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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND TENTH MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 20 April 1973, at 12.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Javier PEREZ DE CUELLAR (Peru).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Austria, China, France, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Panama, Peru, Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Yugoslavia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1710)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the Middle East:
Letter dated 12 April 1973 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10913)

The meeting was called to order at 1.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East

Letter dated 12 April 1973 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10913)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with the decision taken by the Council [1705th meeting], and with its consent, I shall invite the representatives of Lebanon, Israel and Egypt to take places at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. E. Ghorra (Lebanon), Mr. Y. Tekoah (Israel) and Mr. H. El-Zayyat (Egypt) took places at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Again in accordance with the previous decisions taken by the Council [1705th, 1706th and 1708th meetings], I invite the representatives of Saudi Arabia, Algeria, the Syrian Arab Republic and Tunisia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, on the understanding that they will be invited to be seated at the Council table when they wish to make additional statements.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. J. Baroody (Saudi Arabia), Mr. A. Rahal (Algeria), Mr. H. Kelani (Syrian Arab

Republic) and Mr. R. Driss (Tunisia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Jordan requesting permission to participate, without the right to vote, in the Council's consideration of the item on its agenda.

4. In accordance with the established practice, and with the consent of the Council, I shall invite the representative of Jordan to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber, on the understanding that he will be invited to take a place at the Council table when he wishes to speak.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. A. Sharaf (Jordan) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

5. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before the Council continues its consideration of the item on its agenda I should like to draw the attention of members to the revised draft resolution submitted by the delegations of France and the United Kingdom, which has been distributed in document S/10916/Rev.1. May I also draw members' attention to an amendment to the draft resolution co-sponsored by the delegations of Guinea, India, Indonesia and Yugoslavia, which has been distributed as document S/10917. We have before us also a draft resolution sponsored by Egypt, which has been distributed in document S/10918.

6. Since the Council has those proposals before it, I believe—and I hope—that we shall be able to conclude our deliberations shortly. In this connexion, I should like to inform Council members that I have received a request from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt that we consider and vote first on the draft resolution in document S/10918, since the Foreign Minister has to travel this afternoon.

7. May I remind members that Rule 32 of the provisional rules of procedure reads in part as follows:

“Principal motions and draft resolutions shall have precedence in the order of their submission.”

Nevertheless, because of the specific request addressed to the Council, and if members have no objection, I would put this draft resolution to the vote first, after it has been introduced and discussed.

