

UNITED NATIONS



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-NINTH YEAR

**1809<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 29 NOVEMBER 1974  
NEW YORK

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S/PV.1809

16 p.

## NOTE

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## EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND NINTH MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 29 November 1974, at 3 p.m.

*President:* Mr. John SCALI  
(United States of America).

*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/1809)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the Middle East:  
Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (S/11563)

*The meeting was called to order at 4.15 p.m.*

### Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT: This afternoon I face the agreeable prospect of presiding over the Security Council while it adopts an important measure—namely, the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF), for which there is widespread support in the Council. It has turned out that this will be my only responsibility as Security Council President during the month of November. I hope that this meeting will be marked by reasonable discussion and little controversy, so that I can remember that during the only time I presided over a Security Council meeting in 1974 it overflowed with a spirit of good will and compromise.
2. My distinguished predecessor, Mr. Njine of the United Republic of Cameroon, had a rather different fortune. During October he presided over a total of 13 meetings of the Council. Many of those meetings were devoted to complex issues which aroused much controversy and heated debate. I am sure that I speak for all members of the Council in expressing appreciation of his distinguished performance. In those sometimes difficult circumstances Ambassador Njine was a model of calmness, dignity and good humour, and at the same time of firmness and even-handedness. He earned a new measure of respect from all his colleagues.

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### The situation in the Middle East:

#### Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (S/11563)

3. The PRESIDENT: I wish to inform members of the Security Council that I have received letters dated 29 November from the representatives of the Syrian Arab Republic and Israel in which they request that they be invited, under the relevant provision of rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure, to participate in the discussion of the question inscribed on the agenda. In accordance with the usual practice I propose, if I hear no objection, to take it that the Council agrees to invite those two representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

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

4. The PRESIDENT: On 27 November 1974, members of the Council received the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force for the period from 3 June 1974 to 26 November 1974 [S/11563].
5. I wish to draw the Council's attention to the draft resolution in document S/11565 which is before members. That draft is sponsored by Austria, Indonesia, Kenya, Mauritania, Peru and the United Republic of Cameroon.
6. I call upon the Secretary-General.
7. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: My report to the Security Council on UNDOF contains a survey of the history of the Force since its inception. As members of the Council are aware, I have just returned from a brief visit to the area during which I had the opportunity to discuss the situation with the Governments of Syria, Israel and Egypt. The primary purpose of my visit was to discuss and clarify with the Governments concerned the question now before the Council, namely, the future of UNDOF.
8. As I have stated in my report, my discussions on this question have led me to recommend the extension of UNDOF for a further period of six months. It may be of some use to members if I make a few very brief comments on the more general aspects of my talks.

9. My recent visit has left no doubt in my mind that all the Governments concerned are anxious to reach a settlement through negotiations. The tension which prevailed in the Middle East two weeks ago has noticeably lessened in recent days. There is little doubt, however, that if progress towards a settlement through negotiations is not achieved in the near future tension will rise again and the dangers of a new military confrontation will steadily increase. Certainly, the prolongation of the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force, last month by the Security Council, and, if the Council so decides, the extension of the UNDOF mandate for a further six months, are important factors in reducing tension in the area. However, these peace-keeping operations are not an end in themselves; they help to create the necessary conditions in which progress can be made in the negotiation of a political settlement.

10. It was made clear to me that we cannot expect an indeterminate period of time for achievement of a settlement. I consider it vital that the next six months be used for redoubled efforts to reach political solutions of the problems in the Middle East. These problems are formidable indeed, but the vital need to avoid renewed hostilities with all their repercussions should help us regain the momentum of negotiations.

11. In that regard I discussed with the three Governments the main aspects of the future negotiating process and also the crucial problem of implementing Security Council resolution 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973.

12. I believe the draft resolution now before the Council faithfully reflects the essentials of the situation. I hope it will provide a useful basis for renewed and constructive efforts in the near future to make progress towards a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

13. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the Council I wish to thank the Secretary-General for his report and for the personal efforts he has undertaken by visiting the area in a move to diminish tensions and to help move us towards the just and lasting peace we all seek.

14. Mr. PEREZ DE CUELLAR (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, first of all, with your permission, I should like to express the great appreciation of my delegation for the way in which your distinguished predecessor, Ambassador Njine of the United Republic of Cameroon, guided our deliberations during the month of October. His experience, his intelligence and his smiling firmness have earned the admiration of all the members of the Council.

15. I also wish to say that I am very sorry that the Council has had so little time to enjoy your Presidency, Sir. I am sure that your great human and intellectual qualities would have been demonstrated once more even if we had had the most difficult of debates in the Council.

16. On behalf of the delegations of Austria, Indonesia, Kenya, Mauritania, the United Republic of Cameroon and Peru, I have the honour to introduce the draft resolution in document S/11565, on the implementation of

Security Council resolution 338 (1973) on the situation in the Middle East and specifically the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF.

17. The draft resolution is concise and simple in form, and takes a direct approach. In the first preambular paragraph, due note is taken of the valuable report of the Secretary-General, which inevitably leads to the conclusions set forth in the subsequent paragraphs. Although we must welcome "the efforts made to establish a durable and just peace in the Middle East area", as stated in the second preambular paragraph, "the developments in the situation in the area", which are also referred to, must prompt us to express our "concern over the prevailing state of tension in the area". That is done in the third preambular paragraph.

18. In the opinion of the sponsors, the establishment of UNDOF, which has been in existence for six months, has helped prevent a further outbreak of conflict in the area. The presence of that Force in the area continues to be necessary. But the renewal of its mandate must not be considered as a substitute for the initiation of peace negotiations in accordance with Security Council resolution 338 (1973). As the Secretary-General has stated,

"... the situation in the Israel-Syria sector will remain fundamentally unstable and potentially explosive so long as progress towards a settlement of the underlying problems is not achieved" [*ibid.*, para. 43].

19. For those reasons the sponsors wish to place special emphasis on the last paragraph of the preamble, which reaffirms

"... that the two agreements on disengagement of forces"—the one concerning the Egypt-Israel sector and the one we are considering today—"are only a step towards the implementation of resolution 338 (1973)".

20. For that reason, the sponsors of the draft resolution propose that the Security Council adopt the measures set forth in subparagraphs *a*, *b* and *c*, to wit:

"(a) To call upon the parties concerned to implement immediately Security Council resolution 338 (1973);

"(b) To renew the mandate of UNDOF for another period of six months;

"(c) That the Secretary-General will submit at the end of this period a report on the developments in the situation and the measures taken to implement resolution 338 (1973)."

