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NOTE

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1822nd MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 28 May 1975, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Shridath S. **RAMPHAL** (Guyana).

President: The representatives of the following States: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Costa Rica, France, Guyana, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Mauritania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1822)

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/11694)

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

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the members of the Council I should like to express my appreciation and admiration for the manner in which Mr. de Guiringaud presided over the Council during the month of April. During that month the Council was required to meet only on the question of the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), and Mr. de Guiringaud on that occasion conducted the meeting with his usual sagacity, patience and skill. The informal meetings that prepared the way for the adoption of that resolution had been led by his able deputy, Mr. Lecompt, and he deserves the Council's gratitude for the important contribution he made towards the success of those important negotiations.

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/11694)

2. The PRESIDENT: The report of the **Secretary-General** on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) for the period from 27 November 1974 to 21 May 1975 was circulated on 21 May

1975. The Council also has before it a draft **resolution [S/11700]** which was prepared in the course of consultations that took place last week. In accordance with the procedure also worked out during those consultations, I propose to put the draft resolution to the vote first, before the Council proceeds with its discussion. If I hear no objection, I shall proceed at once to the vote.

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.

3. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives whose names are inscribed on my list of speakers.

4. Mr. CHUANG Yen (China) (*translation front Chinese*): As is known to all, China has always held a different position in principle on the question of dispatching United Nations forces, which we have expounded on many occasions at the Security Council meetings. In conformity with this position, the Chinese delegation did **not** participate **in** the voting on the draft resolution S/11700.

5. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): Mr. President, it is a pleasure to see you presiding over this meeting.

6. I welcome the opportunity today to participate in the decision of the Security Council to renew for an additional six months the mandate of UNDOF. We believe this Force is important to the maintenance of the Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces of 31 May 1974 [S/11302/Add.1, Annex I].

7. On behalf of the United States, I express once again our appreciation for all the efforts of the Secretary-General and his associates in maintaining UNDOF in accordance with the wishes of the **Council. We particularly commend** those **Governments** which contribute officers and troops to UNDOF, the men who serve there, and the officer-in-charge, Colonel Hannes Philipp. -We are especially pleased that the Secretary-General is able to report that both

parties have generally complied with the Agreement on Disengagement and that the cease-fire has been maintained. This is a job well done.

8. I congratulate you, Mr. President, for your efforts in working out this resolution for presentation to the Council and ensuring its prompt adoption. All concerned are to be warmly congratulated on this constructive step.

9. Mr. SAITO (Japan): I should like to begin by congratulating you, Sir, upon assuming the presidency of the Council for May. We were already familiar with your distinguished gifts as Foreign Minister, which have now received further confirmation. I wish also to extend the thanks of my delegation to the representative of France, Mr. de Guiringaud, for his and his Mission's admirable services to the Council during his presidency in April.

10. May we also express our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his continued success in directing the operations of UNDOF. We would ask him to convey our thanks and best wishes to Colonel Hannes Philipp of Austria for his service as **officer-in-charge** of the Disengagement Force since 15 **december** 1974, following the departure of Brigadier-General Gonzalo **Briceño Zevallos**.

11. We read with care and attention the **Secretary-General's** report. We were pleased to note his comment that the general discipline, understanding and bearing of all members of UNDOF reflected credit on the soldiers and their commanders, as well as on the countries which have contributed contingents. We concur with his finding, in paragraph 35, that "Until further progress can be made towards the achievement of ... a just and durable peace, the situation in the Israel-Syria sector, and indeed in the Middle East as a whole, will remain unstable and potentially dangerous", and that the mandate of UNDOF should be extended for another six months.

12. The delegation of Japan, therefore, voted in favour of the draft resolution just adopted, which will extend the mandate until the end of November. We consider this extension essential for the maintenance of peace in the area. Since the situation there, although quiet at present, remains unstable and potentially dangerous, our action today was needed to provide an atmosphere conducive to the further efforts which, my delegation sincerely hopes, will lead to a just and lasting settlement. My delegation wishes to pay tribute to the statesmanship of the parties directly concerned in reaching agreement on the renewal of the mandate.

13. Let us all hope that, with the extension of the mandate of UNDOF, the momentum for 'a settlement will be maintained by utilizing every possible peaceful means to achieve the full implementation of Security Council resolution 338 (1973). The time provided by the extension must not be wasted. Soon two years will have elapsed since the adoption of

resolution 338 (1973). As the **Secretary-General** observed in paragraph 35 of his report, the Disengagement Agreement "is not a peace agreement, but only a step towards a just and durable peace on the basis of Security Council resolution 338 (1973)".

14. In conclusion, I wish to express my sincere belief that the obstacles which *have been holding up progress towards a peaceful settlement in the Middle East can soon be removed, and that the continued presence of UNDOF will definitely improve the outlook for an early peace. Let us all hope that concrete developments will soon give us cause for renewed and heightened optimism.

15. Mr. OYONO (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, it is my pleasure to extend to you the fraternal and warm congratulations of the Cameroon delegation upon your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. Your statesmanlike qualities, your familiarity with the problems of the Organization, and the role and prestige of your country, Guyana, within the great non-aligned family are, I am convinced, a valuable guarantee of the success of our work. You may be sure that my delegation will always be behind you to help you to perform your important tasks with success.

16. I should also like to take this opportunity to express the sincere gratitude of my delegation to the representative of France, Mr. de Guiringaud, who so effectively and with such remarkable objectivity conducted the proceedings of the Council in April.