8. There being no objections, priority will be given to the draft resolution in document S/10918.
9. I call on the representative of Egypt.
10. Mr. EL-ZAYYAT (Egypt): Mr. President, I feel I owe the Council and you an expression of gratitude for your having allowed me to be present at this debate, for your having had the patience and tolerance to hear me several times, and now for this further courtesy of your having raised no objection to my request for priority to be given to my explanation of the draft resolution which I have submitted to the Council. I hope that a Council member will grant me the added courtesy of asking that this draft resolution be considered by the Council, because I know this is an essential procedure.
11. The debate taking place on Lebanon's complaint underlines a wider, deeper situation: the situation of violence, aggression, terrorism, destruction and forced military occupation as practised by the Israeli authorities in our area, all in contempt of the principles of the Charter, United Nations resolutions and the authority of this Council. I said the other day in anger what I repeat now in deep sorrow: The situation in the Middle East defies any solution because of the assistance and support lent by a super-Power, a permanent member of this Council, the United States of America, to Israel, underwriting its occupation by military and financial assistance which facilitates and indeed encourages that occupation.
12. A fearful new development now appears in the extension of that support beyond the physical to the moral, beyond the area to the United Nations, beyond using Phantoms against us to using the veto against us. This is, as I said, a situation which I see in sorrow rather than in anger, although angry we are.
13. The Declaration on friendly relations [*General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*] has been invoked. That Declaration, the Council understands, affirms the inviolability of international boundaries, the prohibition of military occupation, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, and the non-recognition of such acquisitions, as well as the prohibition of armed reprisals. Furthermore, the Declaration fully supports the right of all peoples—and certainly the peoples of Palestine are not an exception; they are human—to self-determination. It further declares:
- “Every State has the duty to refrain from any forcible action which deprives peoples referred to above”—that is, struggling peoples “in the elaboration and freedom and independence. In their actions against, and resistance to, such forcible action in pursuit of the exercise of their right to self-determination, such peoples are entitled to seek and to receive support in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter.”
14. We trust that the Security Council, having heard all the statements around this table, will respond favourably to our request to reconvene in the near future in order to review and examine in depth, and perhaps to decide for the last time on the situation in the Middle East.
15. In this examination, the Council should be assisted by a comprehensive report, prepared by the Secretary-General, on the efforts undertaken by the United Nations pertaining to the situation in the Middle East since June 1967. If you would allow me, Mr. President, perhaps I could ask our distinguished Secretary-General, through you, to give us an idea how long the elaboration of such a report would take. To this end Egypt has submitted a proposal in document S/10918 and it hopes that some member of the Council will agree to ask for the consideration of that proposal.
16. I am conscious that we are taxing the Council's patience and putting an undue burden on its members in having them meet on this sad Friday. Since I came here we have sat through a Moslem holiday, a Christian holiday and a Jewish holiday. I have heard many insinuations and I wish to end with these words. The people of Palestine, indeed the people of the Arab world, fought imperialism when it was practised by the Ottomans, and the Ottomans were Moslems. It fought imperialism and colonization when it was practised by France and England in the Middle East, and the French are Catholic and the English are mainly Protestant. It is fighting zionism's aggression and occupation, and the Zionists say they are Jewish.
17. It was not because we were fighting Islam that we fought the Ottomans. It was not because we are against Christianity that we did not like British and French colonialism. It is not because we are against Judaism, a religion which we consider to be the parent of our own, that we are fighting zionism. I thought I should say these few words to repeat again that we are not going to be intimidated by any allegations of having any religious bias in our continuous struggle for independence and for the welfare of our people and freedom of our nations.
18. Mr. President, I thank you very much and, since I do not have any intention of taking the floor again, may I be allowed to thank, personally and sincerely all the friends who have been kind enough to mention my presence in this hall, and to say to them that we are going to tell Egypt that at least 14 members of this Council have heard, understood, sympathized with and supported our struggle in the past, as they do in the present and will in the future.
19. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I just wanted to answer the question put to me by the Foreign Minister of Egypt. I think it should be possible to prepare a report in three to four weeks. In this connexion the Council will recall that the Secretary-General issued a comprehensive report on 4 January 1971 in document S/10070, covering the activities of the Special Representative to the Middle East from 1967 to the end of 1970. Since that time there have been other reports concerning the activities of the Special Representative. These reports will, of course, be taken into account in the preparation of the report which has now been requested.
20. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next name on my list of speakers is that of the representative of Jordan, whom I now invite to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

21. Mr. SHARAF (Jordan): Mr. President, thank you for giving me the opportunity to make a statement before the Council. May I take a moment to extend to you, and to your country my delegation's highest esteem and warmest feelings. May I also extend to the new Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Shevchenko, a brilliant and experienced diplomat dedicated to peace and justice, a personal salute and best wishes.

22. My delegation takes the floor in connexion with the statement just made by the Foreign Minister of Egypt. Jordan is a country directly involved in the so-called question of the Middle East. Over one third of its population has been under occupation since June 1967. It is a country torn by occupation, bleeding every day in economic, human and emotional terms. It has a direct and urgent interest in a serious review by the Council of the present situation in the Middle East and in early action by the Council to roll back Israeli occupation, liberate the people in the bondage of occupation, restore the rights of the people who are at present in massive exile, and establish a just and lasting peace in the area.

23. With Egypt and all the other Arab people, we have watched for six years the various peace efforts of the United Nations and peace-loving countries bounce in failure against the rock of Israeli intransigence. We therefore support and urge an early initiative by the Security Council to pump life into the dormant international will and direct it against the Middle Eastern stalemate, the result of Israel's obstinate obstructionism.

