



Security Council

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

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 8 December 1986, at 10.30 a.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. TS VETKOV
Mr. YU Mengjia
Mr. GAYAMA
Mr. BIERRING
Mr. de KEMOULARIA
Mr. GBEHO
Mr. RABETAFIKA
Mrs. LAOHA PHAN
Mr. MOHAMMED
Mr. BELONOGOV
Mr. AL-SHAALI
Mr. BIRCH

Mr. FABON GARCIA

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The meeting was called to order at 11.15 a.m.

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: In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2724th meeting, I invite the representative of Zimbabwe to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait and Morocco to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber; I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization to take a place at the Council table.

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

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Al-Atassi (Syrian Arab Republic) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The first speaker is Mr. Massamba Sarré, Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. SARRE (Senegal), Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (interpretation from French): A warrior among diplomats: that is the title that I would have suggested to your biographer, Mr. President. For decades now you have, with a skill to which you hold the secret, mastered the intricacies of these two professions, in order to advance international relations or resolve situations threatening international peace and security. I am convinced that the Security Council will benefit from that talent in the settlement of the question currently before it. In advance, we thank you and congratulate you.

I take this opportunity also of congratulating your predecessor, Ambassador Sir John Thomson of the United Kingdom, on the exemplary way in which he presided over the Council's work in November - and with his English sense of humour.

Finally, I thank all the members of the Council for authorizing me, in my capacity as Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, to take part once again in a debate on the situation in the Arab territories occupied by Israel.

The Committee observes with ever-growing concern that the situation in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel, including Jerusalem, continues to deteriorate. Recent events are all the more disturbing because they directly affect not merely the future of the Palestinian population in the occupied territories, but also international peace and security. The very fact that the Security Council has been obliged to meet once again to consider this situation

(Mr. Sarré, Chairman, Committee
on the Exercise of the
Inalienable Rights of the
Palestinian People)

confirms - if further proof were necessary - the deep concern of the international community at the events in the occupied territories and their world-wide consequences, which are serious, to say the least.

Well-informed sources report that Israeli soldiers opened fire last Thursday within and around Bir Zeit University against Palestinian students who were demonstrating against the Israeli iron-fist policy and against the destructive measures applied daily against universities in the occupied territories. As a result of that fusillade of shots, two students were killed outright and a third died an hour later in hospital at Ramallah, in the occupied West Bank. Furthermore, 15 students were wounded, and two of them are in critical condition. The three students killed were Jawad Abu-Salmeh, Kamal Radi and Saib Sulaiman Thahab, all of whom came from the Gaza Strip.

According to information we have received, more than 500 Israeli soldiers are patrolling the streets of Ramallah and Bir Zeit. Those two towns have been declared a military zone and have been prohibited to the local and international press. Soldiers continue, moreover, to surround the area of Bir Zeit University, where almost 200 students have gathered to protest against the murder of their comrades.

(Mr. Sarré, Chairman, Committee on the
Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of
the Palestinian People)

According to the Jerusalem Post, Israeli troops entered Ramallah Hospital by force and removed the bodies of the dead students to an unknown destination.

These incidents are only the latest manifestations of the policy of repression and the iron fist adopted by the Israeli authorities to check Palestinian activities directed against the military occupation and progressive annexation of the occupied territories. These Israeli practices in pursuance of this policy have been described in the Committee's report to the General Assembly and in letters that I have addressed to the Council during the course of this year. They include, among other things, expulsion, administrative detention without charge or trial for renewable periods of six months and the imposition of restrictions on freedom of movement, trade union freedom and freedom of the press, including the closing of newspapers and the arbitrary arrest of journalists, trade union members and students. According to information received by the Committee, there have been several cases of torture and the conditions of detention and imprisonment of Palestinians continue to be inhumane. Furthermore, the collective punishment and other acts of repression perpetrated by the Israeli occupation forces against the Palestinian population have become an almost daily fact of life.

The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People would like to re-emphasize that such measures constitute a violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Fourth Geneva Convention and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations on this matter.

These measures have been taken in an atmosphere characterized by growing provocation by the Jewish settlers established in the occupied Palestinian territories. That provocation is clearly intended to drive the local population to emigrate, thus furthering the annexation of those territories by Israel. The

(Mr. Sarré, Chairman, Committee on the
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the Palestinian People)

latest incident took place some 10 days ago in the Holy City of Jerusalem. A group of Jewish settlers went on the rampage, setting fire to houses and vehicles belonging to Palestinians living in the old city, in particular in Khalidye Street. They attacked and beat up a number of Palestinians, provoking the flight of several Palestinian families. According to reliable sources, this campaign of intimidation was launched by Yeshiva seminarists more than a month before the incident in which a Jewish seminarist was stabbed. Their strategy also consisted in damaging Palestinian houses. For more than a week they shot at or stoned passing Palestinian vehicles. Shopkeepers were obliged to remain at home and practically compelled to impose a curfew upon themselves.

Given these tragic events, which only increase the suffering of the Palestinian people and make even more remote the prospect of a peaceful solution, the Committee of which I have the honour to be the Chairman would like once again to appeal urgently to the Security Council to take practical steps to put an end to this state of affairs, which to say the least is distressing.

During the course of this year the Committee has continued to emphasize that, owing to Israel's policy and practices and failing progress towards a comprehensive, peaceful, just and lasting solution of the problem, the tensions and violence in the region can only increase, seriously jeopardizing international peace and security. It is clear that this state of affairs will continue unaltered as long as the Palestinian people are prevented from exercising their right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty and to return and have their property restored, and as long as the Palestinian and other Arab territories continue to be occupied.

How can this state of affairs be ended?

(Mr. Sarré, Chairman, Committee on the
Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of
the Palestinian People)

The General Assembly has already answered our question. On 2 December the General Assembly, in adopting resolution 41/43 D, reaffirmed once again that the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East in accordance with General Assembly resolution 38/58 C would constitute a significant contribution to the search for a just and lasting solution to the Palestinian question which could result in a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The General Assembly, furthermore, endorsed the idea of establishing within the framework of the Security Council, with the participation of the permanent members of the Council, a preparatory committee to take the necessary steps for the convening of the Conference. That resolution was supported by 123 delegations, the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations.

It is therefore clearly necessary to approach this problem with a new sense of determination. It is essential to take steps to initiate the process which will lead to a peaceful solution. That is the objective of the Conference, and the Secretary-General, to whom I wish to pay a tribute, continues to make the appropriate efforts in this direction.

