



**Security Council**

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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND  
SEVEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTIETH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Friday, 11 December 1987, at 6.55 p.m.

President: **Mr. BELONCOV** (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)

<p><u>Members:</u> Argentina Bulgaria China Congo F r a n c e Germany, Federal Republic of Ghana Italy Japan United Arab Emirates <b>United Kingdom</b> of Great Britain and Northern Ireland United States of America Venezuela <b>Zambia</b></p>	<p>Mr. <b>DELECH</b> Mr. <b>TSVETKOV</b> Mr. <b>YU</b> Meng Jia Mr. <b>BALE</b> Mr. BLANC Count YORK von <b>WARTENBURG</b> Mr. <b>BEHO</b> Mr. BUCCI Mr. TANIGUCHI Mr. <b>AL-SHAALI</b></p> <p>Sir <b>Crispin</b> TICKELL Mr. <b>OKUN</b> Miss <b>TRUJILLO</b> Mr. ZUZE</p>
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The meeting was called to order at 6.55 p.m.

EXPRESSION OF THANKS ~~TO THE RETIRING PRESIDENT~~

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): **As** this is the **first** meeting of the Security Council in the month of **December**, I should like, on behalf of the members of the **Council** and on my own behalf, **to** pay a warm tribute to my predecessor the Permanent **Representative** of Japan to the United Nations, Ambassador Kikuchi, for his successful work as President of the Council for the month of November. I am sure that I speak for all the members of the Council in expressing **to Ambassador** Kikuchi admiration and appreciation for the great diplomatic skill with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

**ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA**

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN **THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES**

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

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from **Russian**): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 11 December 1987 from the Permanent Representative of the United Arab Emirates **to** the United Nations, which reads as follows:

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

That letter will be circulated as Security Council document S/19336.

(The President)

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

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

Mr. OKUN (United States of America): Before making my brief remarks, allow me to take this opportunity to welcome you, Sir, in your capacity as President of the Council and to anticipate a good month under your wise leadership, and at the same time to thank the delegation of Japan for Ambassador Kukuchi's and the entire **delegation's** good stewardship of the Council during **the preceding month.**

(Mr. Okun, United States)

The United States has consistently taken the **position** that; under the **provisional** rules of procedure of the Security Council, the only legal basis on which the Council **may** grant a hearing to persons speaking on behalf of non-governmental entities is rule 39. For four decades the United States has supported a generous interpretation of rule 39 and would certainly not object had **this** matter been raised under that rule. We are, however, opposed to special ad hoc departures from orderly procedure.

The United States consequently opposes extending to the Palestine Liberation Organization the same rights to participate in the proceedings of the **Security** Council as it would have if that organization represented a Member State of the United Nations. We certainly believe in listening to all points of view, but none of that requires violating the rules. In particular, the United States does not agree with the recent practice of the Security Council, which appears selectively **to** try to enhance the prestige of those who wish to speak in the Council through a departure from the rules of procedure. We consider this special practice to be without legal foundation and to constitute an abuse of the rules.

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

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

If no other member of the Council wishes to speak at this stage, I shall take it that the Council is ready to vote on the proposal of the **United Arab Emirates.**

It is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour Argentina, Bulgaria, China, **Congo**, Ghana, Japan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, **United Arab Emirates**, Venezuela, **Zambia**

Against United States of **America** ,

Abstaining: France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Italy, United **Kingdom** of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

The PRESIDENT (interpretation **from Russian**): The result of **the voting** is as follows: 10 in favour, one against, 4 abstentions. The proposal has been adopted.

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

Count YORK von WARTENBURG (Federal Republic of Germany): I also should like to begin by paying a very warm tribute **to Ambassador** Kikuchi as the outgoing President of the Council and to thank him for the excellence and great skill with which he conducted our business. I should like **to say that you, Sir, will have our complete co-operation during your presidency,** which I think will bring us together on important matters.

My delegation abstained in the vote on the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (**PLO**) in the **Council's debate**. In doing so my delegation was guided **by the provisional rules of procedure**, which the Council has itself established. The procedure followed today **is** clearly designed 'to grant the **PLO** a status similar to that of a Member State of the United Nations. This does not reflect **the true relationship of the PLO to our Organization**, and therefore we cannot support it.

**This** does not mean, **however**, that my delegation objects to the PLO's being heard by the Council in the present debate.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of **the Federal Republic of Germany** for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. TANIGUCHI (Japan): First I should like to congratulate you, Mr. President, **on your** assumption **of** your very important post in the Security Council. I should also like to take this opportunity to **express our deep** appreciation for **the** kind words expressed with regard **to Ambassador Kikuchi by you** and other representatives. I am very, very **grateful for the gracious co-operation** extended to me by-all Member **States.**

We voted in favour of the **participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** because **the Government** of Japan has repeatedly expressed its considered view that it is essential to the solution of the Middle East question that the Palestine Liberation Organization, which represents the Palestinians, participate in peace talks.

In 1975, Japan, as a member of this Council, expressed the position that the **PLO**, as **one of the** major parties to the Middle East question, should be **invited** to participate when this Council conducted its deliberations on the Middle East question, including **the** question of Palestine. At this time I should like to **confirm** that position. **Accordingly** we supported the participation of representatives of the **PLO.**

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

I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 11 December 1987 from the **Chairman of the** Committee **on** the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People which reads as follows:

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

(The President)

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

There being no objection it is so decided.

(The President)

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

The Security Council is meeting today in response to the **request** contained in the letter dated 11 December 1987 from the Permanent Representative of Democratic Yemen to the United Nations, in his capacity as Chairman of the Arab Group of States for the month of December, addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/19333).