17. The vote just cast by my delegation in favour of the draft resolution by which the Security Council has decided to renew for a further period of six months the mandate of UNDOF is within the framework of the consistent policy of the Government of the United Republic of Cameroon to support and promote all constructive initiatives that may create conditions for a just peace and stability in the Middle East.

18. Of course, on the basis of the information at present available to us, the prospects for peace are not yet entirely encouraging, and the situation in the area remains unstable and potentially dangerous. There is, however, some cause for satisfaction-and this is made clear in the excellent report of the Secretary General-in the fact that over the past six months the situation in **UNDOF's** area of operation has remained calm and there have been no major cease-fire violations or loss of life. In that context I take particular pleasure in paying a tribute to the Syrian Government, which has been good enough to agree to a further renewal of the mandate of UNDOF.

19. Let us hope that this decision, of great political significance, will be properly appreciated by all the parties directly and indirectly concerned, so that during this new period-which will, of course, still be **a difficult** and thorny time-the process of peace

envisaged in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) may finally be decisively engaged in.

20. In conclusion, we should like to take this opportunity once again to congratulate and extend our encouragement to the Secretary General for his tireless efforts to bring about an era of peace in the Middle East. We should like also to congratulate and extend our encouragement to all the **Secretary-General's** assistants, and particularly the Force Commander, Colonel Hannes Philipp.

21. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): Mr. President, may I first congratulate you personally on your assumption of the office of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are particularly glad to welcome you to this important office—first, as the distinguished Foreign Minister of a fellow member of the Commonwealth and, secondly, following your recent election at the Commonwealth Conference at Kingston to succeed Mr. Arnold Smith as Commonwealth Secretary-General. We are, I think, extremely fortunate to have your leadership in the important debates upon which the Security Council is now embarking.

22. I should like to congratulate your distinguished predecessor, Mr. de Guiringaud of France, for the great skill with which he handled our debates during the month of April. Perhaps I might also congratulate him on the distinction of his recent promotion to the title of Ambassador of France.

23. My delegation was very pleased indeed to vote in favour of the draft resolution which we have just adopted to renew the mandate of UNDOF for a further period of six months. **We** particularly welcome this as a demonstration of the determination of the parties concerned to press on with their efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement. We agree with the judgement of the Secretary General that the continued presence of UNDOF remains essential at the present time. This is particularly true in view of the various efforts which are now under way to prepare for the next stage of negotiations towards a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East. The continued presence of UNDOF is more than ever necessary to maintain the peaceful and stable background in which alone those negotiations may prosper.

24. At the same time, we must not lose sight of the fact that, again as the Secretary-General points out in his report, the situation in the Middle East is, and will remain, dangerous and precarious so long as a settlement has not been reached. The mandate which we are renewing today cannot serve as a substitute for that settlement, but only as a means of promoting efforts to reach it. We therefore appeal to all those concerned to make full use of this period to press on with these efforts to carry the negotiations forward.

25. Finally, I should once again like to commend the Secretary General, the officer in charge of UNDOF and all connected with the Force for the exemplary way in which they have carried out their difficult tasks during the last six months.

26. Mr. CAVAGLIERI (Italy): Mr. President, may I be permitted first of all to convey to you my delegation's warm congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month and to recall with pleasure on this occasion the friendly relations that my country maintains with your own. I should like also to associate myself with the **well-deserved** thanks and congratulations that have been addressed to your predecessor, the representative of France, Mr. Louis de Guiringaud.

27. On 17 April, when the Council met here to renew the mandate of UNEF [*182st meeting*] for three additional months, Mr. Plaja stressed Italy's concern about the state of uneasiness and precariousness which **characterized** the calm in the Middle East area. In spite of all efforts carried out to bridge the differences between the parties concerned, no substantial progress had then been achieved in the direction of a just and durable peace as indicated in the relevant resolutions adopted by the Council. We therefore at that time regarded as a success the very fact of the agreement obtained by the Council from the parties concerned for an extension of the mandate of the Force separating their armies, even if limited to a three-month period.

28. May I venture to say that the prospects as they appear today look somewhat brighter. First of all we have to take note with satisfaction of the goodwill shown by the parties in agreeing to a renewal of the mandate of UNDOF for a further six months. Secondly, nobody will deny the positive significance of the fact that efforts have been continued on several levels to advance the implementation of resolution 338 (1973). Finally, the series of high-level meetings taking place or scheduled to take place among various parties directly or indirectly concerned with the Middle East crisis appears to be a source of hope for all.

29. The current course of events, which indeed shows a renewal of efforts towards peace in the Middle East area, will draw further impetus from today's decision of the Council, which has been made possible through an act of wisdom by the leaders of the parties directly concerned.

30. UNDOF has commendably carried out its function and met our expectations. The renewal of its mandate today should not, however, induce us to believe that UNDOF has in itself the power of perpetuating in the area that calm that it has so far protected. We must bear firmly in mind that the next six months will be crucial and that progress must therefore be achieved on the substance of the problem.

31. We consider with the same deep interest any kind of international efforts: those that may be carried out through some kind of machinery similar to that which successfully managed to produce the Disengagement Agreements, efforts aimed at reconvening the Geneva Conference or efforts which may combine those two kinds.

32. Our basic and fundamental task, as a member of the Council and as a country which maintains friendly relations with all in the Middle East, has been recently defined by the Italian Foreign Minister. May I quote him here again:

“We must help the parties directly involved to overcome courageously and far-sightedly the contradictions which for too long have **crystallized** a situation which is primarily contrary to their own basic interest.”