Consequently, we invite those that have so far opposed the holding of that Conference to associate themselves once again with the democratic wishes of the majority of nations and to work in a more constructive fashion for the convening and success of that International Peace Conference on the Middle East. The Security Council, by acting on the basis of its legitimate authority and respect for the common interest of mankind, can bring about peace in the region and thus preserve mankind from the danger of a far more extensive conflagration.

In this connection, the Committee is convinced that the International Peace Conference on the Middle East, which enjoys practically unanimous support, offers

(Mr. Sarré, Chairman, Committee on the
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the Palestinian People)

all the parties concerned the full possibility of participating in the negotiations, which should lead to a just and lasting solution of the question. In view of the constant deterioration of the situation in the occupied territories, we appeal to the Security Council to take appropriate measures to ensure resumption of the policy of dialogue among all the parties concerned so as to end this tragic situation, which has lasted far too long, and restore a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for the kind words he 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.

Mr. SALAH (Jordan) (interpretation from Arabic): I should like at the outset to extend our sincere thanks to the members of the Security Council for allowing me to speak on the situation in the occupied Arab territories.

I should also be failing in my duty, Sir, if I did not congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. Your well-known experience and knowledge of international affairs will undoubtedly enable you to conduct the deliberations of the Council in the best possible manner. The special responsibility of your country with regard to the question under consideration, the relations between your country and mine and the desire of our two countries for a comprehensive, peaceful, just settlement in the Middle East on the basis of international law all contribute to the special importance of these meetings of the Security Council under your presidency to discuss the situation in the occupied territories.

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

I would also be remiss if I did not convey our thanks to your predecessor, His Excellency Sir John Thomson, Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, for the most skilful and exemplary manner in which he conducted the deliberations of the Security Council last month.

The acts of aggression against Arab citizens in the Holy City of Jerusalem, and the accompanying and subsequent events in the West Bank and the occupied Gaza Strip, point to certain important facts. Some are attempting to distort those facts, while others try to ignore them or underestimate their gravity. The bloody strife in the Holy City two weeks ago between defenceless Arab citizens and Israeli settlers is a manifestation of the tense situation not only in Jerusalem but throughout the occupied territories.

A few days ago that volatile situation exploded at Bir Zeit University and in the city of Gaza; so far, four students have been killed, and others wounded. Since then the situation has spread to Nablus, the Balata camp, Khan Younis and El-Khalil.

Since the beginning of the Israeli occupation in June 1967, the Holy City of Jerusalem has been subjected to the most dangerous Israeli practices and actions, foremost among them the Israeli annexation of the Holy City in 1967, in violation of the historical, religious and national rights of the Arabs and the Muslims, and in defiance of the will of the international community, the principles of international law, and the feelings of millions of followers of the Islamic and Christian faiths.

Israeli acts of aggression against the Holy City have not stopped since. The holy Al-Aqsa mosque has been the target of many attempted attacks by arson or bombing, not to mention other acts of desecration against that symbolic holy shrine, the first of the two kiblahs and the third holiest shrine for millions of

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

Muslims. There have also been acts of desecration against other Islamic and Christian holy shrines in several cities of the West Bank.

Over 20 Jewish organizations, whose members are active inside and outside Israel, are attempting to destroy the Al-Aqsa mosque. Some of these organizations are closely linked with a number of Israeli leaders, including cabinet ministers and members of the Knesset.

The result of bringing Israeli settlers into Jerusalem has been seen, with assaults approaching carnage against defenceless Palestinians by the settlers. We cannot believe that what recently happened in Jerusalem will not happen again, and will not lead to more extensive civil strife between Israeli settlers and Arab citizens, both in Jerusalem and in the rest of the occupied Arab territories.

Israel's behaviour is based on the premise that its continued occupation of the Arab territories, and its attempts to change the legal, demographic and geographic nature of those territories, will ultimately lead to acceptance of the fait accompli. But events in the occupied territories should have sufficed to convince Israel that its continued occupation of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights will not lead to peace. A desire for peace is incompatible with Israel's practices against the Palestinian people and against the occupied territories. Given its establishment of more than 200 settlements each in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan, its annexation of Jerusalem, and its well-known practices, Israel's claim that it desires coexistence is highly questionable, as being in conflict with the facts.

It has become clear to everyone that Israel's practices belie its declared desire for understanding. Those practices contradict Israel's statements and render any Israeli call for peace meaningless. The continued occupation and

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

inhumane and illegal Israeli policies are leading to further violence and resistance. The Palestinian students were demonstrating against occupation and against oppressive Israeli practices. Israel must realize that the continuance of this situation will not alleviate the tension and turmoil. The Arab Palestinian people will not surrender to occupation; the situation will only serve to entrench hatred, rejection and extremism.

The events that erupted recently and are continuing in the West Bank reveal another fact, about Israel's concept of security. We have spoken on previous occasions of the provocation and hostile attitude adopted by Israel against Arab citizens, leading to a climate of tension that Israel can exploit for many purposes. In this case we see Israel attempting to disrupt and undermine the academic life of Bir Zeit University, because it considers education to be one element in preserving the national identity of the Arab under occupation. We cannot rule out Israeli exacerbation of the situation in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, involving the killing of Arab students in order to cover up an internal crisis, especially in the light of facts recently revealed pointing the finger at Israel as a beneficiary of regional wars and crises.

The principle of provocation and of inciting civilians through the creation of crises is an unchanging element of Israel's relationship with the Palestinian people. Israeli armoured vehicles and soldiers went to the universities; the students did not go to the soldiers. It was clear from the statement made last Friday by the Israeli representative in the Security Council, when he displayed what he claimed to be student pamphlets calling for resistance, that Israeli security forces have already broken into classrooms and into student dormitories, thus violating the sanctity of the university.

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

While Israeli occupation is the source of the violence and extremism leading to resistance, the situation is made increasingly complicated by the explicitly declared policies of Israel. We have spoken before about how Israel has no peaceful policies and about how it does not distinguish between war and peace. Israel thus has only a military policy; its foreign policy is merely a tool to further its military activities. Its propaganda machine is continually used to attempt to justify occupation, expansion and military adventures.

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

This was made clear in the statement of the Israeli representative that I mentioned earlier, the burden of which was an attempt to justify the military occupation of the occupied Arab territories by accusing Palestinian students of having harassed security forces and by depicting the occupation as a blessing. Everyone knows that that policy is not only a grave mistake but a permanent threat to stability and coexistence.

