



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-NINTH YEAR

1774th MEETING: 31 MAY 1974
NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1774)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
The situation in the Middle East:	
(a) Letter dated 30 May 1974 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11304);	
(b) Report of the Secretary-General (S/11302 and Add.1)	1

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 SEVENTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 31 May 1974, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Charles Gatere MAINA (Kenya).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Austria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Costa Rica, France, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Mauritania, Peru, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1774)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the Middle East:
 - (a) Letter dated 30 May 1974 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11304);
 - (b) Report of the Secretary-General (S/11302 and Add.1)

The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East:

- (a) Letter dated 30 May 1974 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11304);
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General (S/11302 and Add.1)

1. The PRESIDENT: I have just received letters from the representatives of the Syrian Arab Republic and Israel in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the question before the Council. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to invite those two representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the usual practice of the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. H. Kelani (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. J. Doron (Israel) took places at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to a draft resolution on this

matter [S/11305/Rev.1] sponsored by the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

3. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): I hope I speak for all the members of the Security Council when I express the great satisfaction with which my Government welcomes the Agreement, announced Wednesday, between Syria and Israel. As all members know, this Agreement provides for the disengagement of Syrian and Israeli forces [see S/11302/Add.1, annex I]. It was signed today by Syrian and Israeli military representatives in the Egyptian-Israeli Military Working Group of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East.

4. The Israeli-Syrian Disengagement Agreement, together with the agreement reached earlier on disengagement of Egyptian-Israeli forces [S/11198 of 18 January 1974], will in our view open the way for progress at Geneva towards the achievement of an enduring settlement in the Middle East. As President Nixon said Wednesday, the prospects for such a peace now are better than at any time in the past 25 years. President Nixon also pledged that the United States would continue working with all Governments in the area towards that goal.

5. We congratulate the Governments of Israel and Syria. Our President has commended Prime Minister Meir and President Al-Assad for the vision and the statesmanship with which they have resolved the great differences that seemed insurmountable only a short time ago. We are pleased that the United States, through the efforts of Secretary Kissinger, was privileged to help bring about this agreement. We express our appreciation also for the co-operation of the Soviet Union as reflected in the three conversations which the Secretary of State and the Foreign Minister have held in recent weeks.

6. Israel and Syria have recognized that the United Nations should play a crucial role in the execution of this Agreement. The Protocol to the Disengagement Agreement [S/11302/Add.1, annex II] provides for the establishment of a United Nations Disengagement Observer Force. This Force will play a key and indispensable role in maintaining a cease-fire and seeing that it is scrupulously observed. I ask, therefore, that the Council authorize the creation of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force.

7. In adopting the draft resolution the Council will be taking the next critical step in what we hope will be a quickening movement towards a permanent peace in the Middle East. It is another important step on the long road before us. The text is simple and straightforward. It is

grounded in the recent successful actions of the Council and the statement we heard yesterday from the Secretary-General [1773rd meeting]. His statement on the applicability of the general principles which guided the United Nations Emergency Force clearly applies to all aspects of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force, including the assurances of its continued effective functioning for the duration of the mandate established by the draft resolution. I urge the speedy adoption of this draft resolution.

8. Today we are considering not merely abstract issues of military units and borders; we are, rather, grappling with the most important and yet the most human of issues—war or peace.

9. We have indeed come a long way in the past few months. The peoples of the Middle East have started on a new course which offers the promise of greater security and greater prosperity for all the peoples of that historic region. It is within our power to ease and assist that process. I am confident that with the aid of the United Nations, and of the Council in particular, steady progress can continue to be made until we attain our long-sought goal—lasting peace in the Middle East.

10. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): This morning, 31 May 1974, in conformity with the understanding between Syria and Israel, the Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces was signed by the official representatives of these countries at Geneva. It goes without saying that, in spite of its positive significance, this Agreement is only the first step towards attainment of the main aim—the liberation from Israeli occupation of all Arab lands seized in 1967 and later.

11. The Soviet Government has authorized me as the representative of the USSR on the Security Council to inform the Council that the Soviet Union, as a participant in the numerous consultations to prepare the Agreement on Disengagement between Syrian and Israeli Forces, commends the Agreement which has been reached.

12. The Government of the Soviet Union particularly commends the position of Syria, which has displayed high principle and foresight in the discussion of the relevant questions relating to troop disengagement.

13. At the same time, the Soviet Union considers it necessary to stress that this troop Disengagement Agreement is only a step towards the main goal—the total liberation of the Arab lands from Israeli occupation. This goal must be attained if all the interested parties genuinely wish to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

14. The Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East is thus faced with a difficult task: that of finding a solution to the Middle East problem on this basis in the interests of peace, security and the protection of the legitimate interests of all the States and peoples of this region, including the Arab people of Palestine.

15. The Soviet Union will continue to do everything possible and everything in its power along these lines, including what it can do as a participant in the Geneva Conference.

16. Taking the opportunity afforded by the consideration of this matter by the Security Council, I should also like to bring to the notice of members of the Council the fact that L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, personally congratulated Mr. Hafez Al-Assad, the President of Syria, on the Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces which had been reached. The message from Mr. Brezhnev to Mr. Al-Assad stated:

“This Agreement marks the beginning of the liberation of the Syrian territory occupied by the Israeli aggressors. It represents the result of the courageous struggle of the Syrian people, which has enjoyed the unfailing support of the Soviet Union and of other States which are friendly to Syria.”