33. As far as Italy is concerned, we are ready to make our contribution to current efforts. As to UNDOF itself, we draw some satisfaction from the participation, though limited, of Italian personnel. On a broader bilateral level, our diplomatic action to sponsor peace continues. May I mention in this regard the very successful visit to Cairo last month by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy.

34. I should like to conclude by commending UNDOF and its members for their action in carrying out an assignment in such difficult and demanding circumstances. We also wish to express our sincere appreciation and congratulations to the **Secretary-General** and to his associates for the role they so untiringly played in this crucial matter.

35. Mr. AL-SHAIKHLI (Iraq): Mr. President, it is with deep satisfaction that my delegation welcomes you to the United Nations to preside over the meetings of the Security Council. Your country, Guyana, can rightly be regarded as a pioneer of the non-aligned movement in the great Latin American continent. I have personally had the privilege of witnessing the extent of your country's dedication to the principles of non-alignment during the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Countries held at Georgetown in 1972. It was also an opportunity for all of us who attended that conference to enjoy the hospitality and the genuine warmth of the people and the Government of Guyana. I should **not** fail on this occasion to commend your representative to the United Nations, Mr. Jackson, for his valuable efforts in conducting the informal consultations which preceded this meeting of the Council. My delegation would also like to express its genuine appreciation to Mr. de Guiringaud of France for the excellence, courtesy and precision with which he presided over the Council during the month of April.

36. Iraq continues firmly to believe that no action should be taken which would appease or accommodate

the Zionist aggressor in the Middle East. The continued extension of the mandate of **the** United Nations forces in the area since 1967 has unfortunately enabled the Zionists not only to consolidate their annexation and **colonization** of the territories occupied and coveted by the Israeli imperialists, but also to persist in depriving the peoples of those territories of their legitimate rights. While the United Nations forces continue in their tasks of observation of the cease-fire and disengagement, no parallel action is being taken by the United Nations to ensure that the aggressor desists from implementing his illegal actions and policies in the occupied territories. In our view, such United Nations action is imperative, for the Zionist policies in the occupied territories are as dangerous and as disruptive as a breakdown of the cease-fire. My delegation, therefore, has again refrained from participating in the voting on the resolution just adopted by the Council.

37. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden): Mr. President, **first** of all I want to congratulate you sincerely on behalf of my delegation and to express our great satisfaction at seeing the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guyana presiding over the Council. Our appreciation also goes to Mr. Jackson, who has been conducting very important consultations during this month. Our thanks also go to Mr. de Guiringaud for the extremely efficient and skilful way in which he conducted our negotiations last month.

38. It was with deep satisfaction that the Swedish delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution which we just have adopted. The decision by the Council to prolong the UNDOF Mandate for a further period of six months should assist the parties in preserving an atmosphere in the area which will allow further constructive efforts towards peace. We deeply appreciate the Syrian agreement to an extension.

39. The situation on the border between Israel and Syria is calm. But, as the Secretary-General has pointed out in his report to the Council, the present quiet is a precarious one and the situation in the Israel-Syria sector, and indeed in the Middle East as a whole, will remain unstable and potentially dangerous. We have no feeling that recent developments in the Middle East have in any way contradicted the fundamental observation that further steps must be taken in order to achieve a lasting and stable peace in the area. On the contrary, the Swedish delegation believes that it is now as urgent as ever to take real steps towards a negotiated solution in the Middle East. We shall therefore support all efforts at finding ways and means to work towards peace.

40. In the meantime, however, UNDOF has to carry out its important task. It is a great pleasure for me to convey to the men; to the officers and to the Force Commander of UNDOF my Government's deep

appreciation for their outstanding services to the cause of peace. My Government's deep appreciation also goes to the Secretary-General and his staff for the outstanding way in which they fulfilled **their** difficult task.

41. My delegation wants to stress, as it did **with** regard to UNEF [*ibid.*], that in the interest of efficiency and for important reasons of principle it is necessary that the Force should be able to function as one integrated unit within the total area of operation. We therefore give our support to the **Secretary-General's** efforts to this end and hope he will be able to register substantial progress in this matter soon.

42. UNDOF has so far been a success. But the aim of UNDOF is to assist in creating an atmosphere conducive to the search for peace, not to be an end in itself. And the **final** judgement on UNDOF cannot be made until we definitely can see whether this principal aim has been **fulfilled**.

43. Mr. KANE (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): After the eminent personalities who have preceded me, I should like, Mr. President, to address to **you** the sincere congratulations of my delegation on your accession to the presidency of the Council for this month. For those of us who have had the **good** fortune of working with you, we know that your past, that your vast experience in international relations, your eminent qualities as a patient and persevering diplomat, as well as the wisdom which we know you possess, are a certain guarantee for the success of the work of the Security Council.

44. We have just adopted a resolution which once again renews the mandate of UNDOF charged with the task of observing the disengagement on the Syrian-Israeli frontier.

45. In voting for this resolution, my delegation wished to give the Security Council an additional opportunity, in conjunction with the praiseworthy diplomatic efforts being undertaken in the region, to arrive at a just and lasting peace. UNDOF, as **its** name indicates, has the essential role of observing the disengagement of Israeli military forces from Syrian territory. It therefore cannot constitute a permanent line of demarcation between Syria, which once again has evinced praiseworthy wisdom, and the Zionist occupation forces, which have so far refused any dialogue and any concession.

46. My delegation would like to avail itself of this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to the people and Government of Syria, whose patience and political courage have made possible the **renewal** of the Force's mandate. Israel must **realize** that it **will** not help itself by remaining deaf to the appeal of the international community. It is the duty of the Security Council to ensure that its resolutions are respected,

the Tel Aviv authorities being the only ones who do **not** wish to apply them.

