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NOTE

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

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

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

THIRTEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held in New York on Saturday, 10 June 1967, at 4 a.m.

President: Mr. Hans R. TABOR (Denmark).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, India, Japan, Mali, Nigeria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1354/Rev.1)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Letter dated 23 May 1967 from the Permanent Representatives of Canada and Denmark addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/7902).
3. Complaint of the representative of the United Arab Republic in a letter to the President of the Security Council dated 27 May 1967 entitled: "Israel aggressive policy, its repeated aggression threatening peace and security in the Middle East and endangering international peace and security" (S/7907).
4. Letter dated 29 May 1967 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/7910).
5. Letter dated 9 June 1967 from the Permanent Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics addressed to the President of the Security Council concerning an item entitled: "Cessation of military action by Israel and withdrawal of the Israel forces from those parts of the territory of the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Syria which they have seized as the result of an aggression" (S/7967).

Adoption of the agenda

1. The PRESIDENT: The provisional agenda for this morning's meeting is before the Council in document S/Agenda/1354/Rev.1. As members will note, a new, fifth item has been included in the provisional agenda in response to a request received last night from the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a request circulated in document S/7967.

2. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the agenda is adopted.

The agenda was adopted.

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3. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions previously taken by the Council, I shall now, with the consent of the Council, invite the representatives of Israel, the United Arab Republic, Jordan and the Syrian Arab Republic to take places at the Council table, and the representatives of Lebanon, Iraq, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Tunisia and Libya to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber, in order to participate without vote in the discussion.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. G. Rafael (Israel), Mr. M. A. El Kony (United Arab Republic), Mr. G. J. Tomeh (Syria) and Mr. M. H. El-Farra (Jordan) took places at the Council table, and Mr. S. Chammas (Lebanon), Mr. K. Khalaf (Iraq), Mr. A. T. Benhima (Morocco), Mr. G. Al-Rachach (Saudi Arabia), Mr. S. Al-Shaheen (Kuwait), Mr. M. Mestiri (Tunisia) and Mr. W. El Bouri (Libya) took the places reserved for them.

4. The PRESIDENT: The Council will now continue its consideration of the four items on its agenda, and in order to facilitate the discussion, I should like to suggest that the Council decide to consider them simultaneously. If there is no objection, I shall take it that it is so decided.

It was so decided.

5. I wish to inform members of the Council that at 2 o'clock this morning I was called by the Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Syria, Ambassador Daoudy, who informed me that he had been instructed by his Prime Minister to ask for an emergency meeting of this Council in view of the fact that the situation had seriously deteriorated, that the Israelis had occupied Kuneitra, and that they were heading towards Damascus.

6. Representatives will remember that we adjourned last night on the understanding that all members would hold themselves available for an urgent meeting at any time, should we be faced with an emergency situation. Against that background, I decided to call this emergency meeting.

7. Representatives will further remember that we agreed last night before adjourning that we should request the parties concerned to extend all possible co-operation to the United Nations observers in the discharge of their responsibilities, that we should request the Government of Israel to restore the use of Government House to General Odd Bull, and that we should ask the parties to re-establish freedom of movement.

8. Further, members of the Council will recall that we requested the Secretary-General to endeavour to provide us with information from the United Nations sources in the area with regard to the latest developments. Accordingly, I shall first call upon the Secretary-General to present his report to the Council.

9. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Immediately after the adjournment of the Security Council at 10.30 o'clock last night, urgent instructions were sent to the Chief of Staff of UNTSO in Jerusalem and to the Chairman of the Israel-Syrian Mixed Armistice Commission in Damascus. I informed them of the discussions in the Security Council and of the undertakings given by both parties to extend co-operation, and expressed the hope that enough co-operation would be quickly extended to them so that United Nations military observers might check on the actual situation in Syria as regards the observance of the cease-fire. I requested them to advise me as speedily as possible both on the co-operation extended to them and the information obtained. I also specifically referred to the statement of the Syrian Permanent Representative concerning the attack on Massadeh and asked them in particular to check this situation to the best of their ability.

10. At 11.33 p.m., New York time, last night, I received from the Chairman of the Israel-Syrian Mixed Armistice Commission the following report:

"Senior Syrian delegate states that there is large-scale fighting in the northern area near Banias. The Israelis are attacking with tanks and infantry supported with artillery."

11. At 12.02, New York time, this morning, I received a further message from the Chairman of the Israel-Syrian Mixed Armistice Commission:

"Following message received from senior Syrian delegate at 0254 hours GMT: 'Israel has launched

large-scale attacks along the northern front vicinity of Banias and Moussadiye. Massive air attacks are underway from north to south and to include Kuneitra. Request United Nations observers reoccupy Kuneitra and to carry out observation of Israel aggression in other areas. (Signed) Ibrahim Makhou, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Syrian Arab Republic.'"

12. At 0224 hours, this morning, the Chief of Staff of UNTSO, General Bull, communicated to me reports received from the Tiberias control centre indicating that hostilities were continuing along the northern part of the Israel-Syrian armistice demarcation line and to the east.

13. Between 0110 hours GMT and 0125 hours GMT, numerous heavy explosions were heard north of Lake Tiberias.

14. At 0145 hours GMT, parachute flares were seen north of Tiberias over Jordan, and between 0147 hours GMT and 0155 hours GMT, continuous heavy explosions were heard north of Tiberias.

15. At 0230 hours GMT, continuing and intense artillery fire was heard north-east of Tiberias over Jordan valley.

16. At 0250 hours GMT, three or four big explosions were seen very far away in the direction of Kuneitra.

17. At 0320 hours GMT, three big explosions were seen in the direction of Kuneitra and continuing sound of artillery.

18. At 0400 hours GMT, 0425 hours GMT and 0450 hours GMT, heavy explosions believed to be air bombing heard in northeasterly direction. Aircraft heard passing overhead, usually in pairs.

