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MEETING: 30 NOVEMBER 1975

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#### NOTE

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

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

## 1856th MEETING

Held in New York on Sunday, 30 November 1975, at 6 p.m.

*President:* Mr. Yakov A. MALIK  
(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

*Present:* 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/1856)

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/11883 and Add.1)

*The meeting was called to order at 6.25 p.m.*

### 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/11883 and Add.1) Add.1)**

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): As members of the Security Council know, the Secretary-General has submitted a report on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) for the period 22 May to 24 November 1975. I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the fact that in paragraph 14 of the addendum to his report the Secretary-General proposes to renew the mandate of UNDOF for a further period of six months.
2. This question was discussed in some detail by members of the Council in the course of consultations held at unofficial meetings which have lasted two days and taken up many hours. Members of the Council heard the detailed information given by the Secretary-General in connexion with his visit to the Near East. If the Secretary-General wishes to speak here he will, of course, be given the floor. If not, we shall proceed to the next stage of our work, namely

the Council's consideration of the draft resolution before it, contained in document S/11888, submitted by the following co-sponsors: Guyana, Mauritania, United Republic of Cameroon and United Republic of Tanzania.

3. This draft resolution has been presented in accordance with an agreement by members of the Council that it should be put to a vote at the very beginning of this meeting. This draft resolution is also directly related to the draft statement by the President which appears in Security Council document S/11889, and has also been submitted by the four countries which I have mentioned. As was agreed in the informal consultations among members of the Security Council on 29 and 30 November, this statement will be made by the President in oral form, without any vote being taken on it, and will be included in the records of the Council.

4. The representative of the United States has expressed a desire to speak before the vote. The representative of Guyana has also asked to be allowed to speak—obviously to introduce formally the four-Power draft resolution. The question is on whom should I call first, the representative of the United States, or the representative of Guyana who wishes to speak on behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution. With the kind permission of the representative of the United States, I shall call first on the representative of Guyana.

5. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): Mr. President, as you so correctly stated, the members of the Council have been involved in long, intensive and arduous consultations in an effort which I believe to be sincere and genuine to find common ground for a solution to the problem with which the Council is now faced. Every member of the Council has been involved in those consultations.

6. My delegation, along with the delegations of Mauritania, the United Republic of Cameroon and the United Republic of Tanzania, has taken some initiatives which we believe can command unanimous support in the Council. We have taken other initiatives which we believe and hope can command majority support in the Council.

7. As a result of those efforts, the members of the Council now have before them two documents. The

first [S/11888] contains the text of a draft resolution which, in the opinion of its sponsors, reflects to a large extent the need for Security Council action on this matter. But the draft resolution does something else as well: it attempts to take account of the differing views of various delegations expressed during our informal consultations. The second [S/11889] contains a draft statement by the President of the Council, simple in its language and clear in its terms.

8. It is, I believe, necessary to say that, for the non-aligned countries, several factors and elements are of extreme importance. The first and most obvious one is that the troops that make up UNDOF are on Syrian territory. I do not believe that that observation needs any further elaboration.

9. The second element is the shared and, I think, universal understanding of the Council that at this stage it is vitally necessary that we take action which will avoid creating an impression that the Security Council views the renewal of UNDOF's mandate as an automatic exercise. Correlative to this element would be the absolute necessity for the Council to take action in the near future—indeed, as early as possible—that will give impetus to the processes for the collective search in which the members of the Council and indeed the generality of the membership of the United Nations are now engaged for a just and lasting solution to the problem of the Middle East in which the Palestinian question is central.

10. The last and by no means the least element is the need for the Council, in recognition of the widely-expressed views of the international community, both in the United Nations and outside of it, to recognize that in pursuing that search for a just and lasting peace the representatives of the Palestinians should participate actively in those processes.

11. The draft that we have proposed reflects, I think, sentiments that the Secretary-General expressed in his recent report, that it is essential not only to maintain the quiet in the Israel-Syria sector, but also to provide an atmosphere conducive to further peace efforts and to assist in such efforts if required.

12. The draft resolution in its operative paragraphs is simple. Subparagraph (a) expresses a desire for the Council to resume consideration on a specific date, indeed a date that takes account of the time-table of action of the Council—12 January 1976; and it decides that that debate should be on the Middle East problem, including the Palestinian question, and that in that debate account should be taken of all the relevant United Nations resolutions. The formula that has been reflected in that paragraph does not reflect fully the position of the non-aligned countries; but we have included it in the spirit of compromise which has characterized many of the deliberations of the Organization since the seventh special session. We have honestly and sincerely

attempted to accommodate the views of every member of the Council in arriving at that formulation.

13. Subparagraph (b) of the operative section deals with the most important element of renewing the mandate of UNDOF for a further period of six months. We know that this is something that will be welcomed by the international community.

14. Subparagraph (c) requests the Secretary-General to keep the Council informed on further developments.

15. I would like to take this opportunity to express publicly to the Secretary-General, on behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution, our deep appreciation of his untiring and constructive efforts, generally in the cause of peace throughout the world, specifically in the search for a just solution to the Middle East situation, including the Palestinian question and for his continued devotion to the work of the Council in this exercise.

16. I believe that the draft statement speaks for itself and, therefore, does not need any lengthy introduction. I would therefore end by commending to the members of the Council the adoption of the draft resolution and the draft statement.

17. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I call on the representative of the United States for an explanation of vote before the vote.

18. Mr. MOYNIHAN (United States of America): Mr. President, I should like to express my gratitude to you for the opportunity I now have to be the first of what I am sure will prove to be all of the other members of the Council to express their appreciation to my brother from Guyana and his colleagues from Mauritania, the United Republic of Tanzania and the United Republic of Cameroon, for the valiant efforts which they have made to bring about this result. It required a great deal of them and was an expression of their commitment to the work of the Council, which we all share, and their performance these past three days we certainly admire.

19. With respect to the draft resolution before us, the United States wishes to make clear that we are not agreeing to this draft resolution, which includes a provision calling for a Security Council debate on the situation in the Middle East, out of any desire for such a debate in this setting, much less out of any intention, howsoever remote, of seeing a transfer of the negotiations between the two parties to the UNDOF arrangement to the Council. We are agreeing solely out of deference to the right of the Council to take up any matter it desires to take up.

20. We consider that this draft resolution is taken without prejudice whatsoever to the Geneva formula or to the negotiations by the parties through intermediaries.

21. With respect to the matter of relevant United Nations resolutions, the United States considers that only Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) are in fact relevant to the situation in the Middle East.

22. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): One of the members of the Council has requested that the draft resolution submitted by four sponsors be put to the vote. Therefore the draft resolution S/11888 will now be put to the vote.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

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

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

23. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): Now, in accordance with the agreement reached at the consultations between members of the Council, I shall make a statement on behalf of the majority of its members. As I said in my prefatory comments, the text of the statement is to be found in document S/11889. It reads as follows:

“It is the understanding of the majority of the Security Council that when it reconvenes on 12 January 1976 in accordance with paragraph (a) of resolution 381 (1975) the representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization will be invited to participate in the debate.”

24. I call on the Secretary-General.

25. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have taken note with great satisfaction of the decision of the Council to prolong the mandate of UNDOF for a further six-month period.

26. As I have stated in my report, it is my considered view that UNDOF continues to be essential not only to maintain quiet in the Israel-Syria sector but also to provide an atmosphere conducive to further negotiating efforts. It was in this spirit that I undertook a journey to the area just prior to the Council's debate. It is, I believe, also in this spirit that the members of the Council have persevered through three long days and nights of consultations in an effort to find a means of prolonging the mandate. That effort has now been crowned with success.

27. I wish to take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to all members of the Council, and especially to the sponsors of the resolution, for their tireless efforts which finally led to this positive result. The failure of those efforts would in my view have been a most serious development not only for peace in the Middle East but also for the United Nations.

