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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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1923rd MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 28 May 1976, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Louis de GUIRINGAUD (France).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Benin, China, France, Guyana, Italy, Japan, Libyan Arab Republic, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1923/Rev.1)

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/12083 and Add.1)

The meeting was called to order at 3.25 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/12083 and Add.1)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I draw the attention of the Council members to the two documents before them. There is, first, the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) for the period from 25 November 1975 to 24 May 1976 [S/12083 and Add.1]. In addition, we have a draft resolution presented by Benin, Guyana, Pakistan, Panama, Romania and the United Republic of Tanzania, [S/12088], which was considered in the course of the consultations which were held this morning.
2. Before I put the draft resolution to the vote, I would inform the Council that the Secretary-General has expressed a desire to speak at this stage. If there are no objections, I shall now call upon the Secretary-General.
3. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have already had the opportunity to inform the members of the Council, during the informal consultations this

morning, about my visit to Damascus. Permit me, therefore, simply to make the following points in relation to that trip.

4. As may be recalled, when I spoke to the Council at the end of the Council's debate in January [1879th meeting], I referred, in my brief statement, to certain deadlines that might confront the international community. Obviously, one such deadline was the renewal of UNDOF's mandate this May. As you are aware, following the January debate I took some steps with a view to trying to reactivate the negotiating process. I shall, of course, continue those efforts.

5. In the course of the consultations with the parties concerned on the question of the prolongation of the mandate of UNDOF, I sent a message to President Hafez Al-Assad, asking him to give his consent to the renewal of the mandate for a further period of six months. Before giving me his answer, the President asked me to make a visit to Damascus in order to discuss the matter personally with him. After careful consideration of the issues involved, and fully conscious of my duty as Secretary-General, I accepted his invitation. I limited the trip to Damascus because I had already received the consent of Israel to the prolongation of the mandate.

6. In Damascus, where I arrived on 26 May, I had extensive talks with President Assad and Foreign Minister Khaddam during which we had a wide-ranging discussion of the Middle East situation, including the crisis in Lebanon. The President expressed his concern about the fact that no progress had been made in regard to a global solution of the Middle East problem and emphasized that he could not permit UNDOF to become a permanent institution. He stated once again to me the position of his Government on the essential elements for a global solution of the Middle East problem. The President expressed his support for my own efforts in this regard and indicated that he was aware that more time was needed to advance the cause of peace.

7. I had a second meeting with President Assad on the morning of 27 May, when the primary focus was the Syrian response to my appeal for the continuation of the UNDOF mandate. Reiterating his willingness to afford the United Nations time for further peace efforts, the President declared that he would consent to the renewal of the mandate for a further six-month period.

8. The Government of Israel informed me, after my departure from New York en route to Damascus, that the consent given to me previously for the prolongation of UNDOF's mandate was conditional on a similar agreement by Syria without political conditions. The assent of the Government of Israel to the continuation of UNDOF was confirmed on 27 May.

9. Now that both Syria and Israel have agreed to the prolongation of the mandate, I am confident that the Council will take the necessary action to enable UNDOF to continue its vital task of assisting in the maintenance of quiet in the area and of providing an atmosphere conducive to further peace efforts.

10. I feel obliged once again to express my concern at the continued lack of progress towards a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. As I have stated in my report, the situation in the Middle East as a whole remains tense and unstable and will become increasingly dangerous unless such progress can be made. For my part, I intend to continue my efforts to advance the cause of peace, and I hope for the full co-operation of all the parties concerned in this endeavour.

11. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the Secretary-General for his statement, and I think I am certainly conveying the feelings of all the members of the Council when I express gratitude and appreciation for the efforts he has personally exerted in order to achieve a satisfactory settlement of the question now before us.

12. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): Once again this Council meets to consider the renewal of the mandate of a peace-keeping force in the Middle East. On this occasion, the mandate is that of United Nations forces stationed in the Golan Heights. Thus, since the war of liberation of October 1973—that is, over a period of nearly three years—this Council has held discussions on no less than 10 occasions on the mandates or the extension of the mandates of United Nations forces stationed in the Sinai and in the Golan Heights. This realization, coupled with slow movement towards lasting peace in the Middle East, or, worse still, the maintenance of the *status quo*, makes it, in the view of my delegation, not inappropriate that we remind ourselves of certain essential factors.

13. In the first place, we should remember the circumstances which led to the creation of UNDOF. The war which preceded it was fuelled by a climate which, quite frankly, this Council helped in part to create by its lack of positive action to break a stalemate which had become institutionalized, a situation of no war, no peace. Secondly, we should remember the expectations of some, if not all, of the interested parties and the overwhelming majority of the international community at that time that the creation of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) and UNDOF was no mere palliative. Those forces were not

regarded as placebos, as façades behind which those policies make an investment in aggression and occupation can seek permanent refuge. On the contrary, the fanfare which accompanied the establishment of those forces reinforced expectations that after a period of some 25 years of denied rights and postponed solutions, there would be concerted and determined efforts to have installed in the Middle East that régime of peace which had hitherto proved so elusive. And, thirdly, it is incumbent upon us to remember that it was against such expectations that the functions of the forces—and we are today concerned with UNDOF—were elaborated.

14. I believe that we are entitled to ask at least two questions in this context at this stage—and we shall pose those questions with the acknowledgement, —which I presume is unanimously shared by the members of this Council—that the expectations of which I spoke earlier have not been fulfilled. First, useful as the role of UNDOF has been, is there not a real danger that its true role is being undermined, perhaps subverted? Secondly, is there not a pressing need for the Council, in a rare but desired display of unanimity in the discharge of its prime responsibility under the Charter for peace and security, to assert its role unmistakably in the search for an over-all settlement?

15. It seems to my delegation that we have a unique opportunity to vindicate the trust which has been placed in the Council. UNDOF has continued, as the Secretary-General observed in his report, to contribute to the maintenance of the cease-fire called for by the Council in its resolution 338 (1973) and to carry out the tasks entrusted to it. Yet UNDOF's establishment was seen as part of a process towards peace in the Middle East, not as an end in itself. For a time it appeared that the negotiating process was evolving in a manner which would without undue delay realize widely held aspirations to a settlement of the problems besetting that area for such a long time. The Geneva Peace Conference, convened under the auspices of the United Nations, nourished such hopes. Indeed, the Council reflected not only its own feelings but those of the overwhelming majority of the international community when, in its resolution 344 (1973), it expressed the hope that "the Peace Conference will make speedy"—and I stress "speedy"—"progress towards the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East". And there were also efforts, serious and determined efforts, by Member States and by the Secretary-General himself, which led to some partial steps being taken in that direction. But the absence of substantial progress and the potential for violent conflict which inhere in such a situation are today widely acknowledged.

16. In that connexion my delegation notes that some of the impediments encountered stem from the denial of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, that important element which was missing from resolution 242 (1967). Over the last two years, however, the

General Assembly and the Council have taken long overdue steps in an effort to rectify past errors in this regard. The Palestinian people, authentically represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization, now have an opportunity to present their case before us. Real progress can best be made when we respond positively, in accordance with natural justice, to the logic of the Palestinian position. The report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People appointed by the General Assembly at its thirtieth session will shortly be before the Council. Let us resolve now to use constructively the opportunity which our consideration of that report will provide, for any effort to achieve an over-all settlement which ignores the central reality of the rights of the Palestinian people is bound to run into adverse headwinds.

17. UNDOF is not a force to be stationed permanently on Syrian soil. It is, as I said earlier, part of a process which should lead to lasting peace. Yet we find that attitudes are being displayed which seek to invest in the periodic renewal of UNDOF's mandate a quality of routineness. My delegation categorically rejects such notions. It has always been at pains to put the functions of the Force within the proper perspective. The Force aids in creating a climate of peace and freedom from tension in the region which would favour the holding of comprehensive negotiations for an over-all peace settlement in the Middle East. The Force was certainly not meant to be a substitute for a peace settlement. Nor was it intended to lead to a freezing process whereby a situation caused by aggression would, because of its unchanging character, become acceptable with the passage of time. We call upon Israel to share that perception if its genuine desire is peace for itself and its neighbours.

18. We have carefully read the latest report of the Secretary-General on the work of UNDOF. We note that the cease-fire between Israel and Syria has been maintained and that the Force has suffered no casualties in successfully carrying out its mandate over the last six months. We are reassured by this most recent confirmation of the laudable services that the Force is performing in the interests of the maintenance of international peace. However, my delegation is constrained to observe that the problem of freedom of movement of the different contingents that make up the Force still persists. It is important that the work of the Force should not be hampered by the determined erection of obstacles, which is not in accordance with the terms of the Protocol to the Agreement on Disengagement [S/11302/Add.1 of 30 May 1974]. My delegation therefore hopes that the occupying Power will co-operate fully with UNDOF in ensuring that this problem is speedily resolved, on the basis of the provisions of the Protocol.

