



# Security Council

PROVISIONAL

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ENGLISH

## PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIFTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Wednesday, 22 January 1986, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. LI Luye

(China)

Members: Australia  
Bulgaria  
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  
United States of America  
Venezuela

Mr. WOOLCOTT  
Mr. TSVETKOV  
Mr. ADOUKI  
Mr. BIERRING  
Mr. de KEMOULARIA  
Mr. GBEHO  
Mr. RABETAFIKA  
Mr. KASEMSRI  
Mr. ALLEYNE  
Mr. SAFRONCHUK  
Mr. AL-SHAALI  
  
Mr. MAXEY  
Ms. BYRNE  
Mr. PABON

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The meeting was called to order at 11.05 a.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES

- (a) LETTER DATED 16 JANUARY 1986 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF MOROCCO TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/17740)
- (b) LETTER DATED 16 JANUARY 1986 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/17741)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): In accordance with decisions taken by the Council at previous meetings on this item, I invite the representative of Morocco to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Egypt, Israel, Jordan, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the Syrian Arab Republic to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Alaoui (Morocco) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Shaker (Egypt), Mr. Netanyahu (Israel), Mr. Kasrawi (Jordan), Mr. Azzarouk (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Shah Nawaz (Pakistan), Mr. Al-Kawari (Qatar), Mr. Shihabi (Saudi Arabia) and Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Bangladesh 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

(The President)

propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to take part 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. Chowdhury (Bangladesh) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

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

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

Mr. AL-KAWARI (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): I am grateful for this opportunity to speak before the Security Council as it considers an issue with a deep hold on the feelings of Moslems throughout the world, an issue to which they attach the highest importance because it relates to a holy shrine of Islam surpassed in sanctity to Moslems only by the shrine at Mecca and the shrine of the Prophet - peace be upon him - at Medina.

(Mr. Al-Kawari, Qatar)

The first question which must be raised is the following: what was the intention behind the so-called visit of members of the Internal Affairs Committee of the Israeli Knesset to the Al-Aqsa Mosque? Was it a tourist visit, was it an official visit with the particular aim of earmarking places of worship in the Mosque for those of the Jewish faith, or was it merely an act of provocation and an attempt to inflame the feelings of Moslems during their noon prayers in the Al-Aqsa Mosque? Obviously, that visit was part of the Zionist plan to control the Al-Aqsa Mosque, and of the general trend of Israeli expansionism; it is a policy aimed at entrenching the Israeli occupation of Arab territories, particularly Jerusalem, and at eradicating all of that Holy City's cultural and physical landmarks which evidence its Arab character and Islamic history. In short, it is an attempt to legitimise baseless Zionist claims.

The faithful who were praying, who were neither intruders nor "extremists", as they were misleadingly described in the letter dated 15 January 1986 from the Permanent Representative of Israel (S/17739). No wonder they confronted the Knesset members who intruded on their right of prayer and desecrated another religion's house of worship where the intruders had no right to be in the first place.

It is indeed strange that the letter of the Israeli representative described that visit as routine. By what logic can the storming of a place of prayer of the faithful of another religion - particularly when the so-called visitors held official positions in the organs of an illegitimate force of occupation - be described as routine? How could it not inflame the feelings of the faithful of the desecrated shrine?

It is noteworthy that among those intruders - those "visitors" - were a number of well-known extremists who advocate the expulsion of Moslem and non-Moslem Arabs

(Mr. Al-Kawari, Qatar)

beyond their borders in order to "purify" the so-called Land of Israel. Among them were some known to aspire to the demolition of the Al-Aqsa Mosque and to the establishment of a Jewish synagogue in its place. Such was the slogan raised by the so-called visitors on 9 January when they tried to raise the Israeli flag in the Al-Haram Al-Sharif. Israel's repeated claims that it is committed to freedom of religion and that it ensures the rights of all religious communities - including the right of free access to places of worship - are indeed strange, unless, of course, it means by those claims the freedom of access of the Jews to the places of worship of other religions.

This is, indeed, a very serious issue threatening the most dire consequences for Islamic religious places. In itself, it is a flagrant contravention of the principle of respect for the places of worship of every religion which should be frequented and used only for the purpose of worship by the faithful of that religion. Indeed, does Israel permit Moslems, or for that matter Christians, to frequent or to pray in Jewish synagogues? No. Therefore, why was it the right of the members of the Knesset, and the dozens accompanying them, to storm the Al-Aqsa Mosque at the time of prayer, and how can that be described merely as a routine visit?

The horror of what has been taking place since 8 January is compounded, not lessened by condoning the act and attempting to describe it as a routine visit. That act shows how much the Zionist authorities underestimate the seriousness of this issue in the minds of the faithful of another religion, Islam.

Equal responsibility must be borne by zionism, and by those who consider the Zionist entity an example for the civilized world, a beacon for democracy and the respect of human rights. Do they still insist on deluding themselves? Are they

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still attempting to mislead others? Is this their understanding of the principle of respect for human rights?

Let us recall the past. Let us compare the shameful position of the representative of the civilized world with the exemplary stance of Omar Ibn El-khattab, the second Caliph of the Moslems, in whose era the Holy City of Jerusalem was opened. He was visiting the landmarks of the City when the time of prayer came; some of his companions, with the best of intentions, suggested that they pray in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Omar refused, saying, "I fear that Moslems coming after me will say, 'Omar prayed here', and that they will then change the church to a mosque." That is respect for other religions. That is how the Holy Places must be maintained, not through provocative visits of dubious intent by Knesset members, nor by attempting to raise the Star of David over the Dome of the Rock in sacred Al-Quds.