28. I shall of course immediately take the necessary measures for the continued functioning of UNDOF. I shall also continue my efforts, in co-operation with the parties, to assist in the search for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

29. Mr. LAI Ya-li (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The Chinese Government's position on the Middle East question was stated in a comprehensive way in the speech of the Chairman of the Chinese delegation during the general debate<sup>2</sup> and in the speech of the Vice-Chairman of the Chinese delegation during the debate on the Palestinian question<sup>3</sup> at the current session of the General Assembly. We are in favour of the proposal made by the Arab country concerned and some non-aligned States for a Security Council debate on the Middle East problem, including the Palestinian question in January 1976, and we are in favour of inviting the representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to participate in this debate.

30. With respect to the reference to “all relevant United Nations resolutions” contained in subparagraph (a) of the draft resolution, the Chinese delegation has stated its position on certain of these resolutions on a number of occasions in the past, which is a matter of record. I am not going to repeat it here.

31. With regard to the question of UNDOF, we have always held a different position in principle. Based on the above position, the Chinese delegation did not participate in the vote on the draft resolution.

32. Mr. KANE (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my first words will be to convey to both you and the Secretary-General the warm and sincere congratulations of my delegation for the unremitting efforts you have made over the last three days to find a solution to the problem now before the Security Council. Thanks to your wise mediation and the positive attitude of members of the Council, the latter has just adopted the draft resolution renewing the mandate of UNDOF.

33. The number of meetings devoted to studying this question indicates the serious and potentially dangerous nature of the situation prevailing in the Middle East, which requires swift and positive action on the part of the Council in seeking a just and lasting solution to the problem in the region. The reason it has been possible to adopt this resolution is the understanding and the wisdom evinced by the people and Government of Syria. Such a renewal of the mandate, while indeed necessary in a continued effort to find a just and lasting solution to the Middle East problem should not be a means of allowing Israel to maintain a *status quo* which enables it illegally to continue to occupy part of Syrian territory.

34. The Security Council cannot renew the mandate indefinitely if the Israeli Government does not intend to avail itself of these renewals to work towards justice and right. The fact that under the terms of the present resolution the Council has decided to meet again on 12 January 1976 and has requested representatives of the PLO to participate in that debate is an important step which supplements the decision taken by the General Assembly in resolution 3375 (XXX). It would be illusory to try to settle the Middle East problem without the participation of the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people. Indeed, one cannot cure a tree by killing its roots. The crisis that the Middle East has been experiencing for almost 28 years now would not have had any *raison d'être* if the Palestinian people had not been illegally chased out of their homeland.
35. The firm and logical attitude adopted by the Government of Syria, which linked the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF to the convening of the Council in January 1976, with the effective participation of the representatives of the Palestinian people, is eloquent proof of the solidarity of all the Arab countries concerning the national liberation struggle being waged by the Palestinian people under the direction of the PLO.
36. Resolution 3375 (XXX), adopted with the votes of an overwhelming majority of the General Assembly, on the proposal of the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, is striking proof of the fact that all the Arab countries and the international community share the view that it is necessary for the Palestinian people to participate in all efforts designed to find a just and lasting solution to the Middle East problem. To attempt to ignore that evident fact is certainly to seek to defy the United Nations and the international community. The peoples that love justice, freedom and peace can no longer accept a situation in which a minority, because it regards itself as sufficiently powerful, can seek to impose the law of the jungle on the rest of the international community. Such an attitude cannot be accepted by the United Nations, which draws its strength from the defence of justice and right.
37. Before concluding, I should like once again to express my delegation's warm congratulations to the Secretary-General, who, throughout these past few days, has spared no effort to bring the parties to the conflict to a measure of agreement satisfying the entire international community.
38. Mr. OYONO (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): As one of the sponsors of the draft resolution which the Security Council has just adopted, with almost all of its members voting in favour, the delegation of the United Republic of Cameroon was pleased to be able to reaffirm its position by casting an affirmative vote on the draft resolution, concerning the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF for another period of six months.
39. That is an important decision which falls within the framework of the major concerns of the Council—that is, the need to seek ways and means for finding an over-all, just and lasting solution to the Middle East crisis and to give a new thrust to that search.
40. It has become a truism—but a tragic and painful truism—that the Middle East crisis causes a constant state of dangerous pressure and tension that threatens international peace and security. Indeed, despite the agreement between Egypt and Israel on the Sinai concluded on 4 September 1975 [S/11818/Add.1 to 5], which my delegation regards as an important step on the thorny road towards peace in that region, the situation on the Golan Heights remains unstable and can at any time place in jeopardy all the efforts and all the progress made so far.
41. It is true, as the excellent report by the Secretary-General brings out, that the situation in UNDOF's zone of operation has remained calm, since Syria and Israel have continued to respect the cease-fire as well as the agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces of 31 May 1974 [S/11302/Add.1].
42. But we agree with the Secretary-General that it is a precarious calm because the Disengagement Agreement is not a peace agreement: it is only a step towards a just and lasting peace, on the basis of Security Council resolution 338 (1973). It was precisely to consolidate that step and continue that movement towards peace that UNDOF was established. Its role is to maintain calm on the Golan Heights in order that an atmosphere propitious to the opening of negotiations may be created. UNDOF is a catalyst for peace efforts, but it cannot become a substitute for such efforts, nor can it serve as an alibi or a pretext for Israel to perpetuate its illegal occupation of territory of the Syrian State.
43. We are therefore opposed to a mere automatic renewal of UNDOF's mandate. In the circumstances, such an automatic renewal would serve Israel's interests and would delay indefinitely the satisfaction of Syria's just claims, while at the same time aggravating the feeling of frustration in the region.
44. That is why my delegation is pleased that the Security Council, while agreeing once again to renew UNDOF's mandate for six months, has provided that during that same period it will examine the Middle East question, including the Palestinian problem, in substance.
45. In that respect, we repeat that there can be no lasting solution of the Middle East problem without the participation of the PLO, which has been overwhelmingly recognized by the members of the international community as the authentic representative of the Palestinian people. To deny that necessary condi-

tion is to demonstrate a lack of political realism. The Palestinian people must be enabled to return to its homeland, Palestine, and to recover its property; it must be allowed to exercise its right to self-determination without foreign interference; it must be allowed to exercise its right to sovereignty over its territory.

46. That is why my delegation fully approves of the statement you have just made, Mr. President, on behalf of the Security Council, regarding the meaning of subparagraph (a) of the operative part of the draft resolution the Council adopted earlier in this meeting—that is, that the representatives of the PLO will effectively participate in the Council's discussions of the Palestinian problem in January 1976, in the spirit of General Assembly resolution 3375 (XXX), to which my delegation gave its full support.

47. In conclusion, I should like to take this opportunity to express my delegation's deep gratitude to the Secretary-General for the untiring efforts he has constantly made for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We wish to pay a tribute too to his distinguished assistants, including Major-General Hannes Philipp.

48. Mr. ZAHAWIE (Iraq): The Security Council has just decided to renew for the third time the mandate of UNDOF. The occupation of the Arab territories, meanwhile, by the Israel forces of aggression continues well into its eighth year. Israel continues to implement its policy of colonization of the occupied territories by the establishment of new settlements and townships, changing the geographic features and the demographic composition of those territories.

49. The extent and evidence of this policy of settlement and annexation are amply documented in the last report presented by the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories. That report, as I said, contains ample evidence concerning all the occupied territories. I shall limit myself to citing quotations from that report which deal with the Golan Heights. I shall quote from the report, which in turn quotes Israeli sources.