19. My delegation would like also to express its appreciation to those countries that have so generously contributed troops to the Force and to the troops

themselves, who have proved steadfast in their commitment to maintain peace and avert renewed hostilities.

20. My delegation wishes to express its sincere appreciation of the unstinting efforts of the Secretary-General. More specifically, we wish to commend him on his recent correct decision to travel to Damascus. My delegation believes that, apart from the obvious success of the visit, his decision has served to counter the entrenchment of the attitude by Israel and some of its supporters that the extension of the mandate should be undertaken routinely. We are indebted to the Secretary-General for his actions. Once more, by personal initiative he has demonstrated his deep concern for the maintenance of peace in the Middle East, and his commitment to the cause of achieving an early settlement to this grave problem.

21. My delegation wishes also to pay a tribute to the Government and people of Syria, and in particular to President Assad, for the admirable readiness with which they have agreed to a new mandate. Theirs is the experience of the loss of part of their land through aggression. Yet, in the face of the continuing intolerable situation, they have shown great restraint and patience. While we welcome the selfless act of Syria in accepting a new mandate, we recognize that it is unjust for the international community to expect that Syria should demonstrate such self-sacrifice indefinitely, if rigidity and the refusal to recognize the illegality of occupation continue to characterize the response of Israel.

22. When I spoke in the Council two days ago on the situation in the occupied territories [1922nd meeting], I emphasized the urgent need to recapture the impetus and retake the momentum for achieving a final solution to the Middle East question. It is the hope of my delegation that the six-month breathing space that is offered through the renewal of UNDOF's mandate will be used to begin anew the process of negotiation which will signal the end of the deadlock now faced and the advancement of the prospects for peace in that troubled region.

23. Consequent upon the consent of the Government of Syria to the extension of UNDOF's mandate for a further period of six months, a number of members of the Council—Benin, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, the United Republic of Tanzania and my own country, Guyana—have submitted the draft resolution contained in document S/12088.

24. The terms of the draft resolution follow the pattern of previous resolutions on this issue. It begins by a reference to the report of the Secretary-General and notes the efforts made to establish a durable and just peace in the Middle East—and we include importantly here those efforts of the Secretary-General—and the developments in the situation in the area. In the draft resolution concern is naturally expressed over the prevailing state of tension.

25. Those points need to be emphasized, for already within the last few months this Council has had cause to discuss extensively and on many occasions the factors which have contributed to the frustration of peace efforts and to the deterioration of the situation in the Arab territories illegally occupied by Israel.

26. According to the draft resolution the Council would decide to call for the immediate implementation of resolution 338 (1973); to renew the mandate of UNDOF for yet another period of six months; and to request the Secretary-General to submit at the end of that period a report on developments in the situation and the measures taken to implement resolution 338 (1973).

27. But similarity in language between this draft resolution and past resolutions on the subject must not be taken as reflecting an automatic approach. The urgency of the situation and the expectations of the international community demand that the circumstances in which this draft is being submitted be fully understood. The sponsors of this draft expect that the Council will live up to its responsibilities under the Charter and take such action as is necessary in the months ahead to accelerate the search for an overall solution. It is with that aspiration that, on behalf of the sponsors, I formally introduce draft resolution S/12088.

28. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now propose to put to the vote the draft resolution introduced by Guyana on behalf of the delegations of Benin, Guyana, Pakistan, Panama, Romania and the United Republic of Tanzania, which appears in document S/12088. If no delegation wishes to make any comments at this stage, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

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

Two members (China and the Libyan Arab Republic) did not participate in the voting.

29. Mr. LAI Ya-li (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation has always held a position of principle regarding the United Nations forces that was different from the Council's. Accordingly, it did not participate in the vote on draft resolution S/12088.

30. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Unfortunately, the Council must again consider the question of the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) on the Golan Heights. As is well known, that Force was created under Council resolution 350 (1974) as a short-term measure, with the sole purpose of assisting in the speedy and immediate implementation of resolu-

tion 338 (1973), which contains provisions for a comprehensive political settlement of the problem of the Middle East on the basis of the principles of the United Nations Charter and of the decisions of the United Nations on removing the consequences of the Israeli aggression. The Council has extended the mandate of the Force three times now. In its resolutions on the extension of the mandate of UNDOF the Council has called on the interested parties "to implement immediately Security Council resolution 338 (1973)". However, those appeals of the Council have been stubbornly ignored by Israel and its protectors and continue to be a voice crying in the wilderness.

31. Member States have spoken quite often of the ineffectiveness of the Organization because of the non-implementation of its decisions. But it is important not just to say that; it is also important to name and condemn those who undermine the effectiveness of the United Nations and refuse to implement its decisions.

32. The recent discussion of the question of the Middle East in the Council has shown once again that Israel and the United States refuse to implement the decisions of the Council and the General Assembly on the establishment of a just and stable peace in the Middle East on the basis of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967; the exercise of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its inalienable right to a State of its own, and respect for the right of all the States in that region to independent existence and development.

33. For many years now the armed forces of Israel have been occupying vast areas of the Arab countries. The Government of Israel continues its policy of annexation and transfer to its citizens of the territories of the Arab States which it has seized. The Israeli authorities are evicting the Arab population from its homeland and are creating Israeli settlements on those territories. This aggressive expansionist policy of Israel is the main cause of the continuation in the Middle East of a situation of prolonged and potentially explosive crisis.

34. As was shown by the discussion in the Council on the question of the situation in the occupied Arab territories, which concluded a few days ago, the Government of Israel has no intention of giving up its policy of territorial expansion to the detriment of its Arab neighbours. Rather it has proceeded to create new Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories, and in so doing it is relying on the support of its overseas protectors for its policy of seizure and annexation of Arab territories. This was again clearly brought out during the Council's consideration and approval on 26 May 1976 of the agreed statement read out by the President [*1922nd meeting*]. That statement was very weak and quite lenient to the Israeli aggressors. None the less the protectors of Israel

dissociated themselves entirely from that declaration because of the appeal to Israel it contained to discontinue its policy of establishing Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories.

35. This policy of the Government of Israel, and the encouragement it receives from its Zionist backers, can only lead to an exacerbation of the situation in the Middle East. The recent events in that region, and in particular the tragic events which have been occurring over several months in Lebanon, indicate an intensification of the efforts of imperialism and Zionism to increase tension in the Middle East, and to rob the Arab States and split them asunder. All this is being done in order to promote the designs of the imperialists, who wish to extend their control over the strategically important Middle East region and over its colossal oil resources.

36. The Soviet delegation already had occasion, at the Council meeting on 10 May [1918th meeting], fully to set forth the Soviet Government's assessment of the present situation in the Middle East and to outline the position of the Soviet Union on the question of the settlement of the Middle East conflict. That position, as already indicated, was set forth in detail in the Soviet Government's statement on the Middle East of 28 April [S/12063]. Therefore, there is no need for me to restate this position in detail. I merely wish to stress that any further postponement of a solution of the Middle East problem can only lead to increased tension in that region, which is fraught with danger not only to the Middle East but to the whole world.

37. The Soviet Union is determined in its stand in favour of a radical political settlement of the Middle East conflict, and feels that this is something that can be achieved. Discussions of the Middle East situation in recent years, and the relevant decisions of the General Assembly and the Council, have brought out a just and realistic basis on which such a settlement could and should be achieved. As was pointed out in the statement of the Government of the Soviet Union on the Middle East to which I have already referred, this basis consists of three organically interconnected elements: first, the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all the Arab territories which were occupied as a result of Israel's 1967 aggression; second, the satisfaction of the legitimate national aspirations of the Arab people of Palestine, including their inalienable right to establish their own State; third, international guarantees of the security and inviolability of the frontiers of all the Middle Eastern States, and their right to independent existence and development. The delegation of the USSR believes it important to recall this as the Council is now discussing one of the aspects of the Middle East problem.

38. It is the profound conviction of the Soviet Union that these basic interconnected tasks which form the basis for a settlement in the Middle East take due

account of the legitimate rights of all the parties directly concerned. The statement of the Soviet Government not only outlines the principles for a just and comprehensive settlement but also indicates how they should be applied. It contains a proposal for the resumption of the work of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East. It would be a two-stage Conference, with the indispensable participation of representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization in both stages of its work.

39. The Council has now, for the fourth time, extended the mandate of UNDOF for another six-month period. The Government of Syria has again displayed good will and agreed to a new extension of the presence of these troops on its territory. This is a gesture of good will which shows the earnest desire of the Syrian Government for peace, and it should be appreciated at its true value by the Council. At the same time, the Council should intensify its efforts to arrive at a comprehensive political settlement on the basis of the three elements I have referred to, which stem from the decisions already taken by the United Nations on the Middle East question.