Members **of the** Council have received photocopies of **a letter** dated 11 December 1987 from the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the **Palestinian People**, which will be circulated under the **symbol S/19337**.

The **first speaker** is the **representative** of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). I invite him to make his statement.

**Mr. TERZI** (Palestine **Liberation** Organization): At the outset let me tell **you, Sir**, how **glad** we are that the representative of the Great October Revolution is presiding over our deliberations, particularly at this time, when Comrade Gorbachev has **crossed** the Atlantic to take the first steps **towards peace**. We believe that further **contacts** between **the General Secretary and** the President of the United States will give them time to discuss regional conflicts, including - indeed primarily - the regional conflict in the Middle East, and that thus we shall be spared the necessity of coming to this Chamber as often as we do. **TO you** personally, Sir, I would **say** that we have every confidence that with your prudence and expertise you will lead the deliberations here to a fruitful end.

We also express our gratitude to the representative of Japan, who conducted the Security Council's work during November in an exemplary way, particularly when he represented the Council during the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People.



(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation  
Organization)

I also wish to thank all those who voted for, or even against, **our participation**, because eventually those who voted against will know that we are a factor and that, as has been said on several occasions, deliberations without the Participation of the PLO would be like building on sand.

Before I walked into the Council Chamber I overheard a couple of **comments**: "Why are we being brought here?" someone asked. "They want to scream" was the reply. No, Sir, we are not here to scream; we are here to bring a very **serious** issue before **the Council**. The people I overheard said "If they want to solve the problem, let them fight". I assure them that our people are doing all they can **in** the way of resistance against the occupying Power, by whatever means **they have**, whether rocks or empty bottles. We have not given up the fight, the legitimate fight, against the occupation and the denial of our rights.

Why do we come here? First, we know that the Security Council has on many **occasions reaffirmed that** the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of war is applicable to the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem. That is a decision taken by the Council **vis-à-vis** the occupying Power. But we are also **here because** the Council has a responsibility. The Convention says:

"The High Contracting Parties undertake to respect and to **assure** respect for the present Convention **in all** circumstances."

It is here that the responsibility of the Security Council, all the members of the **Security Council, is** best shown. Will the Council really ensure respect for the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of **War, of**

12 August 1949?

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation Organization)

We are not here to scream. We are not here to give up our fight. We are here exercising a right, a right that has been admitted through that Convention.

It is rather strange that the Council had to meet last year on 8 December in relation to a violation by the occupying Power of the rights of the Palestinian **people living** under Israeli occupation. One **might** say "What is the coincidence? Things simply do not happen like that." We all know that the General Assembly has adopted, by a huge majority, a resolution calling for the convening of the International Peace Conference in conformity with the provisions of General Assembly resolution **38/58 C**, which clearly says that the best, if not the only, **way** to achieve peace is by holding an international peace conference in which the Palestine Liberation Organization will participate on an **equal** footing and with equal rights. In his report on his endeavours the Secretary-General makes it clear that the major obstacle to those endeavours during the year was the position of the Government of Israel. The Government of Israel, whether as a whole or in part, could not accept the principle of an international conference to achieve peace in the area, and rejected the principle of the international peace conference on the Middle East.

Furthermore, we know that only last week the General Assembly adopted several resolutions in which it condemned Israel for its practices against the people in the occupied territories and condemned

"Israeli policies and practices against Palestinian students **and** faculties in schools, universities and other educational institutions in the occupied Palestinian territories, especially the opening of fire on **defenceless** students, causing many **casualties**". (General Assembly resolution 42/160 G, para. 2)

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation  
Organization)

The General Assembly adopted that resolution only a few days ago. How does Israel react? It does so by resuming the opening of fire on students, children and women in the occupied territories, totally disregarding its **obligations regarding** the safety of those people and its obligations under the Fourth **Geneva** Convention.

The Security Council is responsible for ensuring that Israel respects and implements those provisions. The Security Council has very often taken **decisions** strongly deploring the opening of fire by the Israeli army, resulting in the death or wounding of **defenceless** students. The Security Council has called upon Israel **very** often to abide immediately and scrupulously by the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

(Mt. Terzi, Palestine Liberation Organization)

But did Israel heed? Did it respond to the call of the Security Council? No. Why **not**? Because the Security Council should we feel take stronger action than merely calling upon Israel to abide immediately and scrupulously by the Geneva Convention.

**On** 8 December an Israeli check-post in the Gaza area stopped a car carrying civilian passengers, Palestinians, most probably workers who crossed the green line in order to earn a few pennies **to** provide for their families. At that check-point, an army check-point, the Israeli army opened fire. Four persons were killed and nine others were wounded. The Israeli **occupying Power** then imposed a curfew. But, after all, those four people who had been killed had to be buried and the funeral **became** a demonstration protesting against the brutalities of the neo-fascists of the occupying Power. The wounded were sent to hospitals. **One** hospital was the **El Shifa Hospital** in Gaza. The Israeli army was not satisfied and went to the hospital with its tanks in order **to pick** up the people from their beds. It dragged them out and took them **to** detention. The army converted the hospital into some sort of military post.