The gravity of the situation is clear to all and its greatest danger arises from attempts to ignore it or turn it to the advantage of either side. The Palestinians have suffered dispossession and oppression at the hands of Israel; their suffering is without precedent in recent history. The tragedy of Palestine has been created by attempts to ignore or forget it, to exploit it and use it to serve long-term ends that have nothing to do with the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to their land and their property. In the heat of recent events, we must not lose sight of the true crux of the Palestinian problem, which is the continued Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. That occupation and the accompanying Israeli policies are the reasons for the increased violence and tension prevailing in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip at the present time.

In the light of the foregoing facts - namely, that the real problem is the Israeli occupation and that the accompanying Israeli policies are both a danger and a mistake - the Security Council, the body entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security, must deal with the problem appropriately and in a manner that will contribute to the achievement of peace and the maintenance of the Council's credibility. Therefore, any action that the Council may take to achieve the aforementioned aims must include laying the bases agreed on by international consensus as necessary to achieve a comprehensive, just and lasting political settlement of the Palestinian problem through implementation of the relevant

(Mr. Salah, Jordan)

resolutions of the Council, particularly resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), and through fulfilment of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

The Security Council could contribute to calming the situation by reaching agreement on the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of the permanent members of the Council and the parties concerned. Until that happens, in order to bring an end to the Israeli occupation, which is a source of violence and turmoil, the Council must deal with the Israeli policies that affect human rights in those territories and that are contrary to the principles of international law with regard to military occupation.

In this connection, any resolution adopted by the Council must include, in addition to condemnation and denunciation of the killing and imprisonment of Palestinian students, and the threats to the lives of civilians in the occupied territories: first, condemnation and denunciation of Israeli policies against civilians in general; secondly, condemnation of the illegitimacy and illegality of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories and recognition that the building of further settlements constitutes a threat to the peace, security and stability of the region; and, thirdly, rejection of Israeli attempts to alter the geographic, demographic and legal nature of the City of Jerusalem and towns in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and condemnation of the Israeli practices against Islamic and Christian Holy Places, educational institutions and academic freedoms.

Partial or superficial treatment of the Palestinian problem would give an incorrect impression of the Security Council's role and of the real situation in the occupied Arab territories; it would distort the facts of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

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

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

Mr. AL-ATASSI (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives me great pleasure to congratulate you, Sir, on behalf of my delegation, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I should also like to take this opportunity to express to your predecessor our appreciation of his guidance of the Council's work last month.

The Council is considering today the situation in the occupied Arab territories following the killing by the Zionist occupation forces of a number of students of the Bir Zeit University and the wounding of a number of others on the way to the university. All the preceding speakers in the Council have qualified that as a criminal and barbarous act committed by the Zionist occupation forces against innocent civilians and a flagrant violation of the law, whether written or customary, relating to the situation of civilian persons in time of war or occupation, in accordance with the Fourth Geneva Convention, of 1949.

At last Friday's meeting of the Council the Zionist representative went to great lengths to give explanations and justifications that were not very convincing even to Israel's allies in the Council of the murders of civilian students at the Bir Zeit University, by his country's terrorist occupation forces. He argued that those responsible for the iron-fist policy had been compelled to open fire on the demonstrators, but that is a barefaced lie, for Israel's actions are certainly criminal and deserve the condemnation of the Security Council. The arrogance of the Zionist representative is an insult to the intelligence of the members of the Security Council.

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian
Arab Republic)

During his statement and justifications, he dwelled on the advantages of Israeli occupation of Arab territories and attempted to paint an idyllic portrait; he argued that without it the students would not have had schools in which to study and that without its benefits the Arab inhabitants would even have been unable to receive treatment in hospitals. These, he said, were the benefits of Israeli occupation, without which there would have been nowhere for the Arab inhabitants to practise their religion. That is the Israeli arrogance we condemn today.

The incident at Bir Zeit University was premeditated and carefully orchestrated. It was not the first incident of that kind. This Council has been the scene of a debate on many such incidents involving the murdering or intimidation of university students, or continuation of the comprehensive settlement policy to compel the Arab inhabitants to leave their homes and lands, or the desecration of the Al-Aqsa Mosque by the Zionist settlers.

All such actions and practices by Israel are part of a carefully orchestrated campaign, and they are all described in detail in the report that the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories presented to the General Assembly at its forty-first session.

The campaign to intimidate the Arab inhabitants began before the foundation of Israel in 1948. It has been waged for almost 40 years of continuing occupation of Arab lands. Israel's objective is a secret to no one; the Israelis themselves do not hide the purpose of their activities, which are intended to intimidate the Arab inhabitants and to spread a state of psychosis among their ranks, including students, shopkeepers, farmers and craftsmen, so that they will feel compelled to leave their lands, their country, their villages out of fear of murder or torture at the hands of the terrorist occupation forces in the occupied territories.

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian
Arab Republic)

The massacres of Deir Yassin and other acts perpetrated by Israel before the foundation of the State of Israel were surely intended to intimidate the Arab inhabitants into leaving their towns and villages out of fear of the brutal forces of occupation, thus turning them into deportees and refugees. There is no doubt that the refugees living in tents were forced to do so as a result of the terror perpetrated by Israel designed to drive them from their lands and farms and to compel them to flee from the prospect of murder at the hands of the Israeli occupation forces.

History is now repeating itself. The incident at Bir Zeit and those in the City of Jerusalem a few days before that, and the barbarous events in the occupied Golan Heights are but the latest such events in the long history of Zionist aggression against the inhabitants of the occupied Arab lands. They have their equal only in Hitler's fascist régime or in apartheid South Africa.

How else can one describe the events at Bir Zeit University and in the Gaza Strip? What are we to call them? The construction of barriers on public roads and the searches of those going to or returning from their work: what can we call them? And how can we describe the violations of Arab homes, the looting of shops? How else could we describe what is happening and the cries of "Chase the Arabs out of Israel, the land of the Torah", by Kahane and his gang? How are we to interpret the statements by Shamir, who has said that Jewish settlers are entitled to live in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip because these are an integral part of Israeli territory? Or Peres' statement that the settlement policy has been an official policy of all Israeli Governments? How are we to regard the repeated attempts to burn down the Al-Aqsa Mosque or to capture and Judaize it? What are we to say about the murder of two young Palestinians following the incident involving a bus

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian
Arab Republic)

on its way to Rafh? That incident was the result of a decision by Shamir? I am talking about the Shin Beth scandal.