This is not the first time this Council has been seized of Israel's behaviour vis-à-vis the Islamic Holy Places in Al-Quds: in its resolution 271 (1969) of 15 September 1969, the Council called upon Israel to desist from violating Islamic Holy Places and from hindering the functions of the Islamic religious authorities in that connection.

The act of aggression to which the Al-Aqsa Mosque fell victim at that time may have been the act of a so-called mentally deranged person, but this act of aggression was perpetrated by the Israeli authorities themselves, thus revealing Israel's responsibility more clearly than was recorded by the Council in 1969. We sincerely hope that this Council will on this occasion adopt a firm resolution that will prohibit the Israeli authorities from intervening in any way in the affairs of the Islamic Holy Places, prevent the members of the Israeli governmental organs

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from entering those Holy Places under the pretext of routine visits and ensure the return of Al-Quds Al-Sharif to its natural status. That is what we expect of the Security Council; it is the only way to prevent a deterioration of the current situation, the dimensions of which cannot be predicted.

What is the common denominator between the issues before this Security Council relating to the behaviour and practices of the two racist régimes in South Africa and occupied Palestine? The common denominator is that those two régimes do not implement the resolutions of this Council. Is there not a resolution calling for the independence of Namibia? Indeed, there is. Why, then, does that issue keep coming before the Council? Because the resolution has not been implemented.

(Mr. Al-Kawari, Qatar)

Why does the question of the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon come before this Council from time to time? Is there not a resolution on that subject? Indeed, there are many resolutions on it. The problem is the non-implementation of the resolutions. Are there not resolutions concerning the item before the Council today? Indeed, there is, among others, resolution 271 (1969). But the item remains on the agenda. The problem is the non-implementation of the resolutions.

The Security Council was convened following the Zionist act of aggression against Tunisia and the bombing of the headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organization. At that time the Council adopted, unanimously, resolution 573 (1985). In that resolution the Council, after condemning the aggression, demanded that Israel refrain from perpetrating such acts of aggression or from the threat to do so and stated that Tunisia had the right to appropriate reparations. Has that resolution been implemented? In a note verbale dated 13 January 1986 from the representative of Tunisia, the reply is given to that question. The representative of Tunisia states:

"The Security Council, in accordance with the mission entrusted to it by the Charter and with the responsibilities incumbent on it for the maintenance of international peace and security, should not tolerate a situation in which the State responsible for the aggression against Tunisia refuses to submit to the decision of the international community and continues deliberately to flout its resolutions and to place itself above and outside international law.

"In order to assert its credibility, the Council must impose its decision on Israel or else apply to it the sanctions that it deems suitable."

(S/17735, p. 3)

We would not have had recourse to the Security Council had we not placed our trust in the United Nations, and particularly the Council, and had we not



(Mr. Al-Kawari, Qatar)

entertained the constant hope that the Council would overcome its current problems: the non-implementation of its resolutions. There is a grave issue before the Council now. We hope that the Council will deal with it in a manner commensurate with that gravity, in order to avoid the dire consequences that could flow from trampling under foot the moral and religious values of millions of persons.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): 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. SHAKER (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): First, I express to you, Sir, sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. My country had the honour of being a member of the Security Council in 1984 and 1985. During that period we had close relations with your delegation and were able to appreciate your great skill and abilities. We are confident that under your leadership the Council's work will be crowned with success.

In that connection, I express thanks to all the members and non-members of the Council that during this month have expressed their appreciation for the role played by Egypt and the contribution it made to the Council's work throughout its period of membership. We wish the new members of the Council all success in shouldering their great tasks and responsibilities.

(Mr. Shaker, Egypt)

"Glory to God  
Who did take His Servant  
For a Journey by night  
From the Sacred Mosque  
To the Farthest Mosque,  
Whose precincts We did  
Bless - in order that We  
Might show him some  
Of Our Signs: for He  
Is the One Who heareth  
And seeth all things." (Sura XVII.1)

The people and Government of Egypt have learned with great indignation and anger of the actions of some Israeli extremists who have attempted to violate the sanctity of the Al-Aqsa Mosque, the first of the two Kiblahs and the third holiest shrine. This is not the first time that these fanatical elements have violated the area of Haram Al-Sharif, without any regard for Moslem Holy Places and historical rights. But there is something new, indeed critical, now: the participation of members of the Israeli Knesset and Israeli officials in these acts. My country energetically condemns that participation.

A statement made on 19 January 1986 by Mr. Ahaed Essamat Abdel Meguid, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country, to the Arab Affairs, Defence and Foreign Affairs Committees of the Parliament contains the following paragraph on the recent events in Al-Quds:

"I wish to place on record Egypt's total rejection of Israel's practices in the city of Al-Quds, and especially in regard to the Al-Aqsa Mosque. That Mosque is so sacred to and has such spiritual value for hundreds of millions

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of Moslems throughout the world that tampering with it in any way is a matter of deep concern to Moslems and only creates more obstacles to the establishment of the desired peace. We must say in all sincerity and frankness that, in our view, to inflame religious feelings at this very critical stage for our region entails grave dangers that would certainly have a very negative effect on the peace efforts and the chances for achieving peace. In all its international contacts and in all international and regional forums, Egypt has already set forth its clear, unequivocal position on the City of Al-Quds. I clearly and unequivocally repeat that position today."