“On 26 August, the *Jerusalem Post* reported that there were now 20 settlements in the Golan Heights. On the same day Ma'ariv reported a statement by Mr. I. Galili, Minister without Portfolio, reassuring representatives of the settlers in the Golan Heights that the Government of Israel had not changed its attitude and that it was ‘determined that no settlement be removed’.”<sup>4</sup>

“On 18 February, the *Jerusalem Post* reported a statement by the Prime Minister, Mr. Rabin, during a visit to the Golan Heights, to the effect that ‘Israel did not build settlements in the Golan

Heights in order to evacuate them or to create a situation in which these settlements would not be part of the Jewish State’. According to the same report Mr. Admoni, Director of the Settlement Department of the Zionist Federation, stated that £1 250 million had been spent so far on the ‘non-military infrastructure in the Golan Heights’.”<sup>5</sup>

My delegation continues to find it inconceivable that the Council, while renewing the mandates of the Force in the area, should take no action whatsoever to prevent Israel from pursuing its flagrant and totally illegal policies of the settlement and annexation of the occupied territories.

50. If the Council truly expects a just and lasting peace to be established in the area, it must surely realize the consequences of the Israeli policy of expansionism. Realizing these consequences, the Council must surely also, in the primary interest of maintaining peace and security, take clear and unequivocal measures to put an end to the Zionist policies of expansion.

51. The Council, in our view, has again failed to do so on the occasion of yet another extension of the presence of UNDOF. My delegation has therefore again abstained from participating in the voting which just took place on the adoption of the draft resolution.

52. Having said that, we take note, however, of the fact that for the first time in renewing the mandate of a Force in the area, the Council has given some indication that it intends to concern itself in the near future with the substance and with the root cause of the problem, namely, the so-called situation in the Middle East and the question of Palestine, which is indeed the real and primary problem. My delegation devoutly hopes that the Council would seize that opportunity in dealing with the problem to redress the neglect it has shown towards the question of Palestine and the great injustice it had dealt to the people of Palestine in reducing them and their national cause to nothing more than a problem of refugees, nameless refugees at that, for such was the deplorable stand taken by the Council in its iniquitous resolution 242 (1967).

53. The General Assembly, however, has shown that the world has awakened to the real issue. It has adopted resolutions which would redress the injustice and the wrongs inflicted upon the Palestinians since the partition of Palestine. It is for the Council now to take note of those General Assembly resolutions and to act upon them as the basis for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the area.

54. Mr. SALAZAR (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Only after extremely lengthy and delicate informal consultations has it been possible for the Security Council to agree on the text of the draft resolution which has just been adopted.

55. My delegation would not like to let this opportunity pass without expressing admiration to the Secretary-General for his efforts in the negotiations which culminated in the adoption of the draft resolution. Of extreme importance were the direct contacts that he had with the interested parties in his recent visit to the Middle East and also the material that he made available to the members of the Security Council in his oral reports and in the written report which we have before us.

56. In order to reach agreement on a draft resolution that would be acceptable to the members of the Council, in the course of the informal consultations that took place, difficult and complex matters arose with respect to which there was a degree of discrepancy. In view of the complexity of the problem of the Middle East, it is not unusual that such discrepancies did exist. The entire situation cannot only produce controversies among the parties directly concerned, but also among those which view the problem from afar.

57. What is important for us—as members of the Security Council, the body called upon, by its very nature, to play an important role in the Middle East—is the fact that despite the different approaches that each may have to the question, it is still possible to find broad areas of understanding which allow for the adoption of sensible resolutions in order that the action of the Council may, as it should, lead to responsible and well-balanced initiatives.

58. Therefore, when controversial points arise in the discussions of the Council, an attempt must be made to determine their proper role in the context of the problem of the Middle East. In the matter which is directly before us now, which deals with the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF for an additional period of six months, we should perhaps remember the role that the Council itself has to play, because after all, and indeed above all, the Council on this occasion is performing an act which generates certain consequences, an act which is related to other acts of the same nature, that it has taken in the past, an act which should be in accordance with its earlier action.

59. This comment leads us to examine the true nature of the action deriving from the Council's latest resolution. The action that it has taken today cannot be separated from the background which caused it to be taken. It stems unequivocally from the Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces [*ibid.*]. The Agreement itself, which is not restricted by any deadline, was the result of the sovereign will of the two signatory parties and represents a commitment to be observed by both parties. In this connexion, let us recall the final paragraph of the Protocol to the Agreement [*ibid.*], which reads:

“Israel and Syria will support a resolution of the United Nations Security Council which will provide for the UNDOF contemplated by the agreement. The initial authorization will be for six months subject to renewal by further resolution of the Security Council.”

This implies that since the Disengagement Agreement was not conditioned by any given deadline, the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF is something to which the Security Council must agree whenever it expires, although such decisions cannot jeopardize the Agreement nor subject it to conditions. This emerges clearly from the very text of the Agreement.

60. My delegation, in casting a favourable vote for the draft resolution which has just been adopted, did so because it felt that the Force should be maintained as an important factor which can create conditions—if I may use the same words which the Secretary-General used in paragraph 33 of his report, “towards a just and durable peace on the basis of resolution 338 (1973)”.

61. My delegation has also supported the decision to have the Security Council, as an expression of its concern with the problem of the Middle East, reconvene on 12 January 1976. My delegation attaches particular importance to the reference which has been made to the fact that at that meeting the Council will take into account all relevant United Nations resolutions. And as a body which is not a subsidiary of any other body in the Organization, it is clear that the frame of reference to be taken into account in such debates should emerge from the past decisions of the Council itself, which were based on a desire to find a just settlement for the controversies in the region. No one can deny the fact that the main resolutions adopted by the Council in its sincere desire to find a settlement in the Middle East are resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

62. Although my delegation will no longer have a seat on the Council when the debate on the Middle East envisaged in the resolution is resumed, we hope that this opportunity will be used to the full, and that the Council, guided by its resolutions, and with its best efforts, will help to create a climate conducive to the achievement of the deeply desired and sought-after peace for that region.

63. In conclusion Mr. President, with regard to the statement which you yourself made [*see para. 23 above*], my delegation would like to state for the record that it did not join the majority which you mentioned.

64. Mr. SAITO (Japan): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution which extends the mandate of UNDOF for a further six months.

65. First, we wish to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for helping to obtain the consent

of the two Governments concerned to this welcome action. The Secretary-General's visit to the Middle East played an important part in making possible the extension of UNDOF, and encourages us to believe that the additional time thus provided for negotiations will facilitate progress towards a just and lasting settlement. At the same time, my delegation wishes to express its profound gratitude at the incessant efforts made by the Secretary-General for having brought about the agreement since his return from an intensive and extensive negotiations tour in the Middle East.

66. On this occasion I should also like to pay our high respects and express deep appreciation for the painstaking efforts made by the non-aligned members of the Council during the informal consultations which greatly contributed to give us this resolution, and also to the efforts made by Mr. Moynihan and his colleagues of the United States of America, to try to come to a general agreement by overcoming the difficulties they faced.

67. As we have stated on a number of occasions when the mandates of UNDOF and the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) have been extended, my delegation is convinced that the extra time gained must not be wasted, and further negotiating efforts should be made. We are in full agreement, therefore, with the Secretary-General's view, as stated in paragraph 33 of his report, that these extensions are only "a step towards a just and durable peace on the basis of resolution 338 (1973). Unless further progress can be made towards the objective set forth in that resolution, the situation in the area will be unstable and, with the passage of time, increasingly dangerous". Thus, the Government of Japan has consistently taken the position that a just and lasting peace should be achieved in the Middle East as soon as possible, through the speedy and complete implementation of Security Council resolution 338 (1973).

68. It is also the considered view of my Government that recognition of and respect for the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, on the basis of equality with their neighbours and in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, are essential for the achievement of peace in the Middle East.

69. My delegation wishes to emphasize, therefore, its hope that the momentum will be retained for the achievement of an over-all settlement in the Middle East, and that the negotiating process will show definite progress during the coming six months.

70. Today the Council has taken its decision to reconvene on 12 January 1976 to continue the discussions in depth on the Middle East problem, including the Palestinian question. In this connexion I wish to put on record that my delegation was of the opinion that Council resolution 338 (1973) should have been

referred to in the present resolution as the basis for the Council's debate, but it did not insist on this point in order that a general agreement on the resolution could be reached. We hope that the discussions in the Council in January will be conducted in a constructive and conciliatory manner, which is the only means by which a just and lasting settlement will be achieved.