24. This occasion is a very fitting one to ask the Council to look at the broader issue from which the Lebanese complaint stems. Lebanon came to the Council asking for protection for its sovereignty and its territorial integrity against clear and distinct violations. Lebanon's request of the Council was just and right. Lebanon's deep and serious concerns about its independence, territorial integrity and even national existence are fully justified and understandable. A brother country, very close to Lebanon, roughly the same size—the country on whose behalf I speak—is partly occupied, with hundreds of thousands of its population in the captivity of Israel. Two other Arab countries are, like Jordan, under Israel's partial occupation.

25. Twenty-five years ago a whole people, the Palestinian people, was uprooted and expelled from its homeland. So the fears and concerns of Lebanon are justified. Its request for United Nations protection and assistance in coping with its massive and complex problem is natural. This occasion, as I said, is a fitting one for requesting the Security Council to focus again in depth and in seriousness on the problem which manifests itself in the concerns and pains of Lebanon, in the agony of the occupation in Jordan, Egypt and the Syrian Arab Republic and in the restlessness and the near desperation of the Palestinian exiles.

26. These issues cannot be isolated from one another. The conflicts and violence in the area are symptoms of a greater conflict several decades old about which the Council has done either very little or nothing. Before June 1967, the Security Council left unsettled the visible and explosive question of the Palestinian Arabs made refugees by Israel

upon its violent emergence, while the elements of justice and morality in the Palestinian case were clear. After June 1967, the Council did hardly anything to roll back the Israeli occupation of an area three times as big as Israel itself and belonging to three States Members of the United Nations.

27. The Israeli occupation has now lasted six years. The Arab countries involved have sought every avenue for a peaceful and realistic political settlement. The Security Council knows of these efforts and Member States commend the Arab States seeking these peaceful avenues for their positive attitude and their moderation. But Israel blocks every way to peace and its realistic conditions. The Security Council knows that, but does little to influence this Israeli policy. In the meantime, the occupying Power engages feverishly in consolidating its occupation and absorbing the areas under occupation. Settlements are established all over the occupied Arab territories with a view to transforming physically the Arab character of these areas. Large-scale expropriation of land and property in various parts of the occupied territories is taking place continuously, sometimes coupled with the forcible removal of the owners. Arab Jerusalem, the heart and centre of the Arab territories, is annexed and mutilated physically, demographically and culturally, while its unique and universal religious character is suppressed by blind religious chauvinism. The economy of the occupied areas is integrated into the economy of Israel for the purpose of exploitation and absorption.

28. Somehow this process of continuing aggression must be halted. The Security Council has the primary responsibility for this. The case is again in its trust and it cannot ignore the roots of the continuing violence in the area and the role and responsibility of the party which started this ugly chain. The Council must confront the real issues and push forward successfully the just solution for the problem of the Middle East.

29. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): I should just like to support the proposal of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt that the Secretary-General should be asked to submit a comprehensive report on what has happened since 1967 and that the Security Council should meet to consider it thereafter.

30. As I said in my statement before the Council only a few days ago [*1708th meeting*], my delegation would be glad to see the Council call upon the Secretary-General and his special representative, Ambassador Jarring, to renew their efforts to promote agreement on the basis of resolution 242 (1967), and we stand ready to help them in any way we can.

31. I hope this initiative will in some way open the path to further negotiations and lead on towards the settlement that we all desire and need so desperately.

32. Mr. ABDULLA (Sudan): Mr. President, I am sorry I had to speak before the expressions of welcome extended to His Excellency Foreign Minister El-Zayyat and to Mr. Shevchenko, but perhaps you will allow me this

opportunity to address a few words of welcome to both of them.

33. To Foreign Minister El-Zayyat I would say at this stage that I should not like to add to the compliments addressed to him by his many friends in the Council because it would be like bringing water to the river Nile—the river Nile that sealed the fate of our two countries. To shower even well-merited compliments on a brother would only tax my modesty. I shall therefore limit myself to expressing to him my sincere welcome during his presence and contribution to our deliberations. To associate myself with your cause, Mr. Foreign Minister—which is mine—would only be saying the obvious, for already I have participated in your meeting with both the Arab and the African Groups, whose unanimous support of our joint cause was remarkably demonstrated a few days ago.