19. At 0245 hours New York time, I addressed a message to the Chief of Staff of UNTSO in Jerusalem and to the Chairman of the Israel-Syrian Mixed Armistice Commission in Damascus in relation to the above-quoted message from the Foreign Minister of the Syrian Arab Republic and requested that military observers should promptly visit the areas mentioned by him to determine the facts concerning the alleged and serious violation of the cease-fire and to report to New York Headquarters as speedily as possible. I am awaiting their reply.

20. I also informed the Chief of Staff of UNTSO that an emergency meeting of the Security Council had been called for 0330 hours on 10 June at the request of the Syrian representative because of reports from Syrian authorities of massive Israel attacks by land and air in the Banias/Kuneitra area. Instructions were given to General Bull to continue to send most urgently any information as it became available.

21. Just a few minutes ago, at 4.04 a.m., I received a cable from General Bull which reads as follows:

"Further to the situation reports originating from the Tiberias control centre, the Chairman of the Israel-Syrian Mixed Armistice Commission reports that senior Syrian delegate alleged at 0616 hours GMT that Israel forces have launched two strong attacks on Kuneitra, first at

Massadeh and second at Quassett, twelve and seven kilometres respectively from Kuneitra. Again, at 0630 hours GMT, senior Syrian delegate alleged that Israel aggression continues and that Kuneitra, which is fifty kilometres from Damascus, had fallen to Israel forces. Your immediate intervention requested to halt these violations of the cease-fire agreement."

That is the information which was conveyed to the Chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission by the senior Syrian delegate this morning.

22. I have just been informed that General Odd Bull in Jerusalem had a discussion by Telex with Mr. Ralph Bunche, in which General Bull gave the following latest information. The time of the Telex is 0735 hours GMT.

"An air attack took place on the Damascus airport area. Only half an hour ago, Sasson assured me that Israel Defence Forces are not in Kuneitra and not on the road to Damascus. He requested that United Nations military observers be sent to Kuneitra to observe cease-fire. I immediately sent a message to the Chairman of the Israel-Syrian Mixed Armistice Commission to send United Nations military observers to Kuneitra or to vantage points in order to check and report on compliance with the cease-fire resolution.

"Another report has been received from Tiberias. Air attacks continuing on valley and Lake Tiberias shore."

23. The PRESIDENT: I thank the Secretary-General for his statement. I give the floor to the representative of Syria.

24. Mr. TOMEH (Syria): Much to our regret, we had this morning to awaken you, Mr. President, at two o'clock, when yesterday we had broken your sleep at 5.30 in the morning. That by itself is proof that the situation is becoming graver and graver by the moment.

25. Before I speak on the subject of our complaint, I wonder whether the Secretariat would be kind enough to provide us with a map so that as we discuss the situation the members of the Council can see for themselves how the invasion of Syria is proceeding hour by hour.

26. Only four hours ago, we were listening to the representatives of the Tel-Aviv authorities giving assurances to the Council that no Israel forces were massed and that Israel had observed the cease-fire resolution.

27. We contacted you, Mr. President, at 2 o'clock this morning, because we had had a telephone call from Damascus in which we were informed that Israel had moved its forces and occupied Kuneitra, about thirty-five miles from the capital city of Damascus. As I address the Council now, a fierce battle is raging between the Syrian forces and the criminal hordes coming from Tel-Aviv who are attempting to reach Damascus as soon as possible. In fact, their plan was to occupy Damascus before we could start our meeting today.

28. The time has come for the Security Council to uphold the United Nations Charter and to stop this criminal assault

against my country. We believe that the United Nations should act, and act promptly, if a major catastrophe is to be avoided. The time has come for the Security Council to put the question to the Tel-Aviv authorities whether their troops are now in Kuneitra or whether they are not.

29. We have heard the statements of the representative of the Tel-Aviv authorities, as well as the statement of the representative of the United Kingdom to which I replied shortly before the last meeting adjourned. The representative of the United Kingdom said that we were acting on the basis of rumours and hearsay. I think we have now proved to the members of the Council, beyond any doubt, that we were not acting on the basis of rumours and hearsay. We certainly note with regret this lack of objectivity which results from an attempt to confuse the issues. We never thought that questions of war and peace could be treated so lightly, especially by the representative of a great Power, a permanent member of the Security Council, which has a responsibility for world peace.

30. The representative of the Tel-Aviv authorities has proved, through his false statements, that he was deliberately attempting to mislead the Council. We witnessed his performance at the last meeting. Throughout that meeting he was deceiving the United Nations on purpose; he was telling lies about his Government's observance of Security Council resolution 235 (1967) that had been adopted at the 1352nd meeting of the Council. In this deliberate falsehood he was only faithfully reflecting the basic stand of his authorities, who proclaim peace and innocence, but practise war and genocide. We believe that such behaviour on his part should deprive him of the honour of sitting at this Council table.

31. As for the criminal assault of his hordes against my country, Syria, we feel that Israel must be punished for the irrefutable crimes, for the utter disregard of the United Nations Charter and of all the values on which international relations should be built.

32. Having adopted three resolutions calling on Israel to stop its aggression, the Security Council is duty bound to put an immediate end to this banditry. We will wait anxiously—as the Arab people all over Syria, as the Arab people throughout the Arab countries, as the world at large wait anxiously—to see what the Security Council will do in the face of the lies that have been perpetrated here by the representative of the Tel-Aviv authorities, and what he has to say now. I doubt whether he will feel any shame.

33. We request, after three solemn resolutions have been unanimously adopted by the Security Council, that the attacking hordes from Israel should be withdrawn behind the armistice lines. We expect the Council to face up to its responsibilities. We request that sanctions should be applied. For if this situation continues, it will constitute a challenge to all values, to all small nations which count not on the force of arms but on the force of law, because in this fight, as I have had occasion to say time and again, Israel is not alone, Israel is acting in collusion with and on behalf of the imperialist Powers.

34. Needless to say, in the report of the Secretary-General, every point, every claim, even every name that I have

mentioned in my letters to the Secretary-General, has been confirmed beyond any shadow of a doubt. It now remains for this important body to act, and to act quickly.

35. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Although the information given by the Secretary-General is rather fragmentary and incomplete, it nevertheless shows quite clearly, first, that Israel aircraft have bombed Damascus, the Syrian capital, and, second, that the fighting on Syrian territory is continuing. This fighting is being done by the forces of the Israel aggressors, who are continuing their advance. This is sufficient proof that Israel is flouting the decisions of the Security Council.

36. There are good reasons for convening an emergency meeting of the Security Council tonight. Such a meeting could have been foreseen, for when the Council was discussing Israel's continuation of its aggressive acts against the Syrian Arab Republic, and even when we temporarily suspended our meeting, it was quite clear that the forces of the aggressor were continuing to advance through Syrian territory towards Damascus. And the fact that the Syrian representative, Ambassador Tomeh, has just given us detailed facts demonstrates what has been, and is, happening in reality.

37. We are entitled to ask the representatives of the Western Powers seated around this table, who a few hours ago tried to present matters as if the issue merely involved a few rumours, and who spoke in the Council about everything except what should have been said and heard at such an important time—namely, that the Israel aggression is continuing to expand, to grow and to assume an increasingly ominous character—we are entitled to ask them what was the aim of such tactics on their part.

38. We are also entitled to draw the Council's attention to the fact that there were more than sufficient grounds for the Soviet delegation's comparison of the Israel representative's statements, here in the Security Council, with statements of the infamous Goebbels ministry. What is now being disclosed, too, is convincing evidence that the methods of that ministry are now being practised by an Israel diplomat. Mr. Gideon Rafael sat here among us five hours ago and openly misinformed the Council in an attempt, in this responsible forum, to distract the Council's attention and to play for time in order to serve the expansionist ends of the armed Israel hordes and to enable the leaders in Tel-Aviv to commit a further crime against peace and humanity. That was calculated deception and this repulsive lie has now been exposed.

39. How can monstrous cynicism and deliberate falsification be tolerated here, in this high organ? Can this go unpunished? After all this, does the representative of Tel-Aviv have any moral right to sit at the Security Council table?

40. The Soviet delegation angrily condemns the unworthy conduct of this falsifier from Israel . . .

41. Mr. RAFAEL (Israel): Point of order.

42. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): And as there is no doubt that the representative of Israel was acting in accordance with instructions from his Government, it is perfectly clear that the Security Council is dealing with treachery on the part of Tel-Aviv.

43. We see that the Israel diplomat, who is now trying to raise a point of order in the Council, is nervous. May we remind him that he has no right under the Council's procedure to interfere in the conduct of the Security Council's business.

44. It is now quite clear to everyone why, at the Council's previous meeting, a dispute arose regarding the formulas to which the Israel Government had recourse in giving its false agreement to the Council's demand for a cease-fire. The aim was precisely to mislead and deceive the Council by using casuistical subterfuges and ambiguous reservations, the real purpose of which was to conceal the attack by the Israel aggressors against the Syrian Arab Republic that had been planned earlier.

45. We drew the Council's attention to the receipt of information pointing to a threatening advance by Israel troops towards Damascus, in defiance of the Council's appeals for an immediate cease-fire. In that connexion, we requested the United Nations Secretariat to provide any reliable information available to it. Regrettably, however, we did not at that time receive the necessary information which, even though it might be incomplete and limited, would have helped us to determine the real situation.

46. It is now essential that urgent and decisive measures should be taken to halt the unbridled aggressor. If this is not done immediately, the whole weight of responsibility for the consequences will rest with those members of the Council who prevent the adoption of the necessary measures. We call upon the Security Council to take severe and decisive measures to curb the aggressor. Israel's criminal banditry against Syria must be unreservedly condemned.

47. After numerous appeals and warnings to the Government in Tel-Aviv, and after the adoption by the Council of three resolutions demanding an immediate cessation of military activities by Israel, no one can say that the Israel Government is not aware of where its actions are now leading it. It is consciously following a path of treachery and deceit, a path of crime, and should be condemned by the Security Council with all the severity of international law.

48. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Israel, to whom I now give the floor.

49. Mr. RAFAEL (Israel): I am acting here upon instructions from my Government. I wish to be advised by the President, in the first instance, whether it is permitted to engage in personal abuse directed at representatives acting here on behalf of their Governments. I can take this abuse, but I wonder whether it fits the dignity of this Council.

50. Despite two acceptances of the cease-fire resolutions, Syria has not ceased shelling, for thirty-six hours now,

Israel villages along the Israel-Syrian frontier. At the same time, the Syrian representative and his colleagues have been defusing the Council with a barrage of trumped-up charges and fictitious complaints about actions which have never taken place. One said that Cairo had been bombed by Israel aircraft, and another, that Damascus was under air attack.

51. Now the Council has been hurriedly called for a dramatic meeting at this early hour on the ground that Israel forces have occupied Kuneitra and are advancing on Damascus. We have already heard a report from the Secretary-General that the Israel representative in Jerusalem has denied these allegations. I denied a similar charge before the Council adjourned last evening [*1353rd meeting*]. I categorically deny it again now.

52. I have just received a report that while the Israel forces are in the process of establishing and implementing the cease-fire, the vicious shelling of Israel villages is still going on. There is no foundation whatsoever for the allegation that Israel is planning to take Damascus. The only Israel activity is against the artillery emplacements which are brutally attacking Israel villages.

53. If the Syrian artillery would stop firing, our defence action would cease. We are in touch with General Odd Bull in order to ensure implementation of the cease-fire and we have requested him immediately to dispatch United Nations observers to the front, and our officers are instructed to escort these observers to the front.

54. I wish to say that at this time, at 9 a.m. local time, the Israel villages of Gadot, She'ar-Yashav, Lehavot-Habashan and Mishmar Hayarden all situated in the Tiberias valley, are still under heavy artillery fire. We are, as I have said, in touch with General Odd Bull and we are providing him with the necessary facilities to discharge his functions.

55. The Syrian authorities instead of concentrating their attention on the bringing into effect and implementation of the cease-fire, are trying to create a state of high international tension to cover up whatever sinister designs they have in mind.

