to exacerbate and worsen the position.

Israel must be restrained, and the Council has the power and authority to act decisively to that end.

In the General Assembly debates on Palestine and the Middle East there was frequent mention of, and support for, the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East, as proposed some time ago and as fully supported by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries when it met at summit level in Harare earlier this year. There was equal support for the establishment by the Security Council of a preparatory committee to explore the modalities for holding that Conference. This is a positive suggestion. We surely should support this constructive initiative.

Mr. President, we urge your great country to reason with Israel on this matter. The present stalemate cannot continue for ever. Let us break it with reason and dialogue before it breaks us with blood and sword.

(Mr. Mudenge, Zimbabwe)

In the light of the deteriorating situation within the Middle East - as evidenced by the latest, brutal violence and the information contained in the various United Nations reports submitted during the forty-first session of the General Assembly - we ask that the United States reconsider its position and join with the majority of nations. Members of this Organization in supporting these positive and constructive proposals, which seek only to advance the cause of peace and stability within the Middle East. Israel, like its apartheid ally, must be made to realize that in choosing violence rather than dialogue it stands alone.

The General Assembly and this body have considered many resolutions in which the basis of a comprehensive, just and durable solution to the situation in the Middle East has been clearly established. Those resolutions call for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and for the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), to be enabled to exercise their inalienable rights. Those rights include the right to return and the right to self-determination, national independence and to establish their independent sovereign State in Palestine.

As we all know, notwithstanding the resolutions that have been passed and the decisions taken, little if any real progress has been made towards the achievement of those goals - a failure directly attributable to the arrogance and intransigence of Israel, abetted by the political, military and financial succour provided by its main benefactor.

Israel should not be allowed, merely because it has powerful friends and superior armaments, to continue its aggressive and expansionist policies throughout the Middle East. Its heinous deeds must be condemned, its intransigence declared

(Mr. Mudenge, Zimbabwe)

intolerable and its arrogance curbed by the adoption and imposition of measures under Chapter VII of the Charter as urged by the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.

But it is to positive initiatives that we wish to return, and at present the establishment of a preparatory committee by this Council to bring about the International Peace Conference on the Middle East remains the most promising. The situation in the Middle East is fast deteriorating. It threatens international peace and security as a whole. We must act, and the time to act is now. The Council must take urgent steps to establish the preparatory committee. It must censure Israel for its dastardly acts in Bir Zeit and Ramallah, condemn its continued illegal occupation and arrogant abuse of the Holy City of Jerusalem and its inhabitants, warn it against deluding itself that its creeping annexation of Palestinian and other Arab lands seized by force of arms in 1967 can ever be condoned by the international community or acquiesced in by the Palestinians and other Arab nations. Israel must be told forcefully that the road to peace and survival passes through reason and negotiations. The alternative to peace in the Middle East is too ghastly to contemplate.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Zimbabwe for the kind words he addressed to me. The next speaker is the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, on whom I now call.

Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): Let me start by congratulating you, Mr. President, on assuming the stewardship of the Council. We are very encouraged by your enthusiasm, as reflected in the statement that you issued on behalf of the members of the Council on 2 December 1986. With your permission I shall read it out:

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

"The members of the Security Council, mindful of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon, express their serious concern at the current escalation of violence there, affecting the civilian population in and around the Palestinian refugee camps. The members of the Council appeal to all concerned to exercise restraint in order to end these acts of violence. They also appeal to all concerned to take necessary measures to alleviate the suffering of the civilian population. They urge all concerned to facilitate the efforts of various United Nations agencies, particularly the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, as well as non-governmental organizations, to provide humanitarian assistance." (S/18492)

Unfortunately, Sir, your appeal has not yet been heeded.

I also wish to express our gratitude and appreciation for the efforts of the representative of the United Kingdom during his presidency of the Council last month, and in particular for his very hard labour and his efforts last weekend. I am not going to go into any further details on that, but I should like to thank him.

For a rather long time and at a number of meetings the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly has considered Israeli practices affecting the human rights of the population of the occupied territories. A number of resolutions have been adopted and the General Assembly, something like 50 hours ago, considered the same item and adopted relevant resolutions. We have no intention of attempting to prolong the general debate on those practices. We are fully aware that the Council's time is precious and at the same time of the relevance and importance of considering the events - to use an understatement - that have occurred in the occupied Palestinian territory, including Jerusalem, in the past few days.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

Thus the international community, by an overwhelming majority, almost unanimity, decided to observe the International Day of Solidarity. Palestinians under occupation, and their vanguards, namely the students, have the right and the duty to maintain their position in a peaceful way. They demonstrate, but they also demonstrate to protest against the policies and practices of the occupying Power, against the "iron fist" policy, against the reactivating of the abhorrent Emergency Defence Regulations imposed in 1945 by the British Mandate. They protest against the interference in the pursuit of academic life, and against the onslaught and massacres of their kinsmen, of the Palestinians in the refugee camps in Lebanon, whether the perpetrators of the onslaught and holocaust and genocide are Israeli, or groups of Lebanese such as the Amal group, or others.

The weapons used by these student demonstrators were not machine guns. They were not F-4s or armoured vehicles and tanks, nor were they using gunboats or carrying out artillery shelling. The weapons were, and always have been, banners that carry slogans denouncing the illegal occupation, denouncing the policies and practices, as well as the attacks against their own folk in the refugee camps. But also, there are banners carrying slogans of support, showing the adherence of these student demonstrators to their cause, their cause of liberation, the cause of peace; and, of course to show their adherence to their sole and legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization. Such demonstrations are, naturally, not to the liking of the occupying Power.

Thus the occupation army is hurried to the scene and uses force to disperse the demonstration. But the weapons used by the demonstrators then become stones, and a stone-throwing battle ensues. And here, the "superiority", the "discipline", the "humane behaviour" of the occupying Power surfaces, and their true nature

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

Let us start from the most recent event, namely, that which prompted the request for an immediate meeting of the Council. On behalf of the victims of the repressive measures adopted by Israel, on behalf of the Palestinians under Israeli occupation, the Palestine Liberation Organization, their representative, wishes to extend its thanks to the members of the Council for having responded with such promptness to their call and express the hope that the Council will take whatever action it can within the powers vested in it by the Charter to put an end to the practices of the Israeli occupation forces and, it is hoped, to the real cause, namely, the occupation itself, thus sparing the Council several meetings to address the derivatives of foreign occupation. A particular expression of thanks and gratitude goes to the members of the Council who joined in extending the invitation to the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in this debate.