34. In the same spirit I should like to express my sincere welcome to Mr. Shevchenko, whose recent assumption of his new post of Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs has already been the subject of compliments in the Council. I only wish to assure him at this stage that my delegation will be delighted to co-operate with him and to benefit from his experience in the Council.

35. I would not wish to pursue the argument of the dangerous situation in the Middle East and the stalemate it has presented for six years in the Security Council and the United Nations. That has been very well covered by Mr. El-Zayyat. I have asked to speak only to announce that, on the basis of rule 38 of the provisional rules of procedure, my delegation takes great pleasure in moving formally that the Council approve by a unanimous vote the draft resolution in document S/10918, of 19 April 1973, presented by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Mr. El-Zayyat.

36. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): My delegation is far from certain about the usefulness of the review proposed by the Foreign Minister of Egypt. In the present emotional circumstances we are concerned lest new discussion produce contention and lest contention produce new difficulties for those who must seek to construct the framework of a lasting peace in the Middle East. However, we recognize the great importance of the issue and will raise no formal objections to the draft resolution.

37. Mr. MOJSOV (Yugoslavia): In my statement at the 1706th meeting, I explained the views of my delegation concerning the Lebanese complaint and the situation in the Middle East in general. In connexion with the role of the Security Council in considering the situation in the Middle East and assessing its role in the search for a peaceful settlement, I said in my statement:

“We think it is high time for this organ of the United Nations, entrusted with the main responsibility for international peace and security, to review the whole Middle Eastern situation, which is continuously aggravated by the non-compliance with resolution 242 (1967), as well as other resolutions, to examine the reasons for the non-implementation of those resolutions and to see

what should be done to make possible and ensure their final implementation.” [1706th meeting, para.143]

38. Having heard the arguments and the concrete proposal just made by the Foreign Minister of Egypt, I can only express my full support for his proposal to have a meeting of the Security Council to consider the comprehensive report of the Secretary-General on the efforts undertaken by the United Nations since June 1967 to find a peaceful solution of the problems of the Middle East.

39. It is with some hope that my delegation looks forward to the Council's forthcoming consideration of the Middle East crisis and the situation as a whole. We hope that the Council will be able to respond positively and unanimously to the formal proposal of the Foreign Minister of Egypt in that respect. We find it quite significant that a large majority of the members of the Council, including my delegation, indicated during our debate that they considered such action by the Council to be both timely and necessary. That indicates to us that the Security Council, in expressing, I am sure, the feelings of a large part of the international community, is resolved to consider, in a fresh, non-routine and comprehensive way, a situation which is far from routine and which is becoming more and more dangerous and intolerable.

40. Mr. SEN (India): From what I said in my statement on the agenda item before us [1709th meeting], it should be clear to the members of the Council that we shall have great pleasure in supporting the proposal made by the Foreign Minister of Egypt. Indeed, if the representative of the Sudan had not invoked rule 38 of the provisional rules of procedure, I, on my part, would have been quite prepared to co-sponsor that Egyptian proposal. However, since rule 38 has been invoked, and under that rule we can go straight to a vote, there is no need for such a step.

41. We shall have three to four weeks before we receive the report of the Secretary-General. Taking a more pessimistic view, let us say it will be ready at the end of the fourth week. We should earnestly hope that, during the intervening period, the situation in the Middle East will take a turn for the better—whether through the efforts of the United Nations, the efforts of any other body, or those of any other person or of any other State—and we should very much hope that when we come to consider that report we shall have a better atmosphere altogether.