21. After the consultations that have been held, we are now confident that members of the Security Council will adopt this draft resolution without a dissenting vote.

22. I cannot conclude, without expressing special and lively appreciation, praise and gratitude to the Secretary-General, who has recently returned from his mission to the Middle East. There can be no doubt that, without the co-operation of all parties concerned, we could not have hoped to be able to renew the mandate of UNDOF today.

But we believe that the intelligent and timely action by the Secretary-General has been instrumental in obtaining the results which we hope this meeting will yield.

23. As representative of Peru, I should like to conclude on a note of hope. The provisional nature of the mandate of UNDOF and the precarious nature of the Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces [S/11302 and Add.1] should encourage the parties to renew peace negotiations at Geneva, in the nearest possible future, with the participation of all the parties to the conflict.

24. The PRESIDENT: If there are no further speakers, I shall put to the vote the draft resolution in document S/11565.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*The draft resolution was adopted by 13 votes to none.<sup>1</sup>*

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

25. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic, to whom I now give the floor.

26. Mr. KELANI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all I should like to congratulate you on your accession to the Presidency of the Council and to thank you for being so kind as to call on me.

27. When the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic welcomed Security Council resolution 350 (1974) of 31 May 1974, which established a United Nations Disengagement Observer Force for an initial period of six months, it was convinced that the Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces, which established UNDOF, was not a peace agreement, but that it represented a first step on the road towards a just and lasting peace, on the basis of Security Council resolution 338 (1973).

28. Six months have elapsed and no progress has been made. The situation in the Middle East has not gone beyond the first step on the road towards a just and lasting peace, despite the efforts made and the far-reaching and radical developments which the region has witnessed. At the same time, the region has been the scene of tension, a fact which led the Secretary-General to stress, some 10 days ago, the dangerous and grave aspect of the tension which has prevailed in the region.

29. Allow me to reaffirm before the Council that the essential purpose of my Government's acceptance of the resolution that the Council has just adopted is to provide a fresh opportunity for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, provided that a serious, positive and constructive effort is made to implement the resolutions of the United Nations.

<sup>1</sup> See resolution 363 (1974).

30. I should like to conclude my statement by quoting a paragraph of the statement made by the Secretary-General on 19 November:

"When the two disengagement agreements were concluded, there was a widely shared hope that they would provide the necessary first step in the process of settlement. It is vital that the momentum that existed at that time should be regained. Whatever the difficulties—and they are very great—progress must be made, and made very soon"—I repeat: "progress must be made, and made very soon—towards a solution of the real underlying problems whose continued existence is the reason for the explosiveness of the Middle East situation."

31. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Israel, on whom I now call.

32. Mr. TEKOAH (Israel): Mr. President, it is especially gratifying that the Security Council should be meeting today under your Presidency. The United States has played and continues to play a central role in the search for understanding and agreement in the Middle East. By word and by deed, by personality and perspicacity you yourself have been making an outstanding contribution to the cause of peace. We wish you success in your present and future endeavours.

33. Our greetings are also extended to the Secretary-General on his return from his important and fruitful visit to the Middle East.

34. The renewal of the mandate of UNDOF is a positive development. UNDOF constitutes an integral part of the Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces signed by Israel and Syria on 31 May 1974. The proper observance of the Agreement requires the continued functioning of UNDOF. The Disengagement Agreement and UNDOF are indivisible. The Agreement is not limited in time, with the Security Council authorizing extensions of the UNDOF mandate.

35. It should therefore be a cause of satisfaction to all that both the Government of Syria and the Government of Israel favour a Security Council resolution renewing the Force's mandate. This is an indication that the Agreement on Disengagement has been helpful to both parties and will undoubtedly continue to be so in the future.

36. As stated in the Secretary-General's report of 27 November 1974:

"During the period under review, UNDOF was able, with the co-operation of the parties, to fulfil the tasks entrusted to it. Such difficulties as arose in relation to the interpretation of the provisions of the Disengagement Agreement and related documents were resolved in negotiations with the parties." [*Ibid.*, para. 42.]

37. I should like to take this opportunity to express to the Secretary-General, to Lieutenant-General Ensio Siilasvuo, to Brigadier-General Gonzalo Briceño Zevallos and to the UNDOF personnel appreciation of the part of

UNDOF in the implementation of the Disengagement Agreement. To the Governments and the families of UNDOF members who lost their lives in the performance of their duties, my Government reiterates its profound condolences.

38. Finally, it is to be hoped that, despite the polarization of attitudes in the international sphere regarding the Middle East situation, the door is still open to diplomatic efforts.

39. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, first of all I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to congratulate you on your accession to the high and responsible office of President of the Security Council and on the successful way in which you conducted this first meeting and this first vote, successful because the draft resolution which you put to the vote has been adopted by an overwhelming majority, and will, we hope, help to solve the problem we are all interested in settling. I should like to wish you every success and to congratulate you on the fact that there would seem to be no thorny problems in your path, since this is your first meeting and evidently also your last, as I hardly think we shall meet again tomorrow.

40. At the same time, I should like to express our appreciation and our congratulations to your distinguished predecessor, the representative of Cameroon, Mr. Njine. To his lot fell a complicated mission which, as we all saw, he dealt with in masterly fashion and we should like to congratulate him on, and express our appreciation of this achievement. We were happy to work with him in reaching positive solutions to the problems that arose during his Presidency.

41. The Security Council has just taken a decision on a matter which is of great importance within the general context of international efforts being made to bring about a peaceful political settlement in the Middle East. The purport of this decision is that the further six-month extension of the mandate of UNDOF in the Syria-Israel sector must be used effectively to achieve at the earliest possible moment a radical political settlement in the Middle East. Although no dates for the Disengagement Agreement have been set, it is generally understood that they cannot be extended indefinitely.

42. The Soviet delegation has listened with close attention to the statement made at today's meeting by the representative of Syria, Ambassador Kelani, in which he stressed that during this further period of six months for the stay of United Nations forces on the Golan Heights serious efforts must be made to bring about the immediate implementation of Security Council resolutions, in particular of the one referred to in the resolution adopted by the Council. I refer to resolution 338 (1973) which, as we are all aware, in turn recalls resolution 242 (1967).

43. The Soviet delegation attaches great importance to the statement by the representative of the friendly Syrian Arab Republic as a further manifestation, on the part of

the Government of Syria, of goodwill and of a principled, far-sighted and purposeful approach to the solution of problems relating to the disengagement of troops and to the problem of a political settlement in the Middle East.