56. The PRESIDENT: Referring to the question raised by the representative of Israel concerning personal abuse, I would request members of the Council not to make references of a direct personal character. However, I wish to inform the representative of Israel that he said himself that he was speaking to the Council upon instructions from his Government, and I have interpreted the remarks made by the representative of the USSR as being addressed to the representative of the Israel Government, and not as personal attacks.

57. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): Last night, on the full authority of my Government, I stated [*1353rd meeting*] that the United States deems it of the gravest import that the Security Council's resolutions calling for a cease-fire should be complied with in letter and in spirit by Israel and the Arab countries involved. I also said that there had been too much bloodshed and loss of life and that it was imperative that this war should come to an end and all Governments involved in the conflict should

return to the urgent task of restoring peace to the Middle East.

58. In that connexion I made a suggestion. I said that what we needed most imperatively, in order that the Council could fulfil its task of implementing the resolutions, was an impartial investigation by the Secretary-General of the facts and of the allegations which have been made concerning the violation of the cease-fire orders.

59. This morning we were awakened, by the President, quite appropriately, in performance of his duties, to consider an urgent complaint by the Government of Syria that Israel forces had taken Kuneitra and were on the road to Damascus. Obviously, if that were so, it would be a matter of great import and would justify the immediate convening of this Council.

60. The Secretary-General has made his report to the Council. He has stated, quite appropriately, what his representative in Jerusalem, General Bull, has been told by representatives of the Governments involved.

61. What does it add up to essentially? The senior delegate from Syria has made the allegation that Kuneitra has been taken; the Israel representative has denied that this is so; the Secretary-General—I have made notes and I can be corrected if I am wrong—has asked observers to go to those places mentioned in the Syrian Foreign Minister's complaint: Massadeh, Kuneitra, and some vantage points; and the Secretary-General says that no first-hand information has yet been received, and as a result, he is still awaiting a reply.

62. I, as a member of the Council, am also awaiting a reply from an impartial observer of what is going on. We do not have it; nor do I have a prepared speech castigating people before I get an impartial investigation of the substantive charge that has been made.

63. This Council can deal only on the basis of evidence, not on the basis of allegations; and we, in fairness to our responsibilities, which are very great, must await the first-hand information which the Secretary-General, quite appropriately, has asked for.

64. It seems to me, if I have understood what the representatives of the Governments concerned have said, that they pledge their co-operation in this respect. If we do have, as I think we do, the co-operation of the Government of Syria and the Government of Israel, with regard to the dispatch of the observers to the places mentioned in the complaint of the Foreign Minister of Syria, then they should be so dispatched urgently and we should get a comprehensive report.

65. We should also get a comprehensive report on another conflicting element, and that is: what is going on in Tiberias? Is there shelling of these villages by gun emplacements of the Syrian army? Or are the Israel forces attacking in the area?

66. We do not have answers to those questions. We must have answers so that we can do our duty as a Council to

implement the cease-fire. And it seems to me that that is what is required so the Council can proceed to do its plain duty.

67. My Government does not condone any violation of the cease-fire by any party concerned. My Government believes that both parties have the obligation to comply with the cease-fire. But my Government will not render a judgement in this matter on the basis of allegations coming from the parties. My Government expects—and I think it has a right to expect—that we shall get answers from the United Nations machinery; and we expect both parties to co-operate with the United Nations machinery on the spot so that this Council can get impartial answers, and not merely some more allegations. We have already had a great many allegations. We do not know whether they are true or false.

68. We are awaiting a report on the essential point which brought us here. A question was asked by the representative of Syria, Ambassador Tomeh, about Kuneitra. Let us have General Bull's representative go to Kuneitra and report to this Council. Is Kuneitra in the possession of the Syrian forces, or is it in the possession of the Israel forces? When we get that information, the Council will know what to do.

69. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (*translated from French*): If I have asked to speak at this stage it is not in order to make a statement, but to ask for clarification through you, Mr. President, since many contradictory statements have been made.

70. If we remember correctly, when the cease-fire was ordered by the Security Council, there were no Israel forces on Syrian soil. That is what we have gathered from all the reports reaching here.

71. Much is being made of the exact present location of the Israel forces on Syrian soil and whether they have or have not attacked a certain town. But since we are dealing with this question and have just heard a certain representative say that he refused to speak on the matter because he lacked information, I should like to ask the Permanent Representative of Israel through you, Sir, since he seems very well informed—having spoken to his Government only a few minutes or half an hour ago—whether Israel forces are now on Syrian soil or not and where those forces are. Are there Israel forces there; and, if so, what are they doing there? According to his information, where are those forces at present, or are they on Israel's soil? Have they not crossed the frontier? That is certainly an important point for the Council.

72. We have just heard the Syrian delegation's statement that Damascus and other points have been bombed. Some have said that the town of Kuneitra has been occupied; others have told us that it has not. But the Syrian delegation has stated that it has been occupied and the newspapers say so too. We should like the representative of Israel, who is very well informed, to tell us whether Israel forces have crossed the frontier. The Council will then have a clear indication of what is going on there and we shall have it in the form of a statement by the representative of Israel.

73. Therefore, through you, Mr. President, I ask the Permanent Representative of Israel to tell us if Israel forces are in Syria or within the frontiers of Israel.

74. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): First of all, Mr. President, may I say that we appreciate your remark regarding the object of our condemnation. We are condemning falsification, deceit and treachery. It is not the person that matters here, be he what he may; but if that person is invested with the authority of a Government, then there is the more reason to condemn him severely when he misleads this high organ.

75. We have just listened to the statement made by the United States representative. We do not doubt the need to receive authentic, reliable and verified information. But we have just received such information, since we have just heard, from the Secretary-General, General Bull's report that air raids on the capital of the Syrian Arab Republic have been carried out by Israel's pirate gangs. Can this really be called unreliable information? Is this not objective evidence from a sufficiently authoritative source? We would ask the distinguished judge where his impartiality is, and why he has lost the gift of speech and passed over this fact in complete silence.