42. Mr. ODERO-JOWI (Kenya): In my statement before the Council on 18 April, I said:

“It is the view of my delegation that the complaint by Lebanon cannot be treated outside its basic Middle East context, because that would amount to the Council's trying to treat only the visible symptoms of a malignant cancer without recognizing the basic causes of the disease. . . . We could yet turn this dark hour in the Middle East to a positive use. My delegation has listened attentively to previous speakers and we sense a determination on the part of many here to try yet again to go to the root cause of the Middle East situation. The machinery is already there in the form of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). In the view of my

delegation, the Council could help advance the cause of peace in the Middle East only by reactivating the whole machinery already set up by the Council. In order to ensure active involvement for peace, the Council must call upon the big Powers to ensure that the special representative of the Secretary-General is given a chance to bring the parties together in order to achieve peace in the Middle East." [*Ibid.*, paras. 10 and 13.]

43. Because of our basic stand on this issue, my delegation cannot fail to support the draft resolution so eloquently introduced by the Foreign Minister of Egypt and contained in document S/10918. That draft resolution requests exactly what my delegation advocated in our previous statement. Our support of it is based on our belief that, in order to bring peace to that troubled part of the world, it is necessary for this Council and for the international community to continue all efforts to remove the causes of conflict and friction in the Middle East.

44. But it is necessary to caution the Council, lest our efforts be stalemated as they have been in the past, that our efforts will remain ineffective, as they have been for the last 25 years, unless the big Powers, and particularly the nations of the Middle East, generate the political and moral will to work together for peace and to work for a new order in the Middle East based on the imperatives of peaceful co-existence.

45. We hope that our debates, following the submission of the report by the Secretary-General, will be more fruitful and more meaningful and that the political will necessary to bring peace to the Middle East will be evidenced by all participating in the debate. We support the draft resolution submitted by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt, and will do everything within our power to make our contribution during that debate.

46. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation would like to speak in support of the draft resolution introduced by Egypt and supported by the United Kingdom, the Sudan, Yugoslavia, India and Kenya. The draft resolution reflects the urgent need for the Security Council to discuss all aspects of the situation in the Middle East.

47. As is well known, the Security Council and the General Assembly have, since the very first days of Israel's aggression, made considerable efforts to achieve a political solution to the Middle East crisis, to eliminate the consequences of Israeli aggression against the Arab countries and to ensure a just and lasting peace in that important area. To that end, a number of resolutions have been adopted within the United Nations. The basic resolution was, and still is, Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967.

48. In pursuance of that resolution, the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, took a number of important practical steps to promote the achievement of a peaceful settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles of resolution 242 (1967). The most important of those steps was, of

course, his memorandum of 8 February 1971 [*S/10403, annex I*].

49. Yet, for almost six years, Israel has been systematically sabotaging the implementation of United Nations resolutions and has been refusing to comply with resolution 242 (1967), which provides for a political settlement in the Middle East and the establishment of a lasting peace in that area. Israel is continuing its aggressive actions against neighbouring Arab States.

50. In view of all this, the Soviet delegation believes that the time is long overdue for the Council to consider the Middle East situation as a whole, in all its aspects, and to outline ways and means of ensuring the implementation of resolution 242 (1967).

51. Of course, the report to be drawn up by the Secretary-General concerning the efforts undertaken by the United Nations to settle the Middle East situation, as provided for in the draft resolution before the Council, will be of considerable assistance to the Security Council in discussing this problem. It is also quite obvious that it is essential for Ambassador Gunnar Jarring to be present and to take part in the Council's work. His participation would be useful and would make a positive contribution to the Council's work.

52. The Soviet delegation supports the draft resolution, basing its position on the concern which the Soviet Union shares with the vast majority of countries, both Members and non-members of the United Nations, over the dangerous situation in the Middle East.

53. The cessation of the war in Viet Nam and the current improved international climate point the way towards further efforts by States and peoples to deal with the urgent task of eliminating the flashpoint of war in the Middle East. A settlement and the restoration of peace in the area can be achieved only on the basis of justice, respect for the legitimate rights of peoples which have fallen victims to aggression, liberation of the occupied territories, renunciation of attempts to encroach on the lands of others, and renunciation of the annexation of territory.