What about Rabin's statement in Stockholm that Israel would not withdraw from southern Lebanon? What are we to think of yesterday's statements by Zionist students who said that they will drive the Arabs from the Gaza Strip and the West Bank? What are we to call all of these aggressive Israeli practices? Can anybody doubt that terrorism is the only term to be applied to those acts, and abject terrorism at that? Can what Israel is doing be described as civilized acts? They are in accordance with the Zionist claim that the State of Israel represents a barrier between Western civilization and Arab barbarism. How can one consider such Israeli practices to be civilized when they result in the death of students, massacres, terrorism, the defiling of historic sites and the disfiguring of the cultural heritage? It is quite clear that Israel is synonymous with terrorism, murder and the distortion of facts. Indeed all Israel's actions derive from a single truth reflecting its true image.

I have referred to Israel's terrorist actions in the occupied Palestinian and Arab lands, but I have not yet mentioned the State terrorism practised by Israel on the international scene, such as kidnappings and actions against aircraft. I am, it will be seen, confining myself to the subject under discussion.

As long as Israel continues its occupation of Arab lands and does not withdraw from the occupied Arab territories, events similar to the murder of students at Bir Zeit University will occur sooner or later. Coexistence between the Palestinian people and the occupation forces is impossible, and equally impossible for the Syrian people in occupied Golan.

(Mr. Al-Atassi, Syrian Arab Republic)

Our Arab nation will do its utmost to liberate its land and to drive out the Zionist settlers and terrorists. The bitter resistance in southern Lebanon is an example for all who wish to free their lands; it is an example that we shall follow. The central problem is the continuing Israel occupation of Arab territories, in violation of General Assembly resolutions which all call upon Israel to withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories. Less than a week ago, at the end of its debate, the General Assembly reaffirmed those resolutions in the voting on Palestine and the Middle East. All those resolutions condemn Israel for its continuing occupation of Arab lands and for its inhuman practices in those Arab territories. If Israel agreed to implement the resolutions adopted by the international community we should certainly not be meeting here to consider this complaint resulting from the crimes committed by a racist, fascist army against students of Bir Zeit University in the flower of their youth.

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

The next speaker is Mr. Clovis Maksoud, Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, to whom the Council extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure at the 2724th meeting. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MARKSOD: Needless to say, Mr. President, I join in the congratulations extended to you. You are known for your diplomatic skills, indeed, your creative diplomatic achievements. I take this opportunity also to express our appreciation of the exemplary manner in which your predecessor, the representative of the United Kingdom, guided the deliberations of the Council last month. And I should like to express, through you, to the members of the Council, our gratitude

(Mr. Maksoud)

for the invitation that extended to the Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations.

The Security Council is once again called upon to meet to deal with the growing violence in the occupied territories. The recent incidents in Jerusalem, Bir Zeit, Ramallah and other places in the occupied territories have been described and documented by various speakers here and by the various commissions of inquiry. It is important, at this time when the volatility of the situation in the occupied territories is a prescription for a continuing explosive situation in the Middle East, that we focus once again on the priorities that will enable the international community to bring about the peace that has eluded the Middle East for so long and the termination of the violence that has characterized many of the issues that arise from this conflict.

Perhaps we should inquire into some of the semantics that have been used in recent days, especially by the Israeli delegation. We have noticed that the Israeli delegation has repeatedly emphasized the benign nature of the military "administration". It is important to note that the term "occupation" never enters into Israeli official statements. I think this is very significant, because Israel does not recognize that the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem are occupied territories. As a matter of fact, the term "occupation" is not mentioned at all in any of the official statements by Israeli representatives. I think this is very significant, too, because in a way it signals the root of the problems.

The Arabs have been asked repeatedly, especially by the United States, whether we recognize the relevance of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) as a basis for an overall settlement of the problems of the Middle East. Therefore we have to ask the United States, since it proclaims that it adheres to Security Council resolution 242 (1967), who is violating that

(Mr. Maksoud)

resolution, inasmuch as Security Council resolution 242 (1967) describes the territories under Israeli occupation as occupied territories; therefore the Geneva Convention is applicable to them. So, rather than a question, this is really a suggestion on the part of the Arab League and the Arab States to the United States to inquire into the basic reasons why Israel does not ever describe its presence in the occupied territories as occupation.

Consequently, and following on that, we find that Israel, inasmuch as it keeps those territories in limbo as far as their status is concerned, is assuming for itself the right to establish colonizing settlements - the Jordanian Ambassador has mentioned the figure 200 - to annex at will the City of Jerusalem, ex cathedra declaring it its sole capital and to "unify" it in defiance of the various relevant resolutions, to which the United States is also a subscriber.

The self-indulgence and license with which Israel behaves in the West Bank, Gaza and Jerusalem is the behaviour of a State that considers these occupied territories fair game in the establishment of new settlements, disfranchising the population, disqualifying them from equal opportunity, establishing a quasi-apartheid régime in the occupied territories and full realization renaming the occupied territories Judea and Samaria, pending the process of creeping annexation.

(Mr. Maksoud)

From that point of view, the various incidents of violence, the various practices - inhuman and otherwise - of which we have heard in recent days, and earlier, constitute not simply an unfortunate, regrettable, condemnable accident, but a pattern of behaviour flowing from a deliberate policy designed to put a concept into effect. That concept is that these occupied territories are, in the final analysis, part and parcel of the ultimate Israel they seek to establish.

We raise that point because recently the Israeli occupation authorities and the Israeli representatives in the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly have been calling these settlements in the occupied territories "Jewish villages". The idea of these new semantics is that if they are repeated frequently enough they will assume the aura of potential permanence. Thus, we have an attempt by Israel to clothe its occupation in the concept of inherent permanence, thereby cutting off any hope of self-determination for the population in the occupied territories.

Furthermore, by using such terms, Israel has to all intents and purposes mutilated the territorial aspects of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which, in the aftermath of the 1967 war, spelled out the territorial parameters of the Israeli patrimony and the Arab-Palestinian patrimony. Therefore, Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which the United States sponsored and constantly repeats and defends, has to all intents and purposes been abrogated by mutilation and creeping annexation and the establishment of illegal settlements in the various occupied territories - which Israel does not recognize as occupied.

Hence, if one accepts this assumption - for which Israel seeks to gain acceptance - that these are not occupied territories, then that gives Israel permission and licence to behave like a military administrator and, consequently, to be no longer accountable in regard to the various United Nations resolutions.

(Mr. Maksoud)

In fact, in Israel's conscious policy and unconscious ideological attitudes, all the deliberations of the Security Council are, in the final analysis, interference in Israel's internal affairs. It is this creeping annexation, this use of the term "Jewish villages", this avoidance of the term "occupied territories" that puts Israel in total confrontation with the international community.