44. Six months have elapsed since the Security Council decided to establish UNDOF in the Syria-Israel sector. That decision by the Council, as we know, was connected with the signing at Geneva, on 31 May 1974 of the Agreement on the Disengagement between Syrian and Israeli Forces which was merely a first step towards a final Middle East settlement and the complete liberation of Arab lands from Israeli occupation. Following the disengagement of troops, further steps were to follow immediately with a view to achieving a comprehensive and just settlement in the Middle East within the framework of the Geneva Peace Conference, specially created and convened for that purpose under United Nations auspices.

45. Unfortunately, this has not happened, despite the six months that have since elapsed. In that period the situation in the Middle East, far from improving, has, on the contrary, become more and more explosive. The reason for this is known to everyone. It is that the ruling circles of Israel continue their aggressive policy towards the Arab countries and peoples and stubbornly refuse to carry out the decisions of the Security Council concerning a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. This position on the part of Israel is being firmly rejected and condemned in the United Nations and all over the world, as was confirmed by the results of the recent debate in the General Assembly on the question of Palestine. The overwhelming majority of the United Nations membership has given wide support to the just and legitimate cause of the Arab people of Palestine.

46. It is not superfluous to recall here that those Israeli leaders who still rely on the force of arms and a policy of strength are making a great miscalculation which is fraught with the greatest danger for Israel itself.

47. The Soviet delegation has studied the report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force in the Syria-Israel sector. It has carefully followed the recent journey of the Secretary-General to the Middle East, and we welcome with great satisfaction the positive results of his brief, arduous and responsible mission.

48. The Secretary-General's report notes that the Disengagement Agreement is a step towards a just and durable peace in the Middle East on the basis of Security Council resolution 338 (1973). The Security Council cannot but note the warning contained in the Secretary-General's report that

"Despite the present quiet, the situation in the Israel-Syria sector will remain fundamentally unstable and potentially explosive so long as progress towards a settlement of the underlying problems is not achieved." [*Ibid.*, para. 43.]

49. The Council should also take note of the statement by the Secretary-General on 19 November 1974 on the

situation in the Middle East. He stressed in his statement that, so far as the Middle East settlement is concerned,

"... progress must be made, and made very soon, towards a solution of the real underlying problems whose continued existence is the reason for the explosiveness of the Middle East situation".

This judgement of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in the Middle East reflects the reality of the situation in the region and deserves the serious attention of the Security Council.

50. The resolution adopted today by the Council emphasizes the importance of taking urgent measures to implement resolution 338 (1973) and contains an appeal to the parties to implement immediately that resolution.

51. By its resolution today, the Security Council is instructing the Secretary-General to submit to the Council, at the end of this further six-month period of UNDOF operation in the Syria-Israel sector, a report on the implementation of today's resolution as well as Security Council resolution 338 (1973). Consequently, in its resolution today the Security Council is once again emphasizing and binding the parties to the conflict to adopt the necessary measures to implement the well-known United Nations decisions on the speedy and urgent conclusion of a peaceful political settlement in the Middle East.

52. Having supported this resolution, my delegation considers it essential to stress the following very decisively. The disengagement of troops which has been effected in the Middle East, *inter alia*, in the Israel-Syria sector is only the first step towards a complete settlement of the Middle East conflict. It must in no way serve as a pretext for freezing the situation that now exists of continuing the occupation by Israeli forces of Arab lands seized by them in June 1967.

53. When this question is considered, it is essential also to remember that the Security Council, in its resolution 362 (1974) of 23 October 1974 enjoined on the United Nations troop command and the United Nations Secretariat maximum economy in expenditures for the maintenance of the United Nations Emergency Forces. This is, of course, fully applicable also to the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force which is deployed in the Syria-Israel sector.

54. Against a background of general improvement in the international situation and of international détente achieved in recent years, the dangerous and complex situation that continues to exist in the Middle East cannot but arouse the deepest concern. The Soviet Union considers that there must be no inadmissible delay in the adoption of measures leading to a radical political settlement in the Middle East. The only reliable road to lasting peace in the Middle East is the complete liberation of all Arab lands occupied in 1967, the exercise of the lawful right of the Arab people of Palestine to the establishment of its own State and to self-determination, and also a reliable and authoritative guarantee of the security and independence of all countries now involved in the area of conflict.

All this can and must be achieved within the framework of the Geneva Peace Conference specially convened for that purpose in accordance with United Nations decisions and we, together with friendly Arab States, shall continue to call for the earliest resumption of its work.

55. In a decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the USSR Council of Ministers, published in Moscow on 28 November, i.e., yesterday, concerning the meetings between the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Mr. Brezhnev, and President Ford which took place in the Vladivostok region, the following statement was made:

"The Soviet Union considers it important that both parties have reaffirmed their intention of bending every effort to help to bring about a solution to the key questions of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East on the basis of resolution 338 (1973), taking into account the lawful interests of all the peoples of the region, including the Palestinian people, and with due respect for the right to an independent existence of all States of the region."

The statement went on to say:

"The need was stressed for the earliest resumption of the Geneva Conference, which has been called upon to play an important role in achieving a peaceful settlement in the Middle East."

56. In conclusion, I would also venture to inform members of the Security Council of a statement made by Comrade Brezhnev in a speech recently made in the capital of the Mongolian People's Republic, Ulan Bator. He described the position of the Soviet Union with regard to a Middle East peace settlement in the following terms:

"To all those concerned we would once again state quite clearly that the Soviet Union has been, is and will continue to be vitally interested in the earliest conclusion of a lasting and just peace settlement in the Middle East. We shall work to achieve this in our contacts and joint endeavours with fraternal socialist countries, with our Arab friends, with Egypt, Syria and Iraq, and with the leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization, with Algeria and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and in our contacts and joint endeavours with other States that display a sincere desire to make their contribution to the attainment of this objective, which is of such crucial importance for world peace."

57. Mr. EL HASSEN (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, Mr. President, I should like to extend my congratulations to you and to say that we are indeed honoured to see you presiding over the Security Council this month. Your talent and your personal qualities guarantee our success.

58. Allow me also, Mr. President, to express our appreciation and our gratitude to your predecessor, my friend and colleague, Ambassador Njine of Cameroon for the distinguished manner in which he conducted our deliberations last month and for having given us a further oppor-

tunity to observe his patience, wisdom and gentle authority.

59. The Security Council has just adopted the draft resolution on the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF. My country is a sponsor of that draft resolution and there is, therefore, no need for us to dwell at length on the substance of this question, or for us to explain our vote.