Mr. President, in our letter to you of 4 December, we stated that three students had been shot dead. It now transpires that only two were shot dead; the third was critically wounded and was in such a bad state that he was thought to be dead. He remains in very critical condition in hospital waiting for O-negative blood type.

In the matter of the shooting of students, it was reported that the Bir Zeit students were commemorating the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. As we all know, observance of this day was initiated by the General Assembly, which holds a special meeting in which the Presidents of the General Assembly and the Security Council - unless a more immediate issue arises in the Council - and the Secretary-General participate. There are scores of messages from Heads of State or Government, Foreign Ministers and representatives, in addition to statements expressing support for our inalienable rights and the justice of our struggle.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

is revealed. Machine guns with live bullets is their response. Students are wounded, and some are killed, as in the case under discussion.

If this were to happen in an independent sovereign State, the international community would condemn that Government and label it as brutal and as having committed a flagrant violation of human rights, and the international community would have demanded from that Government the fulfilment of its responsibilities under international law. And here we ask: what will the international community, and specifically this Security Council, demand from an occupying Power like Israel? Will it demand that Israel respect the provisions of the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949? We all recall that article 1 of that Convention reads:

"The High Contracting parties undertake to respect and to ensure respect for the present Convention in all circumstances."

Thus the Convention makes it clear that the Powers which are parties to the Convention shall remain bound by the Convention whether or not the Powers in conflict are a party to the Convention. And we believe that the members of this Council, jointly and individually, are bound to ensure respect for the Convention. At 1537 hours on 3 December 1986, we noted with great satisfaction that all the members of the Council, together with the other Members of the United Nations, naturally with the exception of Israel, the occupying Power, voted in favour of the following:

"[The General Assembly] reaffirms that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, is applicable to the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem." (General Assembly resolution 41/63 B, para. 1)

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

We accordingly reaffirm our deep satisfaction that all Members voted in favour, and have thus committed themselves to that view.

Again, we ask, what action will the members of the Council prescribe to ensure respect for the Fourth Geneva Convention? How will they at least express themselves when the Convention is so blatantly violated, when innocent students, the hope of the future, are shot or wounded by the bullets of the mighty army of occupation? How would they feel if this had happened to their own children?

This latest of Israeli practices in the implementation of the iron-fist policy in the occupied territory came in the wake of yet another resolution of the General Assembly in which the General Assembly:

"Condemns Israeli policies and practices against Palestinian students and faculties in schools, universities and other educational institutions in the occupied Palestinian territories, especially the policy of opening fire on defenceless students, causing many casualties." (General Assembly resolution 41/63 G, para. 2)

Within less than 24 hours Israel gave its contemptuous response to the General Assembly. Some Member States had a lengthy argument about whether opening fire on defenceless students constituted a policy or a practice. How funny. While Rome burns, somebody was playing a tune, so the saying goes. It may not have made any difference, but in a "disciplined mighty army" opening fire is a form of discharging a policy, and the net result is death and injury to defenceless students. Why did it happen? The army of occupation had erected some check-points outside the Bir Zeit University campus. A faculty member, a certain Saleh Abdel Jawad, was stopped at one of these army check-points for almost 90 minutes. He was denied entry into the campus. He had classes to teach, and thus insisted on his right to enter. Some of his students came to inquire what was happening; an

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

argument ensued, and it culminated in bullets, resulting in the death of two people, and the wounding of a third, who is still in very critical condition.

The faculty member was arrested, and our information is that he was driven away and is being held at an unknown destination. His safety and return should also be one of the responsibilities of this Council. A number of students rushed to the hospitals where some of their colleagues were being treated for the bullet wounds they had suffered, and, if need be, to donate blood. The Israeli troops broke into the hospitals and arrested a number of those students.

Before I continue, Mr. President, I would ask you to permit me to convey, through you, to the bereaved parents of the dead students, our heartfelt condolences. As you know, Mr. President, we cannot reach them, although they are our brothers and sisters. Maybe you could do it on our behalf. We join in the mourning of these defenceless, heroic students. I would also like to mention that the University of Bir Zeit has declared a three-day mourning period.

Frankly, we have again witnessed racist occupation troops in action. Is this not reminiscent of those dark ages of the recent past? But this policy of atrocities is nothing new; we Palestinians recall the atrocities of 1948. The minutes of the Israeli Cabinet Meeting on 17 November 1948 - almost 40 years ago - show the following comment by a member of the Cabinet, Mr. Aharon Cizling, who was then the Minister of Agriculture:

"I have received a letter on the subject. I must say that I have known what things have been like for some time and I have raised the issue several times already here. However after reading this letter I couldn't sleep all night.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

I felt the things that were going on were hurting my soul, the soul of my family and all of us here. I could not imagine where we came from and to where we are going ... I often disagreed when the term Nazi was applied to the British. I would not like to use the term, even though the British committed Nazi crimes. But now Jews too have behaved like Nazis, and my entire being has been shaken. ... Obviously we have to conceal these actions from the public, and I agree that we should not even reveal that we're investigating them. But they must be investigated ...".

The Cabinet member was commenting on reports of atrocities committed by Israeli soldiers during the conquest of Palestine as early as 1947-1948. Then, Israel could conceal the atrocities, but it can no longer do that.

Another aspect of occupation results, of necessity, in another derivative, namely, settlement - which means the transfer of Israeli civilian population into occupied territory. This is another violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which states, inter alia, in article 49:

"The occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupied."

The Council, by resolution 446 (1979), of 22 March 1979, established a Commission

"to examine the situation relating to settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem".

The Commission carried out its mandate and submitted two reports. The Council, in resolution 465 (1980), unanimously took note of the first report and "accepted the conclusions and recommendations contained therein," but so far the Council has refrained from considering the second report. However, the reports of the Commission alerted the Council to the dangers inherent in the policies of Israel

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

relative to the illegal settlement of Israeli civilians in occupied Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem, and

"the consequences of such practices for the local Arab and Palestinian population". (resolution 465 (1980))

We recall that last week the Council was seized of a derivative of that policy and practice, namely, the so-called sad events in Jerusalem. What happened in the Holy City is that the occupying Power permitted the establishment of

"a school for penitents, and reportedly has a large number of former criminals in its student body" -

a Yeshiva in which

"caches of illegal arms have been found in the possession of Jews in the Old City of Jerusalem. Those included grenades and light weapons."