Furthermore, Israel has unilaterally annexed Jerusalem. Thus, the protestations of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, of Jordan, of the Palestine Liberation Organization, of Syria - indeed, of the whole Arab and Muslim world - about the violations taking place in the so-called capital of Israel become, as it were, a kind of ganging-up on Israel, a kind of interference in its internal structures.

All this is very serious. It is not a matter of semantics. It is not a play on words. It goes far deeper, because it clearly articulates Israel's intention not only to annex, not only to occupy, but to expand. It also clearly articulates Israel's intention to disenfranchise the Palestinians, to disenfranchise the Syrians in the Golan Heights. But, much more important, it is an attempt by Israel to remain immune from accountability to the international consensus, to the international will, as reflected in various General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

That is why Israel categorically refuses to determine and define for the international community the parameters of its borders. It rejects the international conference which has been accepted, almost by an international consensus. It refuses to unravel the parameters of its borders, and then it dangles before us the notion of negotiations. But we have seen and experienced the type of negotiations that Israel seeks. Israel does not seek to negotiate a

(Mr. Maksoud)

credible outcome or a mutually acceptable outcome. Israel seeks to negotiate from the point of its occupation. Negotiation under the strictures of occupation is dictation, not negotiation.

In the Fez resolutions, the Arab States have clearly indicated that they want a comprehensive settlement; they want the efforts of the Security Council to be included in a very effective and constructive manner. They have done that because they believe that the question of Palestine, which was an internationally created problem, must have a solution that is internationally shared. That is why we have proposed and supported a clearly structured international conference on the Middle East, where all the outstanding problems arising from the Middle East conflict could be solved simultaneously. For all the problems have an impact on each other. The occupation of the Golan Heights has an impact on southern Lebanon. The question of Israel's continued hegemony and its occupation of southern Lebanon has an impact not only on Lebanon's internal situation but also on the situation in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Jerusalem. Hence, since all these matters have an impact on each other, they must be dealt with simultaneously. We feel that in this way the Middle East problem would be extricated from the East-West optic. A situation would be generated in which the resolution of the Middle East conflict would constitute an input for the relaxation of international tension. That would enable the super-Powers to address the global priorities of disarmament.

We feel, also, that the international conference on the Middle East would restore to the United Nations mechanism the credibility and effectiveness envisaged for it in the United Nations Charter. Instead of being persistently marginalized,

(Mr. Maksoud)

the United Nations would be enabled to play its central role in peace-making and peace-keeping both within and outside the region.

I do not want to dwell on the various malpractices of the Israeli occupation. I have drawn attention to this question of semantics because of its dialectical relationship to the ideology of zionism and to Israel's policy towards the occupied territories. From that point of view, the violence is a by-product of a basic policy which has to be addressed and, if I may say so, confronted.

In this respect, I would like to make clear once and for all our Arab position pertaining to the question of violence - violence which we all abhor and seek to resist. Let me once and for all state our distinction between terrorism and resistance.

(Mr. Maksoud)

What we find today in the south of Lebanon, the West Bank and Gaza are acts of resistance to occupation, which are legitimate in international law and under the United Nations Charter. We have seen in Jerusalem and in the various occupied cities of the West Bank and Gaza that resistance to occupation has invariably started with petitions, demonstrations and civil disobedience. That would be followed by the coercion of the so-called small units of the IDF, when they were threatened by the stonethrowing of students, which was the ultimate display of violence that they could exhibit. Therefore, in a way, violence in response to resistance is the option of last resort. The violence of occupation is the option, the method and the exclusive means by which to perpetuate occupation. Terrorism is an act of desperation, the explosion of frustration, the result of the fact that people are made to feel hopeless and helpless. In that respect, the resistance fighter in the south or in the occupied Palestinian territories is a person who has faith in the inevitability of the achievement of his rights. The terrorist, at best, is someone who has resigned his hope. In that sense, terrorism is not only a violation of resistance, but it is its negation and its ultimate adversary. That is why we are eager that, while we all share in condemning acts of terrorism, desperation and resignation from hope, we plead with the members of the Security Council, entrusted with the responsibility for law and order in the international community to remove the causes, and to expedite the process of restoring internationally recognized rights.

In that respect, it is important to define again what the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is. The Palestine Liberation Organization, which is a full member of the League of Arab States, is to the Palestinian people the framework of their peoplehood. In a way, the PLO is a state of mind for the Palestinians in the absence of their State. Therefore, one cannot say that PLO or non-PLO activities in the West Bank are an exercise in deliberate diversionary tactics. Every

(Mr. Maksoud)

Palestinian is part and parcel of the Palestinian peoplehood, which has been recognized by the international community as having the PLO as its vehicle of expression and its representation. That is why, when the PLO tries to build up its peoplehood - with some under occupation, some in refugee camps, some in the diaspora - it is doing so in order that they may continue to be a focus of their national identity. The fact that when some Palestinians say, "We want to return to Palestine" - especially those in the refugee camps who have been disfranchised since 1948, when they were displaced - and manifest a desire to return to Palestine, it is because they were thrown out of Palestine. They were not thrown out of a structured Israel.

In order to exercise a diversionary tactic, Israel seeks to project this notion of the Palestinians' desire to return to their homes and their homeland in Palestine in apocalyptic terms, claiming this means the idea of destroying Israel; but this is only in order to freeze the efforts to allow the Palestinians to exercise the right of self-expression and self-determination in the occupied territories of Palestine. As we have repeatedly stated we apply to the Security Council, and seek an international conference, because we want to salvage the peace option with as little violence as possible. The existing violence is the result of the delays and procrastinations that have characterized the handling of the question of Palestine.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Mr. Maksoud for the kind words that he addressed to me.

Mr. BELONOGOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Sir, I should like to begin my statement by extending my congratulations to you as President of the Security Council during the last month of 1986, a year which has been filled with major international events, among which an especially important place belongs to the Soviet-American summit meeting in Reykjavik. I

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

should also like to express my gratitude to your predecessor, the representative of the United Kingdom, Ambassador Thomson, who successfully guided the work of the Council during the month of November.

The Soviet delegation has listened attentively to the statement of the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, the representative of Zimbabwe, Ambassador Mudge, at whose request the Security Council has been convened, and also to the statements of other delegations.