60. However, with your permission, Mr. President, I should like to make a few comments on the presence of UNDOF on the Syrian Golan Heights. On 31 May 1974, during our first debate on the establishment of this United Nations Force, the day that the Disengagement Agreement was signed, I said:

"The signing . . . 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". [1774th meeting, para. 52.]

61. Today we are forced to admit that the hopes which we had then are far from being fulfilled. No progress towards peace in the field has been made. No withdrawal of occupying troops has taken place. No peace conference has begun. In spite of this deadlock and in spite of the lack of any progress, the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic, in spite of its legitimate feelings of frustration, has agreed to the principle of the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF. We should like to pay a deserved tribute to that restraint and willingness to co-operate on the part of the Syrian Government.

62. The decision that we have just taken should be considered a new opportunity and an additional period of time given to peace-loving forces to implement, without any further delay, the resolutions of the Security Council on the withdrawal of Israeli occupying troops from Arab territories. This new opportunity must be seized; we must take full advantage of it, because it might be our last chance, if progress is not made in the next six months. My delegation would not want the Governments of the countries that have made sacrifices by providing UNDOF with contingents to get the impression that they are taking part in a pointless exercise, the end of which has, over these last six months, begun to seem further away than ever.

63. Finally, may we express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts with regard to the implementation of Security Council resolution 338 (1973) and for the clear and concise report which he was good enough to submit to the Council.

64. Mr. BOOH BOOH (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, may I first extend to you the hearty congratulations of my delegation on the discreet and effective manner in which you have discharged your important functions as President of the Security Council this month.

65. May I also express my gratitude to all the representatives seated in the Council, whose understanding and co-operation made a major contribution to the smooth

progress of our work last month. I also wish to say how very much my delegation appreciates the kind words that have once more been addressed to the representative of Cameroon, Mr. Michel Njine, who is unable to be with us today.

66. The Secretary-General, to whom I should like once again to pay tribute for his constant efforts in the search for a just and lasting solution to the Middle East crisis, submitted on 27 November 1974, a detailed report on UNDOF in the Israel-Syria sector over the preceding six months, in which it was recalled that

"Despite the present quiet, the situation in the Israel-Syria sector will remain fundamentally unstable and potentially explosive so long as progress towards a settlement of the underlying problems is not achieved". [S/11563, para. 43.]

67. Taking into account that realistic assessment of the situation in the area, my delegation became a sponsor of the draft resolution which the Security Council has just adopted and which extends for a further six months the mandate of UNDOF.

68. I think that this is the right time to state once again that, in the opinion of my delegation, the international community cannot derive any real benefit from United Nations emergency forces unless their action is accompanied by the firm determination of the parties directly concerned to negotiate in a business-like way to uproot the deep causes of the dispute. Any action designed to freeze the political situation and thus with the help of the emergency forces maintain the *status quo* can only strengthen the feelings of frustration of those States that are the victims of aggression and lead to further military conflict.

69. Speaking in the Council on 31 May 1974, when the Force was created, I said:

"My delegation hopes that these Governments"—which, directly or indirectly, have worked for the conclusion of the troop Disengagement Agreement on the Israel-Syria front—"and all the parties directly concerned in the Middle East question will redouble their determination to ensure the success of future stages 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." [1774th meeting, para. 85.]

70. During the last few months, it seems that no action was taken to put into operation the peace-keeping machinery provided for in a number of Security Council resolutions and particularly in resolution 338 (1973). Indeed, the Arab territories are still occupied; the Geneva Peace Conference is still in deadlock, and the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, and the fact that the Palestine Liberation Organization represents the Palestinian people, forcefully reaffirmed by the General Assembly last week, are still not recognized by Israeli leaders. This situation that is neither peace nor

war, clearly of benefit to only one of the parties, cannot last for long.

71. My delegation therefore sincerely hopes that advantage will be taken of this renewal of the mandate of the emergency force, perhaps the last of its kind, by all parties directly concerned and by all peoples throughout the world that love peace and justice, so that a just and lasting solution safeguarding the interests of all States and peoples in the Middle East may be found. That essential objective of renewing negotiations under appropriate auspices for the attainment of a peace acceptable to one and all stands out in the operative part of the resolution just adopted. Any other political calculation, as I have already said, will only lead to another war, increase the suffering of the peoples, and give rise to uncertainty about the very future of certain States in the area. I do not believe that anybody here wants events to take that turn.

72. My delegation would like to reiterate its confidence in the Secretary-General's ability to find satisfactory solutions to the other problems mentioned in his report, particularly those that concern the financial aspects and the freedom of movement of all contingents within the Force's area of operation.

73. Finally, I should like once again, on behalf of my delegation, to voice my gratitude to the Governments whose contingents are ensuring the implementation in the field of our Organization's decisions. May I also pay a well-earned tribute to the Interim Commander of UNDOF and to all the military and civilian personnel in the service of the United Nations for the dedication and effectiveness with which they are discharging their difficult mission.

74. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria): Sir, it is with a particular sense of pleasure that my delegation welcomes you as President of the Security Council for the month of November. We welcome you not only as a person, a trusted and talented colleague, but also as the representative of a country which has so decisively contributed to bringing about the agreement, six months ago, between Syria and Israel, which formed the basis for the decision the Council took a short while ago. Since the end of the month is near, we can only say with regret that this meeting of the Security Council will, in all likelihood, be the only one under your Presidency.

75. I should also like to express my delegation's warm appreciation to the President of the Council for the month of October, the representative of the United Republic of Cameroon, Ambassador Njine. He presided over the deliberations of the Council with admirable skill and patience at a time when matters of particular importance and interest to the international community were at stake.

76. Now that the Disengagement Agreement between Syria and Israel is six months old, I feel one can rightly say that it has stood the test of time, and so has UNDOF, which was provided for in the Agreement and established by the Security Council in resolution 350 (1974) in the wake of the signing of the Agreement on 31 May 1974, and which can undoubtedly be regarded as the most

essential element of the Agreement. The Disengagement Agreement itself and the presence of the United Nations Force in the area have achieved a fundamental and most urgently needed objective: the hostilities between Israeli and Syrian forces came to an end, and have fortunately not been resumed since. Thus—and this is no mean achievement—the situation on the Golan Heights has been quiet for a number of months.