40. In considering the issue now before the Council it is important to stress particularly the considerable danger to the cause of peace posed by the illusions harboured by Israel and its protectors regarding the extension of the mandate of the United Nations forces in the Middle East, which they take for something that is quite automatic. However, the Council cannot indefinitely extend the time-limit for the presence of the United Nations force in the Middle East, since these extensions have in fact been used by the Israeli aggressor and by its protectors to freeze the existing situation in the Middle East and to preserve for the aggressor the fruits of its aggression, as well as to consolidate Israel's hold over the Arab territories it has seized and wishes to keep for itself. The United Nations cannot be an accomplice of the aggressor in this, nor will the Arab countries, the overwhelming majority of Member States or the United Nations as a whole, ever agree to this. Neither will the Member States agree to bear indefinitely the burdensome expenses of maintaining the United Nations forces in the Middle East, which by their presence are in fact protecting and consolidating the aggressor's territorial acquisitions. The United Nations forces have been created and must be used for one single purpose: to facilitate the speediest possible establishment of a just and stable peace in the Middle East in conformity with the basic decisions of the Council and General Assembly.

41. The Security Council, the interested parties, and first and foremost Israel and its protectors, must pay the closest attention to the very serious warning contained in the latest report of the Secretary-General on UNDOF, in which he states:

"While the Israel-Syria sector is quiet at the present time, the situation in the Middle East as a whole remains tense and unstable. Unless further progress can be achieved towards a just and durable peace, the situation in the Middle East will become increasingly dangerous." [S/12083/Add.1, para. 2]

The Council cannot ignore this extremely important and serious warning of the Secretary-General. Unfortunately, there are forces which are doing everything they can to impede the attainment of a just and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. They are endeavouring to create further tensions in that region and to divide the Arab States and peoples. They aim at increasing confrontation between those States. They are conducting a systematic campaign against the process of détente in international relations, and against the principles and agreements that are to be found in the historic document signed by the leaders of 35 States, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The aggressor and the forces protecting it do not need peace in the Middle East which is not in their interest. It would be contrary to their expansionist designs. They need tension because this would facilitate their continued expansion and the retention of the fruits of their aggression against the Arab countries.

42. The relaxation of international tensions has a very favourable impact on the political climate of the world. The maintenance, development and strengthening of détente is in keeping with the vital interests of all peoples. There is no other way. Even the most determined opponents of détente are not in a position to propose any reasonable alternative to it. As was stated by Comrade Brezhnev at the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,

"The main thing now is to translate all the principles and understandings reached in Helsinki into practical deeds. This is exactly what the Soviet Union is doing and will continue to do."

The Final Act forms a single whole. Any attempt to over-emphasize certain provisions of the Final Act at the expense of others would certainly upset the agreement. The Act must be implemented in its entirety and in all its parts and should not be construed in a limited or narrow way, as has sometimes been done by representatives of some Western countries in their efforts to undermine détente.

43. As was also clearly shown at the Twenty-Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union regards the struggle for peace, for the strengthening of international security, for the establishment of the principles of peaceful coexistence and the development of comprehensive and mutually beneficial co-operation as the most important task in its foreign policy. As everyone knows, the Twenty-fifth Congress adopted a programme to intensify its efforts for peace and international co-operation and

for the freedom and independence of peoples. The aim is to consolidate in international practice the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-intervention in domestic affairs, non-use of force, and the right of peoples freely to decide their own fate. However, as has already been pointed out, there are still certain forces in the world which do not wish to renounce the psychology of the cold war and which sometimes pay lip service to détente, but in practice take actions which are quite different, pursuing their own known and selfish ends. This is the case with the forces of Zionism and imperialism that are operating in the Middle East and trying to establish their control over this vast region.

44. The Security Council and the United Nations as a whole are called upon to play a very important part in helping towards the attainment of a just and stable peace in the Middle East and in applying the principles on which détente is based.

45. We are convinced also that the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which is to meet this August in Colombo, will adopt decisions that will facilitate a radical settlement in the Middle East within the framework of the Geneva Peace Conference with the participation of representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization and on the basis of the relevant decisions of the United Nations. By its decisions, the Conference in Colombo will be able to make an important contribution to the cause of achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, to the further strengthening of international détente and to the spread of that process to all regions of the world including the Middle East, by removing the consequences of Israeli aggression against the Arab countries and peoples.

46. Importance must also be attached to the problem of complementing political détente by the relaxation of military tensions; we attach a great deal of importance to halting the arms race and the steep rise in military budgets, and to adopting measures in the field of disarmament which will include the convening of a world disarmament conference. At various meetings, the non-aligned countries have often spoken out in favour of convening such a conference.

47. The delegation of the Soviet Union expresses the hope that at the Conference in Colombo the non-aligned countries will make a sizable contribution to the just struggle of peoples for peace and security for all. The great aim is "making lasting peace the natural way of life for all the... peoples", as Comrade Brezhnev said in his report to the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow. And today, 28 May, in his statement in the Kremlin on the occasion of the signing by the Soviet Union and the United States of the treaty on underground nuclear explosions, Comrade Brezhnev put the emphasis on the following:

"In co-operation with other countries, we are prepared to move vigorously through a broad spectrum of measures that will lead to a curbing of the arms race and to disarmament. There is no loftier or more humane goal than the all-out strengthening of international peace and security and the sure elimination of the threat of war from relations among States".

48. The delegation of the Soviet Union voted in favour of the resolution extending the mandate of UNDOF on the Golan Heights, in the belief that that extension will be used to seek a just and stable peace in the Middle East, and in the hope that in order to achieve this the international machinery that has been created for the purpose, the Geneva Peace Conference, will be effectively used. The time has come for a radical settlement in the Middle East; it is time to have done with palliatives.

49. As far as the report of the Secretary-General is concerned, the delegation of the Soviet Union has noted with satisfaction the commitment by the Secretariat that is expressed in it to maintain the expenses for the upkeep of UNDOF within the limits of the appropriations that have already been approved. The Soviet delegation believes that the time has come to reduce the strength of the Force in the Middle East and consequently the expenses of their upkeep. The Secretariat must prepare a set of practical measures to achieve this.

50. Mr. SCRANTON (United States of America): Mr. President, first may I say, as the waning hours of your presidency approach, that we certainly congratulate you for the extraordinary and outstanding leadership that you have shown in this month of your presidency and that we are deeply in your debt for your diligence and determination in handling a very difficult month and some very difficult tasks. We have noted that there have been many achievements under your leadership, not the least of which, incidentally, is that you guided us so well that we were nearly on time most of the time.

51. Having had the opportunity to comment on other aspects of the situation in the Middle East both in the March Council debate and in the debate which closed just a couple of days ago, I shall confine my remarks to the proposition that is immediately before us.

52. This is the first time that I have participated in Council deliberations on the renewal of the mandate of a peace-keeping force in the Middle East. Let me say that I do so today with the greatest pleasure, and for two reasons.

53. First of all, the United States believes that the continued maintenance of the peace-keeping forces in the Middle East is an essential element in maintaining a stable environment which allows efforts towards an over-all peace settlement to proceed. Consequently,

we commend the Syrian Government for its statesmanlike decision to allow the mandate of UNDOF to be renewed for a further six-month period and equally welcome the concurrence of the Government of Israel in the renewal of the Force. While the presence of UNDOF on the Golan Heights is not an end in itself, positive steps between the parties involved would be much less likely if the Force were to be withdrawn. I should like to interpret the continuation of the presence of UNDOF forces for another six months as a sign that the parties intend to pursue the road to peace.

54. Secondly, this meeting provides an opportunity to comment on the conduct and effectiveness of the Force itself. UNDOF is a continuing credit to the United Nations, to the officers and men who serve with UNDOF, and to those in the Secretariat who are responsible for UNDOF's operation. The cease-fire between Israel and Syria has been well maintained. There have been no serious incidents and no loss of life during the period covered by today's report. On behalf of my Government, I should like to commend all those associated with UNDOF for the contribution they have made and are making to the pursuit of peace.

55. Finally, last but by no means least, I should like to express to the Secretary-General the deep appreciation of my Government for his efforts over the past few days—indeed, over the past months and years—to improve the possibilities for peace in the Middle East.

56. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, I wish at the very outset to pay a tribute to you for the effective, skilful and impartial way you have guided the deliberations of the Council since you assumed its presidency at the beginning of this month. Only two days ago, the Council was able to authorize you to make a statement relating to the situation in the occupied territories. That statement was a product of prolonged consultations and negotiation which you handled with exceptional skill, firmness combined with flexibility and, above all, with the utmost patience. Those of us who have been privileged to know you over the years and, in particular, to have had the real pleasure and satisfaction of working with you in the Council since last year, were not at all surprised by the outstanding calibre of leadership that you have displayed. We have come to know you as a diplomat of exceptional talents and capabilities and a statesman of great integrity. We have also come to value you as a friend and colleague who has spared no effort in promoting understanding and dialogue among all the sections that our great Organization comprises.