71. In conclusion, we wish to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General and his advisers for the successful operation of UNDOF, to the Governments which have contributed the contingents, to the military observers of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization assigned to the Force, to the Chief Co-ordinator of the United Nations Peace-keeping Missions in the Middle East, General Siilasvuo, to the Force Commander, Major-General Philipp, and to the officers and men who have effectively performed their important and difficult task.

72. Mr. de GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): First and foremost I should like to express to the Secretary-General my delegation's gratitude. The efforts which he made during his brief but difficult mission in the Near East has made it possible for us to round a difficult corner today. No one could know what would have happened if the authority, conviction and talent of the Secretary-General had not been brought to bear on the spot up to recent days, and if since his return here he had not renewed his efforts with his customary tireless patience in order to help us find the formulas on which the text we have just adopted is based. It is only fitting that a tribute should be paid to the exceptional devotion of the Secretary-General.

73. I should also like to take this opportunity to address our thanks to the assistants of the Secretary-General, both near and far; I am referring to those in the thirty-eighth floor and to those who, on the spot, command UNDOF as well as the contingents belonging to that Force which, very often under trying circumstances, is pursuing the noble mission of preventing the ever-present possibility of a renewal of hostilities.

74. On each occasion when the mandate of UNDOF and UNEF has been renewed, my delegation has emphasized that the positive decision taken by the Council was far from being an end in itself. For a few months it removed the most immediate danger, but it did not go to the substance of the problem. The presence of the Force is essential to maintain calm and to create an atmosphere favourable to efforts towards peace, and its withdrawal because the Council was unable to renew its mandate would be disastrous. But its presence is not in itself a prime factor in the process of negotiation. Therefore, my delegation is hardly surprised when it sees an increasing loss of patience aroused by the slowing down of the peace impetus that we hoped had been set in motion almost two years ago now.

75. Undoubtedly, in the course of the intervening period some very praiseworthy efforts have been made, either individually or jointly, in order to keep up this momentum. Furthermore, results have been obtained through the disengagement agreements, notably the establishment of UNDOF. But it must be recognized that despite these interim measures, fully justified by the circumstances, the gap between the accepted principles underlying a settlement and their application has not yet perceptibly decreased. Therefore we can only regret that the provisions of United Nations resolutions relating to the settlement of the Middle East problem have not yet been implemented. We must express the hope that genuine negotiation, whatever procedures or stages this involves, should progress as rapidly as possible.

76. We accordingly find it easy to understand why Syria, although agreeing with the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF, thought it necessary to make sure that we did not lose sight of the reason for the existence of the Force. In fact all we are being asked to do, in view of the slowing down to which I just referred, is to take up the whole question again shortly to see where we stand and to give fresh impetus to peace efforts. Furthermore, it must be admitted that to turn to the Security Council to prevent stagnation is the most reasonable way in which Syria could have expressed its impatience. In this connexion, the draft resolution which we have just adopted, and which my delegation helped to draft, appears to meet Syrian aspirations.

77. In this exercise which we have been invited to undertake, we will naturally have to consider all the aspects of the question in the light of the purposes of the settlement. Most of these objectives have, in fact, already been embodied by the Council in resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Others, which have been gradually identified in the course of recent years, have not yet been formulated in a way which would make them acceptable to all the parties concerned and thus include them among the acceptable bases for a settlement. All this could be taken into account by the Council without there being any need for us now to prejudge the direction it will wish to give to its work.

78. My delegation expressed no objection to the statement which the President of the Council read out after the resolution was voted upon. However, we continue to believe that this is a procedural step which could have been settled, in accordance with normal practice, when the debate planned for January is taken up.

79. France, as it repeatedly stated, considers that the settlement should be based, firstly, on the withdrawal by Israel from the territories it occupied in 1967; secondly, on recognition of the right of the Palestinians to a homeland; and thirdly, acknowledgement of the right of every State in the area to live in peace within secure, recognized and guaranteed boundaries.

80. By approving renewal of the mandate of UNDOF for an additional period of six months, our intention is obviously not to perpetuate the *status quo*, but to ensure that the peace momentum does not, in the present circumstances, come up against obstacles whose consequences none could foresee. As the French Minister for Foreign Affairs said a short time ago, time is not on the side of peace. Syria has invited us to meet again very shortly. Let us be ready at that time to respond to the requirements of a situation which is and will remain explosive, as long as we fail to deal with the real substance of the problem.

81. Mr. MURRAY (United Kingdom): My delegation is very pleased that it has proved possible to reach agreement in the Council on the resolution which we have just adopted. Our non-aligned colleagues did indeed labour diligently.

82. My delegation voted for the draft resolution to renew the mandate of UNDOF for a further six months because we consider that the presence of the Force remains crucial at the present time, especially in view of the very delicate situation in the area.

83. At the same time we fully understand and indeed share the views of those who have pointed out that the presence of the Force in the Middle East should not be considered, or be allowed to become, an end in itself. In our view, the purpose of the Force is, first, to help maintain quiet in the Israel-Syria sector; and, second, to provide an atmosphere conducive to further peace efforts. In brief, it is not to provide a substitute for the just and lasting peace which we all seek, but to provide the conditions essential to achieving a settlement through negotiation leading to such a peace.

84. UNDOF has now been in place in the Golan for 18 months. Throughout this time it has played an essential role in reducing tensions in the area and thus providing the atmosphere conducive to further progress. In the last few months a certain amount of progress towards a settlement in the Middle East has indeed been made. It is vitally important, however, that this should now be followed up by further negotiations and that the time provided by the extension of the mandate should be used to good effect.

85. The draft resolution which we have just adopted also provides that the Security Council should meet on 12 January next year to continue its discussions on the Middle East question. We are ready to play our part in those discussions. We very much hope that the outcome of that meeting, or series of meetings, will be to provide a renewed impetus for negotiations towards an over-all settlement which we, for our part, believe must be achieved on the basis of resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

86. We do not think that it would be right at this stage for the Council to bind itself on precisely how its discussions can best be carried forward. What

is important in the view of my delegation is that the discussions shall be carried on in whatever way seems most likely to advance the negotiations themselves.

87. With regard to the statement made by yourself, Mr. President, at the beginning of this meeting, my delegation considers that in accordance with the established procedures and rules of the Council the question of participation in any meetings of the Council is a matter which has to be decided at the time of those meetings themselves.

88. In conclusion, I should like once again to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for the decisive contribution which he has made to the agreement which we have reached today and to the role which he has played and will, we hope, continue to play in advancing the cause of peace in the Middle East as a whole.

89. I should also like to offer our congratulations to the Commander and men of UNDOF as well as to those who back them up here in the Secretariat. The way in which they have continued to carry out their tasks during the last six months of the mandate does enormous credit to the Organization.

90. Mr. VINCI (Italy): In the present situation and circumstances obtaining in the Middle East area there was no doubt in our mind, as well as in the minds of others, as emerged during our informal consultations, that UNDOF has an important role to play. The extension of its mandate, therefore, was more than advisable, it is still necessary.

91. In paragraph 14 of the addendum to his last report on the Force, which we have carefully studied, the Secretary-General stressed this point. In fact, in the conclusion to that report he starts by stating: "It remains my considered opinion that the presence of UNDOF is essential not only to maintain quiet in the Israel-Syria sector but also to provide an atmosphere conducive to further negotiating efforts". That is why my delegation from the beginning of our consultations was in favour of the proposal made by the Secretary-General to extend the mandate of UNDOF for a further period of six months. We welcome, therefore, and fully support the decision taken today in this regard by the Council and we consider it, in the light of the intensive consultations we had here and the contacts with and between different capitals, to be a positive result.

92. I believe that most of the credit for this positive result must be duly given to the Secretary-General. His relentless efforts in this case, as in other cases, has increased our respect and gratitude to him personally. The mission he has undertaken in the Middle East with his usual dedication to the cause of peace, has been timely and successful. We consider that his personal action during that tour and afterwards here at Headquarters, has played a major role in obtaining the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF.