17. Mr. Brezhnev expressed his satisfaction that, in the course of the consultations which took place to prepare the troop Disengagement Agreement, “the Soviet Union and Syria acted together, from unified positions, guided by the interests of attaining peace in the Middle East”. The message also notes:

“Troop disengagement is of course only a step towards a final Middle East settlement, the key to which must be the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab lands occupied in 1967 and the guaranteeing of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

“Following the completion of the disengagement of Syrian and Israeli troops, the Geneva Peace Conference must, without wasting any time, proceed to the consideration and solution of all the problems involved in the settlement in order to ensure lasting security for all States and peoples in that area.”

Mr. Brezhnev stresses this in his message. He assured President Al-Assad that the Soviet Union “would continue to afford support to the Syrian Arab Republic and to other friendly Arab States in their struggle for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East”.

18. I also consider it worth informing the members of the Security Council of the official text, published on 30 May 1974 simultaneously in Moscow and Damascus, of a joint Soviet-Syrian communiqué concerning the visit of A. A. Gromyko, the Foreign Minister of the USSR, to the Syrian Arab Republic. The text of this communiqué states:

“From 27 to 29 May 1974, at the invitation of the leadership of the Syrian Arab Republic, A. A. Gromyko, Foreign Minister of the USSR and member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, paid an official visit of friendship to Damascus.

“The visit took place in an atmosphere of warmth and cordiality reflecting the friendly relations between the two peoples and countries.

“Mr. Gromyko was received by and had talks with President Al-Hassad, the General Secretary of the Ba'ath Arab Socialist Party, and also with Mr. Mahmoud Ayoubi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Mr. Abdul Halim Khaddam, the Minister for

Foreign Affairs and Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

"In the course of the visit, talks were held and attention was concentrated on the efforts which were being made to achieve a just solution of the Middle East problem and of the question of troop disengagement on the Syrian front, as a first step and a constituent element in a comprehensive solution of this problem.

"As a result of the talks, the convergence of the positions of the two sides on all these questions was once again confirmed. The two sides once again confirmed that a just solution of the Middle East problem could be achieved only on the basis of total liberation by Israel of all the occupied Arab territories and guarantees for the lawful national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

"The two sides consider that, immediately after the achievement of an Agreement on troop disengagement on the Syrian front and the implementation of its provisions, appropriate measures must be taken without delay to achieve an all-embracing and just settlement which will ensure the implementation of the relevant decisions of the United Nations.

"The Syrian Arab Republic confirmed its position with regard to the fact that the Soviet Union should take part in all stages and in all aspects of a settlement designed to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

"The Soviet Union once again confirmed its unchanging policy of principle involving comprehensive support to the Syrian Arab Republic in its struggle for the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression.

"The Soviet Union and the Syrian Arab Republic confirm the strength of the relations between them and the strength of the friendship between the peoples of the two countries, and declare that they will not permit anyone to disrupt these relations and this friendship which are the result of great and lengthy efforts on the part of both sides."

19. A draft resolution in connexion with the attainment of agreement on the disengagement of Syrian and Israeli troops has been submitted for the consideration of the Security Council by the Soviet Union and the United States. The delegation of the USSR, for its part, agrees that in the disengagement zone between Syria and Israel—or, as it is otherwise known, the buffer zone—there should be a United Nations Disengagement Observer Force set up by the Security Council.

20. In this connexion, the delegation of the USSR notes with satisfaction and approval the comment made in the Secretary-General's statement at the 1773rd meeting of the Council, on 30 May, that the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force would be set up on the basis of the same general principles as those which he had presented to the Council in his previous report [S/11052/Rev.1 of 27 October 1973] and which had been approved by the Council in its resolution 341 (1973).

21. We also note with satisfaction and take into account the statement in the Secretary-General's report dated 30 May 1974 [S/11302/Add.1] that the United Nations observer force for the disengagement of Syrian and Israeli troops would be drawn from United Nations military personnel already in the area, that is from the ranks of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) and from the United Nations observers who are already in the Middle East. We also take note of the Secretary-General's statement at the meeting on 30 May that in selecting personnel for the Force he would be in consultation with the Council.

22. The Soviet delegation also feels that the expenses connected with the maintenance of UNEF in the Middle East should not be increased.

23. Thus, no increase in the size of UNEF in the Middle East is envisaged, and observation of the disengagement of Syrian and Israeli troops will be ensured by transferring units of the United Nations forces which are already stationed in the Middle East.

24. In conclusion, we should also like to point out that the draft resolution on this question submitted to the Council by the Soviet Union and the United States of America envisages that the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force in Syria and Israel should be stationed there for a period of six months. It is also envisaged that, if it becomes necessary to extend that period, that question should be considered by the Council, and the renewal of the period for the further stationing of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force should be formalized by the Council's adoption of a new resolution on the subject.

25. The Soviet delegation expresses the hope that, with this understanding of the substance and content of the draft resolution, the members of the Security Council will find it acceptable and will support it, so as to facilitate this first step towards the attainment of the main goal which I have mentioned.

26. The PRESIDENT: As no other representative wishes to make a general statement, I shall now call upon those representatives wishing to speak in explanation of vote before the vote.

27. Mr. CHUANG Yen (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation has pointed out on many occasions that the crux of the Middle East question lies in the aggression against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples carried out by Israeli Zionism with the support and abetment of the two super-Powers and the frantic contention between the super-Powers for hegemony in their selfish interest. Consequently, to seek a fundamental solution of the Middle East question, it is imperative to stop the hegemony and power politics practised by the two super-Powers in this region, eliminate all their interferences in Middle East affairs, demand Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and restore completely to the Palestinian people their national rights. Before realization of those objectives, a "just and lasting peace" in the Middle East is out of the question.

28. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the Arab and Palestinian peoples in their just struggle to recover their lost territories, regain their national rights and oppose super-Power hegemony. We believe that the heroic peoples of Egypt, Syria and other Arab countries as well as of Palestine, who demonstrated their tremendous power and dealt heavy blows at the Israeli Zionists in the fourth Middle East war, last October, will strengthen their unity, persevere in struggle, gradually remove the obstacles along their road of advance, break through the super-Power manipulation and control and finally realize their national aspirations.

29. As is known to all, China has always held its principled position on the dispatch of troops in the name of the United Nations under whatever form. It is only out of consideration for the present attitude of the victim of aggression that the Chinese delegation has decided not to participate in the voting on the draft resolution before us. We request the President of the Security Council to place on official record China's position of dissociation from the matter.

30. The PRESIDENT: The remarks of the representative of China have been noted.

31. Mr. ZAHAWIE (Iraq): Iraq's position concerning the situation in the Middle East, the question of Palestine and the rights of the Palestinian people is well known. We further explained our position regarding the role of the United Nations forces in the area on 8 April, at the 1765th meeting of the Council. At that time we dissociated ourselves from the pertinent Council resolutions which defined the role of the United Nations forces.

32. Iraq maintains its position as stated previously on several occasions. We shall therefore not participate in the voting on the draft resolution [S/11305/Rev.1] which is now before the Council.

33. The PRESIDENT: As no other member wishes to speak before the vote, I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution in document S/11305/Rev.1.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted by 13 votes to none.¹

Two members (China and Iraq) did not participate in the voting.

34. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in explanation of vote after the voting.

35. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): I am sure that no words of mine can express adequately the deep sense of gratification with which the announcement of the Disengagement Agreement between Israel and Syria signed at Geneva this morning has been received in Australia, and I believe around the Council, which has played its own important part in opening the way for it.

36. Immediately on learning that the two parties had settled upon the terms of the Agreement and its accompanying Protocol and were preparing to sign it today, the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Willesee, made a statement welcoming the announcement and paying a tribute to the statesmanship shown by both Governments. He affirmed that this Agreement, following the similar disengagement agreement concluded between Israel and Egypt in January of this year, augured well for the resumption of the Geneva peace negotiations. The two agreements, he said, were important initial steps towards the just and lasting settlement in the Middle East that Australia had always longed for.

37. Senator Willesee also paid a tribute to the untiring efforts of the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger, in helping to bring the Agreement about. There is no doubt that these sentiments and the tributes to all parties concerned that have been well expressed by the sponsors of the draft resolution that we have just adopted, are richly deserved.

38. We shall not, of course, delude ourselves into assuming that a final and complete settlement of all the crucial problems of the Middle East is already in sight. It goes without saying that much difficult negotiation and hard bargaining lies ahead. But this need not lessen our feeling of extreme satisfaction and relief over the achievement of this final step forward and our deep obligation to the two Governments for the high degree of responsible statesmanship they have shown and also to Mr. Kissinger for his tremendous perseverance and his skill.

39. Let me say in conclusion that my own Government stands ready to play whatever part it may be asked to play within the framework of the United Nations in ensuring that this Agreement is put into full effect.

40. Mr. SALAZAR (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation would like to see more occasions like this one in which we have voted in favour of a draft resolution that marks the contribution of the United Nations to the historic achievements that have recently occurred in the creation of peaceful conditions in the Middle East. I repeat that my delegation would like to see more occasions like this because we believe that within this framework of action the Council is in fact clearly carrying out the functions vested in it by the Charter to deal with matters of international peace and security.

41. Without any circumlocutions, my delegation wishes to express to the Governments of Syria and Israel its warmest congratulations for the worthy spirit of co-operation that they have shown in the negotiations that concluded with the troop Disengagement Agreement on the Golan Heights. It also wishes to stress that the attitude of both States in demonstrating their willingness to arrive at agreements was a noble one, in view of the fact it was surely not easy for either of them to do so, owing to the background resulting from the hostilities, and that these agreements have brought solace and relief to the tense situation in the Middle East and have given rise to optimism in the rest of the world.

¹ See resolution 350 (1974).

42. Giving credit where credit is due, my delegation wishes to congratulate most warmly the Secretary of State of the United States of America, Mr. Henry Kissinger, for the tenacity, skill and wise diplomacy that he brought to bear during an extremely lengthy period of time which he devoted to mediation between the Governments of Syria and Israel in order to achieve the great success embodied in the troop Disengagement Agreement.

43. But our recognition and admiration would not be complete when referring to the work done by Mr. Kissinger were we not to say quite clearly that in addition to the congratulations offered to him, congratulations should also be extended to the country in whose name he acted. Thanks to its wise international policy, the United States has taken a position in keeping with its immense world responsibility. I am sure that all peace-loving nations have watched with both admiration and appreciation the evolution of that policy.

44. I can find no better reasons than those which I have already stated to explain and justify the vote that my delegation cast in favour of the draft resolution that was submitted to the Council at this meeting.

45. Mr. KUSUMASMORO (Indonesia): It is with a great sense of relief and profound gratification that my delegation welcomes the accord for the disengagement of forces between Syria and Israel. As a result of this agreement, peace may at last once again return to the area after the nearly continuous violence, death and destruction of past decades.

46. My delegation joins others in paying a tribute to the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Kissinger, whose phenomenal efforts and dedication to the cause of peace have been so very instrumental in laying the foundations of peace in the area. Equally, it has also to be recognized that this hopeful state of affairs could not have been brought about were it not for the statesmanship and great wisdom exercised by the Governments of the two conflicting parties.