These illegal practices and violations are a direct result of the occupation enforced by Israel on the Arab city of East Jerusalem, Al-Quds - a city which has always been, throughout the history of mankind, the embodiment of religious tolerance, peace and stability for mankind. That is the reason for the grief we all feel and the determination to ensure the implementation of the position of the international community, which rejects all these violations and practices.

These violations and practices are a manifestation not only of the desire by some fanatical elements of Israeli society to ensure further acts of provocation against Arab and Islamic rights, but also the desire to arouse further doubts and misgivings about the possibility of the establishment of peace in the Land of Peace.

There can be no doubt that the responsibility for the deterioration of the situation in Al-Quds and the occupied Arab territories must be borne by the Governments of Israel that have succeeded each other since 1967. The aim of all those Governments has been the annexation of the Arab territories, especially Al-Quds, to Israel. They have refused to implement the many resolutions on the subject adopted by the international community, as represented in the General

(Mr. Shaker, Egypt)

Assembly, the Security Council and other forums. The United Nations became fully aware of the dangers inherent in Israel's actions and practices concerning Al-Quds immediately after the Israeli Government, in 1967, amended its laws to extend its legislative and administrative authority to any part of the occupied Arab territories that it regarded as the land of Israel.

(Mr. Shaker, Egypt)

On 14 July 1967, the General Assembly rejected those practices in resolutions 2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V) which described the Israeli measures to annex Jerusalem as invalid. The General Assembly called on Israel to rescind all those measures and to desist forthwith from taking any action that would alter the status of Jerusalem.

The United Nations did not stop at that; indeed, it has continued to oppose all the other practices adopted by Israel. In 1968 the Security Council adopted resolution 252 (1968), which states that the expropriation of the land of the Arab inhabitants of Al-Quds and their expulsion are invalid. Since then more resolutions have been adopted, reflecting the international unanimity on the need to oppose and confront all those developments. Those resolutions include resolution 271 (1969), which called on Israel to observe the Geneva Conventions in regard to the city of Al-Quds and urged it to respect the rights of Islamic institutions and to protect sacred, historical, holy places in Al-Quds. Resolution 298 (1971) confirmed that the actions taken by Israel to change the status of Al-Quds were totally invalid, and resolution 476 (1980) repeated the call to Israel to cease its procedures aimed at changing the city's character and status.

Egypt's firm and unwavering position with regard to the Israeli occupation of Arab East Jerusalem is set out in many documents and official declarations by Egypt. It may be summed up in the following points: first, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory through war and the view that the Israeli measures to annex Jerusalem are a grave violation of the principles of international law and a departure from international legitimacy; secondly, the need for Israel to withdraw from East Jerusalem (Al-Quds), which is an indivisible part of the occupied West Bank, so that Arab sovereignty over the territory may be restored; thirdly, the right of the inhabitants of Al-Quds, who form a part of the population of the West

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Bank, and of the Palestinian Arab people as a whole, to exercise their legitimate national rights, including the right to self-determination; and fourthly, ensuring the freedom of all parties to perform their religious rites in their places of worship, with free passage for the adherents of each faith.

Today the international community and the Security Council once again find that they have to counter the challenges and the defiance of Israeli extremist elements, whose practices are not only a violation of the norms of international law and an infringement of the Islamic rights in the Holy City, but also a threat to all Middle East peace efforts aimed at achieving a just, comprehensive and final settlement of the dispute. Such a settlement could be based on the following elements: first, Israel's complete withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, including Arab East Jerusalem, which must return to Arab sovereignty; secondly, resolution of the Palestinian question on the basis of guaranteeing the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people and the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), its legitimate representative, in the efforts to achieve a comprehensive settlement; and, thirdly, safeguarding the right of all peoples and States in the Middle East to live in peace and with good-neighbourly relations within secure borders.

The international community is called upon today once again to reaffirm its position concerning the status of East Jerusalem and Arab rights there, with reaffirmation of the following points: first, the inadmissibility of the occupation of land through military force; secondly, the sanctity of Al-Haram Al-Sharif and an immediate end to any provocative acts or acts that violate inherent, inalienable Arab and Islamic rights in the Al-Haram area; thirdly, Israel's adherence to the Geneva Conventions and the principles of international law which govern and define the responsibilities of the occupying Power and

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acceptance of the fact that the Government of Israel should not hamper the work of the Supreme Moslem Council responsible for Al-Haram's affairs; and fourthly, the illegitimacy of all Israeli practices aimed at changing the nature, the status or the demographic composition of the occupied Arab territories, including Arab East Jerusalem.

What is required today of all peace-loving forces and all forces trying to achieve peace is effective action to halt the deterioration of the situation in Arab Jerusalem, Al-Quds, and other occupied Arab territories. The attainment of that objective requires that we all oppose the forces of extremism and provocation, which feed on tension and flourish in a climate of incitement and provocation. What is required today of the peace forces inside Israel is that they persevere in their efforts to enable a return to focusing on the re-establishment of bridges of confidence, which is the indispensable prerequisite for the creation of the necessary climate to start new, serious negotiations between all the parties within the framework of an international peace conference to achieve a comprehensive lasting and just settlement of the dispute.