That is intelligence provided by David Kraus, Chief of Israel's national police, to Israeli Ministers. He described

"the persistent provocations by the Shuvu Banim students against their Arab neighbours. One of their practices was to hurl bags of faeces and urine from the Yeshiva building at Arab homes nearby."

There is a limit to accepting humiliation and dehumanization. The inevitable result was a confrontation, and a Yeshiva student was stabbed to death.

In more than one sense, the so-called Arab neighbours - who had been living there for generations - were only exercising a right and discharging a duty: legitimate struggle against foreign occupation. But when insult is added to injury, damage is inevitable, and enough is enough. And what was the reaction of the occupying Power? It gave the settlers a free hand to burn down the houses of the "neighbours" - notwithstanding the Commandment "Love thy neighbour"; apparently the Commandments do not apply to such Yeshiva students,

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

even though they study the Torah. And the safety of the Palestinian Arabs was in real danger.

The President of the Higher Islamic Committee in Jerusalem extended an invitation to the Consuls General of France, the United Kingdom and the United States in Jerusalem and made the following statement to them:

(spoke in Arabic)

"We welcome you and thank you for having responded to our invitation. I should like to thank you personally, as head of the Higher Islamic Committee, and tell you how important we consider your interest in humanitarian questions and in the sufferings of the Arabs in the City of Jerusalem and the other occupied territories, faced as they are with extremely difficult conditions, suffering and persecutions in every area of their lives under occupation.

"In accordance with a resolution adopted by the Higher Islamic Committee, I should like to inform you of three of the things from which we are suffering under occupation.

"First, the events occurring in Jerusalem and the attacks launched against its inhabitants and against their property have terrorized the City's population. We continually feel threatened by certain extremist Zionist elements, particularly the racist partisans of the Kach Group. The occupation authorities have a duty to protect the property and lives of the inhabitants. They must carry out that responsibility and put an end to the attacks by such aggressors. The Higher Islamic Committee declares publicly that the Arab inhabitants of Jerusalem are not safe and that they do not feel themselves protected in the Holy Places. We call upon the entire world to take the necessary steps to protect members of the Arab population and to enable them to live in their homeland in peace and security.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

"Secondly, with regard to the Mamillah Cemetery, the Higher Islamic Committee, which believes in high humanitarian feelings and ideals, calls upon all peace-loving forces to stand with it against the profanation of Moslem tombs in the Mamillah Cemetery by tractors and other machines being used to lay water conduits, a work project being carried out by the municipality of Jerusalem. With all the means at our disposal we have not been able to put an end to them. For that reason, we call upon you to stand with us in solidarity to safeguard the dignity of man and respect for the dead, according to the tenets of all religions and particularly with regard to the preservation of tombs and the non-profanation of cemeteries.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

"The third point about which I wish to inform you relates to prisoners, their maltreatment and the poor conditions in which they live, which run counter to the most basic humanitarian principles. Through you I call upon the occupying authorities to create the necessary conditions, as dictated by all religions and by international law and resolutions.

"I request you to transmit to your Governments the message that we require the assistance of an international force to safeguard our lives and property. I thank you and hope to meet with you again in the future under better circumstances."

(continued in English)

That statement was dated 25 November 1986. I am certain, Mr. President, that the United States Consul General in Jerusalem and the other Consuls General there have informed their respective capitals of that request. I quoted the statement just to show the degree to which we have seen an escalation in the repressive measures and violations of human rights and of conventions governing the behaviour of the occupying Power.

At this stage one must ask whether all these violations are accidental and what is really behind these Israeli policies. The aim was revealed as early as June 1948, when the then Foreign Minister of Israel, Mr. Sharett, wrote to Mr. Nahum Goldmann, President of the World Zionist Congress, that

"the most spectacular event in the contemporary history of Palestine, in a way more spectacular than the creation of the Jewish State, is the wholesale evacuation of its Arab population. ... The opportunities opened up by the present reality for a lasting and radical solution of the most vexing problem of the Jewish State are so far-reaching as to take one's breath away. The reversion to the status quo ante is unthinkable".

(M. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

Israel plans not only to carry out the wholesale evacuation of the Arab population of Palestine, but also to eliminate it. That is manifested in Israel's role in the occupied Palestinian territories and in the shelling and bombardment of camps of Palestinian refugees in South Lebanon, jointly with other elements.

Will the Council respond?

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization for the kind words he addressed to me.

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

Mr. ABULHASSAN (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives me pleasure, Sir, to congratulate you, in my capacity as Chairman of the Arab Group for this month, and on behalf of my delegation, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I am confident that with your diplomatic experience and well known expertise you will lead the work of the Council effectively and positively to a successful outcome.

I should like also to convey our appreciation to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, Sir John Thomson, for the way in which he guided the deliberations of the Security Council in November.

The Security Council is meeting once again to consider the seriousness of the practices pursued by the Israeli authorities in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories. The Security Council just heard a statement by the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), in which he informed the Council about the persecution and suppression recently carried out by the occupying authorities, particularly in the region of El-Bireh and at Bir Zeit University.

(Mr. Abulhassan, Kuwait)

That statement clearly and unambiguously showed that the countless crimes perpetrated by the Israeli occupying authorities in the occupied Arab territories constitute a flagrant violation of norms of international law and of the 1949 Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. They are also in flagrant contravention of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, not to mention all other human rights agreements and the Charter of the United Nations.

Israel has created for itself new concepts and rules of international law, by which it considers all resistance to its occupation - whether spoken, or in writing or even through belief in the illegality of that occupation - to be a threat to the security of the occupying authority. Such concepts require the most cruel and oppressive punishment of combatants.

There is no doubt that the real intention of all these concepts and norms is to eliminate the Palestinian Arabs by expulsion from their homeland and by deportation. The Israeli authorities apply them through a policy whose elements include faits accomplis, administrative detention, collective punishment, illegal expropriation of property, the closing of schools, universities and other educational institutions, the closing of press organs, the imposition of long-term curfews on cities and villages, the demolition of homes, deportation, expulsion, arbitrary execution, and the destruction of the economic infrastructure. This week's events in the occupied territories are ample evidence of this.

The former Israeli Foreign Minister, Abba Eban, recently wrote about the oppression endured by the population of the Palestinian Arab lands. He noted that there was no reason to believe it possible for this situation to be perpetuated without a conflagration.

(Mr. Abulhassan, Kuwait)

The best evidence of the inhuman treatment to which the Palestinian people are subjected in the occupied Palestinian territories is provided by the report of the United Nations Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories submitted to the General Assembly at its forty-first session in document A/41/680.