47. We are very much aware that the accord between Syria and Israel is not a peace accord and that we are still a long way from the end of the road leading to a just and lasting peace. The foundations of peace that have just been laid are still fragile and still limited in scope, and without the necessary care and constraint the sound of guns may once again prevail. As my delegation has often noted in the past, a just and lasting peace in the area cannot be achieved without the removal of the root causes of the Middle East problem. Little attention has so far been addressed to the plight of the Palestinian peoples, those who have suffered most both spiritually and materially in the Middle East. Their claims for a national identity and also the assistance which they may need in the future when that national identity is finally achieved, must be recognized and acknowledged by the international community. Their cry for a just solution to these problems should not go unheeded too long if the present beginnings of a settlement are to grow into a firm structure of peace which we all desire to see in the Middle East.

48. Also still to be addressed is the problem of the occupied Arab lands. The seizure of territory by force can never be justified; certainly it can never be made the basis of a just and lasting peace.

49. These problems are grave and the stakes involved in settling them are high ones indeed. However, if the same atmosphere of genuine efforts at accommodation that has brought about the Syrian-Israeli Disengagement Agreement prevails in future negotiations, there will be genuine hope that real progress towards the solution of these difficulties will soon be made.

50. The spirit of accommodation and the momentum so far achieved must not be lost. It is the need to keep the fragile peace in the area from relapsing that necessitates the presence of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force in the area.

51. It is upon the basis of those considerations that my delegation lends its support to the draft resolution in document S/11305/Rev.1.

52. Mr. EL HASSEN (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): The signing today at Geneva of the Syrian-Israeli troop disengagement Agreement is an event which may open up new prospects for a just and lasting solution to the distressing problem of the Middle East. My delegation, whose people and Government are profoundly peace and justice loving, welcomes this Agreement with interest.

53. This document, as is explicitly indicated in paragraph H, is not a peace agreement. It simply constitutes a first step towards a just and lasting peace in the area. The conditions for that peace are well known. They include the restoration, wholly and entirely, to the Arab people of Palestine of their national legitimate and inalienable rights and the total withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories.

54. For its part, the Government of my country has ceaselessly proclaimed its attachment to these principles of simple justice—principles, need we remind you, which are entirely in keeping with the spirit and letter of the Charter of the Organization and which have been repeatedly affirmed and reaffirmed by relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

55. My Government has ceaselessly demanded that the conditions I have mentioned should be fulfilled entirely and urgently. The Agreement refers explicitly to resolution 338 (1973) and provides for the establishment of a force with the task of supervising the application of that Agreement.

56. In the light of the preceding considerations, my delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution. However, we should like to say most clearly that, from our standpoint, the presence of that force should in no way be prejudicial to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Syrian Arab Republic.

57. In taking this important decision, the Council is demonstrating once again the indispensable nature of the United Nations and of the organ for maintaining international peace and security.

58. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): My delegation was indeed happy to vote for the resolution before us today. It is perhaps of significance and of hope that it is a resolution sponsored by both the United States of America and the Soviet Union. For this example of their joint commitment to this Agreement we and the world are indeed grateful. I should like to repeat the congratulations already offered by my Government in London first of all to the two Governments for the efforts which they have made to reach this Agreement and secondly to the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Henry Kissinger, for the remarkable part which he has played in helping to achieve this Agreement. It has been an extraordinary achievement when we consider how matters stood as recently as a month ago. We are very glad to welcome this further step along the road which we hope will lead eventually to a permanent settlement.

59. Of course, nobody believes that today's Agreement is that permanent settlement and obviously much still remains to be accomplished. But the significance of today's Agreement is that without it the next stage could not even commence. Without this disengagement there could be no peace conference. It is with a consciousness of that significance that we are here today.

60. Now is the time for the United Nations to play its part, and I should like to commend the Secretary-General and his staff for the speed with which they have reacted in presenting the report which was submitted to us yesterday. My delegation was very happy to approve that report. We noted with satisfaction that the Secretary-General intends to draw on United Nations military personnel already in the area and does not therefore at this stage envisage the necessity of recruiting any additional personnel to man the Force. He is well aware that, along with other delegations, we have drawn attention to the need to ensure that the functions of the Force are carried on as economically as can be done without impairing the Force's efficiency.

61. We were also glad to note that the Secretary-General intends to set up this Force on the basis of the same general principles as those governing the United Nations Emergency Force. We think this is right. This means that the new Force will effectively be functioning on the same basis as UNEF and that, for example, so long as the authority which we have given for the establishment of the Force remains operative, it will not be withdrawn without a decision of the Security Council to that effect.

62. I should perhaps remind the Council at this stage that, as I pointed out in our meeting on 8 April [1765th meeting] when we renewed the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force, my Government stands ready to play its part in any way that can be helpful, and in particular in the composition of any peace-keeping force which may be needed to guarantee a final peace agreement in accordance with resolution 242 (1967).

63. In conclusion, Mr. President, I should simply like to say that I think this has been an excellent week for the Security Council and a very fitting end to your skilful presidency. At three meetings which the Council has held this week we have considered three different problems, each of which in its own way was or could have been a threat to the peace: the Iran-Iraq dispute, the intercommunal troubles in Cyprus, and, today, the Middle East. In each case the Security Council has made an important contribution to what is the central and the most vital task of the Organization: the prevention of war and the maintenance of international peace and security. It is perhaps unfortunate that our successes do not always receive the publicity that our failures do. Nevertheless, I think we may all legitimately take some pride today in what we have collectively been able to achieve.