Palestinians are human beings. They simply cannot accept submission so they demonstrate **further** against the brutalities **of the** occupying Power. Those brutalities **continue** and escalate. **On 10 December** there were more killings. I **will not read** The New York Times for members, but on 11 **December**, that is **today**, the record of Palestinians felled by Israeli army bullets increased. **On** Friday, 11 December, four more Palestinians were shot dead, among them a nine-year-old child, who died of wounds that he sustained on 10 December in **Khan** Yunis. The victims were shot dead in the Balata refugee camp. **We** are surprised that we have not yet heard from the United Nations Relief and **Works Agency** for Palestine **Refugees** in the Near East about those incidents in the camp, which is near **Nablus**, north of Jerusalem. Israeli soldiers opened fire on citizens who were taking part

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation Organization)

in a demonstration after **Friday** noon prayer. I do not think I have to explain that the Muslims have their "Sunday mass" or "Sabbath **service**" on Friday at noon. While they were coming out of the mosque protesting the iron-fist occupation **policy** they were met with army bullets. A **17-year-old** boy, an 11-year-old and a **17-year-old** girl were killed as a result of this barbarous shooting. **Dozens** of Palestinians were hit and wounded in what some sources described as the massacre of **Balata** , refugee camp.

We Palestinians seem to have been chosen for massacres - **Deir Yassin, Kafr Kasim, Sabra** Shatila - and now it is Balata. At least 20 people at the camp were wounded. The Israeli army forced its way into the **Women's** Union Hospital in Nablus, arrested relatives of the dead and wounded **and** cordoned off the hospital **with** army units. Balata refugee camp is under strict curfew according to the latest **report**.

The Israeli forces prohibited **ambulances** from reaching the camp in order to evacuate the wounded. Israeli soldiers were shooting heavy sorties of **fire** and the people in the camp were appealing to the International Red Cross with the demand that it should intercede and assist in the evacuation of the wounded. **Sources** in the refugee camp were appealing for aid and assistance. They were appealing for blood **donations** but **the** Israeli army prohibited blood **donors** from **entering** the hospitals **to** donate blood. What is worse, the Israeli soldiers forced **their** way into the hospital **compound** **and** fired **on** people.

There are other hospitals in the Nablus district and they were **subjected** to the same treatment by the occupation army. **Rafidiya** Hospital in Nablus **and** the Women's Union Hospital are considered war zones by many eye-witness **accounts**.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation Organization)

At noon today - **the** latest report that we received - which would be **8** o'clock in **Nablus**, the **Israeli** forces were still prohibiting ambulances from reaching the hospitals and the Fire Department units were not allowed to pass through **in order** to evacuate the wounded. That is what is happening **today**. If **I** were to read all those criminal acts and report on every single **one** we might spend the rest of the evening here, but let me read out only a few.

On 27 November the Israeli Military Governor in the Jabalya Camp summoned the imams - **priests or pastors** of the mosque - and warned them not to make **any** political speeches during prayers. The imams answered that the speeches followed the Holy Constitution and the **Koran**. The warning is seen as an attempt to quell unrest after the Qportation order on **Sheikh** Odeh. The Israelis deport or **expel** the sheikh of the mosque and expect the people just to say "**thank** you" to them. We assure--everybody here that they will **not but will continue to fight, using their** own 'means.

On 30 November it was reported that students from schools and colleges in **Ramallah** and El **Bireh** went on strike. why? After all, the **United Nations** was observing the International **Day** of solidarity with the Palestinian People so at least the Palestinians themselves would have to observe that International **Day** of Solidarity. Those students were carrying out a decision of the **General** Assembly and responding to their national obligations and duties. The **Israeli** soldiers took positions at the entrances to a **number** of schools. In Hebrcn, the demonstrations broke out at the polytechnic and students chanted slogans in favour of their struggle and of their representative, the **PLO** of course.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation Organization)

The Israeli Army placed the college at Hebron under siege and threw tear gas at the students.

I mention - the Gaza Strip - student demonstrations broke out at several locations. Israeli forces arrived, opened fire and beat up students.

On 1 December, about 100 residents from Bethlehem were summoned by the Military Governor of Bethlehem. They were interrogated individually by the Deputy Chief, Civil Administration.

In Gaza, the Military Appeals Committee confirmed an administrative/detention order against a number of persons.

In Nablus - and I am still referring to 1 December - a military force broke into Rafidiya Hospital and arrested two youths who had been admitted to the hospital after having been wounded by bullets fired by the Israeli army in the Balata refugee camp. The hospital doctors protested that if the youths were arrested their lives would be endangered. The protests were to no avail. Of course, for those neo-fascist, racist Zionists, Arab blood is cheap. But the Arabs simply will not heed their wishes.

On 3 December, the Israeli commander of the central region issued an order to deport a resident of the Jenin camp and a student at Najah University.

I mention these criminal, brutal activities by the occupying Power to show that there is a limit to the patience of those under foreign occupation.

Israeli Radio today announced that the resistance is increasing in the Gaza area, in Nablus and in the suburbs of Jerusalem. Sources in the occupied Palestinian territory have reported that the situation is very critical and that a curfew has been imposed on refugee camps - particularly the one near Nablus, where there are 15,000 refugees. Our people use primitive arms - rocks and empty

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation Organization)

bottles - but they fight ; they do not merely scream.

What is, really inhuman is that the occupying- Power forbids the relatives of the dead Palestinians to bury them. So what do the relatives, the families of the dead victims do? They sneak into the hospitals and "steal" the remains of their beloved ones in order to give them a proper funeral. But the Israeli occupation forces-; with their tanks, break into the houses in the refugee camps 'and look' for the bodies of the dead victims. If they find any, they impose a certain hour and a certain place for the burial of the victims.

All this is not accidental. The commander of the occupation forces in the central region, a certain General Amran, made it very clear in one of his statements that he would continue to send instruments of death to confront the Palestinians. He made the threat that his troops would open fire on anyone who demonstrated against the occupation.