47. In conclusion, I should like to pay a tribute to **the** Secretary-General, for the objective report he has submitted and for his efforts in the Middle East so that a **just** and lasting peace can be established, a peace that can but benefit the entire international community.

48. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like first of all, on behalf of the Soviet delegation, to congratulate you, Mr. Minister, on your assumption of the very important and responsible post of President of the Security Council. It is a particular pleasure for me to welcome you to this post as a representative of a friendly country and an active participant in the non-aligned movement, which is making an important contribution to the maintenance and the strengthening of peace and international security. Permit me also to refer to the active and positive efforts of the representative of your country, Mr. Jackson, who has won himself great **respect** and authority in the United Nations. Under your presidency, Mr. Minister, the Council has just adopted an important resolution which **we** hope will play a positive role in resolving the problem of a Middle East settlement.

49. At the same time; I should like to express my gratitude and congratulations to your predecessor in the presidency of the Council during the month of April, the representative of France, Mr. de Guiringaud, and to associate myself with the welcome and congratulations that have been expressed here by Mr. Richard about **the** promotion of Mr. de Guiringaud to the office of Ambassador of France. I should also like to refer to the active efforts of his deputy, Mr. Lecompt. Under the guidance of Mr. de Guiringaud and Mr. Lecompt, the Security Council prepared **and adopted** resolution 368 (1975) to extend the mandate of UNEF in the Egypt-Israel sector.

50. The resolution just adopted by the Security Council to renew the mandate of UNDOF in the Israel-Syria sector is designed to bring about a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem on the basis of the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 338 (1973). We have to note once again that this fundamental decision of the Security Council, which provides for the earliest possible achievement of a comprehensive political settlement of the Middle East problem on the basis of the lofty principles of the Charter of the United Nations, has so far not been implemented. This is so because of the **position** of Israel, which stubbornly refuses to withdraw its troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967 and to acknowledge the lawful national rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination and the creation of its own State. Those inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are acknowledged by all countries and the

whole of world public opinion; they have been laid down and **confirmed** by the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session in resolution 3236.

51. The decision just adopted by the Security Council to renew for a further period of six months the mandate of UNDOF should be used primarily for active work towards the earliest possible achievement of a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict and the establishment of a lasting and just peace in that area.

52. The position of the Soviet Union is **well** known. The Soviet Union has, from the very beginning, been on the side of the Arab people in their struggle against the Israeli aggressors. As was stressed in a statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Mr. A. A. Gromyko, at a dinner on 23 April in honour of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Syria, Mr. Khaddam:

“The Soviet Union has acted thus because the cause of the Arabs is a just one and Arab States which have fallen victims to aggression are struggling for the liberation of their lands from the occupiers. The Golan Heights belong to Syria, to the Syrian people and not to Israel, just as the other Arab territories they have captured do not belong to Israel either.**

53. The USSR **consistently** favours the establishment of a lasting and just peace in the Middle East. For this it is necessary to ensure the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories they occupied in **1967**, to satisfy the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to the creation of its own State, and to grant to all States in the area the possibility of free existence and development.

54. As has been repeatedly stressed in statements of Soviet leaders, all these questions are part of a single complex whole, and a genuine settlement requires a comprehensive approach to a solution. The proper path to this is the resumption of the work of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, which is the most appropriate forum for the consideration and resolution of all questions involved in the Middle East settlement. The Soviet Union favours careful, scrupulous preparation for this Conference and the resumption of its work in the near future.

55. With reference to the problem of the Middle East settlement, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Comrade Gromyko, in his statement on 14 May at a solemn assembly in Moscow on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Warsaw Treaty, made the following statement:

“The Socialist countries are firmly in favour of a durable and just peace in the Middle East and of

the idea that all countries in that region should enjoy its fruits. There is a possibility of Israel's obtaining adequate guarantees in the interest of its own security if it so wishes. But this is possible only on the road to **peace** with the Arabs, not on the road to hostility **and** confrontation with the Arabs.

For this, those who determine Israel's policy should do just one thing: they should renounce Israel's plans for annexing the lands it captured by force and should **recognize** the rights of the Arab people of Palestine to create their own State. Success in the settlement of the problem and the security of Israel will depend on what underlies its policy-annexationist territorial ambitions or peace.

“From time to time, in Israel and in certain Western capitals, there is a reversion to the idea of separate deals with regard to the withdrawal of the occupying forces from various parts of the Arab territories they have occupied in isolation from a comprehensive solution of the problem. But those ideas are clearly designed—erroneously, of **course**—to make the Arab peoples forget their just demands. The partisans of such a tactic in certain capitals are lauding it to the skies and calling it—but, obviously, it is a matter of a misunderstanding—a ‘step by step approach to a settlement’, although it should properly be called a ‘tactic of proceeding step-by-step away from a settlement’.”

56. There is a special machinery, of course, which is designed to work in order to establish peace in the Middle East. This is the Geneva Peace Conference, and the Soviet Union, as one of its Co-Chairmen, proposes the resumption of its work. We, of course, have in mind serious preparation for the Conference and a serious approach to its tasks, although so far we are not entirely sure that all the participants in the Conference are aiming at the same thing.

57. The Soviet Government has consistently and actively fought for the idea of eradicating this hotbed of war in the Middle East and eliminating the cause of tension in this area on the basis of the relevant United Nations decisions, within the framework of the Geneva Peace Conference. The preservation of a situation fraught with unresolved problems in the Middle East is advantageous only to those hostile to the easing of international tension and those who are interested in international adventurism, which carries with it **the** danger of new conflicts and new wars.