57. Allow me also to express our great satisfaction at the outstanding way in which Ambassador Huang Hua of the People's Republic of China provided the leadership of the Council in the month of April.

58. Since this is the first time I have spoken since our colleague and friend Ambassador Malik rejoined

us after recuperating from the accident of which both he and Mrs. Malik were victims, let me say how happy and thankful we are at his recovery as well as in that of Mrs. Malik.

59. I also join my colleagues who have done so in previous meetings of the Council in extending a warm welcome to the new Permanent Representatives of Japan and Panama. I wish to assure both Ambassadors Abe and Illueca of our strong desire to continue the active co-operation and collaboration which I and my delegation enjoyed with Ambassadors Saito and Boyd.

60. In sponsoring and voting for the draft resolution by which the mandate of UNDOF has just been extended for a period of another six months, my delegation is very conscious that this decision provides for the international community another breathing spell which must be fully exploited if the rapidly escalating tensions in the Middle East are not to result in yet another serious conflagration. For we entirely share the very pertinent and candid observations of the Secretary-General when he asserts in his report:

“... the situation in the Middle East as a whole remains tense and unstable. Unless further progress can be achieved towards a just and durable peace, the situation in the Middle East will become increasingly dangerous.” [S/12083/Add.1, para. 2.]

The Secretary-General was neither over-dramatizing nor exaggerating the situation. He was simply informing this Council of the facts of the situation. It does not require experts on the subject to recognize this.

61. Since last November when the Council extended UNDOF's mandate while at the same time providing for a thorough consideration of the Middle East problem, including the Palestinian question [*resolution 381 (1975)*—a question which the Secretary-General rightly pointed out in his press conference of 9 April 1976 in Geneva was the key to the solution of the Middle East problem—we have witnessed a further deterioration of the situation. Strenuous efforts by this Council in January to arrive at a decision which would have provided a sound and realistic basis for a just and durable peace in the area were regrettably frustrated. If the broad agreement which clearly emerged among the members of the Council in the January deliberations incorporating the salient points that mere prerequisites for a solution had not been blocked by one permanent member of the Council, perhaps a new and positive chapter would have begun in the area. It is important to recapitulate those salient points if only to underscore the urgent need for action in order to avoid a catastrophe. The overwhelming majority of the Council had asserted that for a just and lasting peace to be achieved in the area, the following principles needed to be scrupulously adhered to and implemented: first, the non-acquisition

of territory by force and thus the total withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the territories it has occupied since June 1967; secondly, the recognition of the national rights of the Palestinians and of their right to create an independent state of their own; and thirdly, the right of all States in the area to an independent existence within secure and recognized boundaries.

62. These are principles which were as valid then as they are now. They cry out for immediate recognition and implementation. And as we today extend the mandate of UNDOF it is all the more relevant that we remind ourselves of the Council's solemn responsibility to act firmly and decisively in that direction if there is to be a de-escalation of tension and an escalation of the efforts towards peace and justice for all the peoples of the Middle East—the Arab States, the Palestinian Arabs and the Jewish people.

63. Some cynics may wonder what all this has to do with what they may consider to be a routine exercise of renewing the UNDOF mandate. The answer is as simple as it is unequivocal: everything. There is nothing routine about the extension of the mandate. The Agreement on Disengagement was not intended to be an end in itself but the beginning of a process, a first step towards peace and a just solution in accordance with resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). My delegation has reportedly stated in the Council and wishes to stress once again that the idea of automatic renewal of the mandate—be it on the Golan Heights or in Sinai—is abnormal, unacceptable and dangerous. The United Nations forces are intended to create momentum towards peace and justice and not to be instruments for the preservation of the *status quo*.

64. There is another reason why we need to emphasize the urgency of the Council's action in search of a just and durable settlement. In the last three months the occupying authorities seem to have interpreted the Council's inaction as giving them *carte blanche* to continue with the consolidation of the occupation, to suppress the rising tide of Palestinian resistance, and to take measures which are not only in violation of General Assembly and Council resolutions but are indeed clearly calculated to promote the annexation of the occupied territories.

65. Both in March and in the last three weeks the Council's debates, culminating in the President's statement of 26 May [*1922nd meeting, para. 2.*], have dealt at length with the extremely serious conditions prevailing in the occupied Arab territories. I do not therefore propose to discuss in any detail matters of which the Council is perfectly aware. Suffice it to say that my Government is seriously concerned at the continued strong-arm measures, including the killing of innocent young Palestinians, adopted by the occupying Power. We are equally concerned at the cynicism and contempt with which the Government of Israel treats the legitimate concerns and demands of the international community in

proceeding with the creation of new *faits accomplis*, including the systematic measures aimed at changing the demographic composition of the occupied territories, and, in particular, the creation of new settlements in complete violation of the fourth Geneva Convention². We also share the international sense of outrage at the ruthless measures adopted by the Israeli authorities to curb the patriotic resistance of the Palestinian Arabs.

66. On an occasion such as this it is fitting once again to remind the Israeli authorities that they must recognize that they cannot have both peace and occupation. For as long as they continue to cling to their illegal occupation of the Arab territories there will be resistance, and this resistance will inevitably mount in both intensity and dimension. Israel would be well advised to pay heed to the sombre and calm warning given by the representative of Egypt when, in his statement before the Council on 4 May, he declared "... there can be no question of any kind of Arab coexistence with occupation". [1916th meeting, para. 26].

67. The Council must be the first to recognize that renewal of the mandate cannot be a permanent phenomenon. We have a clear responsibility to make use of the time the extension has allowed us vigorously to pursue the goals of peace and justice in the area. In this connexion, my delegation is extremely encouraged and inspired by the commendable efforts and timely initiatives taken by the Secretary-General. His dispatch to the Middle East of his personal representative, Under-Secretary-General Guyer, his continued contacts with the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, as well as his initiatives vis-à-vis all the parties concerned, merit our support and appreciation. We must in particular single out his latest initiative, which sent him to Damascus to engage in discussions with President Assad and Foreign Minister Khaddam and which resulted in the concurrence of the Government of Syria in the extension of the mandate. This initiative was not only timely but indeed indispensable to the cause of peace, for I must emphasize, even at the risk of being repetitious, that the UNDOF is in Syrian territory and the wishes and consent of the Syrian Government are paramount if the Force is to continue. In paying a tribute to the Secretary-General for all his untiring efforts, I should like, furthermore, to observe that in tackling this problem he has once again demonstrated the type of far-sighted, selfless and effective leadership that we in the Council, and indeed the whole United Nations, have come to expect of our distinguished Secretary-General.

68. The Council must act to enhance such initiatives. We have to take firm measures in pursuit of peace and justice in the Middle East. In this respect it is relevant to bear in mind that we shall have another opportunity to do so when, next month, the Council considers the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

I cannot conclude this statement without paying a tribute to the patience, perseverance and statesmanship demonstrated by the Government of Syria in agreeing to the extension of the mandate in response to the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General as well as to those of many others both within and outside the Council. We believe the Syrian decision will greatly facilitate a productive and calm discussion of the important report of the Committee.

69. Finally, I wish to join the Secretary-General and those who have preceded me in paying a well-deserved tribute to Major-General Hannes Philipp and the officers and men of UNDOF for effectively discharging their duties. Our appreciation is no less due to the contributing Governments, as indeed all those military and civilian personnel in the service of the United Nations peace-keeping effort in the area.

70. Mr. KIKHIA (Libyan Arab Republic): First of all I should like to express our appreciation and thanks to the Secretary-General for his sincere efforts, his determination and his optimistic approach, as well as his accurate report to the Council in connexion with the item under discussion.

71. I should like to reiterate the position of the Libyan Arab Republic with regard to the creation of UNDOF and the prolongation of its mandate. Our position is clear and well known. The Libyan delegation has on many occasions affirmed its attitude concerning resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), on which the presence of UNDOF is based. In fact, the position of my delegation concerning these resolutions has been reiterated many times in the General Assembly and also in the Council. We are convinced that those resolutions have been overtaken by events and developments both inside and outside the United Nations. They are irrelevant as a framework for any just and lasting solution to the Palestine problem and to the Middle East question. General Assembly resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3237 (XXIX), reaffirming the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people; General Assembly resolution 3376 (XXX), proposing the means designed to enable the Palestinian people to exercise their national rights; and General Assembly resolution 3379 (XXX), condemning Zionism as a racist movement, reflect the profound changes and developments in the attitude of the United Nations and of international public opinion and call for a review of this entire question and the method of dealing with it. For that reason the delegation of the Libyan Arab Republic has not participated in the debate on the present item or in the vote on the draft resolution in document S/12088.