64. Mr. LECOMPT (France) (*interpretation from French*): With the greatest satisfaction my delegation welcomed the conclusion of the Disengagement Agreement between Israel and Syria. We are extremely gratified that a new step, whose great importance has also been stressed by the Secretary-General, has thus been taken in the direction of a peaceful settlement. We wish to pay a tribute to the role played at this time by the United States in the person of Mr. Kissinger, whose untiring activities overcame great difficulties. My delegation hopes that the resumption of the negotiations that started on 21 December 1973 at Geneva will be made easier and that the parties directly concerned will agree to commit themselves speedily to the search for and the implementation of a general settlement of the conflict on the basis of the provisions of resolution 242 (1967).

65. The reports which the Secretary-General has submitted to the Council [*S/11302 and Add.1*] have been examined by my Government and, generally speaking, we are in favour of their provisions. However, I have been instructed to make some comments.

66. I note, first of all, that, in accordance with the Protocol annexed to the Disengagement Agreement, a resolution of the Security Council must decide upon the modalities governing the Force. This seems to us to be a necessary provision. It was indeed up to the Council urgently and under its authority to set up the force that will observe the disengagement between the Israeli and Syrian forces.

67. Secondly, it is to be hoped that the Secretary-General will very soon be able to supply the Council with more detailed information on the financial implications of the creation of this new emergency force. Thus we would be interested also in knowing the exact size of the contingents, which will be drawn from UNEF for the time being. If further contingents appear to be necessary, the Council should be seized of such a need before any decision is adopted, and the principle of equitable geographical distribution must be respected.

68. My third comment relates to the provisions of the Protocol annexed to the Agreement, which excludes from the force personnel drawn from the permanent members of the Security Council. This provision, which appears in

paragraph 3 of resolution 340 (1973) on the creation of UNEF, gave rise to certain reservations on the part of my delegation at that time, reservations which I would repeat now. As Mr. de Guiringaud stated on 25 October last to the Security Council, "omission from responsibility of permanent members may weaken the impact of the Council's decision" [1750th meeting, para. 100] in a matter where the dispatch of United Nations forces "is not only military in significance" [ibid.]. Those reservations were repeated by my delegation on 8 April last [1765th meeting], when we renewed the mandate of UNEF. On this point our position has in no way changed. On that day when a peace agreement is signed between the parties—and I note that the Agreement on the Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces "is not a peace agreement"—the Force will have the duty not only to maintain a cease-fire but to maintain peace, and it is quite legitimate that at that time it include contingents supplied by the permanent members of the Security Council. My Government is ready to participate in such a peace-keeping force.

69. In the light of the comments I have made, my delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution submitted by the United States of America and the Soviet Union. We are convinced that its adoption will allow for the due application of the Disengagement Agreement just arrived at, with a view to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East to the benefit of all the parties concerned.

70. A declaration of the French Government was published in Paris today and I waited to receive the text before inscribing my name on the list of speakers for this meeting. I shall conclude my statement by reading out that text:

"The French Government welcomes with great satisfaction the Agreement signed on Friday on the disengagement of Israeli and Syrian forces on the Golan front and we pay a tribute to the efforts made to achieve such an end. The French Government considers that this Agreement is a first step towards the establishment of a just and stable peace in the Middle East on the basis of the Security Council resolutions, which must be implemented scrupulously and in their entirety.

"The French Government wishes to recall on this matter that, together with all the Governments of the European Economic Community, it adheres to the 6 November 1973 joint Declaration which defines the principles for a just and lasting peace both on the territorial level and on that of the respect due to the integrity and independence of each and every State of the region. France is ready to contribute to the search for such a settlement.

"The French Government, furthermore, wishes to stress that it considers that all peaceful settlements, to be just and lasting, must equitably take into account the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinians."

71. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria): Very often in the past, when we gathered around this table to discuss the

situation in the Middle East, our meetings were marked by a feeling of concern and sometimes frustration. Any attempt to open a road to peace seemed futile, any initiative doomed to failure. The change of atmosphere and mood in which we find ourselves today is all the more remarkable, therefore, as we have come here not only to express our deep satisfaction over the course events have taken recently, as we have come here not only to pay a tribute to the parties concerned and to another singular triumph of diplomacy, but also to take upon us the share and indeed the burden of responsibility which again is conferred upon the Organization.

72. After seemingly unending talks, negotiations and efforts, which more than once threatened to break down, the Agreement signed this morning between military representatives of Israel and Syria on the disengagement of their forces in the Golan-area is in so many ways and by all standards an extraordinary achievement. It has been justly hailed as an historic event which opens a new chapter in the history of the Middle East and which will, we fervently hope, pave the way towards the attainment of a peaceful and just settlement of all the problems of a region that has seen so much war, bitterness, hatred and untold human suffering.

73. We must, of course, remain realistic and regard the present Agreement as being only another step towards a just and durable peace. But it is a decisive step and a new beginning. We must now not lose this momentum of peace which, as experience in the Middle East has so convincingly shown, is the best instrument to generate and accelerate a new philosophy of peace in the minds of those who hold the fate of that part of the world in their hands.

74. I wish to place on record deep admiration for the parties concerned—the Governments of Israel and Syria and their leaders, in particular President Al-Assad and Prime Minister Meir, who, in their earnest desire to give peace a chance, have overcome so many difficulties.

75. The highest tributes and admiration are also due to the man who was so instrumental in bringing about this agreement: the Secretary of State of the United States of America, Mr. Kissinger. It is another triumph of vision, endurance and diplomatic skill which has so decisively contributed to the successful outcome.

76. There can be no doubt, however, that the fortunate outcome of the last round of negotiations in the Middle East also owes a great deal to the patient efforts, the goodwill and the good offices offered by the other parties involved in the Geneva Peace Conference, a tribute which applies in particular to President Sadat of Egypt and the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko.