58. For us Soviet people, war is no abstract concept. We only recently, on 9 May, marked the thirtieth anniversary of the victory in the great patriotic war. In the course of that war, the Soviet nations lost more than 20 million people. Thousands of our towns and villages were destroyed by the Fascist invaders. Now, remembering what incalculable

disasters and sufferings were caused to the Soviet people and to the other peoples of the world by the Second World War, **the** Soviet Government and the people of our country are determined not to permit the outbreak of a new world **conflict**, the consequences of which could be ruinous to the whole of **mankind**. To the task of preventing this is subordinated the whole foreign policy activity of the Soviet Union, based on the programme of peace proclaimed at the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

59. New confirmation of the peace-loving intentions and efforts of the Soviet Union is provided by its appeal to the peoples, parliaments and Governments, adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Government of the Soviet Union on 9 May, on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the ending of the Second World War. This appeal states:

“The Soviet people, the Soviet State, which bore the fundamental **brunt** of the clash with fascism, once again declares its firm intention to do everything in its power, along with other nations and States, to exclude war from the life of mankind. Expressing the will and the fierce desire of all Soviet people, we shall strive to see that there is full and comprehensive confirmation, in the practice of international relations, of the principles of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems, the guaranteeing of the irreversibility of the process of international detente, the limitation and halting of the arms race in all its forms, unswerving progress towards general and complete disarmament, the liquidation of existing hotbeds of threats of war, with unflinching acknowledgement and respect of the right of every people to independence and equal security, the creation of a regional and general system of security and equal co-operation among States, the comprehensive development of mutually advantageous relations in the economic field and in the fields of science, technology and culture, with the observance of the undoubted right of every country to dispose of its natural resources and to protect its laws and customs, the ensuring of real guarantees for effective and equal participation of all countries and peoples in world policies; the elimination of **neo-colonialism** and all kinds of discrimination against any countries, the creation of an international climate where potential aggressors, those who have an interest in and a taste for adventurism and sabre-rattling, will meet decisive and universal resistance, and an atmosphere in which security and the assurance of a peaceful future will in fact be within the range of all peoples and countries.*”

We, the Soviet people, note with great satisfaction that all peace-loving countries in the world have responded to this appeal of the Soviet Union positively and with great attention.

60. The Soviet delegation has attentively studied the report of the Secretary-General on UNDOF. We would like to make some comments on the report and the Force operations with regard to the observation of disengagement.

61. The USSR delegation would like first of all to draw the attention of the Council to the important warning contained in paragraph 35 of the report to the effect that

“the present quiet [in the Israel-Syria sector] is a precarious one. The Disengagement Agreement.. is not a peace agreement but only a step towards a just and durable peace on the basis of Security Council resolution 338 (1973). Until further progress can be made towards the achievement of such a just and durable peace, the situation in the Israel-Syria sector, and indeed in the Middle East as a whole, will remain unstable and potentially dangerous.**

This assessment given by the Secretary-General of the situation in the Middle East reflects the actual state of affairs in this area and warrants the most serious scrutiny and attention from the Security Council.

62. The report of the Secretary-General makes it clear that Israel, in defiance of the decisions of the Council, still continues to discriminate against certain contingents of UNDOF, both in the Israel-Syria sector and, as we know, in the Egypt-Israel sector, and is limiting the freedom of movement of the personnel of these contingents in Arab territory occupied by Israel forces. Thus, it is not only undermining the well-known decisions of principle of the Security Council but is also doing great damage to the **effectiveness** of the operations of **the** United Nations forces. Decisive measures should be taken to see that these illegal actions on the part of Israel are ended.

63. In the report, unfortunately, reference is generally made to the lack of progress in talks with the parties with regard to the carrying out of joint work to clear mines from the area of operation of the United Nations forces. There is hardly any need here to mention the fact that such an impermissible delay with regard to clearing mines is posing a threat to the life of the Syrian civilian population living in this area, and also to the soldiers and officers of UNDOF. It considerably reduces the effectiveness of the operations of the Force in its observation of the disengagement. We must demand from Israel that it cease its sabotage in this matter and that it co-operate with the Force in clearing the disengagement zone, which was under Israeli occupation, of Israeli mines. As representative of the Soviet Union, I take pleasure in pointing out, as is made clear in paragraph 14 of the report of the Secretary-General, that sappers from the friendly country of socialist Poland, at the risk

of their own lives, have been carrying out and continue to carry out very remarkable work in clearing mines from **the zone in which the Force is operating**. We cannot help thinking that **other** contingents of the Force also should take **part in these** mine-clearing operations.

64. The USSR delegation notes with satisfaction the point made in the Secretary-General's report to the effect that the expenditures for the Force have been kept within the limits of appropriations approved by the General Assembly, and that in the future these expenditures will not exceed the appropriations earmarked. At the same time, members of the Security Council are entitled to expect that in the disbursement of funds for the Force, the Secretariat and **the** Command of the Force will be guided by Security Council resolution 362 (1974) with regard to maximum economy of resources.

65. Mr. **SALAZAR** (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, it **is** a particular pleasure for my delegation to **associate** itself with the representatives who preceded me in expressing our satisfaction at seeing **you** presiding over our meetings. That satisfaction **is** all the greater since this is the first time your country has presided over the Security Council, and the first time that it has done so in the person of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. In addition to **my** delegation's tribute, I hope you will accept my personal tribute also. I wish likewise to express our gratitude to Mr. Jackson, who has conducted **the informal** consultations of the Council.