Finally, we wish to send from this forum to our brethren, the Palestinian people in Al-Quds and the rest of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, our greetings and our appreciation of their firm stance in countering those forces that attempt to infringe their national rights and profane their religious sacred places.

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

The next speaker is His Excellency Mr. Massamba Sarrá, 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): In my dual capacity as representative of Senegal and Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, I wish to thank the Council for allowing me to participate once again in a debate on the situation in the occupied Arab territories. I wish to express my appreciation to the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Group of Arab States for having taken the initiative in requesting the convening of this important series of meetings, in the light of the serious events that have taken place in Jerusalem in recent weeks.

May I at the same time, Sir, congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of January. My delegation is convinced that under your leadership the Council will succeed in taking the necessary measures in this crucial situation.



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

I wish also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, the Ambassador of Burkina Faso, for the exemplary way in which he guided the work of the Council in December.

I take this opportunity to congratulate the new members of the Council, Bulgaria, the Congo, Ghana, the United Arab Emirates and Venezuela. I am certain they will contribute to the success of the Council's work.

The word Jerusalem is in itself enough to arouse emotions in the hearts of many, be they Moslem, Christian or Jewish. For Moslems, it is a holy site of Islam. I believe it was yesterday that the representative of Saudi Arabia read out to the Council a passage from the Holy Koran concerning the nocturnal voyage of the Prophet Mohammed; I also know that in their prayers Moslems turn towards Jerusalem. For Christians, it is the cradle of Christianity and Jesus Christ. And for Jews it is the cradle of Abraham, Moses and Solomon.

I say this to indicate that the situation in the Middle East is extremely complex. The Council has already discussed it at length in all its aspects. For a number of years we have been trying with patience, determination and resolve to find ways and means of arriving at a just and lasting peace in order to make it possible for the Palestinian people and all the States and peoples of the region to live in a spirit of understanding and comprehension.

And now another element has been added, an extremely serious element - a denominational element - an element fraught with consequences and emotions, which the Council should not have had to consider.

In any event the facts are before us and they must be discussed

We have followed with grave concern the recent events on the Temple Mount and the increased tension and violence that resulted. The facts are clear. According to information contained in the Israeli and international press, a delegation of

(Mr. Sarré, Chairman, Committee on  
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Israeli parliamentarians composed of members of the Interior Committee of the Knesset and others visited the Temple Mount twice in less than a week and with their behaviour provoked serious incidents between the police and Palestinian Arab demonstrators. The visits had of course been organized with the consent of the Moslem authorities in Jerusalem; they were to be limited to members of the Committee of parliamentarians and the purpose was the inspection of construction works that were under way. It is therefore unforgivable that certain parliamentarians, accompanied by militants known for having called for complete Jewish control over the Moslem Holy Places and for having on many occasions tried to organize prayer groups, used the visits as a pretext to commit acts of provocation. In fact, according to the Jerusalem Post and Ha'aretz, during the first visit, which took place on 8 January, disturbances broke out when some of those extremists insisted on photographing the group, apparently to have proof of their presence there.

It must be mentioned that these persons were led by the head of a movement that advocates the destruction of the Dome of the Rock and the reconstruction of the Jewish temple and that among the Knesset members there was also a deputy who has called for the expulsion of Arabs from Jerusalem and the West Bank and who was one of the leaders of the movement for Jewish settlement in the heart of the Arab city of Hebron.

In response to that provocation, the Moslem religious authorities immediately appealed to the Palestinian Arabs residing in Jerusalem to gather together within the Mosque. The deputies then called the police, and as soon as they arrived on the scene they threw tear-gas grenades and fired warning shots, which in fact wounded five Palestinian Arabs.

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The events of the following days demonstrated that it was a premeditated operation, not an isolated incident. According to the newspaper Ha'aretz of 9 January, General Sharon entered the sanctuary escorted by a large police contingent and made a statement requesting the coexistence of Jews and Arabs in that place - something which, in any case, we already knew. Three Zionist militants then attempted to raise the Israeli flag in the sanctuary, but they were prevented from doing so by Moslem guards. At the same time certain members of the Government, such as the Minister of Health, raised the question of a revision of the agreements with the Moslem authorities concerning the Temple Mount in order to guarantee freer access to Jews.

On 14 January, according to Le Monde, the second visit of the Knesset delegation took place on an esplanade of the Mosque in a state of siege at which more than 600 Israeli police and border guards were stationed. The troubles broke out when, upon the request of the Chairman of the Committee, a deputy belonging to the party of the extreme right, Tehiya, began reading the Kaddish, the prayer for the dead. Some 150 demonstrators then attempted to break the police barricade, and according to the police a riot of disastrous proportions was avoided thanks only to the withdrawal of the Israeli deputies. The demonstrators were then dispersed with tear-gas, and 19 persons were arrested. Those are the facts.

This behaviour of the Israeli parliamentarians was undoubtedly a profanation of one of the most sacred places of Islam and an affront to the feelings of the believers, thus arousing anger and indignation not only in the occupied Arab territories but also in the Moslem world at large. In the already highly charged atmosphere of the region, as I said at the outset, that religious provocation has compounded the political conflict, with unforeseeable and perhaps disastrous consequences for international peace and security.