77. When the Security Council met on 25 October 1973 to consider a proposal for the establishment of a United Nations emergency force in the Suez Canal area, I think that probably all of us felt the heavy responsibility which was conferred upon the Council in bringing the Organization's potential to bear in the very capacity for which it was created. This crisis management—if I may describe it

thus—worked admirably well, not least owing to the most effective role that the Secretary-General, his associates and staff in New York and in the field played in expeditiously putting the Council's decisions into effect.

78. Today we are faced with a similar situation. We have just created a new United Nations peace-keeping force, as provided for in the Protocol annexed to the Agreement between Israel and Syria. I do not have to repeat here the most positive and favourable attitude that my Government has always taken in regard to United Nations peace-keeping operations and to peace-keeping forces and the willingness my country has never failed to express to make such contributions as might be required.

79. It is the sincere and deeply felt hope of my delegation that, with the adoption today of the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union and the United States, the moment of final peace in the Middle East has come nearer. Further efforts can now proceed in the framework of the Geneva Conference, in which, together with the convening Powers and the parties concerned, the United Nations itself will again be called upon to play an important part.

80. We shall leave this meeting with a spirit of relief and optimism, becoming perhaps to the approaching days of Whitsun which are by tradition days of renewal and new life. Let us hope, therefore, that what could be called the Council's Whitsun resolution will carry a new spirit of hope and conciliation in the coming weeks and months.

81. Mr. BOOH BOOH (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): Pursuant to Security Council resolution 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973, Israel and Syria have today signed an Agreement for the disengagement of their troops. The Cameroon Government, which has always advocated the settlement of the Middle East affair by peaceful means, welcomes this event, which constitutes the serious beginnings of dialogue. We hope that the parties will faithfully apply the Agreement that has been signed and will be encouraged to pursue serious negotiations with a view to finding a final and just solution to the state of war which has prevailed for more than a quarter century in the Middle East.

82. The Israeli and Syrian troop disengagement Agreement is, in the view of my delegation, something of practical scope which is not at all negligible. As we can read in paragraph H of that document "This Agreement is not a peace agreement. It is a step towards a just and durable peace on the basis of Security Council resolution 338 dated 22 October 1973." [S/11302/Add.1, annex I.] Nevertheless, this Agreement will make possible the halting of bloodshed and the creation of conditions favourable to negotiations on the substance of the matter and will contribute to the solution of many humanitarian problems.

83. The United Nations should not, therefore, spare any effort to permit the machinery provided for in that Agreement to produce the best results. It is for this reason that my delegation supports the proposal made by the Secretary-General in his report [S/11302/Add.1]. That is

also why we voted in favour of the draft resolution just adopted by the Council.

84. My delegation shares the view that the mandate and the conditions for the functioning of the force should be completely in keeping with the views expressed by the Secretary-General in his report of 27 October 1973 [S/11652/Rev.1] on the implementation of resolution 340 (1973), and which was approved by the Council.

85. Before concluding, I should like to pay a well-deserved tribute to all Governments which have, directly or indirectly, worked to bring about the conclusion of the troop disengagement Agreement which was signed today. My delegation hopes that these Governments and all the parties directly concerned in the Middle East question will redouble their determination to ensure the success of future states of the negotiations and will do so with a new and global vision of the realities of the area and a proper assessment of the legitimate interests involved, particularly those of the Palestinian people.

86. Mr. STUBBS (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Peru has heard with great happiness the news of the Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces, signed at Geneva today by the representatives of those two Governments, within the framework of the Geneva Conference which is being held pursuant to Security Council resolution 338 (1973). We wish to congratulate the parties for having arrived at this Agreement, whose immediate effect will have to be a cessation of fire in that region of the Middle East. This Agreement joins the other one that was signed almost seven months ago concerning the disengagement of Egyptian and Israeli troops in Sinai.

87. The Council's action today in creating a United Nations Disengagement Observer Force is an integral part of the Agreement between the parties and to a certain extent, judging from the words of the Protocol, one rests upon the other. The Security Council and, generally speaking, the peace-keeping machinery provided for in the Charter have demonstrated that the United Nations is inextricably linked to the task of creating peace in the Middle East.

88. With the adoption of this resolution, the implementation of resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 can start in accordance with the provisions of resolution 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973. Therefore, while we hail today's Agreement, which required great efforts, we must stress that this represents only a first step—although an absolutely indispensable one—in a process which will be arduous and long. Today's agreement at Geneva allows us to view the forthcoming negotiations with optimism.

89. Mr. SMIRNOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translation from Russian*): The hot-bed of tension which still exists in the Middle East, and which developed as a result of Israel's aggressive actions, now occupies a special place in world politics. The United Nations has been discussing this problem at the most varied levels for many years. A large number of recommendations and binding decisions have been made. It is

therefore natural that the attention of the peoples of the world should now be turned to that area and that the slightest indications of a search for a political settlement of the Middle East conflict should be greeted with great optimism and hope. But it has long been common knowledge that optimism is justified only when it is backed up by reality.

90. This morning the signing of the Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces took place at Geneva. This undoubtedly represents a great success for all the interested parties without exception who took part in the talks. In accordance with this Agreement, Israel and Syria undertake scrupulously to observe the cease-fire and to refrain from all military actions against each other. Specific measures are laid down to eliminate possible accidental military clashes. In this Agreement, the parties have distinctly and clearly specified the role of the United Nations, under the auspices of which the provisions of the Agreement will be implemented. Thus the first serious step has been taken towards a political settlement of the conflict. It is precisely this which now determines the importance and significance of the Agreement.