66. Similarly, we wish to express our appreciation to Mr. Louis de Guiringaud, representative of France, who in an outstanding manner and with characteristic skill conducted the proceedings of the Council during **April**.

67. **Once again this** lofty body must pronounce itself on the subject of world peace and security, which **is** the fundamental reason for its existence.

68. In fact, the precarious situation in the Middle East has been a permanent concern of the Council **and its members**, whose delicate responsibility it is to exert every effort to consolidate harmony among peoples. The stationing of UNDOF in the **area of conflict** **is** an unquestionable proof of that attitude.

69. The specific item we are dealing **with** has been the subject of a detailed report by the **Secretary-General** which emphasizes that the efforts made by the Council have **been** gradually bearing fruit in the maintenance of peace, which **is** the primary aim. To this end, we must in justice **recognize** that both Israel and Syria have contributed, for they have **'created the necessary climate of tranquillity in the area of operation**.

70. The draft resolution we have just adopted renews the mandate of UNDOF for an additional period of

six months. My delegation cast a positive vote because we have committed ourselves, and do commit ourselves, to any decision or action intended to bring about the complete implementation of Security Council resolution 338 (1973):

71. Despite every effort, the present quiet is precarious and **the** situation remains unstable and dangerous, as the Secretary-General states in his report. This causes us anxiety, since what happens in the Middle East is of concern to ail mankind, because the existing tension may sow the seeds of greater evils for the imperatives of peace and justice in the world. Therefore my delegation wishes again to insist that **the** parties involved in the conflict continue their efforts to implement as early as possible the commitment contained in resolution 338 (1973), to which I have referred, it being understood that, while that may require some sacrifice because of the delicate interests involved in the conflict, **the** demonstration of their will for **peace** will win the gratitude of the international community.

72. This is a propitious opportunity to again express to the Secretary-General our admiration for his vigilant attitude concerning peace that has found expression on the many occasions when he has had to intervene so that the aspiration for peace may become a reality.

73. My delegation also wishes to express its gratitude to the Governments of Austria, Canada, Peru and Poland, whose invaluable co-operation has enabled UNDOF to discharge the delicate responsibility assigned to it. We must also express appreciation to Colonel Hannes Phiiipp of Austria, the **officer-in-charge** of the Force, and to its military and civilian staff.

74. Lastly, my delegation considers that its **affirmative** vote, on the draft resolution we have adopted once again expresses my country's unswerving faith in the Security Council and in the United Nations as the best instrument for peace.

75. Mr. de GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all may I in turn say how very much my delegation appreciates the honour you **confer on** us by personally conducting our work during this month in which it is your country's turn to preside over the Security Council. The brilliant reputation you enjoy because of the eminent part you have played in other forums as Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guyana has made us appreciate your presence ail the more.- We are certain that under your presidency, and guided by your experience in international affairs, the Council will do useful and constructive work.

76. Before coming to the subject of our meeting, may I also express my gratitude to those who have mentioned the French presidency last month. In

this connexion, Mr. President, I wish to express special gratitude to you for the particularly kind words you addressed to me. During our presidency last month our burden was not really great; nor, therefore, was our merit.

77. The resolution we have adopted responds to the immediate requirements of a situation **characterized** by great uncertainties. The renewal for six months of the mandate of UNDOF has been accepted- by the two Governments directly concerned. This is a move in the right direction and we are bound to **emphasize** its merits and importance. But, at the same time, we consider that this wise decision is not an end in itself. While removing the most visible threat for the next six months, it does not bear on the substance of the problem nor on means to a solution. That is why the resolution includes a provision for the implementation of Security Council resolution 338 (1973). Both must be linked. As the Secretary-General indeed points out in his report, the presence of the Force is essential to maintain calm and to create a situation which will promote peace efforts. But at the same time he **emphasizes** that as long as there is no progress toward the achievement of that peace the situation will remain profoundly unstable and dangerous.

78. The renewal of the mandate of UNDOF-as, last month, that of UNEF-represents a manifestation of good will and hope at which we must naturally rejoice. It is also fitting to pay a tribute to the countries that have thus offered proof of their confidence in the efforts under way to seek the means for a just and lasting settlement. But obviously we must not disappoint that confidence. Despite the time that has elapsed since the Geneva Conference was opened a year and a half ago and since the Disengagement Agreements were concluded, it appears all is not yet lost. But what would happen if the **difficulties** encountered were to delay further the resumption of negotiations?

79. In this respect, Israel, which continues to occupy Arab territories, has particular responsibilities. Therefore it is up to that country clearly to manifest its will to negotiate and to contribute by appropriate gestures to the creation of an atmosphere which will make real progress possible.

80. The creation of this atmosphere apart, when one goes to the substance of the matter, as we must necessarily do unless we are to condemn ourselves to failure sooner or later, one observation stands out: the three conditions for lasting peace cannot be dissociated, namely, withdrawal from the occupied territories, due account of the right of the Palestinian people to their own country and recognition of the right of all States in the region to live in peace within boundaries that are themselves secure, **recognized** and guaranteed. The settlement of these various requirements and their **synchronization** are

complex; but, whatever the procedures taken or the stages of the process, it is on those requirements that the settlement must be built. Without taking sides over the ways or- means, and prompted -essentially by a feeling of urgency, we therefore express the hope that as soon as possible the conditions will be met for a resumption of the Geneva Conference and for genuine negotiations so that the real problems will be finally dealt with.

81. In conclusion, I wish once again to pay a tribute to the manner in which the Secretary-General and his immediate assistants, as well as UNDOF and the contingents which constitute it fulfilled the **difficult** task entrusted to them within their respective spheres of responsibility. They are distinguished witnesses to the indispensable role of the United Nations in the quest for peace.