54. The Soviet Union's position on the Middle East question is well known. The Soviet Union supports the legitimate demands of the Arab countries for the implementation of United Nations resolutions relating to a peaceful political settlement of the Middle East conflict on the basis of the full implementation of resolution 242 (1967). It supports the mission of Ambassador Jarring, who has been given the task of promoting such a settlement. The Soviet Union also favours the renewal of consultations between the permanent members of the Council with a view to providing assistance and support to Ambassador Jarring in carrying out his task.

55. Recently, in a joint Soviet-French communiqué dated 13 January 1973, it was especially stressed that the Soviet Union and France

"once again state that the Security Council resolution adopted on 22 November 1967 should be put into effect.

They support the idea that, in accordance with that resolution, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Jarring, to whom the Security Council has given the task of promoting such a settlement, should continue his mission with a view to the establishment of a just and lasting peace, providing for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the occupied territories, the recognition by all interested countries of the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of every State in the area and respect for the rights and interests of all peoples in the area, including the Arab people of Palestine."

56. No one can deny the special responsibility of the Security Council for maintaining international peace and security. It is precisely for that reason that the Council should do its duty and discharge its obligation under the United Nations Charter and examine ways and means of implementing resolution 242 (1967), which has long been the universally recognized basis for a settlement of the Middle East situation. The permanent members of the Security Council, above all, have a duty to provide assistance and co-operation to Ambassador Jarring in carrying out his great, important, responsible and noble task. We note with satisfaction that this point of view is shared by the delegations of the United Kingdom, and France as has become obvious during discussion of this question in the Security Council. It is now the turn of the other two permanent members of the Security Council.

57. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): It goes without saying that the delegation of France supports the proposal of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt, which is completely in line with the statements I made two days ago [*1709th meeting*] at this very table regarding the quest for a peaceful solution of the conflict which regrettably exists in the Middle East.

58. On several occasions we have lent our support to Ambassador Jarring's mission and I am pleased to confirm once again our confidence in his efforts, under the authority of the Secretary-General, to find a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict.

59. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation supports the draft resolution submitted by the representative of Egypt and is prepared to vote in favour of it.

60. We hope that the Security Council will make a comprehensive examination of the Middle East situation as requested by the Egyptian representative in accordance with the Charter principles, draw a clear distinction between aggression and the victim of aggression, clearly identifying the responsibility for aggression, and take the necessary measures.

61. Mr. BOYD (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation wishes to announce that it will support the draft resolution submitted by Egypt [*S/10918*], which was so eloquently presented by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt, Mr. El-Zayyat.

62. In pursuance of the lasting peace in the Middle East we all desire, we consider the proposal of Egypt contains constructive elements, and we therefore announce that we shall be pleased to vote in favour of it.

63. The study and review of the situation in the Middle East will, we trust, provide us with new, just and equitable formulas for the parties to the conflict.

64. May I avail myself of this opportunity to wish the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt a good journey on his return to his country and at the same time to tell him that his visit to the Council was most timely, useful and desirable.

65. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In regard to the draft resolution sponsored by Egypt [*S/10918*], in accordance with the formal request of the representative of the Sudan and other representatives made under the last provision of rule 38 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Council, could I ask the Council whether it agrees to approve it without a vote? If I hear no objection I shall take it that it is so decided.

*The draft resolution was adopted.*¹

66. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Egypt.

67. Mr. EL-ZAYYAT (Egypt): Mr. President, I wish to thank you and the members of the Council and to ask your permission to leave the Council chamber now. I am going back fortified by your moral support. Having come here again with fear and hope, I hope that in the end fear will have no place. I am not fearful for Egypt. I am really fearful for the great structure of international order built by the efforts and the will of all the peoples of the world more than 25 years ago.

68. With your permission, Mr. President, I shall now leave the Council chamber.

69. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. Foreign Minister, as President, I should like to say how pleased we have all been to have you participate in our debate and of course to wish you a good journey.

70. I shall now call on the representative of France who will introduce the draft resolution in document S/10916/Rev.1.

71. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to present in a few words to the Council the draft resolution submitted by the United Kingdom and France [*S/10916/Rev.1*]. This text, which was the subject of long negotiations, seems to us to meet the essential points of the concern which emerged in the Council following upon the complaint by Lebanon.