There can be no doubt that the situation existing as the result of the actions of Israel in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories is a source of great concern for Members of the United Nations. For more than a decade, despite numerous resolutions of the Security Council, the General Assembly and other international forums, Israel has continued to ignore those decisions. It rejects the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, is trying to eliminate the Arab presence in the occupied Arab territories and to absorb those territories. With that aim it has been carrying out, a policy of such crude and mass violations of human rights that it takes the form of genocide with respect to the local Arab population. The most recent events in Jerusalem and in the cities of Ramallah and Bir Zeit, cannot be considered in isolation from the general situation in the territories occupied by Israel, of which those cities also are an integral part.

The attempts by Israel to change the historic nature, demographic composition and legal status of the occupied territories, including eastern Jerusalem, have been vigorously condemned. In particular, in Security Council resolution 478 (1980), all acts and measures of such a nature undertaken by the Israeli occupying authorities in Jerusalem are unequivocally described as illegal and as null and void, and as constituting a serious obstacle to the achievement of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement in the Middle East.

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

The Israeli occupying authorities mercilessly crush all reaction by the Arab population. From the time they were seized in 1967, the Golan Heights, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip have been in a very dangerous situation, where the authorities can hold any inhabitant in prison for up to six months without investigation or trial. During the occupation many tens of thousands of Palestinians have passed through Israeli prisons or have been arrested. As emphasized during the General Assembly's debate on the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, approximately 10,000 Palestinians are in prison at present. Individuals under investigation are beaten, tortured by the use of electric current and by long-term subjection to the alternate effects of heat and cold. There are well known cases of those arrested simply disappearing without trace.

Collective punishment is widely practiced: cities are declared to be in a state of siege; shops are closed; movement in given areas is prohibited; water and electricity are cut off; entire blocks of houses are razed; schools, universities and hospitals are closed.

Tel Aviv wishes fully to integrate the occupied territories by implementing there State and legal infrastructure and laws in effect in Israel itself. The repeal of local laws, the confiscation and destruction of property, violations of local legal systems and other actions by the Israeli authorities constitute a crude violation of such important international legal documents as the 1907 Hague Convention and the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

Attempts to portray Israel as a kind benefactor concerned for the Palestinians and merely seeking to provide them with a university education are provocative - that is the only word one can use - in their cynicism. In that connection it is sufficient to cite a single quotation from a statement made by the Israeli Minister of Defence, Yitzhak Rabin, to the Israeli Ministry of Defence magazine Bamachaneh:

"We do not need a highly educated Arab population in the territories of Judea and Samaria, which we intend to use for the resettlement of our citizens".

It would be harder to find a clearer definition of the essence of Israeli policy in the occupied territories. I would note that "Judea and Samaria" are the names used in Israel for certain occupied Palestinian territories.

No references to the need to ensure Israel's own security through what in Israel is called the struggle against terrorism, no loud declarations of Tel Aviv's allegedly peaceful intentions can justify Israel's crude trampling under foot of norms of international law, the Charter and United Nations resolutions.

It is impossible not to wonder whether Tel Aviv can really hope that reliance on brute force and on high-handed attempts to drive an entire people into reservations or to drive them out of their homeland altogether are truly an effective way to ensure its own security for a long time to come. Such thinking is a mockery of the legitimate rights of peoples. It also jeopardizes the future of the Israeli people and the State of Israel.

Throughout the world it is now increasingly understood that one's own security can be built only by taking into account the security of other peoples and their wish to be the masters of their own fate. That is shown by experience itself. Despite cruel and barbaric methods, including overt genocide, Israel has been unable so far - and, we think, will continue to be unable - to break the

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

Palestinian people, its will to resist and its desire to create a State of its own, or to destroy its political vanguard, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which has been protecting that people and representing its legitimate interests. The existence of the Arab Palestinian people, like that of the Palestine Liberation Organization, is an objective fact. No one has the right to ignore that fact.

There can be no doubt that part - a large part - of the blame for the absence of a settlement of the situation in the Middle East must be borne by the United States of America. It is well known that the overwhelming majority of United States economic and military assistance to foreign States goes to finance and ensure the provision of supplies to Tel Aviv's expansionist policies. In the last seven years alone Israel has unleashed a major war - the aggression against Lebanon - and has carried out armed terrorist attacks against a number of Arab States and dozens of similar attacks against the Palestinians. During those years, Washington has paid out \$12 billion to the Zionist State. It is crystal clear that were it not for the military, political and financial support of the United States, the Government of Israel would be acting in a completely different way, and the Security Council would have no need to consider the situation in the Middle East over and over again. Peace with justice for both the Arab peoples and the people of Israel would have long been established.

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

The Soviet delegation believes that Israel's actions in Jerusalem, as well as in Ramallah and Bir Zeit, call for firm condemnation. It supports the demands voiced here for the Security Council to adopt all the measures necessary to prevent the recurrence of such actions in the future. The present discussion in the Council, as well as the discussions held in the General Assembly at its current session, have shown a broad understanding of the fact that the policy of military confrontation between Israel and the Arabs has not brought and cannot bring peace and calm to the peoples of the Middle East. It has not brought a final settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict any closer but has, in fact, only aggravated that conflict.

It is no mere happenstance that in the discussion of the question of the situation in the Israeli occupied Arab territories here in the Security Council nearly all of the speakers, with rare exceptions, have stressed the need to adopt practical measures to implement United Nations decisions on the entire range of Middle East problems and have pointed out that, without a fundamental solution to the question of Palestine, the establishment of a just and lasting peace in that region is impossible.

There is a growing awareness of the fact that the achievement of mutually acceptable agreements on this key issue, as well as on other fundamental aspects of a settlement to the Middle East problem, can be achieved only in the context of an international conference with the participation of all the parties directly involved, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The proposal to hold an international conference has once again received the broadest possible support and approval at the present session of the General Assembly. The creation of such machinery would allow for a unification of the efforts of all States in the achievement of an immediate and just political settlement and would give tangible

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

impetus to the beginning of a movement towards peace and would tend to calm the adverse and explosive tendencies that exist in the region. This year the General Assembly has taken a further step towards a settlement by adopting an appeal for the creation of a preparatory committee within the Security Council, with the participation of the permanent members of the Council, to agree on the necessary measures for the convening of such an international conference.