77. What, however, the Disengagement Agreement has not yet been able to bring about is a basic reduction of tension in the area, and thus a continuation of the process towards a just and durable peace on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

78. The Council has therefore, because of its impression that the situation is still fundamentally unstable, dangerous and potentially explosive, and acting on the recommendation of the Secretary-General, extended the mandate of UNDOF for a further period of six months. This action was whole-heartedly supported by my delegation, an attitude that found expression in our sponsorship of the draft resolution submitted to the Council this afternoon. Extension of the mandate is based on the renewed agreement of the parties, and we should like to pay high tribute to the representatives of the parties for the responsible and constructive attitude they have thus displayed.

79. An equal tribute is due to the Secretary-General, whose personal dedication to peace in the Middle East has found renewed expression in his recent and successful trip to the area.

80. Needless to say, my country, not only as a member of the Council but also as a troop contributor to UNDOF, shares the special interest of members in the Force, and we therefore take particular satisfaction from the fact that, as stated in paragraph 42 of the Secretary-General's report, the Force, with the co-operation of the parties, was able to fulfil the tasks entrusted to it.

81. On the occasion of the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEP) on 23 October 1974 [1799th meeting], I dealt in some detail with questions touching on our basic position with regard to peace-keeping in general, and stating our evaluation of the current United Nations peace-keeping operations in the Middle East. As regards both the political and the operational aspect, these considerations—which we expressed in the Council on 23 October—are *mutatis mutandis* likewise applicable in our present discussion. I shall therefore refrain from restating our views and would rather conclude my brief remarks with a look into the future.

82. I think we are all aware that renewing the mandate of UNDOF was only one part of our decision today. The other part, although with perhaps less immediate effect, is the much more important one. It is the every decisive and urgent call upon the parties concerned to implement Security Council resolution 338 (1973), and thus, implicitly, resolution 242 (1967); in other words, the call to get back to the negotiating table, to the deployment of fair and diplomatic efforts at the earliest possible moment.

There can be no doubt that in this process the Geneva Conference will hold a central role.

83. What all members of the Security Council stressed on the occasion of the renewal of the mandate of UNEF is and must likewise be true for this operation. It cannot be regarded as a permanent substitute for real peace, thus becoming an end in itself and also, as far as the Organization is concerned, running the risk of being another open-ended commitment.

84. Now that we have already renewed the mandate of UNDOF once, we feel that further and decisive efforts to achieve our ultimate objective must follow. It was especially with those considerations in mind that the Secretary-General is requested, in operative subparagraph c of draft resolution S/11565, to report not only on the situation but also on the measures taken to implement resolution 338 (1973).

85. We feel that our debate today has provided strong support to all those who are working for a policy whose first aim is to defuse military confrontation and to revive the negotiating process. In this respect the Council has for the time being fulfilled its obligation in providing further necessary prerequisites for a genuine search for peace. It is now up to the parties concerned to face this challenge and to grasp the opportunity which presents itself anew. It might well be that there will not be many opportunities like this left.

86. Mr. CHUANG Yen (China) (*translation from Chinese*): At the meetings of the Security Council and the current session of the General Assembly, the Chinese delegation repeatedly stated the basic position of the Chinese Government on the Middle East question, and I shall not repeat it here.

87. With regard to the dispatch of United Nations troops, China has always held its principled stand, upon which we also had occasion to elaborate in this chamber. Based on our consistent position, the Chinese delegation did not participate in the voting on draft resolution S/11565.

88. Mr. ANWAR SANI (Indonesia): Mr. President, it is our good fortune to be blessed this month with a relatively quiet period for the Council, while still having the privilege of witnessing you in the chair and offering you our congratulations on your accession to the Presidency of the Council for this current month.

89. My delegation's congratulations and deep appreciation are also due to the outgoing President, my good friend Ambassador Njine of the United Republic of Cameroon who, with great wisdom, patience and diplomatic skill, guided us through the extremely difficult period of last month.

90. Turning to the subject of our discussions, allow me at the outset to thank the Secretary-General for his report presenting the developments relating to UNDOF during the period from 3 June to 26 November 1974.

91. It is with satisfaction that we learn from the report that UNDOF has fulfilled the task entrusted to it in a satisfactory manner. We are very much aware that the Force has to perform its duties under extremely difficult conditions, and we are all the more grateful that, in spite of this, UNDOF has been able to play a vital role in the maintenance of the present quiet in the area.

92. My delegation would also like to pay a tribute especially to the Secretary-General for the role that he personally played in connexion with UNDOF, as well as to Lieutenant-General Siilasvuo, to the Interim Force Commander, Brigadier-General Gonzalo Briceño Zevallos, to the officers and men of the Force, to its civilian staff and to the observers of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), for the efficiency and devotion with which they have carried out their difficult task.

93. The Council has just adopted draft resolution S/11565, thereby extending the mandate of UNDOF for a period of another six months. My delegation has sponsored and voted in favour of the draft resolution, as we believe that the continued operation of the Force is not only necessary for the maintenance of peace, however uneasy, in the area, but, above all, to assist in the establishment and preservation of a climate conducive to negotiations which, it is hoped, will lead to a just and lasting settlement. My delegation is happy that the two parties directly involved have agreed to the extension of the mandate of UNDOF for another six months.

94. It is our sincere hope, however, that the presence of UNDOF in the area is not intended as a permanent feature. Its presence should not result in diminishing the sense of urgency but should, on the contrary, be put to use to assist and facilitate the efforts towards reaching an agreed settlement of the underlying problems, as envisaged in resolution 338 (1973). UNDOF cannot be instrumental in the freezing of the *status quo* but it should indeed be helpful in facilitating further concrete efforts towards a speedy restoration of peace in that region on the basis of the relevant Security Council resolutions.

95. My delegation entirely agrees with the view of the Secretary-General expressed in a statement before his recent departure for the Middle East, when he said:

"As I have said many times, peace-keeping must not become a pretext for slackening the momentum of search for a settlement of underlying problems."

My delegation indeed hopes that during the next six months concrete progress will be made towards the implementation of resolution 338 (1973).

96. Meanwhile, I cannot but note with disappointment that, as in the case of UNEF, the problem of the freedom of movement of UNDOF is still outstanding. The Secretary-General referred to this matter in paragraph 13 of his report. I should like in this regard to reiterate Indonesia's view that there should not be any kind of discriminatory restrictions on the movements of the contingents or their personnel in the whole area of their

operations. Like UNEF, UNDOF must function as an integrated and efficient military unit. The solution of this problem is important, as it affects the efficiency and effectiveness of the Force.

97. In conclusion, let me express once again the hope of my delegation that concrete efforts may soon be resumed in order to achieve a just and lasting peace in the area.

98. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): May I first of all congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council for November. Your country has played a crucial part in the negotiations leading up to the achievement of the Disengagement Agreement which UNDOF was established to supervise. It is highly appropriate, therefore, that it should be under your Presidency that the draft resolution to extend the mandate of the Force has been adopted. I should like also to compliment your predecessor, the representative of the United Republic of Cameroon, on the skilful way in which he handled our deliberations during the difficult and busy month that October was.

99. We were very pleased to vote for the draft resolution which we have just adopted. As I said in the Security Council on 23 October 1974 [*ibid.*], when we agreed to renew the mandate of UNEF, it is not our wish that what was set up as an emergency force should become permanent, or that the disengagement agreements under which these two Forces were established should be confused with the permanent settlement which we still seek. We agree—to take the words of the fourth preambular paragraph of the resolution which we have adopted—that the disengagement agreements “are only a step towards the implementation of . . . resolution 338 (1973)”. At the same time, we consider that they are a necessary step and that the role which they are performing, of which UNDOF is an integral part, continues to be an extremely important one. We therefore support the view expressed by the Secretary-General in paragraph 44 of his report that the continued presence of UNDOF is indispensable not only for the maintenance of tranquillity in the area but in order to aid new efforts to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

100. My delegation pays a tribute to the statesmanship which has been shown by all parties in reaching agreement on the renewal of this mandate. The Secretary-General's own role in the achievement of this agreement has been of very great importance. Time has been won, but it is equally crucial that the time that has been won should not now be wasted and that it should be used to press on with negotiations. We hope that the same degree of statesmanship shown in reaching this agreement will be demonstrated over this next and much more difficult stage, so that the essential momentum of the negotiations can be maintained. As I said in the General Assembly on 20 November,<sup>2</sup> we hope that both sides will show the necessary flexibility, moderation, pragmatism and willingness to contemplate the possibility of compromise.

<sup>2</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2292nd meeting.

101. I should like to join those who have spoken before me today in congratulating the Secretary-General on the conduct of the Force during the past six months. It has fulfilled what has been a difficult and at times a dangerous task with great skill and in a way which has, we think, reflected considerable credit on the Organization. I have already at an earlier meeting of the Council extended our sympathy to those countries whose contingents have suffered loss of lives in the service of this Force. We owe a debt of gratitude to them and to the other countries which are providing contingents for the task which they are performing on behalf of all of us and in the cause of world peace.

102. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): Although November is almost over, I should like first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your accession to the Presidency of our Council. We are all familiar with your outstanding qualities and we have no doubt that, had circumstances so required of you, you would already have given further proof of your diplomatic skill and authority. It seems to me equally significant that it has fallen to you to conduct our discussions in an important matter to the settlement of which your country has so far made a very positive contribution. No one doubts that the personal intervention of Mr. Kissinger, to whom my delegation is pleased to pay a tribute, has greatly facilitated the task of the Council.

103. I should like also to reiterate here my compliments to Ambassador Njine, the distinguished representative of Cameroon, on the way he conducted our discussions on difficult subjects during October.

104. Turning now to the report just submitted to us by the Secretary-General, may I say that his conclusions meet with the full approval of my Government. The renewal of the mandate of UNDOF on the Israeli-Syrian front was an urgent necessity and my delegation is gratified that the Council has approved the Secretary-General's recommendations.

105. Respect for the two disengagement agreements, one concerning the Israeli-Egyptian front and the other the Israeli-Syrian front, is indeed an essential condition of the continuance of the over-all negotiations which began last December at Geneva. Any breach of those agreements could not but have grave repercussions on the development of a situation which is already very tense and fraught with danger. In particular, so long as the fragile barrier of UNDOF is maintained the dangers of a new confrontation on the very sensitive Golan front will be, if not completely eliminated, at least substantially reduced.

106. That does not mean that matters must be allowed to rest there. In establishing UNEF and UNDOF, the Council was responding to the immediate requirements of the situation: to ensure observance of the cease-fire of 22 October 1973 and to observe the disengagement of the forces. But the road from cease-fire to peace is long, and no progress has yet been made in the right direction. Yet resolution 338 (1973) expressly provides that negotiations should begin immediately between the parties concerned

with a view to establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

107. We are gratified that the resolution just adopted contains an operative paragraph explicitly appealing to the parties concerned immediately to implement resolution 338 (1973). I might note here that the Geneva Peace Conference began almost a year ago. It is high time the Conference resume its work, and we note with satisfaction the remarks on this subject in the recent United States-Soviet communiqué from Vladivostok.

108. In agreeing to the successive renewals of the mandates of UNEF and UNDOF, the parties concerned have displayed obvious goodwill. Nothing has yet been jeopardized, but everything could be if further difficulties, reflected in further delays, were to hinder resumption of the work of the Geneva Conference. In that regard, we should like to express the hope that Israel will at last adopt a more constructive attitude. By the very fact of its continued occupation of extensive Arab territories, that country assumes particular responsibilities. It is therefore for Israel to manifest more clearly the will to negotiate and, if we may so hope, to make the necessary gestures that would help to reduce tension and to create that minimum of trust without which no progress is possible.

109. Before concluding my statement I should like once again to say, as I did on 23 October in the Council [*ibid.*], how greatly my Government appreciates the way in which our Secretary-General, his distinguished colleagues and the UNDOF command are carrying out the difficult task assigned to them. On the Golan Heights and in Sinai the United Nations is daily demonstrating that it has an essential role to play in the quest for peace, and to us that seems essential for the future of the Organization. Mr. Waldheim's recent journey to the Middle East is part of that quest, and I would associate myself with preceding speakers in expressing the appreciation of the Council.

110. These expressions of satisfaction must be accompanied by expressions of deep regret to the delegations of Austria and Canada for the grievous losses sustained by the contingents their Governments were kind enough to make available to the United Nations. Let us hope at least that all these efforts, all these sacrifices, may not be in vain and that all the parties concerned will agree to commit themselves without delay to the path of negotiations.

111. Mr. ZAHAWIE (Iraq): Mr. President, I should like to extend to you the congratulations of my delegation on your accession to the presidency of the Council.

112. Allow me also to congratulate your predecessor, the representative of the United Republic of Cameroon, on the remarkable manner in which he conducted the highly important deliberations of the Council during the month of October.

113. My delegation explained its position on the question of the role of the United Nations forces in the Middle East on 23 October last [*ibid.*], when the Council decided to renew the mandate of UNEF. For the reasons we put forward on that occasion, and since Iraq has always dissociated

itself from the resolutions which established the United Nations forces in the area, my delegation refrained from participating in the voting on the resolution just adopted by the Council.

114. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): Mr. President, first of all let me welcome you back to the presidential chair of the Security Council and express my pleasure at once again being able to serve under your skilful and enlightened guidance.

115. I must also take this opportunity to congratulate our President for October, Ambassador Njine of the United Republic of Cameroon, on the efficient, courteous and altogether exemplary manner in which he conducted our proceedings during a difficult and demanding month.

116. Some six months ago, when the Council adopted resolution 350 (1974), establishing UNDOF, I had occasion to express the deep sense of gratification with which the announcement of the Disengagement Agreement signed at Geneva on 31 May by Israel and Syria had been received in Australia. At that time the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Willesee, welcomed this very notable development and paid a tribute to the statesmanship shown by both Governments, and I was able to indicate that Australia was ready whole-heartedly to support the establishment of UNDOF.

117. In the intervening period, our hopes and expectations of UNDOF have not been disappointed. It has assisted in the process of the disengagement of forces in the Golan Heights area and has played an indispensable role in maintaining the cease-fire and in insisting on its scrupulous observance. As the Secretary-General has noted in his report, the situation on the Golan Heights has been quiet, and that can only be a most welcome development.

118. At the same time, we realize that a period of quiet is not necessarily indicative of a period of stability. We are all aware that UNDOF still encounters some difficulties and that the situation in the area remains tense and volatile. Least of all can we delude ourselves that a final and complete settlement of all the crucial problems of the Middle East is in sight. We are indeed conscious that during the period of the first mandate of UNDOF there have been new developments in the unfolding Middle East scene, some of which have done little or nothing to ease a complex and already difficult situation. It will take time for the significance of these new developments to be fully appreciated, time for them to be taken account of in the negotiating process which has made its tentative beginning and which must be kept in momentum.

119. By providing time, the Council's decision of today to extend the mandate of UNDOF for a further period of six months will, we all hope, help towards ensuring the continuation of the present cease-fire between Israel and Syria and, on the broader front, assist our common efforts to maintain progress towards a just and durable peace in the area.

120. Before concluding, may I associate my delegation with the tributes that have been paid to the continuing and tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and, secondly, with the Secretary-General's expression of deep sympathy to the Governments concerned and to the families of those members of UNDOF who have given their lives in the cause of peace.

121. Lastly, I should like to offer our full commendation to Lieutenant-General Siilasvuo, the United Nations Commander-in-Chief in the Middle East, to the Interim Force Commander, Brigadier-General Gonzalo Friceño Zevallos, to his officers, and to the men, both military and civilian, under his command, for a job well done. Let me repeat also that my own Government stands ready to play whatever part it may be asked to play in assisting the United Nations in the pursuit of its efforts to bring lasting peace to the Middle East.

122. Mr. TCHERNOUCHTENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, may I first of all congratulate you on your accession to the Presidency of the Council at the time that the Council is dealing with this important issue linked with the problem of peace and international security. At the same time, we should like to express our appreciation for the considerable and responsible work done in October by the representative of the United Republic of Cameroon, Mr. Njine, in the course of his Presidency of the Council when it was considering some very complex and crucial problems.

123. My delegation, together with other members of the Council, voted in favour of extending the mandate of UNDOF in the Syria-Israel sector. In that connexion, we should like to note, first of all, the particular responsibility of the Council, whose duty it is to exercise constant supervision over all aspects of peace-keeping operations—in this instance the operation in the Middle East.

124. Our delegation deems it necessary to state that the operations of UNDOF as well as those of UNEF in the Sinai Peninsula should be conducted with maximum efficiency, that the United Nations Secretariat should, in accordance with Security Council resolution 362 (1974), take steps to ensure strict economy and that no decisions connected with the troop contingents now present in the area should be taken without the consent of the Security Council.

125. My delegation agrees with the view that, as noted in the Secretary-General's report, by carrying out its activities UNDOF has contributed to the stabilization of the ceasefire called for by the Security Council in resolution 338 (1973). At the same time, it should be noted that the disengagement of forces in the Golan Heights, as in the Sinai Peninsula, is only a first step and must be followed by other measures aimed at a political settlement. The disengagement carried out in the area and today's decision to extend the mandate of UNDOF must not be regarded in any way as grounds for freezing the situation prevailing in the area; neither must they be regarded as grounds for continuing the occupation by Israel of the Arab territories which it seized in 1967.

126. In our opinion, this very approach was reflected in the resolution just adopted by the Security Council, which particularly stresses the need for the urgent immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 338 (1973). We believe that it is also important to note that in the resolution the Secretary-General is called upon to submit at the end of this new six-month period a report on the developments in the situation in the area and the measures taken to implement resolution 338 (1973).

127. As every one well knows, the situation in the area is explosive. This is stated in the report before the Council; it is also borne out by many press reports, and the Secretary-General himself has said as much in his statement. Our delegation, for its part, listened with satisfaction to his statement which testified to the complexity of the situation still prevailing in the Middle East. At the same time, we wish particularly to stress that this situation, as the Secretary-General said, calls for redoubled efforts to solve the problems through negotiations.

128. My delegation considers that the complex situation prevailing in the area—a situation which endangers the cause of peace—calls for firm and decisive measures aimed at a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East.

129. However, as is known, such a settlement is being prevented by the position taken by Israeli ruling circles, which stubbornly persist in their previous and, one may confidently say, bankrupt policy of aggression. Counting on the support of certain external forces, Israel continues to hold on to the occupied Arab lands. Israeli ruling circles are doing everything they can to avoid a resumption of the Geneva Conference; they continue to declare that they will never return to the 1967 frontiers or recognize the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine. Somebody ought to have learned some lessons from the discussion in the United Nations of the question of Palestine, which demonstrated the international isolation of the policy stubbornly pursued by Israeli ruling circles. The Israeli leaders, who continue to hope that the problem in the Middle East can be solved by force of arms, should bear in mind that this is a dangerous course for Israel itself.

130. At the same time, the Byelorussian delegation cannot but note, as may be seen from the statement by the representative of Syria, the manifestation of goodwill and the business-like approach on the part of the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic to the questions concerning a political settlement in the Middle East. We must note the importance and the positive character of the statement made here by the representative of Syria.