82. Mr. TCHERNOUCHTENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, permit me first of all to congratulate you upon **your** assumption of the presidency of the Security Council and extend to you, an important statesman and Minister for Foreign Affairs of -Guyana, our gratitude that you found it possible to come to New York in order to conduct the proceedings of the Security Council. We should like also to congratulate the representative of your country, Mr. Jackson, who skilfully and tactfully did a tremendous amount of work in preparing for the meeting of the Security Council this month. The Byelorussian delegation, like many other Members of the Organization, very highly appreciates the positive role played by Guyana as a non-aligned State and its great contribution to the strengthening of peace and general security. We should like also to express our gratitude to the representative of France, Mr. de Guiringaud, President of the Council for April, and to his deputy, Mr. Lecompt.

83. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR voted in favour of the draft resolution, and my delegation based itself on the premise that the parties, as appears clearly from the report of the Secretary-General, confirm the need for maintaining UNDOF for another period of six months. At the same time, it should be pointed out that the new extension of the mandate of UNDOF in that area should be used to the utmost to make progress towards the speedy attainment of a comprehensive political settlement in the Middle East.

84. However, we cannot fail to see that in that area there is still a complex and explosive situation which is dangerous to the cause of peace and that the position of Israel, which has occupied Arab territory, is very provocative **and** hinders a comprehensive settlement. The fault lies entirely with Israel for the fact that so far there has been no progress towards a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

85. The Byelorussian SSR has repeatedly stated and considers it necessary to stress once again that a settlement in the Middle East can only be achieved by a solution of such fundamental problems as the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories they have occupied and the ensuring of the lawful rights of the people of Palestine, including its right to its own statehood. Apart from this, the right to existence and to development of all States in the Middle East, including Israel, should be guaranteed.

86. As for the means of reaching a solution to the Middle East problem, my delegation supports the very well-founded idea that it is precisely the Geneva Conference which is the most appropriate forum for this purpose. The resumption of the work of that Conference **at an early date** is favoured by all countries which have a sincere interest in the firm and lasting establishment of peace in the Middle East. The convening of that Conference at an early date must be accompanied by serious preparation.

87. As for the report of the Secretary-General, the Byelomssian delegation would like to point out the positive role played by the Force in the **Israel-Syria** sector. Particularly I should like to associate myself with delegations that have stressed the **selfless** heroism displayed by the Polish contingent in its performance of the task of mine-clearing in that area.

88. Furthermore, we should like to point out the following. First, as emerges clearly from the report, because of the attitude of the Israeli aggressors there is still discrimination against certain contingents of the Force. This lessens the effectiveness of the operations being carried out by the Force and all measures must be taken to put an end to this abnormal situation. Secondly, my delegation believes that any decisions with regard to the contingents of the Force, including questions of their rotation, should be settled with the knowledge and consent of the Security Council. Thirdly, we should like to express the hope that the United Nations Secretariat will devote the most serious attention to the problem of maximum economy in the use of funds for the United Nations forces in the Middle East.

89. We have all witnessed the fact that international **détente** and peace are becoming ever more durable and all countries have a vital interest in this development. At an international meeting of peace partisans to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the victory over fascism in the Second World War, which took place in the middle of May at Minsk, the capital of the Byelorussian SSR, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia, **P. M. Masherov**, welcoming the participants in that meeting, stressed that "right now there is practically no continent, no part of the world, where heartening moves have not taken place, moves

in the direction of peace and social progress". He pointed out that "the positions" of the Arab States which are struggling for a just cause are being strengthened". In his statement, Mr. Masherov also declared:

"International detente is now dawning over the world. The gloom of the cold war caused by imperialist reaction is being gradually dispelled. Recent years, in this regard, have been particularly noteworthy. The Programme of Peace proclaimed by the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and actively supported by fraternal socialist countries struggling for peace on all continents, has been consistently implemented."

90. It is with a feeling of tremendous satisfaction that the Byelomssian people, like all peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the whole of progressive mankind, has marked the thirtieth anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism. In this regard, we cannot fail to agree with the idea which is being expressed in connexion with this anniversary, that the United Nations itself emerged and was **born** out of that victory, as is wholly and fully confirmed by the whole history of the creation of the **Organization** and the provisions of its Charter. On this important date, the thirtieth anniversary of that crucial victory over fascism, I consider it necessary, on behalf of the Government of the Byelorussian SSR, to state our unswerving will to see to it that everything be done within the framework of the United Nations for the further strengthening of peace and universal Security. In this regard, we should like especially to stress the tremendous **international** significance of the appeal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government to peoples, parliaments and Governments on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism.

91. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, at the very outset, the Tanzanian delegation wishes to join the preceding speakers in expressing our satisfaction at seeing you, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of a very friendly and dynamic non-aligned country, personally presiding over the deliberations of the Council. As a close and esteemed friend of my country and myself personally, you might wish me to be more modest in my compliments to you. This, however, cannot prevent us from putting on record here the very close collaboration and friendship I personally, and my delegation as a whole, have enjoyed and continue to enjoy with you and the Guyanese delegation. In all our dealings, whether in international forums like this one or in the field of bilateral relations between our two countries, I have always had the greatest satisfaction from, and admiration for, your talents, warmth and dedication.

We consider that your capabilities eloquently represent the gifts **and** resourcefulness of the great Guyanese people. We are inestimably proud of the close and flourishing ties between our two countries, ties which we so greatly cherish. There is not doubt that the relations existing between the Guyanese and Tanzanian delegations to the United Nations are the epitome of the excellent relations between our two countries.