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We cannot but conclude that, just like the growing colonisation and other Israeli practices in the occupied territories, those actions were aimed at establishing permanent Israeli domination over all of Jerusalem and the occupied territories and creating a fait accompli by encouraging Arabs to emigrate permanently from their country.

In this context it should be recalled that since 1967 the Israelis have committed many acts of aggression against the Moslem and Christian Holy Places. Clearly because of their fundamental importance and their religious symbolism for the Arab and Moslem world, Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock have been targets of a large number of these attacks. Suffice it to recall in this respect the excavation work conducted on the west and south sides of Al-Aqsa Mosque, extended by a tunnel penetrating under the mosque and thus weakening the entire structure. We also recall that criminal arson was committed in the Mosque in August 1969. In April 1982, there was an armed attack on the Mosque. In March 1983 and January 1984 attempts were even made to blow up the structure. It is clear that we must conclude that the events of last week fit within the framework of those reprehensible attacks.

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Members will recall also that at the time of the fire in 1969 the Council adopted resolution 271 (1969) in which it recognized that any act of destruction or profanation of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites in Jerusalem or any encouragement of, or connivance at, any such act might seriously endanger international peace and security, and the Council noted that the execrable act of desecration and profanation of the Holy Al-Aqsa Mosque emphasized the immediate necessity of Israel's desisting from acting in violation of resolutions 252 (1968) and 267 (1969) and rescinding forthwith all measures and actions taken by it designed to alter the status of Jerusalem.

The resolution also called upon Israel scrupulously to observe the provisions of the Geneva Conventions and international law governing military occupation and to refrain from causing any hindrance to the discharge of the established functions of the Supreme Moslem Council of Jerusalem. Lastly, the Council condemned the failure of Israel to comply with resolutions 252 (1968) and 267 (1969) concerning the status of Jerusalem and called upon it to implement forthwith the provisions of those resolutions.

I need not remind this Council of the great number of resolutions it has adopted in this respect and in which it has always reaffirmed the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by military conquest; it has confirmed in the most explicit terms that all legislative and administrative measures taken by Israel to change the status of Jerusalem, in particular the "fundamental law", are in violation of the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949; as such, they are completely null and void and must therefore be rescinded immediately.

In the light of these resolutions which commanded a consensus in this Council, my country, Senegal, and the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People deplore the statement made by the Prime Minister of Israel

(Mr. Sarré, Chairman, Committee on  
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following the recent events that "Israel's sovereignty over all Jerusalem, including the Temple Mount, is an unassailable fact which need not be further put to the test". That quote was taken from Le Monde of 16 January 1986.

In my delegation's view, the status of Jerusalem is one of the fundamental issues in the Middle East dispute, and the settlement of that question should be envisaged within the framework of a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East in which implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as defined by the General Assembly would have a central place.

In this respect the Committee has unceasingly stressed that tension and violence will continue to grow in the occupied territories as long as the question of Palestine remains unresolved; it has unceasingly addressed urgent appeals to the Security Council to follow up on the recommendations of the Committee and of the General Assembly for a just and lasting settlement of this question.

It is therefore more urgent than ever to initiate the negotiation process, under the auspices of the United Nations. In this respect it is fitting to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for all his efforts to that end. Pursuant to guidelines established by the General Assembly, negotiations should begin in a spirit of understanding and co-operation and with respect for the fundamental interests of all parties concerned.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I thank the representative of Senegal and 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 the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I call on him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. AZZAROUK (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): We are meeting today to discuss the latest in a series of numerous and continuing Zionist violations of the sanctity of Holy Places in the sacred city of Al-Quds. At the end of these deliberations we will hear those who wish to turn the facts on their heads seeking to turn the aggressor into the victim and the victim into an extremist aggressor. Indeed, he will not hesitate to describe our discussions again, as he did last week, as being jocular discussions, encouraged in this by the protective umbrella which he enjoys in this Security Council, an umbrella which has prevented and continues to prevent the Council from condemning or denouncing or even expressing its regret over his illegitimate behaviour. Therefore he will disregard our deliberations and merely qualify them as he sees fit.

The Zionist entity itself in a letter addressed to the Secretary-General on 15 January recognized and admitted that a number of members of the Interior Committee of the so-called Israeli Knesset undertook a routine visit to the Holy Places in the Dome of the Rock. However, the letter did not mention the aim of that visit. It did not mention why some members of the Knesset objected to that visit. Let us complete that letter for him. The aim of that visit was to earmark an appropriate place in the courtyards of Al-Haram al-Sharif to rebuild "the holiest of temples". The reason some Arab members of the Knesset objected to that visit was that it was a flagrant violation of the sanctity of the sacred Masjid al-Aqsa - the Dome of the Rock - and of all Islamic Holy Places in the city, as well as a flagrant provocation of the feelings of Moslems.

Naturally, that letter did not mention that Gershon Solomon was with the aforementioned Committee at the head of a demonstration of approximately 20 people. We did not expect the representative of the Zionist entity to remind us of Gershon Solomon and the movement he leads whose foremost aim is to destroy the Dome of the Rock and rebuild "the holiest of temples". We had not expected

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the representative of the Zionist entity to mention the provocative visit of Ariel Sharon, the butcher of the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila, on 9 January to the courtyard of Al-Haram al-Sharif. We had not expected him to speak of the other provocative visits planned by Geula Cohen, member of the Nazi-Jewish Knesset, to the courtyard of the Al-Haram al-Sharif. That the Zionist Knesset or its speaker may not have been aware in advance of these provocative visits does not exonerate it or the entity it represents of full responsibility for these premeditated violations of Islamic Holy Places and provocation of the feelings of Moslems and all Islamic Holy Places in the city.