93. I should like to pay tribute at the same time to the four sponsors of the draft resolution who took the first initiative two days ago and who since then have used their good offices in order to achieve this result. The patience and understanding shown for the views put forward by the other members of the Council, including my own delegation, all along has been beyond praise. We have done our best to reciprocate in courtesy and friendship.

94. UNDOF has indeed commendably carried out its functions and met our expectations and we wish to acknowledge with gratitude and appreciation the splendid services which the United Nations observers have rendered in the area of Golan under the command of Major-General Hannes Philipp. The renewal of its mandate now decided, should not, however, and does not lead us to believe that UNDOF has in itself the power of perpetuate in the area the calm that it has so far successfully protected. We did, in fact, and always do, bear in mind, that the near future could become crucial unless some progress is achieved in the meantime on the substance of the problem. My delegation is convinced indeed that the aim of UNDOF as well as the aim of other peace-keeping forces is not to keep and protract the present situation further than necessary but rather to help to bring the parties concerned closer together and to promote the climate and conditions best suited to allow them and encourage them to proceed with goodwill and more determination along the road to peace.

95. This is an urgent matter on which I believe the Security Council is entitled, after all the attempts made through the years, to request a better understanding from the main parties concerned of the feelings and expectations of the international community as a whole, which I would translate in three words—peace with justice.

96. My delegation has had the opportunity to stress on several occasions in the Council, Italy's concern about the uneasy and precarious state of affairs existing in the Middle East area. Such circumstances have led the Italian Government to believe that any kind of international effort to promote peace in the area is to be appreciated and supported. I have in mind the machinery set up in order to implement the disengagement agreements, the efforts aimed at reconvening the Geneva Conference and whatever efforts are made to combine both undertakings.

97. To sum up the views of my delegation, our task as members of the Council is faithfully reflected in the statement recently made by the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Rumor, to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate. He said:

"We feel that all efforts should be made to encourage and help the parties directly involved to overcome with courage and foresight the contradictions which have crystallized for too long a

situation which primarily is contrary to their own basic interests."

In other words, they should think more of the common interests of the people involved, excluding none, rather than be tempted too often, however understandable their reasons may be, to score temporary points on the other side and on one's own side. This is, in my view, fundamentally wrong since however satisfactory on the tactical plane, it is of no avail on the strategic plane. Italy will, for its part, continue to work, as it has always done, in favour of all actions leading to a comprehensive settlement.

98. May I say that the Council by adopting today's draft resolution has shown that its members share the same feelings and favour the same strategic approach. We sense a general sentiment and wish for progress towards a global, peaceful and over-all solution of the Middle East conflict, knowing fully that détente and international co-operation are indivisible. In our delegation's view, that is the meaning we give to paragraph (a) of the resolution we have just adopted. We welcome the possibility of a general debate on all aspects of the Middle East situation if a general review can give, as we hope, new momentum to the process of peace.

99. My delegation, of course, would have preferred the specific mention in that same paragraph of Council resolution 338 (1973), which was contained in resolution 369 (1975) on the question of UNDOF. Resolution 338 (1973), coupled with resolution 242 (1967), still remains, in our view, the main basis for a just and durable peaceful settlement of the problem, as specified in the statement on the Middle East [S/11081] adopted by the nine Governments of the European Economic Community on 6 November 1973, a position that was confirmed by the current Chairman of the nine members of the Community. When speaking on their behalf in the General Assembly on the question of Palestine, I indicated the four principles which we believe should be the essential basis for a comprehensive settlement, including the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to their national identity.

100. The Italian delegation cannot, however, be considered as part of the majority supporting the statement made in their behalf by you, Mr. President. Our objections and reservations are based, we believe, on strong grounds of principle. In fact, apart from all considerations of substance, my delegation does not believe it is right to determine or prejudge in any way, even if not intentionally, a debate that will take place six weeks from now under conditions that none of us can predict with certainty. We do not even know at present who wishes to participate in that debate, although we can easily assume who will ask to be allowed to do so. And, from a formal point of view, we believe it is not in conformity with the rules of procedure and normal practice to anticipate a decision

which belongs to the Council to take when it meets on 12 January 1976, the more so since from 1 January its composition will not be the same as at present.

101. Turning to the decision taken to extend UNDOF's mandate for a further six-month period, I wish to conclude by saying that, fortunately, as far as we can understand none of the parties seems to want to break off the search for a peaceful solution, and they have somehow indicated their willingness to avoid a direct confrontation and to work for peace. We welcome those purposes since they provide good grounds for hope.

102. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like to make a clarification. A decision taken by one membership of the Council is binding upon the next membership of the Council.

103. Mr. TCHERNOUCHTENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR voted in favour of the draft resolution of the non-aligned countries members of the Security Council. We share the opinion of the sponsors that it is the very minimum that it was possible to obtain owing to the specific situation obtaining. And, as has already been pointed out, it was also possible to achieve this as a result of the constructive position taken by Syria, dictated by its concern for peace and to take further strides forward to reach a settlement of the Middle East problem.

104. At the same time, we should like to express our profound thanks to the Secretary-General, for his efforts during the discussions in the Council of the situation in the Middle East in connexion with the extension of UNDOF's mandate.

105. The Byelorussian SSR delegation also supports the statement read out by the President of the Council. Our delegation is among that majority of the members of the Council which hold the view that the PLO should participate in the Security Council's consideration, during January 1976, of the Middle East problem, including the Palestinian problem.

106. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR would also like to make the following statement on the item which is being discussed in the Council. The existing situation in the Middle East and the absence of any genuine progress in the settlement of the Middle East problem are matters for serious concern, a concern that was clearly revealed in the statements made by most delegations here in the Council during today's meeting. The seriousness of the situation in the Middle East as a whole and in the Israeli-Syrian sector in particular is borne out by the reports of the Secretary-General and his contacts with interested parties in the Middle East.

107. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR would also like to point out that there continues to prevail

an explosive situation in the Middle East. Israel continues to hold on to the Arab territories it has seized and continues to overlook the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine; thus, the root causes of the conflict in the Middle East have as yet not been removed. It must be emphasized that it will be impossible to find ways and means of settling the Middle East problem, that is, establishing a durable peace, without solving the basic issues: withdrawal of all Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967; guaranteeing the lawful national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to create their own State; and guaranteeing the secure existence and development of all States and peoples of that region. ~~Interim or purely partial measures will not~~ lead to the implementation of those main requirements.

108. The time has now come to undertake a comprehensive political settlement of the Middle East problem by means of finding a solution to key issues, with the participation of all directly interested parties. The foundation for such a settlement can be found in Security Council resolution 338 (1973) and General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX). To meet those aims, there is also a relevant international machinery, that is, the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East. It is essential that the Conference should have its work fully reactivated in the near future. Our delegation is gratified to note that the Soviet Union, as one of the co-chairmen of that Conference, has already taken an initiative along those lines.

109. With reference to the participants in the Conference, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR would like to stress that no just or durable settlement in the Middle East is possible unless it involves the participation of the representatives of the Arab people of Palestine in the person of the PLO as a directly interested party; and the PLO should participate in the work of the Geneva Conference from the very outset of its resumed session. This is something which should be clearly and quickly appreciated by all those who continue to resist the recognition of this reality.

110. The legitimate right of the Arab people of Palestine as a party directly concerned in the Middle East conflict has been acknowledged and frequently reconfirmed by the United Nations. As members know, the General Assembly, in its resolution 3236 (XXIX), has emphasized that the Palestinian people is a principal party in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

111. At its thirtieth session, the General Assembly once again confirmed this legitimate right, in its resolution 3375 (XXX), and proposed that the PLO be invited, as the representatives of the Palestinian people, to participate in all the peace efforts being made in connexion with the Middle East on an equal footing with other participants. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR has always unswervingly supported, and continues to support, the rights of the Arab

people of Palestine; has considered, and continues to consider, that the only legitimate representatives of that people are the PLO.