(Mr. Abdulhassan, Kuwait)

This report enumerates all the collective arrests, torture, brutal treatment, imprisonment, deportation, expulsion, closing down of schools, medical and educational institutions, in addition to the acts of annexation and the establishment of settlements, as well as the other pervasive practices by the Israeli occupation forces, to change the demographic and legal status of the occupied land, thus paving the way for its full annexation.

I refer to paragraph 90 of the report in which the Special Committee reached the conclusion:

"that the policy pursued by the Government of Israel in the occupied territories continues, as in the past, to be based upon the principle that the territories occupied by Israel in 1967 constitute a part of the State of Israel. This is at the source of the policy of annexation and establishment of settlements in occupied territories, which constitutes a flagrant violation of the international obligations of Israel as a State Party to the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War ... which stipulates that military occupation is to be considered as a temporary, de facto, situation, giving no right whatsoever to the occupying power over the territorial integrity of the occupied territories" (A/41/680, p. 50, para. 90).

The international status and sanctity enjoyed by the City of Jerusalem, which is the cradle of religions is undeniable. Present events in occupied Jerusalem warn us of the grave dangers which, if allowed to persist, will lead to an escalation of the situation, as a result of the military oppression by the occupying authorities against the peaceful resistance of innocent civilians, students and children wanting to express their condemnation of the continued

(Mr. Abdulhassan, Kuwait)

Israeli occupation. We should like to draw the attention of this Council to the gravity of the situation in Al-Quds al-Sharif. Thus, the Arab Group thinks that the role of this Council regarding the situation there should be to insist on implementation of its resolutions and to compel the aggressor to comply fully with their provisions.

Despite the fact that the year 1986 was supposed to be the International Year of Peace, peace is far removed from the occupied Palestinian Arab territories. The Palestinian people still suffer from the inhuman practices and policies pursued by Israel. The time has come for the international community to put an end to Israel's expansionist policies, which run counter to and violate the norms of international law as well as of other international instruments. It has to live up to its responsibility of alleviating the suffering and oppression to which the population of the Arab Palestinian territories is subjected. This Council should once again condemn in no uncertain terms Israel's actions in the occupied Arab territories and demand that Israel put an end to its flagrant violations of human rights.

The prolonged Arab-Israeli conflict has not only led to an escalation of tension in the Middle East but it also jeopardizes international peace and security. Unless a lasting political and just solution to the question of Palestine is found, permanent peace in the region will never be achieved. That peace was sought by the international community when it voted yesterday on the resolutions relating to the Middle East in the General Assembly and requested implementation of the resolution calling for the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East.

(Mr. Abdulhassan, Kuwait)

We must state our view that any political, economic or military support to Israel will only increase its intransigence and encourage it to continue its oppressive and racist policy. Thus, this Council should assume its responsibility by compelling Israel to implement United Nations resolutions. I am confident that the struggle of the Palestinian people and the support of the international community will put an end to the inhuman practices and policies pursued by the Israeli occupying authorities against the innocent civilians.

The Arab Group, which I am privileged to chair for this month, expresses its deep concern at the current events in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Al-Quds al-Sharif. It expects the Security Council, which is fully aware of the gravity of the current developments in the occupied Arab territories, particularly the events which took place this week, to discharge its duties in accordance with the Charter and not to allow the Palestinian people to become a victim of the ruthless military force of the occupying Power.

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

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

Mr. BADAWI (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): Mr. President, I am happy to see you presiding over the Council. I am sure that thanks to your wisdom and competence you will successfully conduct the proceedings of the Council this month.

We should also like to express our appreciation to your predecessor, Sir John Thomson, for the judicious way he conducted last month's proceedings.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

Only a few days ago, my delegation spoke twice in the General Assembly during its consideration of the situation in the Middle East and the question of Palestine. In our two statements we demonstrated the danger of the persistent paralysis of peace efforts in the Middle East. We laid stress on the explosive nature of the situation in the occupied territories, the West Bank, Gaza and Jerusalem.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

Just a few days have elapsed since our first statement in the General Assembly on 21 November 1986, when we witnessed another explosion taking place in the Holy City, during which extremist elements attacked the peaceful Arab inhabitants. Only yesterday Israeli troops attacked Palestinian students in the Bir Zeit University, causing a number of casualties among the students there. It does not require any particular political skill or maturity to draw the conclusion, from an analysis of the situation in the occupied territories that the tension, and the possible escalation of the situation, will continue to threaten the security of the Palestinians, as long as the policies and practices of the occupying authorities persist, together with the provocations of the settlers who, ever since they expropriated Palestinian land and property on the West Bank and Gaza, have been terrorizing, intimidating and attacking Palestinians. Everyone knows that the persistence of the Israeli occupation is the root cause of the deterioration of the situation.

The first days of this year saw a flagrant attempt by the extremist forces, which pursue a policy of violence in order to achieve their aims, to attack the Holy Mosque in the city of Jerusalem. Towards the end of 1986, we witnessed a further attempt to crush the resistance of the Palestinians in the occupied territories.

While condemning these attempts and practices, Egypt is convinced that no forms of terrorism or coercion will succeed in crushing Palestinian resistance. In fact, all such attempts will stimulate Palestinian militants to increase their resistance, confront the Israeli occupation authorities and challenge their practices and their intransigent attitude. In certain respects the present situation in the occupied territories is paradoxical; in other respects, it gives us food for thought and leads us inevitably to certain conclusions. The

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

paradoxical aspects relate to the speed with which some people in Israel who were themselves victims in the 1940s, seem to have forgotten the acts and crimes that were committed against them. What gives us food for thought is the fierce determination with which the young people in the occupied territories are resisting the occupation authorities. These young people, who are hardly older than the Israeli occupation itself, have a strong national feeling and are aware of their historical rights in the Palestinian territories. This awareness is the driving force in strengthening their resolve. This means only one thing, that Israel has not succeeded, and never will succeed, in overcoming the resistance, and the Palestinian people's dream of recovering its right to self-determination, without interference from any source whatsoever.

This lesson of sincere resistance and self-sacrifice should not be forgotten by those who imagine that time will help them to achieve their expansionist aims to the detriment of others, no matter what pretext is used, whether they invoke history, security considerations, or any other concept.