131. In conclusion, I should like to stress once again that the Byelorussian SSR has persistently and consistently called for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We are convinced that in order to achieve this aim it is essential to liberate all the Arab territories occupied by Israel, to ensure the exercise of the lawful rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and statehood, and to resume the Geneva Conference with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the representatives of the Arab people

of Palestine. The interests of peace and world security and the interests of the peoples of all countries, first and foremost the interests of the peoples of the Middle East, require that immediate steps be taken in this direction.

132. Mr. MAINA (Kenya): Mr. President, allow me to join previous speakers in saying how happy we are to see you preside over the Council this month. Your ability, charm and forthrightness are all known to us. We are confident that under your wise and able Presidency the Council will take—as it has already done—very wise decisions this month.

133. May I also take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Njine of the United Republic of Cameroon, for the most able manner in which he conducted the deliberations of the Council during the previous month. As we all know, the issues before the Council then were difficult and of great importance. His persuasive manner enabled us to overcome many obstacles. We thank him for all that.

134. We also thank the Secretary-General for his efforts for peace in the Middle East and we wish him even greater success in the future. Our thanks are also due to the members of UNDOF and the Member States which have made them available to the United Nations.

135. My delegation was happy to be a sponsor of the resolution that has just been unanimously adopted by the Council. Our sponsorship of this resolution is dictated by the desire of my country to see peace—a just and durable peace—come to this war-torn region. I should like, however, to explain briefly why we continue to support the measures contained in resolution 338 (1973). Our support for the positioning of United Nations troops between the combatants in the Middle East should not be construed as supporting the perpetual stationing of these troops there. These forces, as we all know, constitute a major burden to the United Nations and the nations that contribute them.

136. As we have had occasion to state before, we believe that the purpose of stationing United Nations troops in the Middle East—or any place, for that matter—is solely to give the parties concerned in the fighting time to sort out their differences peacefully and without the tensions that go along with war. We would not support the stationing of United Nations troops between warring parties if this was used by them as a time to prepare for the next round of fighting.

137. Resolution 338 (1973) calls in no ambiguous terms for negotiations between the parties concerned. We urge all those concerned to use the period when the forces will be there to enter into serious talks to resolve any of their standing differences between them. We hope that the members of the Council will do all that is in their power to assist the parties concerned to meet as soon as possible and to enter into negotiations for a lasting peace in the region. Kenya, for its part, will be prepared to assist in any manner possible to bring peace to the Middle East.

138. Mr. SALAZAR (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, my delegation would like to

associate itself with the words of congratulation which have been addressed to you on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council for this month and regrets, along with others, that we did not have the pleasure of seeing you presiding over our meetings on other occasions. It is very significant that under your Presidency the Council took an important decision today, since your country has played a very important role in prevailing upon the parties involved in the conflict in the Middle East to come to a negotiated agreement.

139. My delegation would also like to convey its gratitude to Ambassador Njine of the United Republic of Cameroon for the wise manner in which he conducted the frequent and stormy debates in the Security Council during October. He projected his tranquil personality into our debates and, as a result, he was very successful in his conduct of the proceedings.

140. My delegation studied attentively the report of the Secretary-General and listened also with attention to his statement made today in the Council. Both the report and the statement give an idea of the efforts that he has made to deal with the problem and how well the Security Council mandate entrusted to him has been carried out. We should like to congratulate the Secretary-General for his actions in bringing some understanding between the parties so that there can be a new prolongation of the mandate of UNDOF. As praiseworthy as his attitude is so is that of the parties concerned, Israel and Syria.

141. My country, however, also recognizes the efforts of the countries which have made available contingents for the Force between Israel and Syria. I would like to take this opportunity to express our condolences at the deeply regretted loss of life sustained by some of the contingents.

142. My delegation is pleased to have been able to contribute, by means of its vote, to the adoption of the resolution approved by the Security Council today. This decision shows how correct was the resolution taken six months ago when the Force was set up, and there is every ground for believing that the establishment of the Force has created very favourable conditions in the area to permit the parties concerned, at an early date, to come to a negotiated settlement of the conflict.

143. Finally, my delegation feels encouraged and has grounds for hope that on the basis of these efforts the Geneva talks can be resumed and in this way we may fulfil the true wish of the Council for the parties to resolve their conflict in peace.

144. The PRESIDENT: Since there are no additional members who wish to speak, I should like to express the views of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA on the subject before us.

145. The establishment of UNDOF six months ago, like that of UNEF before it, marked a major step forward on the path to a lasting Middle East peace. That this road was long and difficult, that it would try men's patience and test their goodwill, no one doubted then or doubts now.

Nevertheless, what the Council did in establishing the two Middle East peace-keeping forces was no small thing. United Nations peace-keeping provides a deterrent to renewed war after four tragic, devastating conflicts. It offers time for passions to cool and for prudence and reason to prevail. In short, it offers to those who would grasp it an opportunity to achieve a just and enduring peace through negotiations under resolution 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

146. By extending the mandate of UNDOF today, the Security Council has demonstrated anew its awareness of the critical role this Force plays in helping to preserve the disengagement between Syrian and Israeli forces. My Government warmly welcomes the Council's action today in extending the mandate of UNDOF. The resolution we have adopted, with no dissenting votes, assures the continuing operation of UNDOF for another six months under the same mandate, in accordance with the recommendation which the Secretary-General has made in his lucid and comprehensive report of 27 November.

147. I have spoken already of the patience and goodwill that are so indispensable to peace in the Middle East. These qualities were sorely needed in the recent negotiations leading to agreement on the extension of UNDOF. My Government is pleased to have been of assistance in this effort. May I take this opportunity, on behalf of my Government, to pay a sincere tribute to the Governments of Syria and Israel for their determination to overcome all

obstacles in the cause of peace and justice for their peoples.

148. I take special pleasure in extending my Government's deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for his continuing efforts and to his Headquarters staff. Their dedicated, tireless efforts have kept UNDOF operating efficiently. Our congratulations go also to the Interim Force Commander, to the officers and men of UNDOF, and to the UNTSO military observers assigned to UNDOF for the exemplary manner in which they have performed their duties. I have spoken on a number of occasions of our admiration for these men and of our appreciation for the hardships and sacrifice which they must endure. Some of these soldiers have given their lives so that other men, women and children in the Middle East might live. We mourn in particular at this time the brave men who have died on the UNDOF front, and we ask the delegations of Canada and Austria to convey our sincere condolences to their bereaved families.

149. The Secretary-General, in his report, and many members of the Council, in their statements, have emphasized the importance of moving towards settlement of the underlying problems of the Middle East conflict. My Government shares this sense of urgency. In the months ahead we shall be bending every effort to advance step by step along the road that leads to a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

*The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.*

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