But why should we not have recourse to what the Israeli m&a" themselves say?

The newspaper Ha'aretz reported that a certain Yussi Beilin, who is the Political Director in the Israeli Foreign Ministry, had said this: "I feel more than ever before that we are reliving the same experiences, that the present stage is similar to a great extent to the stage that existed on the eve of the 1973 war". The newspaper went on to report that the psychological security situation and the political tension might cause a new war in the area. So here we have a warning in the Israeli press that all this might lead to a new major confrontation in the area. This is confirmed by the fact that the occupying Power has sent more troops into, particularly, the Gaza region in order to quell the revolt of the people.

According to Davar, another Israeli newspaper, huge numbers of forces from the Israeli army have entered the Gaza area, and they are expecting to confront with



(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation  
Organization)

violence any uprising that might take place in **Gaza** or other areas of the West Bank.

Al Hamishmar, yet another Israeli newspaper, reported that a senior-**Israeli military source** had said; "We are facing a very serious situation. We have to realize that we are facing a very acute and **complex situation** and that we are sitting on a barrel of gunpowder".

From all that, it will be understood **that we have come** to the Security Council with **the** intention of drawing the attention of **everyone** here to **the situation as it is** - but **also** with the intention of indicating what the results **could** be.

It **is only** natural for occupation **to engender** resistance. Such resistance has varying degrees of **violence**. But I would say that, primarily, the cause of this chain of violence - I shall not call it a cycle - is the **perpetuation of the occupation**. Of course, it is **easy** to specify the cure and the remedy: End **the occupation** and there will be no resistance, and therefore there will be **no violence**. **But** the question we are faced with here **is**: what do we do **in the** meantime?

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation Organization)

Resistance against occupation has been unanimously accepted and considered **legitimate** by decision of the General Assembly., I refer to **General Assembly** resolution **40/61**. **By** the same token, that resistance increases when the hopes for a peaceful Settlement diminish. **Here** we have to put the question: cannot our people have some hope of a peaceful settlement? Because, given their frustration **and the** arrogance of the occupying **Power, we** definitely **will** face **violence**, which will, we are sure, mean that the **mandate given** to the **Secretary-General** will have **to** be viewed from a different perspective.

The **process** should be expedited; it is **incumbent** upon those who reject the efforts **for peace**, and who constitute the major obstacle **to them**, to respond **in a positive way**. Of course there are political ramifications. But the resistance is a derivative of the occupation, and our situation is a derivative of **the** occupation.

What is **to** be done?, **That is** the question. **the** Council has **to** face. **Should** the **Council satisfy** itself with strongly deploring, with appealing and asking, **Israel to** rescind or desist? **Or** does the Charter of the United **Nations provide for other** remedies?, I **am** sure that the wise forefathers of this Organization envisaged **a** situation in which Members would not carry out decisions taken by the security Council., I refer to specific **chapters** of **the Charter** on the imposition of sanctions.

**For** how much **longer** can the united Nations, which created the monster called; Israel, that spoiled brat called Israel - for how **much** longer can the Security Council and the United Nations permit those criminal acts reminiscent of neo-fascism? The blood of our children and our women is sacred to us) it is very much treasured by us. It should not be spilled for nothing.

Again I repeat that we hope and expect that the Council will take immediate action **to put** an end to the current brutal activities. It should also shoulder **its**

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation Organization)

responsibility and end the situation of occupation and bring us closer to a Comprehensive peace; as prescribed in a General Assembly resolution.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative Of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is Mr. Massamba Sarré, of Senegal, 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): Allow me at the outset, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December. Aware of your qualities as an experienced diplomat well versed in international affairs and your devotion to the ideals of our Organization, I am convinced that your work will be crowned with success, all the more so because your country has just signed, together with the United States of America, a historic agreement which I am convinced will constitute a step forward in the consolidation of international peace and security.

On this occasion we should pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Rikuchi, the Permanent Representative of Japan, for the exemplary fashion in which he presided over the work of the Council in November.

Lastly I should like to 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 in its debate with respect to the grave events of recent days and Israeli practices against the population in the occupied Palestinian territories.

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

The deterioration of the situation in the occupied territory is all the **more** disturbing because it directly affects not merely the future of the Palestinian population but also international peace and security, In a letter I have sent to the Council I have provided information on the incidents which have just taken place in the occupied Arab territories.

**According** to United Press **International (UPI)** and the Associated Press (AD, on 9 December.1987 Israeli troops in **the Gaza** Strip opened fire **on** young Palestinians, killing two and injuring 12. The students were demonstrating following the killing of four Palestinians in a road "accident" in which, apparently, an Israeli truck had been used to avenge the death of an Israeli businessman stabbed on 6 **December**. The critically injured were taken to **El-Shifa** hospital, where demonstrators were **subsequently** attacked by Israeli helicopters, which dropped tear-gas bombs **on** the crowd. Several members of the police force **were** injured in the demonstrations. schools and shops remained closed in the Gaza Strip, and hundreds of Palestinians did not go **to** Israel to work because of the demonstrations.

According to The **New** York Times and the **UPI**, widespread demonstrations on the West Bank and in the **Gaza** Strip resulted in clashes with Israeli **troops**. **On** 10 December a young Palestinian was killed and a dozen people were injured. According to the same sources, in the refugee camp of Kalandia, north of **Jerusalem**, 23 students who had raised a Palestinian flag during a demonstration were arrested. **Twelve** others were injured during **a** clash with the police, and **many** students who had inhaled tear-gas subsequently had to be hospitalized.