Since the Arab territories - the Golan Heights, Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza - were occupied by Israel, the international community has realized the gravity of the situation and therefore the need to resist not only the policy of annexation of territory and the imposition of Israeli jurisdiction in those territories, but also the danger of the settlements policy as it affects any possible future peaceful settlement of the conflict. Thus the Security Council and the General Assembly have opposed the measures taken by the successive Israeli Governments since 1967. The Security Council adopted resolution 446 (1979), in which it determined that the policy and practices of Israel in establishing settlements in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967 have no legal validity and constitute a serious obstruction to achieving a

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The Security Council also adopted resolution 465 (1980), in which the Council determined that all measures taken by Israel to change the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure or status of the occupied territories to be null and void. The Security Council also adopted resolution 468 (1980), in which it expressed its deep concern at the expulsion by the Israeli military occupation authorities of the Mayors and heads of towns in the West Bank. The Security Council also adopted resolution 469 (1980), in which it strongly deplored the failure of the Government of Israel to implement Security Council resolution 468 (1980).

The General Assembly also expressed its position with regard to Israeli measures detrimental to the future of the city of Jerusalem and the occupied territories. In General Assembly resolutions 2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V), the Assembly considered that the measures taken by Israel to change the status of Jerusalem were invalid and called upon Israel to rescind all measures already taken and to desist forthwith from taking any action that would alter the status of Jerusalem. There can be no doubt that this long series of resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly - and I have mentioned just a few of them by way of example - demonstrate how far Israel has proceeded in its policy of refusing to comply with the demands of the international community. However, this should not diminish the attachment of the Council to its clear principles. Consequently, after the review of the current situation in the occupied territories, Egypt expects the Council to reaffirm the following points.

First, the Council must reaffirm the responsibility imposed by international law upon Israel, as the occupying Power, to ensure the protection of the interests of the inhabitants until the end of the occupation.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

Secondly, it must ensure that the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Civilian Persons in Time of War is applied in the occupied territories.

Thirdly, it must condemn the most recent acts - the provocation against the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the attacks on their property and their persons, and the use of armed force against unarmed students in Palestinian universities.

Fourthly, it must call upon Israel, the Power occupying the West Bank and Gaza, to refrain from all the practices which were condemned by the General Assembly only a few days ago.

Egypt has no doubt that these demands, made necessary by the current situation in the occupied territories, which continues to deteriorate, should not be all that the Council does in this regard. Indeed, the current situation and the possibility that it will deteriorate even more should induce all the members of the Council, and particularly its permanent members, to attack actively and effectively the root of the problem - that is, the perpetuation of Israeli occupation and the denial to the Palestinians of their right to live in freedom on their territory, Palestine, just as other peoples of the region live in freedom on their territories.

The result of the vote - as recently as the day before yesterday - on the draft resolution relating to the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East clearly reflected the amount of support in the international community for this idea as a logical and objective means to ensure the beginning of the process of negotiations between the parties concerned, in order to find a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Egypt believes that this decisive attitude of members of the international community makes it necessary for all the forces that truly cherish peace to give serious thought to the measures that should be taken, at the level either of the Security Council or of its permanent members, to ensure the careful preparation of the Conference.

(Mr. Badawi, Egypt)

The situation in the occupied territories is deteriorating, and everyone is aware that this deterioration poses a danger to the peace efforts designed to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the conflict. This danger makes it imperative that all the forces in Israel that believe in peace and a peaceful settlement should be logical and resist all extremist attempts and all attacks. This danger, which reduces trust even further, should make the Israeli Government reconsider its position and take the necessary measures in all the occupied territories in order to halt this deterioration.

Egypt is still awaiting serious and effective measures to increase confidence among the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, in order to prepare the ground for the beginning of negotiations between the parties concerned, within the framework of an international conference, which could bring peace to the Middle East. Until the conference is convened, Egypt will continue to do everything it can to ensure that the preparatory work to that end is done. At the same time, Egypt will remain faithful to its position of principle - that is, condemnation of all the acts of the extremist forces in Israel to hamper the peace efforts.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Egypt for his kind words.

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

Mr. SLAQUI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): I should like first of all to extend to you, Sir, my delegation's sincerest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. Your outstanding personal qualities and your proven competence and experience are the best guarantees of the success of this body's work, ensuring that it can properly discharge its main responsibility: the maintenance of international peace and security.

(Mr. Slaoui, Morocco)

We also appreciated all the efforts exerted by your predecessor, Sir John Thomson, who conducted the Council's debates last month in a remarkable manner.

As Chairman of the Group of States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and as representative of His Majesty the King of Morocco - Chairman of that organization's Al-Quds Committee - I thought it my duty to intervene in this debate to tell the Security Council of the great distress felt by the whole Islamic community at the serious events that took place in Al-Quds Al-Sharif on 4 December last. The Israeli occupation forces once again committed acts of violence in Jerusalem, opening fire on defenceless students at Bir Zeit University and killing or wounding some of them. These criminal acts follow on many measures of racist provocation carried out by the Israeli settlers against the civilian population of Jerusalem in particular and of the occupied territories as a whole.

Since 1967 there have been continual acts of repression by the Israeli occupier in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, and decisions of the Security Council: illegal measures of expropriation of inhabitants, establishment of settlements, disrespect for fundamental human rights, profanation of Holy Places. Indeed, my delegation already had occasion to speak before the Security Council on 21 January this year on the subject of the profanation by the Israeli authorities of the Al-Haram Al-Sharif Mosque, which will always be for all Muslims the first sanctuary towards which they turn to pray and the third holy shrine of Islam.

The recent events therefore contribute to the escalation of the illegal acts and violence that are part of the Israeli plan to Judaize the occupied territories and deny millions of Muslim and Christian believers their right to their Holy

(Mr. Slaoui, Morocco)

Places. It is more necessary than ever before for the international community to be firm about halting this escalation and imposing respect for the most sacred values of mankind.

The Organization of the Islamic Conference, which itself was established immediately after the criminal fire in September 1969 that damaged the Al-Aqsa Mosque, has since that date worked constantly to liberate Jerusalem, to restore peace and quiet there so that it may resume the role it has played for centuries - that is, as the symbol of the convergence and coexistence, in harmony and tolerance, of the faithful of the three monotheistic religions.

(Mr. Slaoui, Morocco)

Thus His Majesty King Hassan II, Chairman of the Al Quds Committee since its creation in May 1979, has unceasingly made intense efforts to protect Jerusalem, by personally contacting His Holiness the Pope and many Heads of State to explain the danger of Judaization and the breakdown of the age-old balance in the Holy City, as well as the urgent need to mobilize all available means to halt the Israeli policy of fait accompli and achieve a peaceful settlement of the question.