112. Our delegation has always held the view that United Nations forces in the Middle East, including those in the Israeli-Syrian sector, are there in order to promote the implementation of the main purposes—that is, a political settlement of the Middle East problem on the basis of the relevant decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

113. We cannot divorce the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF from the problem of settlement. We cannot ~~fail to take account of the situation which is growing up around this problem.~~ Perhaps some might like to turn the renewal of the mandate of the Force into a pure formality and, by this very token, to use this Force in order to perpetuate the Israeli occupation of Arab lands. We are definitely against any such approach and we consider it extremely dangerous. Quite to the contrary, we should like to support what was said just now by the representative of Guyana here, that we should not give the impression that the Council regards the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF as a sort of automatic act. The Council is entitled to do as it has done before, that is, in addition to taking a decision to renew the mandate of the Force, to speed up the process of the comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem. This is not only the right but indeed the duty of the Council.

114. Thus, we agree with the opinion of the Secretary-General, which appears in paragraph 33 of his report, when he says that the Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces is not a peace agreement but only a step towards a just and durable peace; and that unless further progress can be made in reaching a settlement in the Middle East, the situation in that area will continue to be unstable.

115. In view of the facts which are outlined in paragraph 18 of the Secretary-General's report, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR would like to draw the attention of the Council to the fact that the continuing restriction by Israel of the freedom of movement of certain contingents belonging to UNDOF is inadmissible. This is in violation of the decisions of the Council, and in violation of the conditions which are stipulated in the Disengagement Agreement signed by Israel itself. This is essentially one of the manifestations of Israel's aggressive policies and it is essential that an end be put to this practice.

116. In accordance with the Charter, the Security Council bears very weighty responsibilities for maintaining peace and security for all peoples. One of the sources of very dangerous tension continues to be the area of the Middle East, and it is the duty of the Council to promote a political settlement of the Middle East problem, and to establish a durable peace in that area.

117. Mr. MOYNIHAN (United States of America): I am sure you would agree, Sir, that the only words which would truly serve to express the admiration and the gratitude and the respect which we all have for the Secretary-General at this moment would be brief words. His labours have been Herculean, and I assume, if today is no different from other days, they are not yet concluded. My Government would join wholly in the tributes paid to him.

118. My delegation wishes also to make clear that the United States does not support the statement made by you, Mr. President, indicating that the PLO will be invited to participate in the January session. This statement, in any event, did not report a decision but was merely a summation of the views of some members of the Council. We do not consider that the extraneous matters which have been introduced into the Council's action today can have the effect of changing either the negotiating framework, the basis for these negotiations, or the participants in them.

119. I should like also to note that subparagraph (a) of the operative paragraph, properly read, declares the intention of the Security Council to debate the question of whether or not the Middle East problem does in fact include the Palestinian question. Such is the role of the comma in English composition.

120. None the less, and finally, to the parties concerned and to the Council, the United States pledges its continued efforts to further the process towards peace in the Middle East. We do that with the indispensable support of UNDOF, of its Commander, its officers and its men, and of course, once again you, Mr. Secretary-General, and those not less valiant colleagues whom you have brought as your associates on the thirty-eighth floor.

121. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden): Once again, after protracted and difficult negotiations, the Security Council has arrived at a decision to renew the mandate of UNDOF for a further period of six months.

122. It was with profound satisfaction that the Swedish delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution which we have just adopted. The continued presence of UNDOF provides a further period of grace and contributes to the maintenance of an atmosphere which would allow for continued efforts in the search for peace in the area. This positive outcome of our deliberations is, to a very great extent, due to the efforts of the Secretary-General. His mission to the Middle East and his persistent efforts pursued day and night after his return, have in fact created the basis for the decisions taken today by the Security Council. The Secretary-General has thus indeed played a crucial role in assisting the Council to overcome its difficulties, and I would like to express the deep appreciation of my Government to him.

123. I would also like to express the sincere appreciation of my delegation to the sponsors of the draft resolution just adopted for their no less persistent efforts, which in the end were crowned with success.

124. In his report, the Secretary-General notes that the situation on the border between Israel and Syria, though at the present quiet, remains fundamentally unstable and precarious. In fact, with the passage of time, this situation may become increasingly dangerous. The Secretary-General thus concludes that the presence of UNDOF continues to be of vital importance in promoting an atmosphere conducive to further peace efforts and in assisting in such efforts.

125. It is in recognition of the urgent necessity to undertake such efforts that the Council resolution this time provides for a debate and review of the problem of the Middle East, including the Palestinian question, to be undertaken by the Council at a meeting in January 1976. My Government welcomes this decision and the accompanying decision of the Council majority to invite the PLO representatives to participate in that debate. My Government has already stated in the General Assembly that it supports the participation of the PLO in discussions of the problems in the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations. No lasting solution to the Middle East problem can be achieved without taking into account the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people.

126. It is now more than ever urgent to take real steps towards a negotiated solution of this complex of problems which has so long been a source of great tension and which has prevented the peoples of the Middle East from realizing the great human and material potential of the area. In this context I should like to underline, as my delegation has done on all occasions on which the Middle East problems have been debated in the United Nations, that in our view resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) of the Security Council remain the basis for any just settlement in the Middle East.

127. My delegation would like on this occasion once again warmly to commend the men and officers and the Force Commander of UNDOF, as well as the collaborators of the Secretary-General and the Secretariat in charge of UNDOF operations for their outstanding services and their devoted efforts in the cause of peace.

128. My delegation would like to see in the draft resolution we have just adopted a testimony of renewed dedication on all sides to an intensification of the efforts towards a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. A very grave responsibility rests with all the parties to do their utmost in contributing towards the achievement of this goal. We must not allow the present quiet, in the maintenance of which the presence of UNDOF plays such an important role, to degenerate into stagnation and immobility. It is our hope that the Council, when it meets again in January, will be able

to give its weighty contribution to the furthering of the cause of peace in the Middle East.

129. Mr. SALIM (Tanzania): When, in May this year [1822nd meeting] we adopted a resolution 369 (1975), extending the mandate of UNDOF for a further period of six months without at the same time providing a stimulus for the revitalization of efforts at progress in the search for a peaceful and just settlement of the Middle East problem, my delegation, together with several others, expressed our increasing concern over the possible adverse implications which such mechanical extension of UNDOF's mandate could entail. It was therefore only with mixed feelings of such concern and the earnest hope that another opportunity such as that provided by the resolution might be put to good use that we went along with that resolution.

130. We responded favourably then to the request for the extension of UNDOF's mandate on the understanding that the quiet which would be brought about would be utilized meaningfully and solely in a determined search for a peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem as outlined in Security Council resolution 338 (1973). The cease-fire was not and is not peace in itself, nor should any of the parties bank on it in forgetting the precarious nature of the truce and become complacent.

131. We then warned that the patience and good intentions of the Council should never be used for the purpose of either perpetuating the state of tension in the area or consolidating illegal territorial acquisitions. It is therefore disappointing that six months later there is neither discernible progress nor an indication of progress in the immediate future in the realization of a peaceful settlement of the problem. A period of quiet and considerable resources of the United Nations have been wasted. We completely agree with the Secretary-General's observation that, unless further progress can be made towards the objectives set forth in Council resolution 338 (1973), the situation in the area will be unstable and, with the passage of time, increasingly dangerous, for neither the Arab States whose territories have been illegally occupied by Israel, nor the Palestinians who have been uprooted from their homeland, will indefinitely tolerate the present situation.

132. It is in the light of such dangerous implications that this time we have tried to avoid a repetition of an unconditional extension of the mandate of UNDOF. We therefore welcome Syria's position, as explained to the Secretary-General, that the resolution to further extend UNDOF's mandate should be coupled with a catalyst for renewed efforts towards the realization of the ultimate purpose of UNDOF's presence in the Middle East. We are glad that this time we have managed to avoid the dangerous previous ritual.