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

A Reuters report states that a 11 year old Palestinian from Khan Yunis, in the Gaza Strip, died after being hit on the head by Israeli troops during demonstrations against the Israelis. According to Reuters and U PI, on 11. December Israeli troops opened fire on demonstrators in the Balata refugee camp on the West Bank, killing four Palestinians and injuring 30 others. Reuters also reports that in Jerusalem the military authorities held the head of the Arab journalists' trade union in prison without trial for six months and prohibited the distribution of the daily Al-Fajr on the West Bank.

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

It will be recalled **that during** the debates at this session delegations referred to the question of Palestine and the need to find a comprehensive, just and lasting solution. It is striking to observe, furthermore, that the **strong** emotions and subjectivity to which we had become accustomed yielded to reason and objectivity. This new approach to the question should lead us henceforth **to** translate into specific action the common denominator on which we all agree, namely organizing an international peace conference on the Middle East.

The Secretary-General of our Organization in his report calls upon us to do so, when he states that

"in the light of **the widespread** agreement on the part of the international community . . . the convening of such a conference, under united **Nations** auspices, offers the best chance of successfully negotiating a comprehensive settlement of the **Arab-Israeli** conflict. Moreover, my decision to make a special effort this year was endorsed by leaders of all parties to the conflict. These two factors - international backing and the support of the parties - have provided an important basis for several rounds of consultations that have been held thus far and will undoubtedly be crucial to future progress.

". . . I am encouraged by the fact that the past year has seen favourable developments in the political environment, both in terms of the level and frequency of contacts between the permanent members of the Security Council and between them and the parties. I am also encouraged by the fact that the idea of an international conference under United Nations auspices has been given high priority among the Arab parties to the conflict, and has been the subject of lively debate within Israel. These positive trends, combined with

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

the **growing international** consensus in favour of the early convening Of a conference, demand of us t-hat we consolidate and build on the foundation that has so far been established." (A/42/714, paras. 32 and 34)

On the basis of those assessments, which represent the end of a lengthy process, and on the basis of the principles and purposes of our Charter; nothing should prevent us at last from attaining our objective: the establishment **of peace** in the Middle East through the restoration of the inalienable **rights of the Palestinian people, namely** their right to self-determination and independence. With respect to those who might raise the question of the right to existence Of **all** the States of the region, I would refer **them to** paragraph 3 **(f)** of the Geneva Declaration, which stipulates the right **to existence** of all States in the region within secure **internationally recognized frontiers**, with peace and justice for all.

**Only a** few hours ago the General Assembly overwhelmingly adopted **four** resolutions on the Middle East. We note in them, **in particular**, an appeal for reason, moderation, renewed dedication to the principles and objectives 'of the, United Nations **Charter**, with a view to achieving a just, lasting and comprehensive solution to the situation in the Middle East and **the question of Palestine**.

With that approach in mind, the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East **is advocated**. As I said earlier; this conference-- the outcome of a lengthy process of negotiations among the **Members** of our Organization - has just been reconfirmed by 129 votes during the consideration of the question Of Palestine,. It will. also be recalled that in presenting our **Committee's report** to the General Assembly I stated that, if the United Nations delayed in **finding a**, Solution to the auestlon of Palestine, violence would worsen and come **to** threaten

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peace and security in **the region**, if not world wide. Unfortunately, recent events in the occupied territories only bear this out.

In the absence of a just and lasting solution to the **question** of Palestine, tension and violence will only increase in occupied Palestinian territories and in the other Arab occupied territories, including Jerusalem. Thus, our Committee has continued to emphasize that the situation will continue to worsen as long as the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people have not been exercised.

The United Nations has an undeniable responsibility for ensuring the enjoyment of the rights of the Palestinians and their protection in the occupied territories. We **consider that** it is now up to the Security Council to implement the findings of the 1983 International Conference on the Question of Palestine held in Geneva, endorsed by growing majorities in the General Assembly, in particular, by calling for the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East.

We wish once again to recall that these recommendations are objectively founded upon the underlying internationally accepted principles relating to the Palestinian problem and the Arab-Israeli conflict. The international community considers that the convening of such a conference is now an urgent **necessity. This** view has been expressed not merely within the **United Nations** but also in decisions of a growing number of other intergovernmental bodies, such as **the League of Arab States**, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned **Countries**, as well as in the declaration of **the European Economic Community (EEC)**, and, more recently, the recent Summit Conference of Arab countries held in Amman.

Hence-on behalf of the Committee, I should like to underscore that the



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question of Palestine has reached a **critical** stage. We urgently appeal for increased efforts to achieve a just and lasting solution to this question and to put an end to the intolerable situation of the Palestinian-people.

In this respect, **the Committee is** convinced that the International Peace Conference on the Middle **East**, which enjoys near unanimous **support, offers** to all the parties **concerned** broad possibilities for participation in negotiations resulting in a **just** and lasting solution of the question. Given the **increasing worsening of the situation in the occupied territories**, as just described by Ambassador **Terzi**, we **should step** up our efforts. We therefore appeal to the **Security Council** to take appropriate steps to restore the policy of dialogue between **all the parties concerned** in order to put an end to this tragic **state** of affairs which has prevailed for **more than** 40 years.

As **I said** last **week**, the time has come for **peace of the valiant**. It should not be an exclusively Arab or Israeli peace; rather, it should be an Arab-Israeli peace, a **peace** founded on sincere and objective negotiations under the auspices of the **United Nations**. We are duty-bound - especially **the Security Council**, the guarantor **of international** peace and security - to seize this opportunity, a sad but promising one; to foster the **convening** of this international **conference**, the only **appropriate** and timely way **of** ensuring a just and lasting peace in the **Middle East**.