Unfortunately, Israel has turned a deaf ear to this voice of reason and peace and has chosen a policy of arrogance and defiance towards the Muslim community, by simply annexing the city of Al Quds and then making it its administrative capital.

However, the Council has responded to the appeals of His Majesty the King by affirming many times, particularly in its resolution 476 (1980) of 30 June 1980 that "all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, the occupying Power, which purport to alter the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem have no legal validity ..." (resolution 476 (1980), para. 3)

The General Assembly has also declared all those measures null and void, and has constantly called on Israel to respect Jerusalem's status.

The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, under the chairmanship of Ambassador Massamba Sararé, to whom we pay a heartfelt tribute, has in many reports analysed the situation prevailing in the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, giving an objective account of Israeli practices of systematically denying the civilian population its rights and undermining its dignity and its most sacred convictions.

(Mr. Slaoui, Morocco)

The events of 4 December cannot be considered in isolation. They are clearly part of a systematic policy of repression aimed at sowing panic and making the civilian population insecure and, finally, expelling it from its native land.

In the name of the principles that have always guided its action, our Council must again take action so that the law is not trampled underfoot with impunity and so that irreparable harm may be avoided. It is not idle talk to say that this is the price of our Organization's credibility. What value can be attached to the decisions of our Council if they are constantly questioned by those to whom they are addressed, without any appropriate action being taken to recall the pre-eminence of the body responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security?

Thus we see the importance of the debates of our Council, in which millions of believers have placed all their trust ever since Jerusalem was dragged into the turmoil and upheavals afflicting the Middle East region. That everything touching Jerusalem should be highly sensitive is understandable and legitimate. For the Security Council to adopt in this regard a clear and unambiguous position is the surest way to strengthen the chances of an overall settlement of the Middle East question, with respect for the sacred and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

The Kingdom of Morocco, in discharging its various responsibilities within the Islamic community, will continue to work for the triumph of the ideals of tolerance, coexistence and peace, of which Jerusalem is still the eternal symbol, as the ancient cradle of universal civilization.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Morocco for his kind words.

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): At the outset, Sir, let me congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We have no doubt that your vast expertise, experience and wisdom will enable you to guide the Council's deliberations as effectively and superbly as did your predecessor, Ambassador John Thomson, last month.

It is always useful to start with the facts of the situation at hand.

A few days ago Israeli authorities received advance information about plans to disrupt public order in the environs of the town of Ramallah. Based on this information, the Israeli Defence Force (IDF) set up checkpoints on the road connecting Ramallah and Bir Zeit. Such checkpoints are routine means of preventing terrorist attacks and the incitement of riots, and indeed they have done so many times in the past.

At 8.30 on the morning of 4 December a vehicle enroute to Bir Zeit stopped near the checkpoint. A large group of young men got off and started advancing towards the checkpoint, crowding the few Israeli soldiers manning it. The group's apparent leader, Salah Abdul Jawad, associated with Bir Zeit University and affiliated with the PLO, planted his car in the middle of the road - crossways, so that he blocked all traffic - and refused to clear it, making sure, in fact, that the road was blocked. He began inciting the group, which quickly enlarged to a mob of about 200 people.

The mob started hurling rocks at the few IDF soldiers at the checkpoint, who attempted to clear the road and restore order. The soldiers were faced with a potentially uncontrollable situation. They used tear gas, and were able to disperse the mob.

A short time afterwards, at 11.30, several hundred students started rioting outside the old campus of Bir Zeit University. Simultaneously - at that very

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moment - other students began blocking off all traffic on several roads, including the central artery leading from the Judean mountains to the coastal plain. There were other disruptions in the whole Ramallah region, again orchestrated, timed, to begin at exactly the same moment. I should add that these simultaneous road blocks required considerable preparation; they had to be prepared well in advance of the incident, because they involved amassing very large objects, such as junked cars, old refrigerators, and massive boulders, which were amassed and prepositioned so that they could be activated at the appropriate time. It was not something that was done on an impromptu, spontaneous, basis on the spot.

A small IDF contingent was immediately rushed to the scene. It found itself greatly outnumbered by hundreds of rioters, who attacked it with rocks, metal rods and other flying objects. The force tried to disperse this mob, a much larger mob, with tear gas, shots in the air and rubber bullets. All of these means failed. The soldiers were virtually engulfed by the mob and were in danger of being killed.

Left with no alternative, the commanders followed the only procedure - in fact, the last procedure - that is available for extreme cases, life-threatening cases.

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They directed fire at the feet of the rioters. Regrettably, several were injured, two fatally. It is important to stress that the sole purpose of this limited use of force was to prevent the rioters from overwhelming the unit. Indeed, if the force had not acted with restraint - as some here falsely allege - the results would have been radically different. It is also significant that the rioters attempted forcibly to prevent ambulances and medical aid rushed in by the authorities from reaching the wounded. The wounded were subsequently evacuated. Despite this obstruction the authorities were able to evacuate the wounded to the Ramallah hospital. Shortly afterwards, the two bodies were snatched from the hospital, with the apparent purpose of using them for further incitement and riots. The bodies were later recovered. They will be brought to an orderly burial.

At 1800 hours, six o'clock in the evening, the rioters dispersed. The authorities took several steps to calm the situation and restore public order, and this included talks with local community leaders and university officials. These steps were successful. As of now, the entire area is quiet.

These are the essential facts of what took place. But they would be incomplete without a broader understanding of the situation of the universities in Judea-Samaria.

Before 1967, under Jordanian rule, there was not a single university in the area. All the universities operating today - there are now six, including one in the Gaza - were opened, developed and accredited as full-fledged universities by Israel. They now include nearly 14,000 students and over 600 lecturers. Israel has clearly demonstrated its policy of fostering higher education - I should say, any education. Since 1967 the illiteracy rate of the Arab residents of the territory has more than halved, and the number of students has more than doubled, as has the number of classrooms. I would challenge anyone here to show a higher

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achievement anywhere in the world - anywhere. In fact, this does not only include education, it includes any field by which we measure the standard of living - the economic and other fields. The reason I make this challenge is to stress a point, and the point is this: we are not denying that we have a contested dispute here. We are not denying that there is a military administration. On the contrary, we have one because, while we wish to achieve a political settlement, there are others - those who convened this session - who do not want to have a political settlement. Now, we each have - some of us who are interested in this, and Israel included - an idea how we want to resolve this political problem, but as long as we cannot arrive at a negotiating table, then we have a responsibility to act with a military Government, and I do not see, and cannot see, a more benign military administration in history. And these facts that I cited are a few illustrations of it. There are many more.