72. Finally, Mr. President, since this meeting of the Council will probably be the last meeting this month and since the next meeting will be presided over by another member of the Council, I should like to extend to you the sincere congratulations and appreciation of the Libyan delegation for your distinguished

leadership and sincere efforts as President of the Council during the month of May.

73. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The Romanian delegation has carefully studied the report submitted by the Secretary-General on UNDOF and notes that that Force has carried out the tasks assigned to it. We note also the paragraphs of the report which indicate that UNDOF has continued to enjoy the co-operation of the parties concerned.

74. The Romanian delegation wishes to congratulate all the members of UNDOF, who, by carrying out their task with devotion, have made a concrete contribution—a limited contribution, to be sure, but an important one—to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations as an instrument to prevent conflicts and build peace among nations. We wish also to express our whole-hearted gratitude to the Secretary-General, for the effective way in which he has directed UNDOF's operations. We thank him, too, for his tireless efforts to bring about the extension of the Force's mandate and for the clear and detailed statement he made at the beginning of this meeting.

75. It is true that the situation in the Force's operational zone has remained calm, militarily speaking, during the past six months and that there have been no significant violations of the cease-fire. But the apparent calm in that part of the zone of conflict and the absence of incidents do not mean that peace has been restored—far from it. As the Secretary-General stresses in his report:

“... the situation in the Middle East as a whole remains tense and unstable. Unless further progress can be achieved towards a just and durable peace, the situation in the Middle East will become increasingly dangerous.”

[S/12083/Add.1, para. 2]

76. That is why the Romanian delegation is convinced that there is a need to act resolutely in order to continue and indeed accelerate the process leading to a political settlement of the problems in the Middle East. To that end, efforts must be redoubled to resume the negotiations in accordance with the decision taken by the Council in its resolution 338 (1973). The resumption of the work of the Geneva Peace Conference could be an important stage in the process leading to the resotation of peace if all the parties concerned, including the Arab people of Palestine, were represented there and if the efforts of the participants were focused on the implementation of all the relevant United Nations resolutions. The Romanian delegation is pleased to note that the Secretary-General has taken an active part in the efforts to ensure progress in the implementation of resolution 338 (1973) and that he intends, as he has just confirmed here, to pursue his efforts towards the

resumption of the negotiation process, as requested by the Council.

77. We believe that the responsibilities of the United Nations, and above all of the Security Council, in the settlement of the conflict in the Middle East cannot amount to a mere recording of the decisions taken elsewhere. Our Organization must take a more active role and must be the focal point of the process designed to restore peace in that region of the world.

78. Romania has always supported the constructive measures to establish and maintain an atmosphere conducive to the continuation of efforts to bring about peace in the Middle East. Romania is convinced that UNDOF's activities are part of such constructive measures, and it therefore encouraged the parties concerned to agree to the maintenance of the Force. It was in that spirit that Romania co-sponsored the draft resolution relating to the extension of UNDOF's mandate for a further six-month period. That draft resolution was eloquently introduced by the representative of Guyana.

79. We wish to pay a tribute to the Syrian Government for the political wisdom and patience it has shown in agreeing to a new extension of UNDOF's mandate. We are aware of the fact that the Force is on Syrian territory and that that country's agreement is very important to any decision concerning UNDOF's activities.

80. We regard the agreement to extend UNDOF's mandate as an expression of the will of the parties concerned to contribute to the efforts towards a political settlement of the conflict. The new extension must be fully used by the parties to the conflict to deal decisively and courageously with the problems of substance that constitute obstacles to a long overdue peace.

81. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): Mr. President, since this is the first time that I have spoken in the Council during this month, let me begin by saying how delighted we are that this meeting of the Council is taking place under your presidency. You have already amply demonstrated your diplomatic skill. I believe the whole Council shares my delegation's confidence in your ability to preside over our business with distinction. In the week of the inauguration of an historic new air service by Air France and British Airways from our two capitals to Washington, it gives me particular pleasure to offer you our congratulations in the spirit of this new “*entente Concordiale*” that we are now embarked upon.

82. Next, I should like to congratulate Ambassador Huang Hua for the great diplomatic skill with which he conducted our business during the month of April.

83. It is also a great pleasure to welcome Ambassador Abe of Japan and Ambassador Illueca of Panama.

84. Finally, like others who have spoken before me, let me say how pleased I am to welcome my friend and neighbour at this table, Ambassador Malik, back among us. I was glad to see that his unfortunate accident had done nothing to diminish his speaking powers nor, indeed, his zest for an argument. He would not, I know, expect the words he uttered today to pass unremarked, unheeded or, indeed, unanswered.

85. My distinguished Soviet colleague talked about paying "lip service to détente". I thought for a moment he was describing his own speech. As the British Foreign Secretary has recently made clear, in our view, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. We look to the Soviet Union to help us to make détente a practical reality, not just a matter of words. All the parts of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference need to be made real, not merely those parts for which the Soviet Union has the most enthusiasm. Words are fine enough; but, as Ambassador Malik will recollect from his time in the United Kingdom, in my country we have a saying which goes: "Fine words butter no parsnips." We hear what they have to say about détente and about human rights and about disarmament; we are now waiting to see what they propose doing about them.

86. My delegation was very pleased to vote in favour of the draft resolution which we have just adopted renewing the mandate of UNDOF for a further six months. The task which the Force has been performing is an extremely important one and continues to remain essential at the present time. As I have made clear on similar occasions in the Council in the past, the purpose of the Force is, in our view, first, to help to maintain quiet in the Israel-Syria sector and, secondly, to provide an atmosphere conducive to carrying forward the efforts towards peace. The Force is in no way, nor should it be allowed to become, a substitute for peace, but it is an essential instrument through which peace can be achieved. We very much hope that the time provided by the extension of the mandate will be used to good effect.

87. I should also like to take this opportunity to express on behalf of my Government our thanks to the Secretary-General for his continuing efforts to keep the negotiating process going and, in particular, for the part that he has personally played in facilitating the passage of the resolution we have adopted today. Next, I should like to thank the Secretary-General's staff and all those concerned here in New York and in the Middle East for the operation of the Force, and for the efficient and untiring way in which they have carried out their tasks. Finally, I should like once again to pay a tribute to the officers and men of the Force itself. It is all too easy sometimes, as we sit in our comfortable chairs in the Council, to forget the difficult and sometimes arduous duties which they are carrying out on the ground on behalf of us all and in the cause of peace in the Middle East.

88. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for the kind words he addressed to me. I should like to assure Ambassador Richard that I am convinced that the success of the Concorde, about which I have no doubts, will strengthen concord between our two countries.

89. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden) (*interpretation from French*): First of all may I express to you, Mr. President, the congratulations of the Swedish delegation on the masterly way in which you have conducted the work of the Council this month.

[*The speaker continued in English.*]

90. Next, I should like to ask the Chinese delegation to convey the thanks of my delegation to Ambassador Huang Hua, who guided us through our work last month with such consummate skill.

91. I sincerely welcome our new colleagues of Japan and Panama.

92. It is with great relief and satisfaction that Sweden greets the fact that it has been possible to extend the mandate of UNDOF. My delegation wants to express the great and sincere appreciation of the Swedish Government to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts in the search for peace in the Middle East in general and, in particular, for his activity aimed at obtaining the necessary and full support for the prolongation of UNDOF's mandate.

93. To our surprise, critical voices have been raised against the Secretary-General in that context. We consider that criticism entirely unwarranted. We fully support the Secretary-General's own judgement of what services he could render in the prevailing situation and we note that his activity has proved to be of crucial importance in obtaining an extension of the mandate. In fact, we owe him a debt of gratitude.

94. As the Secretary-General points out in his report:

"the presence of UNDOF continues to be essential, not only to maintain quiet in the Israel-Syria sector, but also to provide an atmosphere conducive to further peace efforts." [S/12083/Add.1, para. 4].

The very existence of UNDOF and the way in which the Force, including the Commander, officers and men, as well as those in the Secretariat who are responsible for UNDOF, carry out their mandate demonstrate the indispensability of the United Nations peace-keeping forces in the area.

95. But the presence of these forces is not an end in itself. The forces cannot create a lasting peace. Sweden, through its experience as a country which makes its contribution in soldiers, observers and funds to all United Nations peace-keeping enterprises—in

fact, as the only State contributing troops in the Middle East among the present member of the Council—is very keenly aware of this. But a peace-keeping force such as UNDOF nevertheless plays a crucial role in the complicated institutional and procedural broader framework within which the efforts towards a peace process are pursued.

96. UNDOF, as well as UNEF and other peace-keeping forces, must certainly not be kept one day beyond the time when they can play a useful role in the peace machinery. But it is equally important that as long as they are needed they be kept in place, and that their strength be maintained at the level required for the fulfilment of their mandate.