76. And another question arises: Would he have maintained such composure and equanimity if this piratical attack had been carried out, not against the capital of Syria, but against the capital of the country of which he is the representative, just as all of us are our countries' representatives? Why does the United States representative's sense of objectivity and justice fall short in this respect? We should like to hear an answer to our question.

77. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker on my list is the representative of Syria.

78. Mr. TOMEH (Syria): I should prefer to delay my statement at this moment until I hear the answers to the questions put by the representative of Bulgaria, also.

79. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): I shall be quite satisfied to have the members of the Council judge the impartiality and tone of my statements as contrasted with the statements made by the representative of the USSR.

80. Like the other members of the Council, I was notified by the President some time before three o'clock—I believe it was 2.30 a.m.—that the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic had requested an urgent meeting because Israel forces had taken Kuneitra and were proceeding towards Damascus, and that this was the basis for the request for an urgent meeting.

81. I do not assume that we were urgently called here to discuss the many other important matters which were the subject of our discussion yesterday evening and which would have been the subject of our discussion at the scheduled time of our meeting this morning.

82. As regards that particular call for a meeting, we do not have any information other than the fact that the Syrian

representative says that Kuneitra was taken and the Israel representative says it was not taken. We also have statements from both sides; one side says that the forces are moving towards Damascus and the other side says that there is no truth in that statement. I still say that the best way to determine the matter is for General Bull's observers, with the co-operation of both parties, to proceed to Kuneitra and give us a report.

83. With respect to other items in the Secretary-General's report, he read very precisely. In about 90 per cent of the cases mentioned, he reported what the senior delegate of Syria had stated to General Bull. Or he reported what the senior Israel delegate had said.

84. With respect to the bombing of Damascus, this is not to be condoned if it took place. But it is apparent from the Secretary-General's report that it cannot be said whether the report is based upon first-hand information and observation or whether it is based on reports made to the United Nations Observer by one of the parties involved. I should not think that it would be necessary for us to quarrel about an essential fact. We ought to have information of an impartial character before this Council further discharges its responsibility in the matter. That is the point I made earlier, and I repeat it. I do not regard the statement I made as one which calls into question the impartiality of any member of the Council. I regard it to be a necessary element in the discharge of one's responsibilities.

85. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): May I point out that our United States colleague is evading an answer to the question. We did not ask him about that matter, and it ill behoves a professional lawyer and judge to resort to that kind of verbal casuistry.

86. With all due respect, we want a reply to our direct question, and in order to remind the Council of the essence of the matter, I would ask you, Mr. President, to request the Secretary-General to read out once more the section of General Bull's report in which reference is made to the bombing of the capital of the Syrian Arab Republic by Israel aircraft.

87. This is a fact: not merely the fact of an advance towards Damascus, but of an attack, a piratical attack against the capital of a sovereign State and a Member of our Organization.

88. The PRESIDENT: The Council has already requested the Secretary-General to make a report to it. A request has now been made to have the Secretary-General repeat part of that report. Would the Secretary-General be good enough to read out that particular part of the report in reply to the question raised by the representative of the Soviet Union.

89. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: In response to the request of the representative of the Soviet Union, I shall read out that portion of my report. In the course of the Telex conversation between General Odd Bull and Under-Secretary Ralph Bunche at the time of my earlier report, we received this information: Report from the Chairman of Israel-Syrian Mixed Armistice Commission. 10 June. Dis-

patch at 0735 hours GMT: "An air attack took place on the Damascus airport area."

90. I have just received a further report on the same subject from General Bull. It reads:

"Most immediate from Bull. Report received from Chairman of the Israel-Syrian Mixed Armistice Commission. Damascus at 0923 hours GMT, air attack on Damascus going on."

91. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (*translated from French*): I do not of course intend to make a statement at this time. I merely wish to repeat the question that I asked a few moments ago, because so far I have had no answer from the Permanent Representative of Israel to the question that I put to him through the President as to whether the Israel forces which were on Israel's soil in the beginning, when we adopted the cease-fire resolution, have not advanced on to Syrian soil? Are there Israel forces in Syrian territory at the moment?

92. It is of capital importance for the Security Council to know this so that we can judge the situation in the area. It is obvious what a valuable witness the Permanent Representative of Israel can be on this matter. I think the Council should obtain an answer from him to enable it to draw the necessary conclusions.

93. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): We should like to thank the Secretary-General, who has not only been kind enough to read out the part of General Bull's report that we asked for, but has also given the Council additional information to the effect that air raids are still being carried out against Damascus, the capital of Syria, by the Israel pirates.

94. Once again we ask the distinguished judge whether he does not now deem it possible to state his views on the information just given by U Thant, the Secretary-General.

95. Mr. KEITA (Mali) (*translated from French*): I should like to point out that my delegation was very interested in the answer to the Bulgarian representative's question. I think the whole Council knew the answer we were expecting. Indeed, according to what the Secretary-General has just read out the city of Damascus is at present—and I say at present, according to the report which has just been read out—being bombed. That report was transmitted to the Secretary-General by General Bull, the accredited representative of the United Nations in the area.

96. Mention has often been made around this table of rumours and hearsay rather than proof. The persons in whom we place our trust are those who represent the United Nations; General Bull does represent the United Nations. The report which has just reached us comes from him and states that the bombing is continuing.

97. I therefore emphasize that this is not a rumour. I do not believe that anyone here can in good faith doubt General Bull's report. I believe everyone is convinced that it is not a rumour, but is evidence that the bombing of

Damascus is continuing. In the light of this fact, I think the Council must take a decision. It would not be doing so on the basis of a rumour, but on the basis of official authentic evidence provided by a representative of the United Nations in the area. This is what I wanted to point out to the members of the Council.

98. Mr. GOLDBERG (United States of America): A bombing of Damascus would be in violation of the cease-fire orders that we have unanimously voted, and it could not be condoned by any member of this Council. I make this as an explicit statement. And any such bombing should not be repeated.

99. It is not entirely clear to me whether this report is based on first-hand observation or not, but I say specifically that a bombing, if it is going on, is in violation of the orders.