The activity of such a preparatory committee would promote the launching of the negotiating process to bring about a conference to settle, on a just and lasting basis, in the interest of all States and peoples of the region and in the interest of international peace and security. For its part, the Soviet Union once again calls upon all States to contribute to defusing the conflict situation in the Middle East and states its readiness to co-operate with all those who are striving to arrive at a settlement of the Middle East problem on a just and lasting basis, taking into account the legitimate interests and rights of all States and peoples in the region. The Soviet delegation is ready to support draft resolution S/18506.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. YU Mengjia (China) (interpretation from Chinese): This is the first time I am speaking in the Security Council. I feel privileged to be able to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for his month. I am sure that, given your rich experience, talent and diplomatic skills, you will be able to guide the Council's work smoothly this month. I wish also to thank the President of the Council last month, Sir John Thomson, Ambassador of the United Kingdom, for the proficient and serene manner in which he presided over the Council proceedings in a very busy month during the current session of the General Assembly.

(Mr. Yu Mengjia, China)

The Chinese delegation is shocked to learn that in recent days Israeli troops brutally opened fire upon defenceless students at Bir Zeit University in the West Bank, leaving a number of students dead and wounded. Israeli troops continue to subject the University to military siege and the situation there remains grave. The Chinese delegation wishes to express its indignation and its condemnation of the new atrocities committed by the Israeli troops and to convey its sympathy and solidarity to the killed and wounded Palestinian students and their bereaved families.

In his letter of last September addressed to the Secretary-General, the Chairman of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories expressed his concern at the Israeli authorities' intensification of the iron-first policy that has led to the escalation of violence and the deterioration of the situation in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Through its examination of that report by the Special Committee and the adoption by an overwhelming majority of several relevant resolutions at the current session of the General Assembly, the international community has once again demanded that Israel, the occupying Power and a signatory to the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, abide by the Convention and improve the conditions of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in the occupied territories. General Assembly resolution 41/63 G, in particular, condemns Israel for its policies and acts of suppression against the university faculties and students in the occupied Palestinian territories.

However, the Israeli authorities have turned a deaf ear to the strong call of the international community and have intensified their brutal suppression against the students who oppose Israel's iron-fist policy and destructive measures against

(Mr. Yu Mengjia, China)

academic institutions in the occupied territories. That constitutes yet another provocative challenge to the authority of the United Nations and fully attests to the fact that, far from having improved the conditions of the population in the occupied territories, as the Israeli representative has attempted to have us believe, the Israeli authorities are continuing their practice of trampling upon the Palestinian people's basic right to existence.

(Mr. Yu Mengjia, China)

In view also of the recent fire-bomb attacks that have ravaged Palestinian residential areas in the old city of Jerusalem and the repeated Israeli attacks in southern Lebanon, especially on Palestinian refugee camps, the Chinese delegation has come to the conclusion that what happened at Bir Zeit University was by no means an isolated incident but the continuation and intensification of Israeli policy, a policy of hostility against the Palestinian people and denial of their national rights. That incident was an integral part of the stepping up of the campaign of suppression by the Israeli authorities against the Palestinian people.

The international community should pay full attention to that development. The Chinese delegation calls upon the Security Council to take urgent measures to check the atrocities of the Israeli authorities and demand immediate Israeli implementation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and cessation of its suppression of the inhabitants of the occupied territories.

The Chinese delegation also calls upon all countries and peoples that uphold justice and love peace to strengthen their support for and solidarity with the Palestinian people.

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

The representative of Israel wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. NETANYAHU (Israel): In exercising Israel's right of reply, I should like not merely to reply to some of the statements that have been made here - I say so because I could not possibly take the time to refute all of them - but to give the three reasons why virtually all of the things that have been said in this debate as a whole should be rejected out of hand.

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

The first is that it is, to use the words of the Syrian representative, an organized, premeditated event that we are witnessing here. There is a clear, systematic and deliberate effort on the part of the PLO to incite violence. I am not speaking merely of what is happening here, but also the campaign that we have seen over the last few months of the deliberate murder of innocent people and attempts to pre-position, organize and incite the riots that have taken place and that will, I regret to say, probably take place again if the PLO is allowed to go through with what it is doing.

The idea is that you provoke a deliberate response by the authorities. You hope, indeed you ensure, that there will be casualties, by rock-throwing, by preventing medical assistance from reaching the people who are injured, and then you use those casualties to stir up further anti-Jewish hatred, Jewish-Arab hatred. Then you bounce it off back into this Council and you use the propaganda effect to stimulate still more violence in the field. So you recycle this hatred. This is what the PLO is trying to do: to use this forum.

I have heard in this Chamber an attempt by Mr. Maksoud to say, "Well, this is all right; people can do this; people living under military rule have every right to resort to every means." This is of course an attempt to legitimize terrorism. But the important thing is not merely that this is illegitimate, that these murderous attacks on people and the deliberate attempts to incite violence are not legitimate means; it is that they indicate what the true aim is. And the true aim of the PLO is not to liberate the West Bank, as it calls it, or Judea and Samaria; it was established before; it is to liquidate the Jewish State. This is what they want to do. And it uses the means of terrorism, and seeks to use this Council, to legitimize any and all means to that end.

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

That is the first reason it should be rejected - because the Council is being asked to participate in a general pattern of provocation and incitement to violence, and indeed incitement to the destruction of a Member State.

The second point is this. I have described the facts of what happened. I stand, and Israel stands, by those facts. I have not really heard them being seriously contested by any of the speakers here. And if they do contest them, it is simply false. The statements that we made about what happened are absolutely true.

Now, we said that Israel acted in a fully responsible manner. We said that the Government's first obligation - any Government, anywhere, in territory of any status under its control - is to curb violence, to maintain law and order, and to restore it if it is lost.

We regret the loss of life and the injuries, but we also remain absolutely adamant in insisting on the principle that Governments must take measures - at times, regrettably, forcible measures - to restore law and order. I think everyone here agrees with this principle. I think they agree because otherwise we would sit here and talk about other incidents that are taking place today in the world. Every time there was a demonstration, every time there were riots, every time there were casualties, every time demonstrators got up and threw pavement stones at police and the police took action in their own defence - and there might be casualties; there have been such casualties - on the basis of the principle that the Council is being asked to adopt, the Council would have to meet. And it would not make any difference if they were internal disturbances, if they were irredentist attacks, if the groups involved were seeking to overthrow a Government, change its policy or take a territory; it would make absolutely no difference,

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

because what we are dealing with is the principle that a Government may take action, including forcible action, when the civil peace is being threatened.

That is the second reason why this debate is unwarranted: because the Security Council should not be asked to lend its hand to the impairment of a basic right that every one of the Member States around this table, and indeed every one of the Member States of this body, correctly retains for itself and for the exercise of government as a whole.