133. The draft resolution my delegation had the honour to co-sponsor, which has just been adopted by

the Council, provides for two elements which we believe make it more meaningful than the previous resolutions on the subject—namely, that as a condition for the extension of the mandate the Council will convene next January to deliberate on the Middle East problem in all its aspects, including the question of the Palestinian problem, and that, in the consideration of the Middle East problem in January, account will be taken of all relevant resolutions of the United Nations. It is obvious that the resolutions of the United Nations referred to in operative paragraph (a) of the draft resolution adopted include General Assembly resolution 3375 (XXX), which specifically provides for the participation of the PLO, as the representative of the Palestinian people, in the deliberations and negotiations on the Middle East problem.

134. We should like to pay a tribute to the Syrian Government for the proposal it has made, which led to the resolution we have adopted. We believe that this resolution is a meaningful one and should provide a catalyst for speeding up the process leading to a just and peaceful settlement in the area. Furthermore, these proposals by Syria testify to the genuineness of the Syrian Government in its desire to reach a peaceful, just and permanent settlement of the Middle East problem.

135. It is our hope, and we are confident of this, that the Council's consideration of the Middle East question, including the Palestinian problem, in the month of January, will afford a unique opportunity for the Council to have a substantive discussion on the root cause of the Middle East conflict—namely, the injustices done to the dispossessed Palestinians and the urgent need to put an end to that injustice.

136. Before concluding, I should like on behalf of my delegation to offer my sincere thanks to the Secretary-General and his staff for their selfless efforts in the search for peace and justice in the Middle East. The Secretary-General should be particularly commended for his outstanding and crucial contribution in providing his good offices to facilitate negotiations leading to the draft the Security Council has just adopted. I wish also to offer the same sincere appreciation to the personnel of UNDOF, whose sacrifice in the cause of peace is inestimable, and their direct contribution in the pursuit of peace deserves the highest commendation.

137. As the last speaker among the non-aligned members sponsors of the draft resolution, I should like on behalf of my own delegation and on behalf of all my colleagues to express our gratitude to all those members of the Council who have referred to the contribution made by the non-aligned group in the negotiations leading to this resolution. I can only say that we are very appreciative of the positive and co-operative spirit of all our colleagues in the Council which made the negotiations successful.

138. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I shall now speak in my capacity as representative of the UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

139. As President of the Security Council and representative of the Soviet Union in the Security Council, I have already had the opportunity, in the process of consultations to express my gratitude to the Secretary-General, for his active and sustained efforts, both during his recent trip to the Middle East, which was filled with major events, and after his return to the United Nations, right up until today and the very convening of this official meeting of the Council on this item. Today, at this official meeting of the Security Council, I should like again to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General. His efforts have been aimed at active and sustained support, to enable the Council to take a just decision on this question. Those efforts, together with the participation of the representatives of the parties concerned and members of the Council, have led to a positive result.

140. The Security Council has considered the question of the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF and the report on this matter by the Secretary-General, in connexion with his talks with all the interested parties on the situation in the Middle East. It must be obvious to one and all that the question of the renewal of the mandate of the Force in the Israeli-Syrian sector is not an isolated issue, but is very intimately connected with the entire set of issues relating to the Middle East problem, including the Palestinian question.

141. The unsatisfactory state of affairs regarding the settlement of the conflict in the Middle East continues to darken the international horizon and to be a subject of concern for the Soviet Union and for many other countries. The basic reasons for that conflict have not as yet been removed. Israel continues to hold on to the Arab lands that it seized by force. Israel and its patrons continue also to ignore the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine. The fundamental issues of a settlement—that is, the full withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the satisfaction of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to create its own State—have so far not been resolved.

142. It is precisely as a result of the foregoing that the situation in the Middle East continues to be tense and fraught with the danger of military confrontation. That tension has also been referred to and reflected in the Council's decision today.

143. The fundamental and consistent position of the Soviet Union on the question of a Middle Eastern settlement was once again stated exhaustively during the general debate at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly in an address by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko,

on 23 September. Among other things he said the following:

“A Middle East settlement cannot make headway if those crucial problems are left unsolved. Without their solution a settlement in the Middle East can only be delayed indefinitely, with increasing dangers for the situation. No palliative measures or camouflaging can change the substance of the matter.”<sup>6</sup>

144. Experience has shown that piecemeal methods, particularly if they are undertaken on a separate basis, cannot lead to any solution to the Middle East problem because they leave aside the key issues relating to a political settlement, and indeed lead us away from such a settlement. Those key issues are well known, but they must be repeated constantly. They are: the full withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the satisfaction of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to create its own State. Only if those crucial questions are solved will it be possible to establish a genuinely just and therefore genuinely lasting peace in the Middle East and to provide sound conditions for the safe existence, development and co-operation of all the States in that region.

145. The Soviet Union and other countries belonging to the socialist community have consistently and unswervingly taken one fundamental stand—that is, that a decisive end must be put to aggression, that aggression should not be encouraged, that the countries that have been the victims of aggression should have returned to them the lands which legitimately belong to them and which have been seized by the aggressor, and that every State is entitled to a free, independent existence and development. Indeed, that is a fundamental, a cardinal issue not only in regard to the Middle East but in regard to all international relations of the present day.

146. The Soviet Union considers, as it has always considered, that the only true way to achieve a definitive settlement of the Middle East problem is through the joint and collective efforts of all the parties directly concerned. To achieve a just settlement, there is one well-known international mechanism: The Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East. In that forum we may consider and seek to solve all the aspects of the Middle East problem. However, as a result of the obstructionism of Israel, supported by its protectors, that mechanism has not been used for some time now. The reason is well known. It is that the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East is being blocked by Israel. But that is a short-sighted policy. We cannot ignore the legitimate rights of the Arab countries and peoples that have been the victims of aggression. We cannot be indifferent to the fate of the Palestinian people or to its legitimate aspirations and interests.

147. A continuation of the present tense situation in the Middle East can only be fraught with the danger of fresh explosions. The Soviet Union has always been and remains a firm supporter of the establishment of a lasting and just peace in the Middle East and of the achievement of genuine progress in the settlement of the Middle East conflict. That is why recently, on 9 November, the Government of the USSR once again proposed to the Government of the United States, which is a co-Chairman of the Geneva Peace Conference, that the work of that Conference be fully resumed. The Soviet Union proposed that the Soviet Union and the United States, as co-Chairmen of the Conference, should take a joint initiative to that end.

148. The position of the Soviet Union is that the Conference, from the very outset of the resumption of its work, should be open to the participation on an equal footing of all the parties directly interested—namely, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, the representatives of the Arab people of Palestine, as embodied in the PLO, and Israel, as well as the Soviet Union and the United States as co-Chairmen of the Conference.

149. The purpose of resuming the Conference in that way, as established from the very outset, should be to achieve a comprehensive and cardinal political settlement of the Middle East conflict. The basis for such a settlement is quite clear—namely, the relevant United Nations decisions, and first and foremost Security Council resolution 338 (1973) and General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX).

150. The adoption of the above-mentioned Soviet proposal in full, taking into account the aspect of the participants in the Geneva Conference, would be in complete accordance with the interests of the Arab peoples and of the establishment of a genuine, just and lasting peace in the Middle East for all the States and peoples of that region.

151. The validity of the position that the representatives of the Arab people of Palestine, as embodied in the PLO, should participate in the Conference from the very outset of its resumed work is now quite obvious. It is primarily the position of the United Nations itself. Resolution 3236 (XXIX), adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session, reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination without external interference and its right to national independence and sovereignty. Of paramount importance also is the General Assembly's decision that the Palestinian people is a principal party in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

152. Moreover, at the present, thirtieth, session of the General Assembly, resolution 3375 (XXX) was adopted. In it the Assembly demands that the PLO, the representative of the Palestinian people, should be invited to participate and be involved, on an

equal footing with all other parties and on the basis of resolution 3236 (XXIX), in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East held under the auspices of the United Nations. The General Assembly also requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations:

“to inform the Co-Chairmen of the Peace Conference on the Middle East of the present resolution and to take all necessary steps to secure the invitation of the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the work of the Conference as well as in all other efforts for peace.”