97. Expressions of impatience and of concern for the costs have been heard. The costs constitute a fraction of a fraction of the size of the armaments expenditures of the major military Powers in the world, and they are totally insignificant in comparison with what renewed hostilities in the area would mean, primarily in terms of human suffering and loss of human lives, but also in terms of material costs. The fact that the situation in the area is calm for the time being can in part be attributed to the presence of the United Nations forces. This being the case, we cannot agree with the argument that the quiet situation in itself is a motive for reduction, especially as the underlying causes of the crisis have not yet been eliminated.

98. The extension of the UNDOF mandate, while in itself not creating peace, will give the parties more time to take steps towards peace in a relatively quiet atmosphere.

99. Through historical developments, the United Nations has been entrusted with a great responsibility in regard to the situation in the Middle East. To meet its responsibility the Organization has taken a great number of measures in the field of peace-keeping, supervision, observation and mediation. With the framework of the United Nations, important initiatives of political and diplomatic character have also been taken. This massive effort on behalf of the international community has constituted one important element in containing developments that might otherwise have dragged the area into a new, devastating war.

100. Only to contain potentially dangerous developments is not enough, however: a momentum towards peace must be recreated. In the view of my Government, the United Nations must continue its efforts to make contributions towards this end and towards the solution of the persistent Middle East crisis.

101. Mr. VINCI (Italy) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, speaking for the first time this month, I take great pleasure in conveying to you, Ambassador Louis de Guiringaud, the representative of France, my gratification and satisfaction at working under your

presidency. Your term of office has been marked, throughout this entire month, by positive results, thanks to your faultless and perceptive guidance.

102. My delegation and I have been pleased to offer you our support, although that support, it is true, had not until now been given official expression. We are similarly pleased with the success of the constant efforts made by you, the representative of France, a nation with which Italy has fraternal and historic bonds. Our Governments and countries have been hard at work in a common effort, together with our partners in the Community, to build a new Europe for the well-being of our peoples and for all peoples of the international community.

103. Allow me also to mention my high esteem for you personally, Mr. President, and to recall the bonds of trust, friendship and high esteem that exist between us. And may I take this occasion to extend to you my sincerest congratulations and those of my delegation.

[The speaker continued in English.]

104. I should like also to convey to your predecessor, the representative of China, Ambassador Huang Hua, who presided over the Council in the month of April, our sincere congratulations and gratitude. We highly appreciated the talent, wisdom, equanimity and efficiency with which he conducted our deliberations on the delicate matters of which the Council was seized last month.

105. I further wish to extend a warm “welcome back” to the new representative of Japan, Ambassador Abe, a well-known, highly esteemed figure in our world Organization, and an old friend with whom I have the rare privilege of speaking in my mother tongue. We are sure that he will make the same great contribution to our work as did his predecessor. Personally, I am looking forward to a close association and co-operation which I am sure will be as fruitful as that we had in the past.

106. I wish to extend a no less heartfelt welcome to the new Permanent Representative of Panama. I am fully confident that our relations with Ambassador Illueca will be as good, friendly and constructive as those we enjoyed with his predecessor and successor, Ambassador Boyd, a long-time friend, to whom I convey my best wishes for the discharge of his present higher responsibilities.

107. Finally, I wish to welcome back a good old friend and highly respected colleague, Ambassador Malik. We are gratified and glad that he has been able to resume his functions in the Council after a long absence due to a serious and most unfortunate accident. I am sincerely pleased to see him here looking younger and more vigorous than ever, and I ask him to renew our congratulations and best wishes to Madame Malik for an equally complete recovery.

108. My delegation voted in favour of the six-Power draft resolution contained in document S/12088. The reasons are quite clear. First of all, we fully share the view of the Secretary-General as expressed in the report he submitted to the Council, that the presence of UNDOF is still essential not only to maintain quiet in the Israel-Syria sector, but also to promote an atmosphere conducive to further negotiating efforts. Therefore we fully support the decision taken by the Council to extend the mandate of the Force for another period of six months. We should like to express our warm, sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General, who has once again shown his unconditional dedication to the cause of peace and to the United Nations by acting promptly and using his personal influence in order to bring about today's positive decision. Our congratulations go also to the two Governments mainly concerned for their wise decision.

109. In further explaining the position of my delegation on the issue at stake, I would simply recall the statements made by the Italian delegation on the occasion of previous renewals of the UNDOF mandate. In my last statement, on 30 November 1975 [*1856th meeting*], I reiterated a few points which, in our opinion, retain all their importance. Taking up that statement, I wish to acknowledge once again the commendable manner in which UNDOF has carried out its functions and pay a tribute to the high order of service provided by the Force and its Commanding Officer. However, as I pointed out in November last, we should not indulge in the belief that the Force in itself has the power to perpetuate the present calm in the Israel-Syria sector. As the Secretary-General wisely remarks, this calm is ultimately dependent upon the general situation in the Middle East area—a situation, unfortunately, becoming increasingly dangerous.

110. In particular, the Italian Government believes that at this stage of the Middle East crisis a consensus should be reached among all the parties concerned on some main points which appear to us as the necessary prerequisites for a final, just and lasting settlement, namely: the withdrawal by Israel from all the territories occupied in June 1967; the right of all States in the area to sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity within secure borders to be internationally recognized and guaranteed; and the recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish their own independent State.

111. This last point was underlined by the Foreign Minister of Italy, Mr. Mariano Rumor, when speaking on 19 May in Oslo at the last session at the ministerial level of the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. He stated that the Palestinian question had become one of the central factors to be reckoned with in the search for a peaceful solution in the Middle East. On that very same occasion, Mr. Rumor, while

recalling the recent visit to Italy of President Anwar Sadat, described as the most encouraging sign the clear option of Egypt in favour of negotiations. He further noted that in Israel, too, the forces favourable to a more realistic approach were gaining ground. Mr. Rumor concluded by advocating further efforts towards a general acceptance of and respect for the principles contained in the relevant Security Council resolutions, which provide, together with basic guidelines and a framework, the most promising basis for fruitful negotiations.

112. The continued escalation of controversy and tension in the Middle East is, in our view, the product of the present stalemate, and I cannot fail to note with deep concern that the hoped-for negotiations strongly advocated by the Council on behalf of the world community in fact continue to meet with obstruction. Under these circumstances, we appeal once more to all sides to co-operate by all means in the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General and others for a speedy resumption of the negotiating process in accordance with the pertinent resolutions of the Council.

113. Mr. ABE (Japan): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution contained in document S/12088, by which the mandate of UNDOF is extended for a further period of six months. My delegation sees that present international circumstances necessitate the continued stationing of UNDOF for that duration to help to maintain peace in that area.

114. The fact that both parties directly concerned have agreed to the extension of the mandate of UNDOF is a hopeful sign for a general settlement, in the sense that both are disposed towards seeking a settlement by peaceful means rather than by force.

115. We have noted with satisfaction the Secretary-General's observation in his report that, with the co-operation of the parties, UNDOF has been able to carry out the tasks entrusted to it and that the situation in the UNDOF area of operations has remained calm with no incidents of a serious nature. On this occasion, I wish to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General, as well as to all members of UNDOF, for their continued success in fulfilling the duties assigned to them.

116. Nonetheless, the situation in the Middle East as a whole remains tense and unstable. We are in full agreement with the Secretary-General's view as stated in his report that:

“Unless further progress can be achieved towards a just and durable peace, the situation in the Middle East will become increasingly dangerous”. [*S/12083/Add.1, para. 2.*]

117. My delegation cannot fail to reiterate the deep regret of the Government of Japan at the fact that the

negotiating process for a peaceful solution of the Middle East problem is at a standstill. Various efforts to advance the implementation of resolution 338 (1973) have continued in several levels, and we hope that they will continue towards that end. As he said in his report, the Secretary-General himself has been actively involved in those efforts. My delegation wishes to encourage the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to promote the resumption of the negotiating process. We believe that the extra time gained by the extension of UNDOF's mandate must not be wasted. My delegation strongly hopes that all the parties concerned will make renewed efforts to bring about a resumption of the negotiations, thus bringing nearer a just and durable settlement.

[The speaker continued in French.]

118. Mr. President, in conclusion and since this is one of the last days of the month of your presidency, I want to express to you, Sir, the deepest gratitude of my delegation for having guided our debate so brilliantly and indeed impeccably. And may I be allowed to add my thanks to all those who were good enough to address very kind words of welcome to me.

119. Mr. MIRZA (Pakistan): We are glad that the mandate of UNDOF has been extended with the approval of the parties concerned. The members of this Force have rendered a valuable service, and the quiet on the Golan Heights bears testimony to their dedication to their duty and the effectiveness of their operations.

120. We note with appreciation from the report of the Secretary-General that UNDOF has been able, with the co-operation of the parties, to carry out the tasks entrusted to it. It is also a matter of satisfaction that the general discipline, understanding and bearing of all members of UNDOF have been of a high order. We note with particular satisfaction the fact that, in contrast to the preceding periods, the Force suffered no fatal casualties and that no injuries or loss of life resulted from the three small-arms fire incidents.