The third point relates to what happens when that right is not retained. What happens is exactly what we have today in Lebanon. There is no Government to step in and bring about some order, to curb violence. And what we see, in fact, is the slaughter and the injuring of thousands, including in the last few days, which brings me to the point of what I have heard here today. Nobody talks about that. That does not merit a meeting of the Security Council.

It is curious that a few days ago Yasser Arafat, whose representative has caused this Council to be convened, complained about Syria's use of chemical weapons in Sabra and Shatila to massacre Palestinian Arabs. That does not merit a request, even a failed request, for the convening of the Council. Not at all; it is not brought up. And the current warfare that is going on there is not brought up. And the machinations and the murderous intramural slaughter that take place in Lebanon, with the agitation of Syria and Libya and Iran, are not brought up. They do not merit any discussion. And the Iran-Iraq war, in which we are talking about not thousands, not tens of thousands, but hundreds of thousands, indeed millions, is not brought up. Oh, well, it is brought up. Here is the resolution following the discussion: not a condemnation, not as much discussion as we are having here,

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

which will probably run on into another meeting, perhaps tomorrow morning. What we have is a resolution that calls on Iran and Iraq to implement fully one of the resolutions and requests the Secretary-General to talk to the parties. That is the end of it; a million and a half casualties and that is the end of it. There is no mention of chemical weapons, in Lebanon as well as in the Iran-Iraq war, and the arming of Syria with chemical weapons; nor of the bombing of open cities or neutral shipping; nor of the horrific carnage taking place in Lebanon. All of that does not occupy this Council.

What I have just said leads to the third reason why the Council should not fall into this trap, which is that it would thus lend itself to its own loss of credibility, its own loss of authority and prestige.

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

This is simply not something that people can look at and say, "Well, the Security Council truly acts on matters of great international importance: international peace and security." So, first, the Security Council, for these three reasons, is asked to assist in the provocation of violence, indeed of terror; secondly, it assails the basic right of Governments - any Government - to maintain law and order; and, thirdly, it ignores the real conflicts that are taking place in the world today.

These three reasons rob this type of discussion of serious respect and of legitimacy, which brings me to the statement of the Soviet representative. He spoke about the International Peace Conference. He spoke of the International Peace Conference in the same breath that he accused Israel of genocide. I would direct the Soviet representative to the Soviet Union's record in the Panchir Valley and the millions of refugees in the neighbouring areas adjoining Pakistan. He spoke of the recognition of countries that international conflicts should be resolved by letting peoples be masters of their own fate. I presume that includes Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia and Afghanistan, not to mention other satellite States of the Soviet Union, or, for that matter, the oppression of the Soviet Jews.

The critical thing is not the hypocrisy that we see in this forum. I spoke two days ago to a senior diplomat here, and he said, "Well, what do you expect? This is a hypocritical forum." We say, "Fine, if it is a hypocritical forum, then do not come and ask us to join this forum manned by countries that call for our expulsion, accuse us of genocide, and join other countries that ask, in fact, for the liquidation of Israel, and say 'Come, come into this trap. Join the hypocrisy. Let us, in fact, attack you, and let us do worse than that, let us join a PLO and Syrian effort - that is the one thing on which they agree - to liquidate you'." This is not something to which Israel will lend its hand, and that is why

(Mr. Netanyahu, Israel)

this debate adds nothing to advance the cause of peace. It does a great deal to destroy the credibility and prestige of the United Nations and the Security Council.

The PRESIDENT: Mr. Clovis Maksoud, Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure, wishes to make a further statement. With the consent of the Council, I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MAKSOUD: I am sorry that I have to make another statement, but I think that there is a need to clarify some of the oft-repeated distortions. The people under occupation on the West Bank are not trying to incite violence. Occupation is institutionalized violence. They are trying to ease it out by whatever means possible, and if the ultimate weapon of the Palestinian students is stonethrowing, I think that that is a description of the nature of the violence that legitimate resistance takes.

The notion has often been emphasized that the objective of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) - and now Syria has been included - is to liquidate Israel. If the objective were to liquidate Israel, there would not have been an effort on the part of the member States of the Arab League, including the PLO and Syria, for the convening of an international Middle East conference to bring about the consummation of all the resolutions of the United Nations. There is no resolution of the United Nations that calls for the liquidation of Israel. What we are asking in these deliberations of the Council is, what Israel is it that seeks to continue? It has been the international consensus that the borders before 1967 constitute the parameters. We have asked those in the Security Council, and outside of it, to spell out very clearly if they accept the territorial parameters that have been prescribed in Security Council resolution 242 (1967). We would like

(Mr. Maksoud)

to know who is violating the basis of an overall settlement by establishing "Jewish villages" in these territories? The notion of liquidation has often been raised. The PLO, in 1969, when it advocated a democratic secular State, made an intellectual historical reconciliation with the Jewish presence in Palestine. Perhaps it did not accept the Zionist structures, but it accepted an intellectual historical reconciliation. It stated that because somebody is a Jew, that does not disqualify him from being in Palestine, but because somebody is a Jew that does not allow him absolute hegemony over the entirety of Palestine. That was the element of that intellectual reconciliation.

Subsequently, when after a total Israeli rejection of the proposal, the PLO stated that it wanted to establish a national authority over any part of occupied Palestine that had been evacuated by the Israelis. In the first resolutions we accepted the 1967 frontiers provided that the Palestinians right to self-determination would be restored. Therefore, the question of liquidation is only a red herring, to divert attention from Israel's own self-righteous contempt of the various United Nations resolutions. That is why we state that what is crucial at this moment is that the question of liquidation is a red herring, to avoid withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories.

Furthermore, when it was said that it is the function of government to establish law and order, is the government a government in occupied territories, or is it an occupation authority? It is not a government, when Israel is in East Jerusalem; it is not a government, when Israel is in Gaza or in the Syrian Golan Heights; it is not a government when it is in South Lebanon; it is not a government, when it is in the West Bank. It is an occupation authority. It is not even a military authority. The military is only one single aspect of an occupation authority. Therefore, we are still dealing with a diversionary tactic, a

(Mr. Maksoud)

filibustering campaign, an attempt to avoid addressing the issues before the Council and an attempt to perpetuate occupation under different names. Therefore, it is not the function of the Israeli Government to police. It might be the temporary function of the occupation authorities to comply with the Geneva Conventions, but it is not the function of the Government of Israel to establish the prelude to perpetual occupation and annexation.

The PRESIDENT: In view of the lateness of the hour, I intend to adjourn the meeting now. With the concurrence of the members of the Council, the next meeting of the Security Council to continue the consideration of the item on the agenda will take place today at 4 p.m.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