In the universities, in particular, Israel has stressed academic freedom. In the universities in Judea-Samaria, the curriculum is that of the Jordanian educational system; in Gaza, that of Egypt. The running of the universities academically and administratively is completely in the hands of their own governing bodies. But I should say one important thing here. Academic freedom is not a licence to riot. It does not include the disruption of public order, the threats that are issued or the violence. And it should be equally noted that over the years the PLO has mounted an all-out effort to subvert the academic purpose of the universities, to turn them into centres of incitement, of extremism, and of terror. In several cases, the riots instigated by the PLO led to the temporary shut-down of the universities, ordered not by the Israeli authorities but by their own governing bodies.

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

Now let me offer here a quick example of what I am talking about, and the example is simply a sample of literature, if you will, pamphlets distributed by PLO agitators on the campus: first, a PLO-Fatah calendar for 1986. It singles out for special celebration the anniversaries of the PLO massacre of Israeli athletes in Munich in 1972 and the murder of 21 schoolchildren in Maalot in 1974. Some celebration of academic values!

Secondly, a PLO pamphlet: this pamphlet gives detailed instructions for preparing booby-trapped bombs. There are headings of "timing" and "placement of devices", and under these headings the text reads:

"There are explosive devices that will explode when the zipper touches one, and will kill him. There are ways to mislead the enemy by planting a few devices, hoping that at least one will explode while the enemy is working to neutralize the one that was found."

This pamphlet, by the way, is entitled "The Art of Confrontation". So much for the PLO's idea of liberal arts.

Finally, a document encapsulating the PLO's ultimate aim. This is a map of Israel. Members will notice this map does not include merely the disputed territories. In fact, they are not even marked here. It includes all the territory of pre-1967 Israel, Haifa, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, every inch, and it has several exhortations written on the side. They read: "Fatah says: 'Palestine is Yours ... all of Palestine ... go there with your blood.'" The PLO was established in 1964. There were no disputed territories, and the aim was the same. The aim has not changed. The aim, fully explicit, is the annihilation of Israel, and this is the material that is distributed on these campuses right now, today, by the PLO. And, by the way, to drive the point home, they add graphics. Members can see the graphics, if they look carefully. There is a Kalashnikov rifle here on the

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left and a fragmentation grenade on the right, to let people know which means they should use to achieve this aim.

For those who believe, as we do, that universities should foster moderation, understanding, peaceful coexistence and tolerance for those who believe that, the PLO offers a stark alternative. Its purposes are diametrically opposed to any of these goals. It wants violence. It wants fanaticism. It wants riots. It wants bloodshed. In fact, the more the better. And it makes no difference whose blood is shed - Jews or Arabs. Either one serves the goal of pushing peace further away, of blocking reconciliation and the prospect of a political settlement. This is what the PLO is really after: conflict, not compromise; liquidation, not liberation.

The same attitude guided the PLO when it sent three of its Force 17 assassins from Jenin to Jerusalem last week. The explicit instruction that these killers received was to kill a Jew, any Jew, it did not make any difference who. The idea here, too, was not merely to murder individuals but to murder the prospects for peace.

For despite the PLO's efforts, such peace has been the general state of things in Jerusalem. Since 1967, the Government of Israel and the municipality of Jerusalem have taken far-reaching steps to promote peaceful coexistence between the various religious and ethnic groups in the city. They have guaranteed to all freedom of access and worship to the city's Holy Places; they have provided municipal services with impartiality; they have rehabilitated decaying parts of the Old City in all its quarters. Israeli efforts - I think it is widely recognized by fair-minded observers - have succeeded in preserving general tranquillity in a city steeped in historical and religious significance for many, and in potential conflict because of that.

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

The repeated terrorist attacks of the PLO were the means that the PLO has sought to upset this delicate balance. Last week's murder of the Jewish student Eliyahu Amedi, was merely the latest in a series of attacks perpetrated by the PLO over the last six months.

On 8 March, a Jewish man was stabbed near the Damascus Gate. On 8 April, fire bombs were thrown at a bus injuring 10 passengers. On 13 April, an Israeli woman was shot to death near the Damascus Gate. In June a bomb exploded in a Jerusalem supermarket, a grenade hurled at a bus. On 15 October, five grenades were hurled at soldiers and civilians near the Western Wall, the holiest place of the Jewish people, killing one civilian and injuring 69.

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

The basic aim behind these attacks is always the same. It is to provoke riots and promote Arab-Jewish hatred.

Indeed, after the murder of Eliyahu Amedi, disturbances did ensue. Israel's Police took immediate action in terms of firm measures to restore calm and order. It summoned reinforcements; it arrested suspects; it insured the safety and the well-being of all residents. The President of Israel appealed to Arabs and Jews alike to stop all manifestations of violence, extremism, and incitement. And this call was echoed by Israel's Vice Premier, by the Speaker of the Knesset, by the Mayor of Jerusalem, and by many Knesset members. The municipality of Jerusalem extended all possible services and assistance to those Arab residents affected by the disturbances. Where appropriate, alternative dwellings were provided for the few families who needed them. The municipality simultaneously began repairing and restoring the houses affected.

So the Government of Israel and the municipality of Jerusalem acted in a fully responsible manner. They moved immediately to curb civil disorder and to compensate residents for losses. They called on Arabs and Jews to resume normal life. They have sought, in short, to pacify a situation deliberately provoked by the PLO.

In a similar manner, Israel acted yesterday at Bir Zeit. A government's responsibility to enforce law and order does not change with the status of the territory under its control. Israel has fulfilled that responsibility, assumed by its own laws as well as by international law.

We cannot and we must not view yesterday's incident at Bir Zeit in isolation. It is part of a larger effort by the PLO to restore its shattered position. For the PLO has been rapidly losing ground everywhere. And this decline - something perhaps people are not normally aware of - has led to internecine warfare within

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the PLO ranks. Everybody is aware of that. But within the PLO ranks, in the very campuses and universities that we are talking about, over the past years and months, the various factions of the PLO have been busy fighting one another in the universities.

On 25 May 1985, for example, a particularly fierce confrontation erupted between students from these rival factions in the Bir Zeit University. Forty were wounded, and many of them were hospitalized with serious injuries. The damage to the campus was extensive. The Bir Zeit administration expelled five student agitators of the PLO and closed the university for several weeks. Other internal PLO flare-ups of this kind, of lesser magnitude, have occurred since. Yesterday's well-orchestrated incitement by the Fatah was intended, among its other purposes, to re-establish Fatah's dominance over its rival factions within the PLO. This is also true of the recent terror attacks in Jerusalem. The formula is a simple one: I murder, I riot, therefore I am.