I am convinced that events **in the past week** - which was characterized by the international **community's steadfast commitment** to the principles of the Charter of the **United Nations** as demonstrated by the statements we heard on the question of the Middle **East during the** holding of the Day of International Solidarity **with** the Palestinian People, as well as during the debates on the question of Palestine and

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the situation in the Middle East - should be of particular concern to the Security Council.

On behalf of the committee, I once again, in all humility, appeal to the members of the Security Council to see to it that peace in the Middle East is restored.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): 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.

I should like to inform members of the Council that I have just received a letter from the representative of Israel 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 and with the consent of the Council, I propose to invite the representative of Israel to take part in the discussion, without the right 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. Netanyahu took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

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

Mr. NETANYAHU (Israel): I should like to congratulate you, sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. I am confident that you will perform your duties in the exemplary way that your predecessor, Ambassador Kikuchi, performed his.

I am holding the letter from the Permanent Representative of Democratic Yemen, who requested, in his capacity as Chairman of the Arab Group for this month, an immediate meeting of the Security Council. It is Friday night, 8 o'clock, and the first question that I know is on everybody's mind is why is the Security Council, the supreme and most important body of the United Nations, suddenly convened, and with such haste? It is true there are major wars going on in the world right now, but it is not to deal with them or to try to resolve them that the Council is meeting. Perhaps it is because of loss of life - loss of life has, indeed,

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occurred. **But** I did not recall a similar convening - in fact, by the representative of Democratic Yemen - when over 10,000 people were slaughtered in his own **country** in December of 1985. I do not recall a hasty - or even an unhasty - convening of the Security Council by another member of the Arab League, Saudi Arabia, when riots broke out in Mecca and 402 people were killed and 640 injured. I do not recall a meeting of the Security Council when there were riots in Yarmuk University in Jordan and students were killed - not a word.

Nor, for that matter, was there **word** from the **PLO**, the very PLO that raises so **much** of this. This is the **PLO** that had thousands of its own members slaughtered in massacres in refugee camps - "massacre" is a word that has kept coming up here - thousands massacred, **first** by Syria - I do not recall a Security **Council** meeting - and in the war camps, the intramural war camps between the various factions of the PLO themselves and the Lebanese. I do not remember a Security Council meeting, hasty or unhasty.

So we have to ask **why** has this meeting been convened with such abruptness **today**? I think we can glean some understanding from the timing. **Today** is not an accidental day. It is important to understand a series of dates that have led up to **today**, and today's date as well, to understand how ludicrous **the** basic idea of spontaneity supposedly behind the recent violent incidents is. The last thing they are - I emphasize the word "**last**" - is spontaneous. You will recall that a year ago, exactly the same thing happened: there was a relative period of quiet, a beginning of tensions in the month of November and violent incidents and the calling of a Security Council meeting on **the** last day of the deliberations in the General Assembly.

**Now, the reason the month of November is important is because three dates occur in the month of November. The first date is 2 November: that is the**

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anniversary of **the Balfour** Declaration. The second date - and this year **it** is a new one - is **8 November**: that is the convening of the Arab **summit meeting** at Amman. And the third **date** - which, again, is an annual anniversary - is **29 November**, the date of the partition resolution. Why do I cite those dates? Because, for each **one** of **those** dates the PLO issues specific orders, commands, **calls for** incitement, to Palestinian Arabs and asks them, and calls upon them, to incite riots and violence and terror. And I may add the fourth date, that is today's date, which is the twentieth anniversary - and "anniversary" is a peculiar word to use for an organization devoted to murder - the twentieth year **to the day** marking the establishment of the **PFLP** led by **Habash**. It too called for the inciting of violence and terror and riots.

It is important **to** understand that in the month of November, leading into December, **there has** been an escalation. We recently **had** bombs placed on **the** Tel Aviv-Haifa railroad - luckily, no one was hurt. We had an Israeli civilian by the name of **Schlomo** Saker, a civilian who was shopping in an Arab market, **stabbed to death just** a few days ago. We have had many, many incidents of terror that are not reported **because** they are interdicted; they are simply aborted **before** they take place - not for lack of trying, for they try, but they do not succeed so you do not hear very **much** about them. But the attempts are there.

Beyond and above all that there are, of course; the calls for mobs, violence and **incitement**, especially incitement directed against a very receptive young population of teenagers, organized and orchestrated to a T. Some **spontaneity!**

Now, even so, **I** must say that **sometimes** even the **PLO** can be helped in this **grisly** campaign, and the help that they received in the series of events we are discussing here was a boost in the form of a traffic accident. A few days ago, in Jabaliya an Israeli truck driver swerved off the road, lost control of **his** vehicle,

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and the vehicle killed four bystanders - Palestinian Arabs. As you can imagine, **these** kinds of accidents occur **on** all of **Israel's roads**, and we have, **I** regret to say, a high incidence of casualties.

what the **PLO** let out at that date was the extraordinary canard, which, **I** must say, caught like wildfire in **Gaza**, in **Judea-Samar ia**, that this was not a traffic accident but a deliberate act of murder.

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This facilitated the heating up of a campaign of incitement already under way. It was a stroke of luck, if you want to call it that.