(Mr. Azwarouk, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

The Zionist so-called Knesset was the body which voted on 27 June 1967 to annex the Arab part of Al-Quds. It did so only three weeks after the Zionist entity's acts of aggression on the morning of 5 June 1967 against Syria, Egypt and Jordan. The Knesset's vote to annex the Arab part of the City of Al-Quds that soon and at that level was tantamount to Zionist recognition of the fact that the annexation of the Arab part of the City of Al-Quds was one of the main objectives of the Zionist aggression of 5 June 1967. While the Zionist Knesset is directly responsible for the desecration of Holy Places in the City of Al-Quds, that does not lessen the international community's own responsibility for those violations.

That leads us to speak of the reasons that paved the way for the Zionist entity's plan to alter the characteristics of the City of Al-Quds, to Judaize it, and to change its landmarks and Arab and Islamic character, thus violating the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, which does not give the occupier any right to change or alter the demographic character of the occupied Arab territories.

The City of Al-Quds is the crossroads of the three revealed religions; it is Arab land and has been for thousands of years. During all those centuries the Arabs guaranteed the right of access to the faithful of the three revealed religions to perform their religious duties. The right to worship and the maintenance of the Holy Places was organized following upon the 1878 Berlin Conference, which divided the religious buildings, according to place and time, and established rules governing religious rites.

On 29 January 1947 the United Nations adopted a resolution on the internationalization of the City of Al-Quds as a result of which an international system was imposed on a genuine Arab city without the prior agreement of those having sovereignty over it - the Arabs who had sovereignty, and have had sovereignty, over that city for thousands of years - although we know that all

(Mr. Azzarouk, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

régimes of internationalization presume prior agreement of the sovereign State, which alone has the right to concede its sovereignty by means of a treaty. That was the case in respect of Tangiers and Trieste. As for the internationalization of the City of Al-Quds, that took place without consultation with those having regional or territorial sovereignty. Indeed, a régime was imposed upon it which made the city a separate entity under United Nations administration. The Arab States rejected and will continue to reject the internationalization of the City of Al-Quds, because that internationalization perpetuates the Zionist aggression against that Holy City.

It is truly paradoxical that on 15 May 1950 the Zionist entity proposed in a memorandum the internationalization of the City of Al-Quds, but that idea was shelved following the occupation of the City and the annexation of both its sectors by armed force. In this connection, Moshe Dayan was very clear. He could not contain his joy following the occupation of the City in June 1967 and spoke in front of the Wailing Wall about the Zionist entity's intention to annex the City, as follows:

"We have reunified the Holy City. We have returned to our most sacred places. We have returned and we will never leave."

As for the Grand Rabbi of the Zionist Army, he was much clearer than Moshe Dayan. He shouted in front of the Wailing Wall:

"A people meets its capital. A capital welcomes its people. They shall never separate."

Only a few days later, on 27 June 1967, as I have already mentioned, the Zionist Knesset voted to annex the Arab part of Al-Quds. The United Nations failed to protect the international régime it had chosen for the City of Al-Quds, although on 29 January 1947 it had decided to internationalize Al-Quds at the same time it decided to partition Palestine.

(Mr. Azkarouk, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

Behind the mask of the internationalization régime - which theoretically remained a dead letter - the Zionist entity attempted to expand its empire by seizing a part of the City and then by seizing the whole City. Despite the international community's condemnation, expressed at a special session of the General Assembly convened in June 1967 by a resolution adopted on 4 July 1967 on the annexation of the Arab part of Jerusalem, in which the General Assembly called on the Zionist entity to rescind all measures aimed at changing the status of the City, that entity has not responded to the General Assembly resolution and rescinded any of its annexationist measures. Despite Security Council resolutions 237 (1967), 252 (1968), 267 (1969), 271 (1969), 298 (1971), 465 (1980) and 478 (1980), the Zionist entity continues to occupy the Holy City of Al-Quds and every inch of Palestine, in addition to Syrian, Egyptian and Jordanian lands.

The Zionist occupation of Palestine and other Arab territories is the reason that any desecration of the Holy Places in Al-Quds, Bethlehem or Hebron falls within the framework of the Zionist occupation of Palestine and the occupied Arab territories. The City of Al-Quds, with such a rich history, will continue to languish under and suffer from Zionist occupation and its illegal practices, instead of existing in an atmosphere of conciliation and respect under Arab rule.

The international community cannot be absolved of responsibility for the continuation of that occupation. The Zionist entity came into being in the United Nations, which legitimized it internationally immediately after its birth. Therefore, the international community bears responsibility for the results of the entity's violation of laws and international norms. In addition, the international community bears responsibility for the results of the entity's disregard of the United Nations Charter, the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and its continued occupation of Palestinian and Arab lands by force of arms.

(Mr. Azzarouk, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

The international community bears responsibility for the protection that the Zionist entity enjoys in the Security Council and the relative support in the General Assembly. That protection and support encourage the Zionist entity to continue disregarding the international community and undermining its credibility. If that protection and support continue, we shall hear of more violations of the sanctity of Holy Places in Al-Quds, Bethlehem and Hebron, as well as on every inch of the occupied territories.