100. The Secretary-General also reports from his observers—and we have not enough information as yet to determine whether the report is accurate—that there is firing going on from the heights in the Tiberias area. The Israel representative charges that gun emplacements there are shelling Israel settlements. United Nations observers ought to go and determine whether this is the case. If it is the case, I should then welcome a statement similar to the one I have just made from members of this Council.

101. What we want is a cease-fire that is effective between both parties. The position of my Government is that all firing should cease in accordance with the cease-fire order of this Council. It should cease wherever it is taking place, whether it is by bombing or from gun emplacements or from anywhere else.

102. We should be objective in this matter. The Secretary-General has read to us the reports. Any bombing by aircraft would be in violation of the cease-fire order of this Council and it could not be condoned. Any firing from gun emplacements into Israel villages would be in violation of the cease-fire order and likewise could not be condoned.

103. We need, it is perfectly obvious, a comprehensive report as to what is going on in the cease-fire area. That is what we have been asking for and that is what we are entitled to receive. I do not notice the same objectivity on the part of other members of the Council concerning the nature of military activities.

104. I should also add that any Israel military activity also should not be condoned, whether it is bombing or any other kind of activity. What we are looking for is full implementation of the cease-fire order.

105. Mr. PARTHASARATHI (India): We are faced with a very grave situation indeed when the decisions of the Security Council ordering a cease-fire are being violated with impunity. The Secretary-General's report has made it very clear that it is a fact that Damascus is being bombed. Of course, we are all naturally anxious that we should get reliable information, as far as possible official reports, as to the situation, the question of whether Israel forces are in Syrian territory.

106. In this connexion, I have before me a report from the United Press International which I would like to read out. It is a report from Tel-Aviv and it reads as follows:

"Israel tanks and troops, supported by waves of jet planes, today smashed fifty miles into Syria and began encircling the capital city of Damascus, battlefront reports said. Informed sources said the Soviet-supported Syrian régime will fall shortly.

"The report said Israel forces captured the city of Kuneitra, ten miles deep into Syria, and then split into a two-pronged attack—one armoured infantry column dashing north-east to Damascus, and the other south-east to the city of Der'a.

"Damascus Radio, in a broadcast heard in Beirut, acknowledged the fall of Kuneitra after a fierce battle."

107. There is also another report from the United Press International, from Tel-Aviv, which says: "Military reports said today Israel troops had pushed deep into Syria and encircled Damascus."

108. This creates a very serious situation and the Council will have to consider very swiftly what action has to be taken.

109. May I suggest, Mr. President, that we have a recess of ten minutes to consider the reports that we have before us: the Secretary-General's report and the reports that I have just read out. I request this recess under rule 33, paragraph 1, of the provisional rules of procedure, for suspension of the meeting.

110. The PRESIDENT: I put the Indian motion to suspend the meeting to the vote.

A vote was taken by a show of hands.

The motion was adopted unanimously.

The meeting was suspended at 6 a.m. and resumed at 6.25 a.m.

111. The PRESIDENT: I apologize to the members that consultations among the members prolonged the suspension for twelve minutes. I had a request from the representative of India for a prolongation.

112. The first speaker on my list is the representative of Israel, to whom I now give the floor.

113. Mr. RAFAEL (Israel): The Secretary-General has transmitted a report from the Chairman of the Israel-Syrian Mixed Armistice Commission that at 0923 hours GMT an air attack on Damascus was going on. This report has created the impression that Israel aircraft were engaged in an attack on Damascus.

114. After having contacted my Government, I deny again, categorically, that any Israel aircraft have attacked Damascus, or the airport of Damascus, or the vicinity of Damascus at any time. My Government has launched a

strong protest against that sort of reporting which has been transmitted by the Chairman of the Israel-Syrian Mixed Armistice Commission.

115. The reliability of the information submitted to the Council by the representative of Syria can be ascertained from the fact that, yesterday, he charged that Israel aircraft had bombed Cairo. And the other day he alleged that British aircraft, from an aircraft carrier, had taken part in recent attacks in the Middle East. I wish to refer to the statement of Lord Caradon, the representative of the United Kingdom, which is contained in the verbatim record of the 1348th meeting; he said:

"The statement made by my Ministry of Defence in regard to the first two allegations I shall read:

"The allegation on Damascus radio that, according to a captured Israel pilot, seventeen Vulcan aircraft arrived in Israel ten days ago, is a complete lie which has no-repeat, no-foundation whatsoever.

"The broadcast by Cairo radio that British Canberra bombers have taken part in bombing Egyptian positions in Sinai is also a complete lie, without foundation.'" [1348th meeting, para. 242.]

And the representative of the United Kingdom continued:

"I would suggest to the representative of Syria that he does not help his cause by coming here with repeated allegations that have already been denied; and I would go further and say to him that if accusations are to be made, it would be well to be careful that they cannot be immediately and completely disproved." [Ibid.]

I just wish to support that wise statement made by the representative of the United Kingdom and again I want categorically to deny the false allegations that Israel forces are advancing on Damascus, or that Israel forces are in occupation of Kuneitra.

116. I wish to state again that my Government is in touch with General Bull and has requested him urgently to dispatch observers to the front line to verify the situation so that reliable reports can be transmitted to the Security Council, reports which certainly will bear out the information which I have submitted to the Council in meetings yesterday and also today, that for more than forty hours Syrian gun emplacements have been shelling Israel villages mercilessly, viciously, with a very great loss of life and heavy damage to houses, structures and property.

117. The PRESIDENT: Before we proceed, I would ask the Secretary-General to submit some supplementary information which he has received.

118. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Just before the short suspension of the meeting, in a talk by Telex this morning, General Bull reported that on the morning of 10 June he had met with Mr. Sasson of the Israel Foreign Office. Mr. Sasson assured General Bull that UNTSO observers would have freedom of movement and that Israel liaison officers would be provided for them. Mr. Sasson suggested

that United Nations observers should visit settlements on the front lines with Syria in connexion with the observance of the Security Council cease-fire. Mr. Sasson asked that United Nations observers should be sent to Kuneitra to confirm that Israel's forces were not in Kuneitra and were not advancing on Damascus. General Bull undertook to make every possible effort to observe the cease-fire both in the border settlements in the Kuneitra area and elsewhere.