We have, and any Country, has under international law, a very simple and clear rule. The first responsibility of any Government, military or civilian, is to enforce law and order. That responsibility is particularly important because many of these attacks have been directed and are directed against innocent bystanders, Jews and Arabs alike. In fact yesterday we caught the terrorist who was responsible for slaughtering - no, let us be specific, for burning alive - a family. This particular terrorist threw a Molotov cocktail - we are not talking about empty bottles here - a bottle filled with explosives, at a car that passed by. The car had in it the Moses family, a husband and wife and their children. The wife and a child were burned alive. We caught that man. He was also; trying to set off a car bomb. So we have a real problem inside the borders of Israel and inside the territories. We are facing a deliberate campaign of terror, which we have generally been successful in keeping down, but the PLO has been trying to use the last six-week period to make it flare up.

The descriptions of events here have relied on unsubstantiated press reports and other undocumented information. We are dealing with this at rather short notice, but I can tell the Council, after a cursory glance, that there are some wild fabrications in the material presented to it.

Let me give an example. With regard to the question of hospitals, that is simply a flat lie. Regrettably, in the course of maintaining law and order, there are casualties. Our troops are under strict instructions not to fire, in fact not to use their weapons, until they have absolutely no other resort or unless they are already injured or their lives are threatened. When you are surrounded by several hundred people armed with crowbars, Molotov cocktails and various other weapons

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your life **occasionally** is threatened. Israel regrets, **any loss of life** that has taken place, and Israel will continue to do what it can with its security forces.. to ensure that there is as little loss of **life** as possible. But **when, occasionally**, such unfortunate things happen, **we do take care** of people.. **In fact, in these** incidents we took the casualties to the local hospitals and. to **two other** hospitals in the **vicinity**: the hospital in **Ashkelon** and the **Sirocka hospital** in **Beersheba**. So what the council has heard-, among other things, is simply flat Lies.

what I have described here,, which I think explains **what we are witnessing** tonight, is a very simple pattern. It **has** been repeated for **more than** a year ; **that is**, it is being repeated for the second year, not had time **to check**, but I shall look back **to** see whether there is already a three-year, pattern. **In any case** here is the **two-year** pattern. The **PLO** incites violence. The **violence** produces Arab and Jewish casual ties. The PLO then asks, for the **Security Council** to be convened to discuss not merely the violence **but** the ills of occupation..- This is the natural progression. Presumably the question of **the political status of Gaza** and **Judea-Samar ia** would not warrant a meeting, hasty **or** unhasty, **late on Friday** night, but, since the matter has been **raised, let me deal with it very briefly.**

The Problem of achieving such a settlement **is** indeed **a complex one, it is not** simple, and it is a desirable end. To achieve a peaceful resolution, a peaceful political settlement, is exactly what we want. The **reason** we **have** not had, **it has** nothing to do with the grievances involved. The 'grievances can be **settled**. They are difficult, even complex, but they are not impossible. There is- **nothing in the** Arab-Israeli dispute, that is beyond resolution -not refugees, not borders. **All** these things could be negotiated. Matters of much greater complexity **have been** negotiated successfully in the last century, particularly in the last half



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century. Fifty million refugees have been settled under far more difficult conditions.

The reason we are not settling these problems is that the PLO, like its predecessors under the Mufti, who made a pact with Hitler, were not interested in a solution; they were interested in liquidation. The problem from the start was not that the Palestinian Arabs lacked a State but that the Jews had one. This was and remains the source of the conflict. That is the first reason why the PLO will stand up and refuse and resist and obstruct and subvert any attempt at peace, because their commitment is not to peace but to the destruction of the Jewish State.

The second reason is a monetary one. The PLO is big business; it is good business. Many people are living off the hundreds of millions of dollars they get annually from the Saudi Arabians and others who pay monies into the coffers of the PLO. By now there is a cast of people, groups and leaders who belong to the richest terrorist organizations in history and who have a vested interest in keeping alive the cause they are fighting for. It is for their own good. A solution would summarily end that.

The third reason is something that Dostoevski understood a hundred years ago. He said that if you have a group of five terrorists together and you persuade four of them that the fifth is a renegade to the cause, they will kill him; and once they kill him they are all locked in a circle of blood and they cannot escape. That is exactly what we are seeing here. It is not only Jews that are victims of this terrorism. In fact many more Arabs than Jews have been killed by the PLO. Most recently, for example, a man like Safa Al Mazri, the mayor of Nablus, was murdered by the PLO, because he was thinking of a political settlement.

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The **matter of a political settlement has been raised** here. The **PLO is not interested in a political settlement**. It is not interested in **peace**. It is interested in **anything but settlement and peace**. It is 'interested' in "something far more concrete: 'in preventing even the **improvement of the refugees' status**. I am not **referring to** the legal-status but to the status in physical **terms**. The **Israeli Government** has put forward many proposals to **rehabilitate refugees, to make vast improvements in** the quality of housing and so on. Who resisted them? The **PLO: it said,** "-This is an **unacceptable change in the quality of life**". We went **ahead** and made a few of **those unacceptable changes**, such as **electrification, new housing, new roads; improvements in agriculture and in fishing, improvements in the banking-system, improvements in the way people live, in their educational and health conditions**. The **PLO opposes any improvement in the status quo**. It encourages every opportunity to upset it, because **what it wants is conflict and dispute and violence** and terror;":

Recently we thought **there was** a glimmer of hope **that there** would be a change in **this condition, this stranglehold by the PLO and its ilk on the political process that has tied down the Arab-Israeli conflict since the beginning of this century**. We thought there was some opening. **That thought emerged as a result of** an **indication at the Amman summit conference, where we saw that the PLO was for the first time being put on the sidelines, where it deserves to be, by the Arab countries**.