The phenomenon of terrorism runs amuck in the City of Al-Quds because the international community condones the occupier. Therefore we can expect further illegal Zionist acts such as the demolition of Islamic and Christian Holy Places in Al-Quds, particularly since some Zionist terrorist organizations pride themselves on their intention to rebuild the third temple on the ruins of the Holy Al-Aqsa Mosque. It was solely for that reason that members of the Interior Commission of the Zionist so-called Knesset visited Al-Haram Al-Sharif - to earmark an appropriate place to rebuild the holiest of temples.

Every day and on every occasion the Zionist entity reaffirms its flouting of the international community's will, its disregard of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, and its rejection of commitments stemming from the United Nations Charter - all of which proves that it is a non-peace-loving entity not deserving of United Nations membership.

The time has come for the Security Council to improve its credibility and impose respect for its resolutions. That can be achieved only by denying the Zionist entity membership in the United Nations and resorting to all the means provided in the Charter, as well as imposing mandatory economic sanctions against it, until it heeds the will of the international community and respects the resolutions of this international body.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have just received a letter from the representative of Turkey 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 him 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. Turkmen (Turkey) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Chinese): I invite the representative of Turkey to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. TURKMEN (Turkey): I wish to thank you, Sir, and the other members of the Security Council for having accorded me the opportunity to make a statement.

May I convey to you my warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of January. It gives me great pleasure to see in the chair of the Council the representative of the People's Republic of China, with which my country enjoys traditional and constantly growing bonds of friendship, a friendship strengthened by the sentiments of admiration and affection of the Turkish people towards the great people of China. Having had the privilege of co-operating with you in a different capacity, I am all the more confident that your extensive diplomatic experience will enable you to guide the discussions of the Security Council to constructive results.

I wish also to pay tribute to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Burkina Faso, who conducted the work of the Council in December with distinction and diligence.

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

The Permanent Representative of Morocco, speaking in his capacity as Current Chairman of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, and the Permanent Representative of the United Arab Emirates and the other speakers who have preceded me, have related in a detailed manner the grave incidents that have taken place in Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem. Those statements, and the urgent convening of the Committee on Jerusalem by His Majesty the King of Morocco, reflect the outrage and revulsion felt throughout the Islamic countries at the desecration of the Holy Muslim Shrines in Jerusalem. We have heard also the statement of the Permanent Representative of Israel, who argued that the information submitted to the Council was inaccurate. I must say that we find his statement far from being convincing and credible, in particular in the light of the deplorable Israeli practices in occupied territories and violations of the various Security Council resolutions dealing with the status of Jerusalem. We believe, therefore, that the Security Council should seriously examine a matter which is of interest to all the Muslims of the world. In fact, the preservation of the historical character of Jerusalem, where the Holy Shrines of three religions are situated, is of concern to the whole world. The Security Council has adopted several resolutions on this subject with which the position of the Government of Israel is totally irreconcilable. In view of the fact that this position has been reiterated only yesterday, we consider that, in any case, the principles enunciated by the Security Council in its resolutions on Jerusalem should be reconfirmed and Israel invited to comply strictly with them.

Not only as an Islamic country but also because of its historical connection with Jerusalem, Turkey is extremely sensitive to any development that affects negatively the character of this Holy City. The Ottoman Empire throughout centuries scrupulously safeguarded the historical character of Jerusalem and

(Mr. Turkmen, Turkey)

preserved it as a site of religious veneration for all three monotheistic religions. This concept underlines General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947, as well as the relevant resolutions the Security Council has adopted after the occupation by Israel of the whole of Jerusalem.

Let me emphasize that Turkey attaches particular importance to the maintenance and strict observance of the special status and unique character of Jerusalem, as stated and reiterated unequivocally in previous resolutions of the Council, as well as in resolutions of the General Assembly. In this connection we should like once again to place on record our deep preoccupation over Israel's continued disregard of the Council's relevant resolutions and its unjustifiable and illegal attempts to assert its sovereignty over Jerusalem and alter the unique identity of the city.

Turkey strongly deplores the incidents that have rightfully compelled Morocco and the United Arab Emirates, as Current Chairmen of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and of the Arab Group, respectively, to call for the convening of the Council. We should like to express our conviction that, under the circumstances, the Security Council will not hesitate to take a stand that will meet the anguish provoked by recent incidents.

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

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

Mr. CROWDHURY (Bangladesh): Allow me at the outset, Sir, to extend my delegation's warm felicitations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of January. Our two countries are bound by close bonds of friendship and co-operation. We are confident that, under your able and

(Mr. Chowdhury, Bangladesh)

proven leadership, the Council will achieve concrete and positive results during the current month.

We should also like to convey our deep appreciation to Ambassador Bassole of Burkina Faso for the commendable manner in which he guided the work of the Council during the preceding month.

Since this is the first time my delegation has taken part in the Council's debates in the current year, we should like to take this opportunity to felicitate the newly elected non-permanent members - Bulgaria, the Congo, Ghana, the United Arab Emirates and Venezuela - which have joined the Council this year. Similarly, we wish to record our deep appreciation to the outgoing members - Burkina Faso, Egypt, India, Peru and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic - for their valuable contributions in the deliberations of the Council during their tenure.