119. A few moments later, General Bull transmitted another message to me. The text reads as follows:

"Following message received from Chairman of the Israel-Syrian Mixed Armistice Commission, Damascus:

"The situation report at 0901 hours GMT 10 June. All observers and staff being called into Mixed Armistice Commission house area. This on the advice of the Syrian delegate who says he cannot accept responsibility for United Nations military observers and staff outside the Mixed Armistice Commission house area."

I do not know yet the exact implications of this message as far as the freedom of movement and effectiveness of the observers of the Israel-Syrian Mixed Armistice Commission is concerned.

120. I have just now received a few additional reports. One cable is from General Bull; the time of dispatch was 1009 hours GMT and the text reads as follows:

"Message from Chairman of the Israel-Syrian Mixed Armistice Commission received via Tiberias control centre at 0944 hours GMT. Air raid seems to be over but alert still going on."

121. The last cable report from General Bull was dispatched from Jerusalem at 10.10 a.m. GMT. The text reads as follows:

"The present situation is very confused. This is my assessment in the light of available information:

"1. UNTSO observers have reported that bombing and hostilities continue along the eastern ridges of Lake Tiberias shores in Syria, as well as on the eastern bank of Jordan River, north of Lake Tiberias, and that Damascus has been bombed by Israel Air Force.

"2. There is a strong indication that Kuneitra has been taken by Israel troops but it is impossible for UNTSO to confirm.

"3. Our observers in Damascus have been confined in Mixed Armistice Commission house at the request of the Syrian authorities for reasons of safety.

"4. Our observers in Tiberias cannot function effectively because they have no freedom of movement.

"5. No reply received regarding return of UNTSO Government House."

122. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (*translated from French*): Since four o'clock this morning, just as happened

yesterday, certain parties around this table have led us into a discussion which is meant to confuse us, to lead us into the unknown and to make us believe that the situation which they have brought about in a certain place, and particularly in Syria, is not clear and that there are reports from which it appears that one cannot ascertain what is happening and that that is why we should not express an opinion on certain questions.

123. These tactics are not new; they are very old. There have been statements by the representative of Israel that a certain event, a certain bombing, has not been confirmed, according to his information. But, if you recall, we asked a question, to which, despite the statements by the Permanent Representative of Israel, we have still not received an answer. He has said that Israel forces are not in such and such places, that they have not taken such and such a town. But so far he has not said that Israel forces are not on Syrian soil.

124. Why? Because, of course, if he had replied—and I know we are not in a court of law—he would at least have committed the crime of lying and even of incriminating himself in the eyes of world public opinion and before the Security Council. Now, he does not want to incriminate himself; he cannot say that Israel forces are not in Syria at this moment, although when we adopted the resolution on the cease-fire question there were no Israel forces in Syria.

125. Therefore, the Permanent Representative of Israel's silence on this question is a recognition of the fact that, at this moment, to his knowledge, Israel forces are in Syria. He cannot deny it and that is why he does not speak of it. He can, of course, speak of other matters that can give rise to controversy because the situation created by the Israelis is such that the machinery of the United Nations cannot function perfectly enough to tell us where those forces are and what is going on.

126. Old verbatim records have been quoted and the representative of Israel can say to us that their people are lying because they have lied before, that the others are also lying because they have lied before. But he cannot say that Israel forces are not in Syria. That is a fact which has already been established by his guilty silence.

127. In the meeting this morning, the representative of the Soviet Union raised the question of the cessation of all military action by Israel and the withdrawal of Israel forces from those parts of the territory of the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Syria which they have seized as the result of an aggression. That is a weighty point, because territory has been occupied in all three countries, particularly in Syria. For the moment, at the request of the representative of Syria, we are dealing with the question of the continuation of Israel's aggression against Syria.

128. In the statements made yesterday evening by the Permanent Representative of Israel following repeated requests by members of the Security Council for information he said in effect: "It is not true; we have no information; the situation is confused." I could not really say that all delegations asked for that information and had doubts about the statements made by the representative of

Israel, but there were some delegations which said "There are rumours, we shouldn't listen to them, we cannot rely on rumours." But those rumours have been confirmed. In this morning's United States newspapers, we find the information that Kuneitra, a town situated about fifty kilometres from Damascus, is in the hands of the Israelis. And, remember, this is information which comes not from Syria, but from Israel—from Tel-Aviv—from newspaper correspondents in Israel. This is information printed in newspapers which are sympathetic towards Israel and towards the Zionists. It is the truth and this news tells us so.

129. The Permanent Representative of Israel, at this very moment, is trying to create doubt by attempting to prove that his country's forces are not advancing, that they have not occupied this point or that. But the fact is that the agency dispatches quoted here are affirmative.

130. There is a further point. The Secretary-General has received information. It is true that the United Nations machinery in the area is in a difficult situation which does not enable it to collect the necessary information, because it has been upset by Israel's advance, by Israel's aggression.

131. What was the purpose of the Permanent Representative of Israel in saying that he had no information on the advance of the Israel troops or on the fact that Israel was occupying a certain place or bombing a certain town? He was trying to do the same thing as the Israel troops are doing on the spot. The representative of Israel is carrying the war into this chamber. He is a warrior trying to practise diversionary tactics in order to mislead the enemy, Syria, and the Security Council, which is also his enemy, because he is standing here before it and must reply to the accusations against him and tell lies, on the orders of his Government.

132. Why? Because they are waging war; because they are committing aggression; and they are in their element. This is something which the Permanent Representative of Israel was perhaps accustomed to in the past when he himself took part in the war and he is now doing it in the Security Council. It may be to his honour, but it does not do honour to the international community, which sees aggression continuing.

133. What we must note here is that the same attitude, the same attempt to create doubt because they cannot deny the facts, has been adopted by certain delegations which use the words "would", "could", etc. Why? Simply because, with that conditional language, one can do anything and the Permanent Representative of Israel is trying to make the Security Council accept anything.