72. I would add that the British and French delegations have no objection to having the amendment in document S/10917, submitted by Guinea, India, Indonesia and

¹ See resolution 331 (1973).

Yugoslavia, incorporated in draft resolution S/10916/Rev.1, in which it would appear as a new paragraph 4.

73. Mrs. Jeanne MARTIN CISSE (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the delegations of India, Indonesia, Yugoslavia and my own delegation, and under rule 35 of the provisional rules of procedure, I wish to withdraw the amendment [S/10917] which we had submitted to the draft resolution presented by France and the United Kingdom [S/10916]. The sponsors consider that their amendment referred to the draft resolution in document S/10916 and not to revised draft resolution S/10916/Rev.1. We therefore consider that our amendment is not relevant to the revised text and wish to withdraw it.

74. My delegation wishes to reserve its right to speak at a later stage on the revised draft resolution. Until then, I should like to propose that we adjourn the work of the Council under rule 33, paragraph 3 of the provisional rules of procedure so that we can continue our consultations.

75. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The last name on my list of speakers is that of the representative of Israel, on whom I call.

76. Mr. TEKOAH (Israel): The sponsors of draft resolution S/10916/Rev.1, submitted today, have in a single text summed up and highlighted the iniquity and absurdity of the Arab position. It is no secret that the draft was formulated essentially by Egypt and Lebanon.

77. Arab terrorism is threatening the entire fabric of international life. Unequivocal censure of this menace is essential to mankind's safety. The draft, even in its revised form, passes over this in silence. The international community is groping for ways to combat Arab terrorism. The draft calls for a condemnation of action carried out against the organizers and perpetrators of terrorist atrocities. This kind of logic would label anyone who fights crime as a criminal. This kind of logic would have smeared British, French or Jewish fighters against the Nazis with the stigma of nazism.

78. Against whom was the Israeli action directed? Abou Yusef, Kamal Nasser and Kamal Adwan struck down in that action were murderers and initiators of murder responsible for, among other outrages, the Lod massacre, the Munich killings, the Khartoum slaughter and the Nicosia attacks. It is too early to disclose all the information and to divulge how many more such crimes were about

to be carried out by those terrorists and how many innocent lives, in various parts of the world, were saved by the timely Israeli intervention. If this is not self-defence then the inherent right of self-defence has lost all its meaning.

79. International law, the Charter and United Nations resolutions prohibit States from harbouring and supporting terrorist organizations which operate against other States. The Arab Governments, without whose assistance the terrorist organizations would not have been established and could not have pursued their activities, are let off without even a word that they must abide by their international obligations and eliminate the murder gangs.

80. In its basic conception and approach and despite cosmetic changes introduced at the last minute, the draft resolution adopts the Arab thesis in all its defiance of international law and morality. The text is an affront to the victims of terrorism and to those who are trying to combat the scourge of Arab murder of innocent people. There can be no mistake about it. The resolution shields those responsible for international terrorism and penalizes those who are the targets of terrorism. It could give encouragement to terrorist organizations and mean acquiescence in the continuation of such barbarities as Lod, Munich, Khartoum and Nicosia. No explanatory statement can obscure this truth. Those who favour it can hardly remain blameless if the text inspires the terrorists to new bestialities. It is, indeed, a sad and sombre day for the family of nations to see a draft such as this emerge and find it placed before the Security Council for approval.

81. Mr. SEN (India): I wish to speak on a point of order. The representative of Guinea invoked rule 33 of the provisional rules of procedure, a motion which, I believe, takes precedence over all other business of the Council. I did not wish to interrupt while the representative of Israel was speaking—partly because it would have been impolite and partly because, since he is not interested in the rules of procedure, I did not really know whether this applied to him. However, since rule 33 has been invoked, I suggest that we dispose of the request of the representative of Guinea before proceeding further.

82. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have no further names on my list of speakers for this meeting. If no other member of the Council wishes to speak, I shall adjourn the meeting.

The meeting rose at 2.10 p.m.

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