These just decisions of the United Nations regarding the PLO cannot justifiably be ignored by anyone.

153. That is why the Soviet delegation considers logical, valid and just the position taken by the Syrian Arab Republic, which has insisted that the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF in the Middle East, and particularly those in the Israeli-Syrian sector, cannot be considered or decided upon in isolation, as merely the renewal of the mandate for the sake of renewing it. The decision on the renewal of the mandate cannot be regarded or taken in isolation from the cardinal problems relating to a Middle East settlement.

154. In this connexion, the Security Council is obliged to take account of the resolutions which have been adopted on this matter and on its individual aspects by the General Assembly and by the Security Council and to take steps to implement them and not to protract a Middle East settlement under the pretext of renewing the mandate of UNDOF. It would be a serious and inadmissible mistake to try to use the disengagement of forces among the parties to the conflict and the renewal of the mandate of the Force for this purpose as a pretext in order to freeze the existing dangerous situation in the Middle East, in order to fix the occupation by Israel of the Arab lands which it has seized, and in order to flout the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, which have now been recognized by the entire world and the entire international community as represented by the United Nations.

155. The very idea of the disengagement of the troops of the parties arose and was implemented in order to promote a speedy settlement in the Middle East. In Security Council resolution 363 (1974), which renewed the mandate of UNDOF for an additional six-month period, it was quite clearly and unambiguously pointed out that the Disengagement Agreement was simply one step on the way towards implementation of Council resolution 338 (1973) on the Middle East settlement. The Council even then, more than two years ago, called upon all interested parties to implement that resolution immediately.

156. In its most recent resolution, resolution 369 (1975), the Security Council expressed its concern

over the prevailing state of tension in the Middle East and reaffirmed that the disengagement agreements were only a step towards the implementation of Council resolution 338 (1973), to which I have just referred. The Council in that resolution also once again called upon the parties concerned to implement immediately Council resolution 338 (1973). Eighteen months have now elapsed, however, and there appears to have been no advance on this question. It is quite clear from this that the Council has never treated the question of the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF as a separate issue, or considered it in isolation from the problem of a general settlement in the Middle East.

157. The Security Council has believed, and still believes, that the renewal of the mandate of United Nations forces in the Middle East in general, and in the Israeli-Syrian sector in particular, should not be an end in itself, but should be a means to help to accelerate a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. This should not simply be a matter of continuing to renew the mandate, as a mere device. The time has come to give serious thought to solving the Middle East problem. The Council should do everything in its power to promote a political settlement in the Middle East and to accelerate that settlement.

158. That is why the Soviet delegation supported the proposal of the friendly Syrian Arab Republic to the effect that the Security Council, instead of postponing the matter for a long time, should consider the situation in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question, at the beginning of next year. In accordance with the opinion expressed in the official

statement read out by the President of the Security Council at an official meeting of the Council, the PLO, as the representative of the Palestinian people, must of course be a party to that discussion.

159. Precisely for these reasons, and consistent with the fundamental position of the Soviet Union on the question of a Middle East settlement, the Soviet delegation supported the draft resolution, the initiative taken by Syria, and also the efforts of our colleagues, the representatives of the four members that sponsored the draft resolution which the Council adopted today, namely, Guyana, Mauritania, United Republic of Cameroon and United Republic of Tanzania, and voted in favour of that draft resolution.

160. Speaking now as PRESIDENT, I should like to extend to my successor to the presidency of the Council, the representative of the United Kingdom, Mr. Richard, my best wishes that the work of the Council in December will be less tense and less heavily charged than it was in November, and that he will not have to convene meetings of the Council and hold consultations among members of the Council on Saturdays, Sundays and at night.

*The meeting rose at 8.40 p.m.*

*Notes*

<sup>1</sup> See resolution 381 (1975).

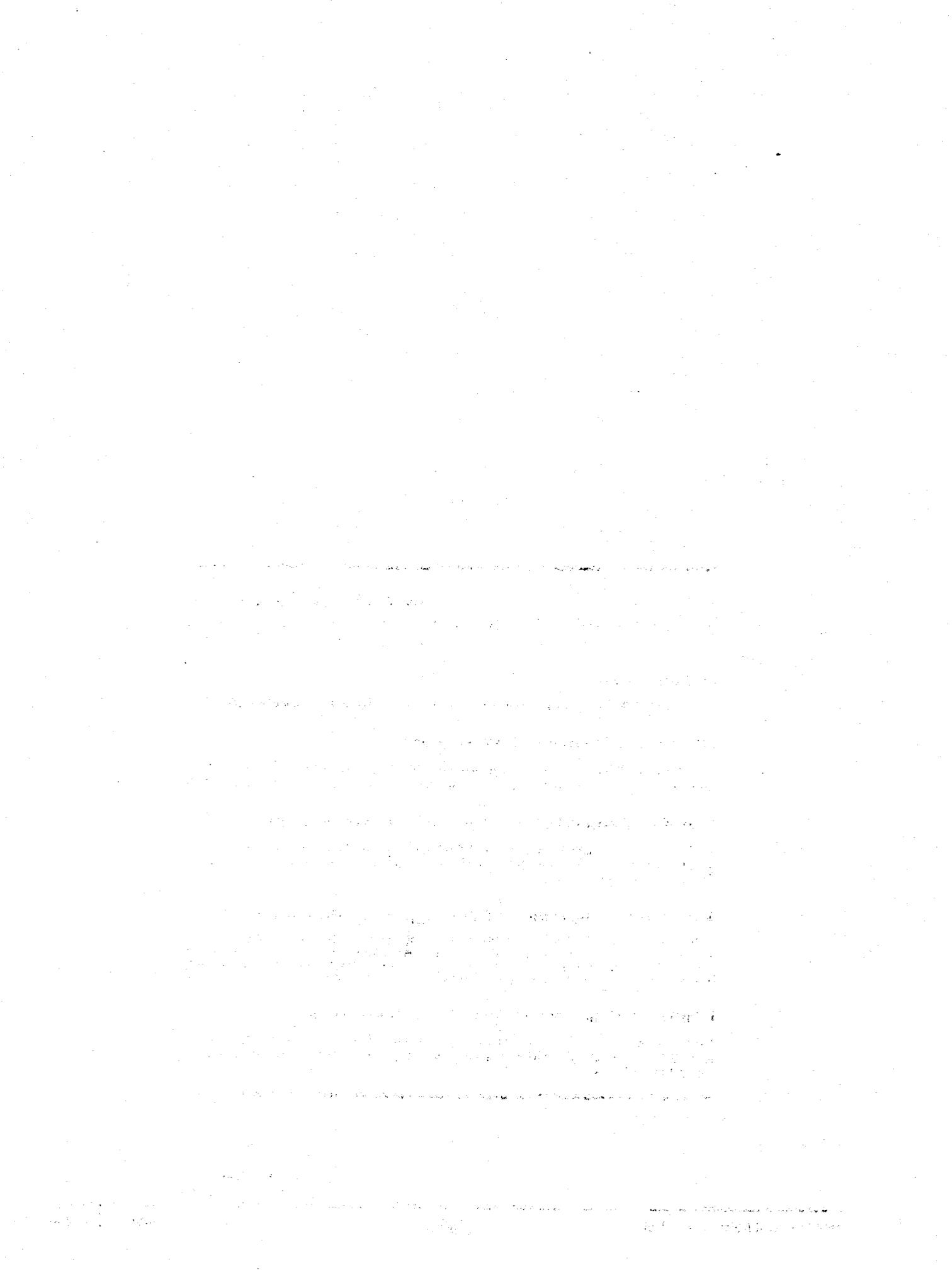
<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2363rd meeting.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 2394th meeting.

<sup>4</sup> A/10272, para. 71.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 63.

<sup>6</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2357th meeting.



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