91. In this connexion, we should like to share the hope expressed by the Secretary-General in his statement at the 1773rd meeting that "the achievement of this Agreement on Disengagement will constitute another important step towards a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East, for which the Council has worked for many years."

92. Here we should like to stress that there are of course two signatures under this Agreement, which has been concluded between two sides; but now that there is talk in this room of the prospects of the future which is opening up for further talks, the position of the Syrian Arab Republic—which has displayed such high principle and foresight in working out this Agreement—should be particularly noted and commended.

93. Great credit for the Agreement between Syria and Israel is due to the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, which have always advocated and continue to advocate a just settlement of the Middle East problem on the basis of resolution 242 (1967) A. A. Gromyko, the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, has played and is still playing a positive and constructive role at all stages of the elimination of the dangerous hotbed of war in the Middle East.

94. In appreciating the Agreement at its proper value, the Byelorussian delegation would at the same time point out that it constitutes only a partial measure in the overall solution of the Middle East problem and that it does not embrace the main, key elements for a settlement of the conflict—withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab lands and guarantees for the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine. It is therefore extremely important that, immediately after the completion of the disengagement of Syrian and Israeli troops, the work of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East should be resumed to permit discussion of all aspects of the Middle East problem, and above all its cardinal aspects.

95. I should now like to make a few comments on the measures mentioned by the Secretary-General which should promote the implementation of the provisions contained in the Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces. The Byelorussian delegation supports the Secretary-General's intention to take the necessary steps, in accordance with the decision of the Security Council, to organize a United Nations Disengagement Observer Force drawn from military personnel of UNEF in the Middle East and United Nations observers in the region.

96. We fully support the Secretary-General's statement that the general principles for the formation of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force would be the same as those defined in his report of 27 October 1973 to the Council [S/11052/Rev. I] and approved by the Council in resolution 341 (1975).

97. Our delegation also agrees that the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force should initially be fixed at six months and that, if it becomes necessary to extend that period, the adoption of a new resolution by the Council would be required.

98. The Byelorussian delegation would like to express the hope that the Secretary-General will do everything to ensure that the expenses involved in the establishment of a United Nations Disengagement Observer Force will not exceed the norms already established by the Council.

99. In conclusion, our delegation wishes to point out that the draft resolution which has been adopted will undoubtedly facilitate the implementation of the Agreement reached between Syria and Israel.

100. The PRESIDENT: I should now like to make a short statement as the representative of Kenya.

101. My delegation has followed closely the meritorious efforts of the United States Secretary of State to promote peace in the Middle East. Following upon the disengagement of forces on the Suez front, that success has now been followed by the Agreement signed this morning at Geneva between Israel and Syria. This is a development of historic dimensions, and the Government of Kenya applauds this important step on the road towards the establishment of a just and durable peace in the area.

102. The way is now open for the resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference. We hope that all parties will find it possible to participate. We hope and indeed expect that all efforts will be directed towards the resumption of these very important talks at the earliest possible moment. The world has waited for a long time for these peaceful steps, and we now look forward to the day when lasting peace is at last established in the area.

103. The United Nations has played and will continue to play a prominent role in the current peace-keeping endeavours. A new force, the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force, is being created. This is, again, an historic development, and is yet another sign of the vitality of the Organization. The Force will be financed by the

international community, and that is yet another index of the collective international responsibility to help normalize the situation in the Middle East.

104. We wish the Geneva peace talks a speedy and successful conclusion. We have no illusions on the difficulties that will be encountered, but there are enough indications that there is now a determined willingness on the part of all the countries in the area of conflict to pursue the path of peace. We in the United Nations have a duty to encourage this development, and Kenya will not be found wanting in this effort. Hence our positive vote earlier in this meeting.

105. As PRESIDENT, I now call upon the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic.

106. Mr. KELANI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation considers it a pleasure to congratulate you on your occupying the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May, and at the same time to welcome you to the United Nations as the new Permanent Representative of Kenya.

107. My delegation supports the resolution the Security Council has just adopted following the signing this morning at Geneva of the Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces. That Agreement, which includes the cease-fire and the disengagement of forces, is based on paragraph 1 of resolution 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973.

108. My delegation considers that that Agreement, which is of a military nature, is a first step along the road to a just and stable peace in the Middle East, on the basis of resolution 338 (1973), which my Government accepted and in respect of which it stated—and I would stress this—it stated that it understood that resolution to be based upon the two following essential principles: first, the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the Arab territories occupied in June 1967 and later, and, secondly, the safeguarding of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian Arab people in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations.

109. The PRESIDENT: I now call upon the representative of Israel.

110. Mr. DORON (Israel): Mr. President, my delegation has not yet had the pleasure of participating in a Security Council meeting presided over by you. I should therefore like to express my delegation's best, if belated, congratulations to you in your high office.

111. In respect of the subject-matter of this meeting, I have been authorized to state that my Government is in agreement with the draft resolution in document S/11305/Rev.1 and supports it. I should also like to voice our warmest appreciation and thanks to the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Kissinger, for his untiring efforts in bringing about the conclusion of the Agreement signed this morning at Geneva by representatives of Israel and Syria.

112. In conclusion, may I quote from the statement made by Prime Minister Meir in the Knesset at Jerusalem yesterday. She said "the Agreement constitutes a great opportunity. The signature and scrupulous observance of the Agreement create a mutual possibility for bringing about a positive change of great value in the relations between Israel and Syria."