134. The facts are there. But in the light of the information given us by the Secretary-General—information coming from United Nations sources in the area, that is from General Bull and the Damascus representative—we can no longer have the slightest doubt that the aggression is continuing and that Israel forces are on Syrian soil. Whether they have gone beyond Kuneitra or not does not matter. The essential point here is that those forces are on Syrian territory and that they are fighting and advancing.

135. We have been told: "They began by firing on Israel villages and we had to defend ourselves". But was this taking place on Syrian territory? Was it in Damascus, in the sky over Damascus? Perhaps it was still further on.

136. What is the goal sought here? The Permanent Representative of India indicated what it was when he read us a press dispatch stating that the objective of Israel's aggression was to intervene, if possible, in Syrian affairs, to seek to promote a *coup d'état* to overthrow the Syrian Government and régime. The attitude adopted by those who seek to attain that objective and by the Permanent Representative of the United States, who has spoken several times, is the typical attitude of a guilty party whether before the Security Council or before any ordinary court of law. Mr. Goldberg, a Judge of the United States Supreme Court, knows what it means not to answer a question which might incriminate the party concerned. Consequently, he understands full well the silence of the Permanent Representative of Israel, but he does not wish to draw the obvious conclusions which would immediately come to the mind of any judge or lawyer.

137. Some delegations here have shared with the Israel delegation the work of creating doubts and misleading the Security Council on the true situation in the area and on the continuation of the Israel aggression. They are playing for time in order to place the international community, the Security Council and the entire world before new *faits accomplis*, merely in order to satisfy Israel's demands and territorial and other claims. They are acting in this manner to squash the progressive movement, the anti-imperialist movement and the anti-colonialist movement in the Middle East, that is, to oppose the efforts of those peoples to secure freedom, independence, sovereignty and respect for their rights. The representatives of some imperialist circles obviously have their reasons for acting in this way. Perhaps they even have the right to come here. But the international community and the Security Council cannot exonerate those imperialist circles which are trying to encourage colonialism for the purpose of opposing the fight of the peoples for their freedom. The task of the international community and the Security Council is to support those peoples, to give them the possibility of freeing themselves from the yoke of the oppressors, who have been helped, it must be noted, by a certain State created by the United Nations which has become an agent of that imperialism.

138. The representative of Israel has repeated the same statements several times, but that very repetition was in itself recognition of the fact that the aggression is continuing. His silence on certain points has also confirmed it. The repeated allegations by the representative of Israel have certainly not succeeded in misleading the members of the Council. We therefore consider that the Security Council should begin, at least for the moment, by very seriously condemning Israel's aggression against Syria and that it should at the same time take steps to stop that aggression and to see that peace in the Middle East and in the world is not endangered further. The Security Council cannot tolerate Israel's aggression, which the world will not tolerate. That aggression could have disastrous consequences not only for Israel, but also for the whole world.

139. The Bulgarian delegation is asking for condemnation of the aggression and for withdrawal of the troops to their original positions. Then, as the Secretary-General said, we must try to solve all the problems which have arisen, but only after the essential and immediate issues have been settled. My delegation insists that the Security Council should condemn the aggressor and demand the withdrawal of troops as rapidly as possible, immediately.

140. The PRESIDENT: Before proceeding, I would ask the Secretary-General to submit a supplementary report.

141. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have just received another cable from General Bull. The time of the dispatch was 1016 hours Greenwich Mean Time, Jerusalem. It reads as follows:

"1. (Mr.) Sasson, of the Israel Foreign Office, called to report the following: 'I have checked Chairman Israel-Syrian Mixed Armistice Commission's report of aerial attack on Damascus and I am calling to give an accurate report on the exact situation:

"(a) There has been no air attack on the city of Damascus or on the Damascus airfield.

"(b) There have been and are Israel aircraft in the vicinity of Damascus; they are there as protective cover for the Israel forces in the area.

"(c) I want to add our astonishment and strong protest concerning the report of the Chairman with allegations of attacks on Damascus. We are surprised that he, being a military man,"—that is, the Chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission being a military man—"cannot distinguish between an air attack and other things that he is hearing, for instance, anti-aircraft."

That is the message General Bull received from Mr. Sasson of the Israel Foreign Office. The message continued:

"2. (Mr.) Sasson called back a few minutes later to stress again that there was no air attack on the city" (of Damascus).

142. In response to an inquiry about the alleged Syrian shelling of villages in Israel, General Bull has just replied to me, and I quote his report:

"Only information we have is a flash from Tiberias control center as follows: '0920 hours GMT, clouds of smoke seen rising from side of hill in Israel approximate bearing 1-2 degrees west of Safad.'"

That is the end of the report.

143. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of France, who has asked to speak on a point of order.

144. Mr. SEYDOUX (France) (*translated from French*): We have heard a series of reports which are most interesting but do not always tally very exactly—quite understandable in view of the local situation. I wonder whether it would

not be desirable to take a break of twenty or thirty minutes, for example, so that we could not just listen to these very interesting reports but also read and study them. Making photocopies of the reports should not take very long.

145. That is why I suggest that we adjourn the meeting for a short time, in accordance with rule 33, sub-paragraph 3, of the provisional rules of procedure. We could meet again at 7.30 a.m.

146. The PRESIDENT: The representative of France has moved, under rule 33, sub-paragraph 3, of the provisional rules of procedure, the adjournment of the meeting until 7.30 a.m.

147. I should like to ask the Secretary-General whether we could have copies of the reports within half an hour.

148. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: All my previous reports were published by the Office of Public Information a few minutes ago. The report that I just submitted to the Council¹ will be available in the form of an Office of Public Information document in perhaps another ten minutes.

149. The PRESIDENT: Is there any objection to adjourning the meeting until 7.30 a.m.? As there is no objection, I shall take it that it is so decided.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 7.5 a.m.

¹ The report of the Secretary-General, dated 10 June 1967, was subsequently circulated as United Nations Press Release SG/SM/738.