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It is clear **that** what we have been seeing in the past six weeks from the PLO'S own exhortations and incitements is that what it is trying to do is escape the conclusion that so many of the Arab leaders apparently reached in **Amman**, **whether** they say so directly or indirectly. **What recent** events and, more important, this Council meeting tonight are all **about** is an-attempt by the PLO to bail itself out of a condition of irrelevance, powerlessness and lost prestige. The question really is: should this be the business of the Security Council - to bail **them out** of their irrelevance? **I** think there is no question that that is the last task for which this body **is suited**.

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

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

Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): **It is** sometimes difficult to understand how shooting by the Israeli Army at students could, have **been** incitement by the Palestine Liberation **Organization** (PLO). we have heard a great deal **about** what is happening in the occupied Palestinian territory being **in** response to calls by the PLO. **I** would think that **members** of the Council **would** wonder if the PLO really has such support from the **Palestinians under occupation**. If it **does, then** why not deal with it? Our people in the occupied territories have made it very clear that they do support and recognize the PLO as their **sole**, legitimate representative,

We did not plan the convening of the Council this evening. It was the criminal and brutal acts of the Israeli Army that resulted in the cold-blooded murder of a number of students and women that made it necessary. We would have preferred that such a thing had **not** happened. But, since the Israeli Army showed

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its teeth in implementing an "iron-fist" policy against our people, as I said in my opening statement, we felt that it was the duty of the Security Council to address the situation, 'in view of the position taken in the Council that the Fourth Geneva Convention applies to those areas and that the parties are under an obligation to respect and ensure respect for the provisions of that Convention. That is why we came here.

That Israel has a real problem, we agree. We know that it has a major problem: Israel still cannot decide whether it is a Jewish State, a state of the Jews, and who is a Jew. At the end of the twentieth century Israel is still engaging in Byzantine discussions to establish who is and who is not a Jew; who belongs to the State of Israel; whether he should be a Sephardi or an Ashkenazi. They have those problems, we know.

But Israel's one major problem is that it is an occupying Power. An occupying Power has some obligations arising from its being an occupying Power. I think Israel knows that it is the only State Member of this Organization which has been labelled an occupying Power. That is the problem that faces Israel. That is the problem that keeps almost 30 per cent of the Israeli prime-age population constantly under arms. Occupation is really a costly thing. The only solution is to end it. The life of any soldier who is a member of an occupying Power is threatened. After all, the people under occupation are not going to give him red-carpet service; they are not going to fraternize with an occupying officer.

I recall that during my service in the Second World War we had instructions "not to fraternize with the people under occupation in Europe. I would just say to the Israelis that they should not hope to fraternize, because the resistance against their presence in their own country is the primary task.

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Liberation Organization)

We cannot conceive of any Israeli civilians in the occupied territories. After all, an occupying Power **is** prohibited from transferring any of **its civilian** population into the occupied areas. Besides, every 'single Israeli citizen of prime age is a **member** of the armed **forces**, whether in uniform or in the active **reserve**, so one can say that there are no civilians. They should not be there, in the Occupied territories, in the first place. One cannot really permit such provocation.

Some may be thinking, do the **Palestinians** living in the occupied territories seek better dog food or do they want to be in gold cages? They want to be free to exercise their political rights. How many Palestinian refugees have **been** enabled to return to their homes? There are more than 2 million of us who are denied the right and the possibility to return and live in peace in our own homes. **If** a tent is changed into a hut, that is not what we demand. We demand that we return **to** Palestinian territory and **live** in peace there.

The PLO does not need to be bailed out.

**I** wonder whether we should believe the Secretary-General when he informs us that the major obstacle to peace is the Government of Israel? There was **a** challenge there. The Secretary-General had endeavoured to bring all the parties to the negotiating table for a comprehensive peace. who **rejected** that? The/PLO, at the meeting of our National Council in April, unanimously accepted that approach. We would very much have preferred to **use this** Council to **start** the negotiation **for Peace**. I repeat: **this is** a challenge. If anybody wants to negotiate peace, **this** table is available to him. We fully endorse that.

(Mr. Terzi, Palestine Liberation Organization)

We want peace to spare our children and those children living in our houses from the threat of elimination, from the threat of being the fourth generation to live in a garrison State named Israel, or being the fourth generation to live in Palestinian refugee camps. We want them all to live in peace and harmony in **their** own homes.

The PLO is not looking for a way out. The **PLO** has shown every single sign that we want the process of a peaceful solution, a political settlement. As a matter of fact, it was at Amman that the PLO insisted on bringing this issue to the summit, which was originally meant to be an extraordinary summit to deal with **only** one item, namely, the Iraq-Iran war and the situation in the **Gulf**.

we just would not like to open the books about collaboration with the Nazis. The **Irgun Zvai Leumi**, which is the party of Mr. Begin and his likes, was openly and in public making statements that they should ally themselves with Hitler, because they had **mutual and common** interests. 'And the **renowned** and respected Professor Albert Einstein and others like him did not hesitate to **put** a big advertisement The New York Times asking that Begin and his likes, who were Nazis, not be permitted to desecrate the soil of the United States.

We are here to address an immediate issue, which is a derivative of prolonged occupation. We hope that this Council will convene one day, **the** sooner the better, **to** consider ways and means to bring about comprehensive peace and convert the discussion at this table from accusations to positive negotiations.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): There **are no further** speakers on my list. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue **consideration** of this agenda item will take place on **Monday, 14 December 1987**, in the afternoon, at a time to be announced later.

(The President)

I should like **to** remind members that we have already agreed to meet on **Monday**  
**to** Consider the question of the continuation of the **mandate** of the **United Nations**  
Peace-keeping Force in **Cyprus**.

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The meeting rose at 8.35 p.m.