The PLO's sense that it is losing ground is what led it to seek to re-establish its terror fiefdoms in Lebanon. But, as everyone is aware, the largely Shiite population, remembering all too well the decade of PLO terror, and rape and pillage, is vigorously resisting these PLO attempts to return to Lebanon en masse.

The lead story of The New York Times from Beirut today tells it very well. It says:

"Two months of particularly savage fighting between Lebanese Shiite Moslems and Palestinians has produced suffering on a scale that is huge even by the standards of this long-suffering country.

"According to police records, 550 have been killed, 2,000 wounded and whole populations dislocated by the latest fighting, which has been raging in Palestinian areas of Lebanon.

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

"As many as 800 people were killed and 3,000 wounded in two previous rounds of clashes, in 1985 and earlier this year." (The New York Times, 5 December 1986, p. A1)

The Security Council now finds itself before a double absurdity. The first is the absurdity of being summoned in full force by the PLO over the deaths, however regrettable, of two people in Bir Zeit, when the true horrors just described in Lebanon, involving the deaths and suffering of thousands, did not merit a similar meeting. Clearly, what it tells us is that the purpose of invoking this forum today is not to address the real problems but to hide them, not to ease tensions but to inflame them.

Which brings me to the second absurdity. The Security Council is now receiving complaints about violence in Jerusalem and Bir Zeit from the very people who orchestrated this violence in the first place. The PLO and those who support it know fully well that any action on this matter by the Security Council will only exacerbate a situation which has been calmed and brought back to a relative peace, with painstaking effort.

This is exactly what the PLO wants: to misuse the Council for propaganda and political incitement. If the Council relents by passing a PLO-backed resolution, it will merely encourage the PLO to foment further riots and bloodshed. I do not think that the PLO can hope for a greater reward than that, and it should be rejected out of hand.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Israel for the kind words he addressed to me.

I now call on the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization who has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): We too are surprised that the Security Council never met to consider the victims of Israeli bombing and shelling and bombardment from gunboats against the refugee camps in South Lebanon. Only yesterday gunboats were involved in bombarding those refugee camps. So we are indeed surprised that this Council was not convened to consider those crimes.

But I would like to tackle a more important issue that was brought up in this meeting, or recently, by the representative of Israel. He told the Council that Israel wished for a political settlement. Is he really telling the truth? We noted the other day, in the plenary meeting, that 125 Member States supported the call for convening the International Peace Conference on the Middle East. Israel was one of the three that pressed the red button to obstruct the peace process in the Middle East.

Of course, he spoke about the negotiating table. We in the Palestine Liberation Organization have said it very clearly: that that is the best table. As a matter of fact, this forum of the Security Council was precisely set up to maintain international peace and security. So what better table to use for a negotiating process? And, of course, if there is to be negotiation, then between whom, if not between the adversaries to the conflict?

The Palestine Liberation Organization, including through a letter directed to the State Department by Chairman Arafat, has reaffirmed our position that we welcome all endeavours directed to the convening of a peace conference. And the peace conference, as we understand it, is a conference in which the parties directly involved in the conflict participate. It will not be a rally, a mass rally, or a convention on rhetoric. It will be a peace conference on the basis of the principles of the Charter, and of all the relevant resolutions. One cannot really hope for peace if one does not know what the basis for that process for peace is.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation
Organization)

I am authorized - I have always been authorized - to reiterate our position. We are for a peace conference where the parties to the conflict, and this Council, could be used as the vehicle to enable us to sit and consider peace. We cannot conceive of peace in any different form.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

There is an insult to everyone's intelligence here. Has military occupation ever been denied? The very term "occupation" means that occupation exists, whether the population are fed steaks or falafel - which is their national food - the occupation is an occupation.

But, naturally, the statement of the representative of Israel is full of contradictions. He says that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) has lost its power, its adherents, and so on, yet he tells us that they have to bring in all their forces and shoot at demonstrators who support the PLO. So which is it? If the PLO has no constituency, then why should the forces of occupation shoot at the demonstrators? One thing, however, is definite: I never heard that shooting at feet could put a bullet into the heart or into the head, and that is how those victims, those martyrs, who died - one from a bullet in the head and the other from a bullet in the chest - were killed. I am sure that those bullets were aimed at those parts of the body, and not at the feet.

Reference was made to the Western Wall, the Wailing Wall. That was a lie. There was no attack on the Western Wall. The representative should have known better. He should have known that the Wailing Wall is one of the holiest of Moslem shrines. That is where the Prophet was brought by the Angel Gabriel, as far as we know, the Sahat al-Buraq - the Wall of Buraq - is as sacred to the Moslems, and maybe more sacred, than just the western wall of a temple area. Of course, bombs were hurled at Israeli troops in the occupied territory, and that is something that the representative of Israel never mentioned, namely, that the attack on the Israeli troops took place within the occupied territory, but not at the Wailing Wall. That should be rectified, somehow.

With regard to the "extended hand", how can the representative of Israel explain the new law passed in Israel on 5 August of this year, under which any

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine
Liberation Organization)

Israeli who speaks to a PLO member receives three years' imprisonment. First, who among the Palestinians is not PLO? In the occupied territories, in particular, we have seen that almost all the Palestinians are PLO. How can one differentiate between one PLO and another? It is like a citizenship - that is what the PLO is: a citizenship. No one can really make a distinction between one national and another in a country. Yet, to show that that law was racist, a number of Jews, Israeli Jews, met with PLO members a few weeks ago in Bucharest. And what was the result? Some of them have been arrested and might be brought to trial simply because they were calling for peace.

Let us see what The Jerusalem Post - a newspaper published in Jerusalem, and in my time it was called The Palestine Post - has to say. In an article it says:

"Peace Now calls upon all Jews and Arabs to join in a public demonstration of peace for Jerusalem. There can be no tolerance of leniency towards Jewish hooligans."

That was published in The Jerusalem Post. We are also aware of some action within the Knesset, where some of its members are demanding an explanation of why the so-called authorities cannot maintain law and order in the occupied territories?

In conclusion, I would say that if the call for peace and negotiations is genuine, maybe under your presidency, Sir, we can start that process.

The PRESIDENT: In view of the lateness of the hour, I intend to adjourn the meeting of the Security Council now. With the concurrence of members of the Council, the next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on the agenda will take place on Monday, 8 December 1986, at 10.30 a.m.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.