The current Security Council debate is taking place at the joint initiative of Morocco and the United Arab Emirates - Chairmen of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Arab Group respectively - to consider the recent grave and despicable incidents of desecration of the Holy Al-Aqsa Mosque in Al-Quds Al-Sharif. Members of the Council are all aware that this was not the first time that the Zionists have tried to violate the sanctity of the Holy Places of Islam in Jerusalem and in other occupied Arab and Palestinian territories. Ever since the wanton act of arson of the Holy Al Aqsa Mosque in 1969, the Israeli authorities have been making consistent attempts to Judaize the Holy Places of Islam by perpetrating premeditated acts of aggression with a view to changing their Islamic character. The recent events have once again revealed that evil Zionist design.



(Mr. Chowdhury, Bangladesh)

On 8 January, when Palestinian and Arab worshippers were offering their mid-day prayers, some members of the Israeli Knesset, accompanied by a group of people who belong to a movement calling for the destruction of the Dome of the Rock and for the rebuilding of the "Temple", walked into the holy Al-Aqsa Mosque and disturbed the worshippers. When those extremists were driven out of the Mosque, the Israeli police, in total disregard of the sanctity of the Holy Place, entered the premises of the Mosque and used violent means to disperse the people who had gathered inside. The next day, Israeli Minister Ariel Sharon entered Al-Haram Al-Sharif, and his followers attempted to hoist the Israeli flag in the sanctuary. Finally, on 14 January the sanctity of the Al-Aqsa Mosque was violated again when members of the Israeli Knesset, accompanied by a police force, forcibly entered the mosque. Those wanton acts of desecration and profanation of Al-Haram Al-Sharif, committed by Jewish extremists with the help of the Israeli authorities, were clearly aimed at Judaizing the Holy Places of Islam in Jerusalem.

Bangladesh, along with the entire Islamic world, received this news with deep shock and indignation. The holy Al-Aqsa Mosque is the third most holy place of Islam. It was the first kiblah to which Moslems turned for prayers in the early days of Islam. That sacred place, which marks the ascension of the Holy Prophet - peace be upon him - is one of the most profoundly revered places for Moslems. The violation of its sanctity quite expectedly resulted in outrage and revulsion among Moslems throughout the world.

The recently concluded Fez conference of Islamic Foreign Ministers expressed grave concern at these developments and directed the Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to bring to the notice of the Secretary-General of the United Nations the grave and dangerous implications of any recurrence of such incidents. Needless to say, such acts by Israeli extremists

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have the serious potential of sparking conflict and violence in a region already characterized by extreme vulnerability.

It is our earnest hope that the Security Council, which has been entrusted with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, will be able to address itself effectively and objectively to the sensitivities of the world Islamic community by ensuring a complete and total halt to all such acts of sacrilege against the Holy Places of Islam in Jerusalem and other occupied territories.

The recent incidents in the Holy City of Jerusalem are not isolated events of desecration of sacred sanctuaries, but constitute another link in the long chain of the Israeli policy of aggression and of the annexation and Judaization of Arab and Palestinian territories. The Security Council has long recognized the fact that any act of destruction or profanation of the religious places in Jerusalem would seriously threaten international peace and security. The Council thus has a special responsibility to preserve and protect the historic character of the Holy City of Jerusalem and to prevent any attempt to alter its status.

Since the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem in 1967, the Security Council, through numerous resolutions - particularly resolutions 252 (1968), 267 (1969), 271 (1969), 298 (1971), 465 (1980), 476 (1980) and 478 (1980) - has repeatedly affirmed that all administrative actions and legislation undertaken by Israel with a view to altering the status of the Holy City are illegal and null and void. On many occasions, Israel has been called upon by the Council to desist from such acts. Similarly, the Council, through its resolutions 465 (1980), 476 (1980) and 478 (1980), has asked Israel for the annulment of the so-called basic law, which was aimed at altering the status and character of Jerusalem.

The unique character of Jerusalem, which represents a great confluence of three major religious traditions - Judaism, Christianity and Islam - must be

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preserved fully so that peoples of all three faiths can visit their Holy Places without any let or hindrance. Israeli attempts to annex the Holy City of Jerusalem through so-called basic laws have been declared null and void by the United Nations, including this Council, and by the entire international community. The Holy City is thus beyond the sovereignty of Israel. As an occupying Power, Israel is bound by the norms of international law, the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The recent acts of sacrilege against Al-Aqsa by the Israeli authorities are clearly designed to provoke a confrontation aimed at perpetuating and escalating the policy of aggrandizement and of terror against the Palestinian people.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to emphasize that the Security Council, in particular its permanent members, has the clear responsibility to protect the unique character of Jerusalem. The recent acts of desecration and profanation of the holy Islamic sanctuary of Al-Haram Al-Sharif must be deplored in clear and categorical terms. The occupying Power, at the same time, should be told that any recurrence of such incidents would seriously endanger international peace and security. The entire Islamic world hopes, and believes, that the Council, in consideration of the importance and gravity of the situation, will demonstrate greater wisdom and political will by adopting effective and concrete measures commensurate with the responsibilities vested in it by the Charter.

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

There are no further speakers for this meeting. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue its consideration of the item on its agenda will take place on Monday, 27 January, at 10.30 a.m.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.