113. The PRESIDENT: I now call upon the Secretary-General.

114. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Now that the Security Council has decided to set up the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF), I should like to inform the Council of my proposals for interim arrangements to give effect to the resolution of the Council.

115. I would suggest that the initial composition of UNDOF should comprise the Austrian and Peruvian contingents from the United Nations Emergency Force, supported by logistical elements from Canada and Poland. In addition, in the initial phase UNDOF would comprise those United Nations military observers, in accordance with the terms of the Protocol, who are already deployed in the area.

116. I would propose to appoint as interim Commander of UNDOF Brigadier-General Gonzalo Briceño, of Peru, who is now commanding the northern brigade of UNEF. The interim Commander would be assisted by staff officers drawn from UNEF and the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization.

117. I have consulted the parties concerned, as required by the Protocol, and they have informed me that those arrangements would be acceptable to them. I am also in contact with the Governments just mentioned for the provision of the necessary troops.

118. The Council will, I am sure, understand that this new operation will inevitably involve additional expenditure. Naturally, I shall make every possible effort to keep additional expenditures to a minimum, having in mind, of course, that the primary objective is the effectiveness of the Force. I shall not fail to inform the Council in due course of the concrete financial implications of this new operation.

119. I would be grateful to know as soon as possible whether there is any objection to these proposals so that the necessary preparation can be made for action to be taken within the time-limit set in paragraph D of the Disengagement Agreement signed at Geneva this morning.

120. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation has listened attentively to the statement just made by the Secretary-General and to his views and proposals in connexion with the adoption by the Council of the decision to establish under its leadership a United Nations observer force for the disengagement of the Syrian and Israeli troops.

121. The Secretary-General has presented his views and proposals of the approval of the Council. The Soviet delega-

tion has no objections in principle to most of these proposals and views, and is prepared to vote for them if they are put to the vote.

122. We have just one reservation: we should prefer there to be no increase in the size of UNEF and the United Nations observer corps in the Middle East, or in the cost of financing them, as a result of the transfer of a relatively small proportion of these forces to observe the disengagement of Syrian and Israeli troops.

123. The expenditure for the maintenance of UNEF was approved in terms of a strictly defined sum by a resolution adopted at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly [3101 (XXVIII)], and that resolution should not be violated.

124. In that connexion, we take note of the Secretary-General's statement that he will make every possible effort to ensure that expenditure on the maintenance of UNEF will not be increased and that to that end the necessary measures will be taken to keep expenditure to a minimum.

125. In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, one of the main elements of possible economy could be the reduction of one extremely large contingent of UNEF. I have in mind the Canadian contingent. Its size far exceeds the maximum level of 500 to 600 men, which was agreed informally between members of the Council and the Secretary-General in October 1973 at the time when the Council decided to establish UNEF. The size of this contingent—1,100 men—far exceeds that level. In view of this, a reduction of this contingent by at least 300 to 400 men would make it possible to reduce the general expenditure for the financing of UNEF considerably, without detriment to its purpose. This would result in considerable savings and would make it possible to avoid an increase in expenditure. The Secretary-General would thereby be spared the danger of conflicting with the aforementioned resolution of the General Assembly and would avoid infringing that resolution.

126. The PRESIDENT: No doubt the observations of the Soviet representative have been noted and his suggestions will be considered carefully by those concerned.

127. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): I am intervening on a point of procedure and order, in view of something that the representative of the Soviet Union said. His words were—I took down the English interpretation and, of course, I realize that the original Russian might have been slightly different—that if the Secretary-General's report were put to the vote in the Security Council, then the Soviet Union would be happy to support it.

128. As I understand it, there is no suggestion anywhere that this report of the Secretary-General is to be put to a vote in the Security Council. There is no draft resolution before the Council in relation to the Secretary-General's report. As I understood the procedure adopted this afternoon, it was that the Secretary-General in presenting his report, as he has just done, was in fact complying with paragraph 4 of the resolution adopted by the Council earlier in the meeting—that is, the paragraph in which we requested the Secretary-General to keep the Council fully informed of further developments.

129. I note with interest that the Secretary-General, in what he has just said, is in fact complying with that resolution, one of whose sponsors was the Soviet Union itself.

130. It would seem to me, therefore, that there is really no suggestion here of a vote. As I understand it also, there is no suggestion either of a reduction in the size of any of the contingents. Some of us were perhaps slightly intrigued to see that the one contingent singled out by the representative of the Soviet Union for mention in this connexion happened by an extraordinary coincidence to be the Canadian, and none other. Be that as it may, as I understand it there are no specific proposals before the Security Council this afternoon in relation to these forces on which it is necessary for us to take any vote at all.

131. Mr. President, I should merely like your confirmation of that fact.

132. The PRESIDENT: That was precisely my understanding and that is why I made the remark which I made. Ambassador Malik would support these proposals if they were put to the vote, but he knew they were not going to be put to the vote.

133. Since there does not appear to be any objection, I assume that the Council agrees to the proposals made by the Secretary-General this afternoon.

It was so decided.

134. The PRESIDENT: That brings us to the end of our business for today. Since this is the last meeting this month over which I shall preside as President, I should like to express my thanks to all the members of the Council for the co-operation and support they have given me. I express my sincere thanks to all concerned, and particularly to the members of the United Nations Secretariat who have worked tirelessly to have all the documents and other matters prepared in time, to the interpreters and to all the others who have worked behind the scenes.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور البورج في جميع أنحاء العالم. استشر معها من المكتبة التي تعاني منها أو اكتب إلى: الأمم المتحدة، قسم البيع في نيويورك، نيويورك.

如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经销处均有发售。请向书店函购或写信给纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наведите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a : Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.