92. I should like, Mr. President, to pay tribute to the representative of Guyana, Mr. Jackson, who in your absence occupied the office of the presidency of the Council with distinction. His skilful conduct of the negotiations on the resolution under consideration is itself testimony of his outstanding capabilities and leadership.

93. I **also** wish to extend my compliments to your predecessor representative of France, for the successful conduct of his duties as President of the Council last month, and join my colleagues, Mr. Richard of the United Kingdom, and Mr. Malik of the Soviet Union, in extending to him our **contratulations** on his promotion. May I also place on record our appreciation of the important contribution made by the deputy representative of France, Mr. Lecompt, last month.

94. The draft resolution we have just adopted and resolution **368 (1975)**, which the Council adopted in April [**1821st meeting**]**—on** both of which my delegation cast a positive vote—deal with two aspects of essentially the same question: the Middle East problem. What, therefore, my delegation said in explaining its vote on resolution **368 (1975)** applies equally to the resolution we have just adopted.

95. We have voted in favour of the draft resolution for the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF, on the recommendation of the Secretary-General, in the hope that the extension will offer a further opportunity for a peaceful solution to the problem. As the Secretary-General has said in his report, the quiet which UNDOF has managed to maintain in the **Israel-Syria** sector is a precarious one, for the facts are that there is no **peace** in the Middle East, and there will be no just and durable peace except on the basis of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

96. In this connexion, we wish, therefore, to **emphasize** the provision in the operative paragraph of the present resolution which reiterates the need for full and immediate implementation of Security Council resolution **338 (1973)**, which provides a just solution to the problem of the Middle East.

97. In particular, we wish to stress Israel's responsibility for removing the root cause of the whole Middle East question, for until Israel vacates the Arab territories which it has illegally occupied since the June

1967 war, and until the legitimate rights of the Palestinians have been **recognized** and realized, there can be no durable peace in the Middle East, and no renewal of the mandates of the United Nations forces in the area will help restore that peace.

98. The abuse of the genuine efforts of the United Nations in this respect, either by permitting undue complacency and a slackening of efforts at reaching a peaceful solution, or by taking advantage of the calm to perpetuate illegal occupation and prepare for aggressive wars, can only be perpetrated at the expense of the very peace and security we all desperately look for. We therefore hope that the time and quiet provided by the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF will be put to good use by all the parties concerned in the search for a just and durable peace in the area.

99. I cannot conclude my address without paying tribute to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts in the search for peace in the Middle East. I also wish to join my colleagues in recording my delegation's appreciation for the services in the cause of peace rendered by Colonel Philipp and the entire staff of UNDOF.

100. The PRESIDENT: I will now make a statement in my capacity as representative of GUYANA.

101. The Council, a little while ago, adopted a draft resolution, which the delegation of Guyana supported, renewing the mandate of UNDOF for a further period of six months. This extension, the second since the creation of the Force in May 1974, does, I believe, serve to remind us not only of the specific purpose for which the Force was established but, more importantly, of the urgent necessity of finding a just and durable solution to the Middle East situation, to which the Palestinian question is central.

102. As my delegation observed when the Security Council in April last [*ibid.*] agreed to the extension of the mandate of UNEF, the establishment of a United Nations peace-keeping force in the Middle East was regarded as an instrument which would contribute to the achievement of lasting peace in the area. It could not be construed as having been intended to perpetuate a division between the parties involved in the conflict, a situation which naturally could only be in the interest of the occupying forces.

103. No one can deny that the presence of UNDOF has, in broad measure, helped to interpose an uneasy quiet between the Israeli and Syrian forces. As the Secretary-General observes so succinctly in paragraph 35 of his **report,—and** my delegation wishes to commend him for that **report—“the present quiet is a precarious one”**.

104. The situation as it now exists is as unstable as it is clearly untenable. A heavy responsibility

thus devolves on those who seek to perpetuate the occupation of the territories of others and refuse to acknowledge—indeed frustrate—the legitimate rights of the dispossessed Palestinian peoples.

105. Unless and until such people approach the search for a solution in the Middle East with an attitude that is less inflexible, less intransigent, the danger of reaching the precipice which leads to renewed intensive hostilities will not be too far distant. And that danger is a real one.

106. It is in that context that my delegation has followed closely, and with the keenest interest, the efforts being made to break the apparent stalemate and to enhance the prospects for a negotiated settlement. We believe that the extension of the mandate of UNDOF provides the United Nations and all those who desire genuine peace in the Middle East an opportunity for constructive action pursuant to resolution 338 (1973)—an opportunity which should not be squandered.

107. Not only the Middle East but all the world has a direct, an immediate **and** a vital interest in the effective utilization of this period of extension in the interest of peace through conflict resolution. It would be a great mistake to believe that such periods are infinitely extensible.

108. In reiterating thanks to the Secretary-General for his admirable report and for his own untiring efforts in the cause of peace in the Middle East, **as** indeed in so many other situations, my delegation, as it did in April, notes his observation contained in paragraph 18 of his report that:

“Despite the efforts made towards resolving the question of freedom of movement, the arrangements that have been worked out still fall short of what is required and of what is provided for in the Protocol to the Agreement on Disengagement”.

109. My delegation hopes that this particular matter will soon be resolved, thus enabling the various contingents to function as an integrated military unit. No obstacles nor any pretext should be allowed to impair the effective functioning of the peace-keeping operation whose mandate the Council has just renewed in the interest of peace in the Middle East and in the entire world.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.

Notes

¹ See resolution 369 (1975).

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