121. The Secretary-General's report also states that UNDOF has continued to carry out its task within the area of separation in a manner which neither hampers the Syrian administration nor derogates from Syrian sovereignty. This portion of the report points to a satisfactory situation which is based on an unsatisfactory premise. The fact that a sovereign and independent State has to have, within its borders, a non-national military force is cause for regret and evidence of the existence of an abnormal situation. We recognize the necessity of maintaining the cease-fire on the Golan Heights, as indeed on the other fronts, and we commend UNDOF for its role in maintaining the cease-fire so admirably. The fact remains that cease-fire is not peace.

122. The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, in a recent statement expressed Pakistan's

deep concern at the situation in the Middle East, where the continued illegal occupation by Israel of Arab territory threatens to plunge the Middle East into yet another conflict and the world into an even more acute economic and political crisis.

123. The precarious cease-fire which exists between Israel and its Arab neighbours must not be allowed to be frozen and taken as a substitute for real peace. Further, peace can only be established if Israel withdraws from all the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967, including the Golan Heights, and when the inalienable national rights of the Palestinians are recognized and implemented. Naturally, the security and legitimate interests of all the States and peoples of the region should be guaranteed.

124. While there is general agreement among the members of the Council on the urgent need to have a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and even on the elements of a solution, unfortunately the Council has remained unable to take effective and purposeful action towards implementing its own resolutions on the matter, notably its resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). At the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF in November last, the Council had quite rightly decided to continue the debate on the Middle East problem including the Palestinian question. At the heart of the debate lies the question of Palestine to which the Council will revert in June.

125. My delegation would like to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his very important and fruitful journey of peace to Damascus. We entirely agree with the warning given by him in the addendum to his report and in his statement that the situation in the Middle East as a whole remains tense and unstable and that, unless further progress can be achieved towards a just and durable peace, the situation in the Middle East will become increasingly dangerous.

126. It is the view of the delegation of Pakistan that the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF, on which the Council members have agreed, must be viewed in the larger perspective. The Government of Syria has indeed shown great wisdom and its devotion to peace in agreeing to the extension of the mandate of UNDOF.

127. My delegation joined in sponsoring the draft resolution extending the mandate of UNDOF in the belief that decision would help in maintaining quiet on the Golan Heights. The purpose of our action should be to pursue more vigorously our efforts in this Council and elsewhere towards peace in the Middle East. It is our considered view that the Council should remain seized of the situation and that it should review it constantly for it is only thus that it can help in creating the necessary conditions for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

128. Mr. PAQUI (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, thanks to your outstanding

tact we have again adopted a resolution whereby the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement observers Force on the Golan Heights has been renewed. This positive result we have just achieved is certainly due to your ability, but also, and mainly, to the efforts exerted by the Secretary-General to persuade the Syrian Government to give its agreement to that renewal. My delegation would like to address to Mr. Waldheim the expression of its sincere gratitude for the happy result of his delicate and for various mission to the Middle East.

129. By adopting that resolution, the Council has now extended the mandate of UNDOF for the fourth time. However, all the members here will understand that this is a situation which should not become a ritual, because, whether one wants it or not, that Force happens to be on Syrian territory. If its mandate is renewed more or less automatically, there is the danger of perpetuating a situation which is neither peace nor war, a situation which is necessarily favourable to Israel and unfavourable to Syria.

130. The fact that the Secretary-General has been successful in obtaining the agreement of Syria shows, if that were necessary, the need to transfer the search for a solution of the crisis in the Middle East to the level of the United Nations itself. The Security Council consequently should not avoid facing the responsibilities which it now has in the Middle East. It must make Israel understand that the present situation cannot be perpetuated. It is high time to engage during this new period in a serious search in order to achieve appreciable progress towards establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East. It goes without saying that during this period the super-Powers, whose responsibility in all these matters is so clear, should undertake all possible measures in order to convince the parties to the conflict that they must make every effort to search for ways and means to establish that peace which is so greatly desired by the international community. In other words, it is high time for the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Peace Conference to forget their rivalry and, in the interests of the peoples of the Middle East and of the United Nations itself, to take every initiative urgently to convene the celebrated Geneva Peace Conference, in which the Palestinian Liberation Organization must necessarily participate, whether in the way proposed originally by the delegation of the Soviet Union or in some other way.

131. The essential thing, in the view of my delegation, is that we should achieve a definitive settlement of the crisis as soon as possible. In any case, I wish to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the position of my Government with regard to the financing of UNDOF. Even though my delegation was a sponsor of that draft resolution and of course voted in favour of it, my Government nonetheless feels that the expenditure necessary to maintain the Force should be borne by the super-Powers and

above all by those who are responsible for the situation and who have every interest in seeing the situation prolonged.

132. Finally, my delegation believes that the present situation can only be regarded as provisional. We should therefore like to make an appeal to the parties concerned, particularly Israel, to embark on a process which would necessarily lead to a just and durable peace as desired by the whole international community. As we shall very soon have to revert to the question of the Middle East, my delegation will have another opportunity to speak at length on this problem. That is all that my delegation wishes to say for the present.

133. Mr. RÍOS (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all my delegation wishes to inform those delegations which have warmly welcomed the new Ambassador of Panama, Mr. Illueca, that I shall have great pleasure in conveying to him their words of welcome. Ambassador Illueca is a veteran in the United Nations, and at a future meeting he will personally thank the representatives for the kind words they have addressed to him. I also wish to inform my good friend Ambassador Vinci of Italy that his good wishes for the Foreign Minister of my country, Mr. Boyd, will faithfully be transmitted to him. I am grateful for those words.

134. The delegation of Panama is pleased indeed that this afternoon the Council has adopted the draft resolution in document S/12088, so brilliantly introduced by the representative of Guyana.

135. Admittedly, the adoption of that text was made possible by your intelligent efforts, Mr. President, and especially by the hard, diligent work of the Secretary-General. It was thanks to his direct efforts with the Government of Syria that we were able to achieve the results we have seen today. Today's action by the Council is based on the report of the Secretary-General on UNDOF, which is referred to the first preambular paragraph of the resolution.

136. We unreservedly acknowledge that the political success of the Secretary-General, a corollary of which is today's resolution, has made it possible for us to bring the situation in the Middle East to a new stage. It is now possible for a new programme to be adopted for the practical implementation of resolution 338 (1973).

137. Syria responded positively to the efforts of the Secretary-General and of a few friendly nations. It is the sole sovereign of the territory concerned, and it consented to the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF. It should also be recognized that Israel also consented to the extension. In itself, that is a positive indication which the international community hopes will lead to further action to implement the Council's resolutions. We say this because the extension of UNDOF's

mandate should not be viewed as an alternative to peace negotiations. That point is made in resolution 338 (1973). It requires that the parties to the conflict implement resolution 242 (1967) in all its aspects.

138. We firmly believe that both the creation of UNDOF and the successive extensions of its mandate should not be allowed to lead to a freezing of an abnormal situation. Peace must be restored to the long-suffering peoples of the Middle East, without any exception. In this connexion, it should be recalled that the Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces signed on 31 May 1974 in Geneva was a first step towards the final goal, which is a settlement of the Middle East question by means of the complete liberation of the occupied Arab territories that takes into account the interests of all the inhabitants of the area, including the Palestinian people, at the same time respects the right of the countries of the area to an independent existence.

139. We wish at the same time to stress that in his report the Secretary-General says "the situation in the Middle East remains tense and precarious." [S/12083/Add.1, para. 2.]. He also has expressed his considered opinion that

"the presence of UNDOF continues to be indispensable, not only in order to maintain quiet in the Israeli-Syrian sector but also to create an atmosphere favourable to further peace efforts" [*ibid.*, para. 4].

We are also very pleased that the Secretary-General says he will continue his "efforts towards the resumption of the negotiating process called for by the Security Council" [*ibid.*, para. 3]. In those words of the Secretary-General may be found the key to a settlement of the problem. Never can it be agreed that the presence of foreign military forces in a country is a factor promoting peace. On the contrary, it should always be considered a sign of imbalance and conflict and a threat to tranquillity.

140. Two years have passed since UNDOF was created, and a six-month extension must not be regarded as automatic action which is inherent in the disengagement. We are opposed to such an understanding. It follows that the resumption of the negotiating process called for by the Security Council and very wisely mentioned by the Secretary-General should lead to the reconvening of the Geneva Conference. At the 1809th meeting of the Council, you, Mr. President, as representative of France, in supporting the resumption of the work of the Geneva Conference, expressed certain ideas which I regard as particularly relevant today and which I should like to repeat in concluding this brief statement. You said:

"... we should like to express the hope that Israel will at last adopt a more constructive attitude. By

the very fact of its continued occupation of extensive Arab territory, that country assumes particular responsibilities. It is therefore for Israel to manifest more clearly the will to negotiate and, if we may so hope, to make the necessary gestures that would help to reduce tension and to create that minimum of trust without which no progress is possible." [1809th meeting, para. 108.]

141. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): As there are no other speakers on the resolution we have just adopted, I should like, before calling on representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply, to make a brief statement as representative of FRANCE.

142. First, I wish to express my delegation's gratitude to the Secretary-General. Once again he has demonstrated his lofty sense of the responsibilities of his high office. In response to the wishes of the President of Syria, he did not hesitate to make a very brief and certainly very trying trip to Damascus in order to enable us to carry out our work successfully. His fatigue must, however, have been alleviated by the knowledge that he had successfully concluded the mission for which he made the trip. It is only fitting that we should pay a tribute to Mr. Waldheim for his exceptional devotion and express our gratitude to him.

143. I wish also to welcome the wisdom displayed by the Governments concerned in agreeing to the extension of the mandate of UNDOF. In doing so, they fulfilled the Council's hopes; that was demonstrated by the unanimous vote of the members who took part in it.

144. While we believe that the presence of the Force remains essential to maintain calm and to create an atmosphere conducive to peace efforts, we are fully aware also that that presence cannot in itself be an active element in the search for peace. It removes the most immediate dangers, but it does not touch the heart of the problem. It is an expedient—an invaluable expedient—but it is not a solution.

145. In other words, our satisfaction at having been able to ensure the maintenance of an instrument that we regard as useful in the present circumstances can hardly relieve our concern at the lack of progress on the path to a settlement. An analysis of the present situation prompted us to regard as desirable—as, indeed, the Secretary-General asked us to do—the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF. But that same analysis shows us how legitimate is the impatience at the slowness of the dynamic process towards peace that we had hoped we were initiating two and a half years ago.

146. Since the last extension of the Force's mandate, efforts have been made to keep that dynamic process going. The Council has played a significant part, in particular by holding last January, on Syria's initiative,

a very important debate in which it considered all aspects of the question. A result of that debate was the adoption of significant positions which, while not having enabled us as yet to reflect them in a generally acceptable text, has nevertheless contributed to making clear, within the lines already laid down by resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), the outlines of a future settlement which will have to be taken into account in the forthcoming efforts. Similarly, during the past few months the Council has focused on certain particularly disturbing aspects of the situation in the region. A keen awareness of the danger posed by the absence of effective progress towards a settlement has been very apparent here. At the same time, the Secretary-General has taken the initiative of contacting all the parties in an attempt to get the negotiations under way once again.

147. Thus, a momentum has been created which we must maintain and propel in the direction we believe must lead to peace. That direction is clear to us. On the one hand, there must be a withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied as a result of the 1967 conflict. On the other hand, the right of all the States in the region to live within secure, recognized and guaranteed borders must be affirmed, and, finally, the right of the Palestinian people to an independent country must be recognized.

148. It is in that light that the decision we have taken today must be viewed. Obviously, it was not our intention to maintain the *status quo*. Rather, our intention was to ensure that the current efforts in the search for a settlement are not confronted in the present circumstances by new obstacles. Hence, what we had to do was to preserve the possibilities of offering all the parties the means of seeking together and in a responsible way the means for a settlement that will redress the injustices and finally bring about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

149. Speaking once again as PRESIDENT, I now call on the representative of the Soviet Union to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

150. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): I have asked to be allowed to speak so as to express my gratitude to all my colleagues on the Council and the representatives of those States Members who at recent meetings and at today's meeting have addressed such kind words to me on the restoration of my health and because I have now resumed my activities, in discharging my duties as Permanent Representative of the USSR to the United Nations and as my country's representative in the Security Council. I want to express my thanks to them all, including my colleague on the left, Ambassador Richard.

151. At the same time I want to clarify something and dispel the doubts he has cast by his not very friendly remarks about the Soviet Union and me

personally. I get the very definite impression that recently Ambassador Richard has arrogated to himself the role of the main spokesman of anti-Sovietism in the United Nations. Recently he spoke in a tendentious way and made what I would call even a slanderous statement about the USSR in the Commission on Human Rights. Unfortunately, at that time I could not answer him personally, but I asked our representative to do so, and he discharged that duty very competently. However, I see the Ambassador continues to follow the same line in the Security Council too. I can assure him officially that the Soviet Union very steadfastly supports the implementation of all the provisions and principles reflected in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference and does not, as some Western leaders do, single out some individual items, start an outcry on their account and forget about all the other provisions contained therein. Let me refer to a recent statement on this point made by Comrade Brezhnev at our Party's Twenty-fifth Congress. He stated that the Soviet Union had carried out, did carry out and would continue to carry out all the provisions of the Act, and it hoped that the other participants would do likewise.

152. Now, with regard to human rights and democracy, I can assure my neighbour on the left that the truly socialist democracy—which ensures equal rights and equal opportunities to all Soviet citizens, without any exceptions and without discrimination of any kind—has existed in the Soviet Union from the very moment of the Great Socialist Revolution of October 1917 when the workers and peasants of our country overthrew the Tsarist régime, the power of the landlords and capitalists and evicted international foreign capital, including British capital, and instituted the true, genuine power of the people. From that time on we have been hated by the British capitalists and right-wing circles. That is an historical fact, and we have had proof of it today. That is why we categorically reject Mr. Richard's tendentious allegations about our country.

153. In connexion with democracy, I think it is appropriate for us to recall the following words spoken by Comrade Brezhnev at the Party's Twenty-fifth Congress:

“Today, we know not only from theory but also from long years of practice that genuine democracy is impossible without socialism and that socialism is impossible without a steady development of democracy. We see the improvement of our socialist democracy as consisting above all in a steady effort to ensure ever fuller participation by the working people in running all the affairs of society, in further developing the democratic principles of our State system, in creating the conditions for the all-round flourishing of the individual.”

In his report he also described the power of the modern monopolistic system and said the following:

"... imperialism will stop at nothing, discarding all semblance of any kind of democracy, if a serious threat arises to the domination of monopoly capital and its agents. It is prepared to trample upon the sovereignty of States and upon all legality, to say nothing of humanism. Slander, duping the public, economic blockade, sabotage, bringing about hunger and dislocation, bribes and threats, terrorism, assassination of political leaders and fascist-style pogroms—such is the armoury of present-day counter-revolution, which always operates in conjunction with international imperialist reaction. But all this is ultimately doomed to failure. The cause of freedom and progress is unconquerable."

He also stressed the following:

"The politico-ideological crisis of bourgeois society is more acute. It afflicts the institutions of power and bourgeois political parties, and undermines elementary ethical standards. Corruption is increasingly open, even in the top echelons of the State machinery. The decline of intellectual culture continues, and the crime rate is rising."

And in order to conceal all this, slanders are being spread about the Soviet Union on matters of human rights.

154. I have already had the opportunity to point out here that the Soviet Union comprises 120 different ethnic groups and nationalities which all enjoy equal rights and opportunities. Those who slander the Soviet Union in that field are prisoners of zionism, for zionism is spreading hostility, lies and hatred against the Soviet Union because it has introduced regulations governing the emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union. But emigration or non-emigration from the Soviet Union, or from any other country, is not a threat to peace, as is the violation of human rights in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Northern Ireland. I would therefore recommend to my neighbour on the left that he turn his attention to human rights in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Northern Ireland, and that he not poke his pro-Zionist nose into our Soviet orchard. We are perfectly able to take care of our own affairs.

155. He said that the only things I liked to talk about were peace, security, détente, the equality of all peoples, non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, and respect for the sovereignty of States. Of course I do like to talk about these things because they are all close to the heart of the Soviet Government and of the Soviet people. Why? Because in the course of our history, and especially after the Great October Revolution, we have suffered a great deal as a result of foreign interference in our internal affairs, starting with the interference of the late Sir Winston Churchill and ending up with Hitler's invasion. That is why we love peace, security, the equality of peoples and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States so much.

156. We are now awaiting the reaction of Ambassador Richard and that of his colleagues and allies, to all these questions that have been raised—and in particular, his reaction to the question of the implementation of the numerous decisions that have been adopted by the General Assembly in order to strengthen peace and security. I cannot give you a complete list of them from memory but they include the following. There is the question of reducing military budgets by 10 per cent, the non-use of force in international relations, the permanent banning of nuclear weapons, the convening of a world disarmament conference, the conclusion of an agreement banning nuclear-weapons tests in all environments, and many other similar items. These are not only questions of which the Soviet Union and its Government and people are particularly fond: they are the questions to which the overwhelming majority of Member States are attached. We are very happy and very proud that our initiatives in all these areas have been supported by the non-aligned and the developing countries. These are matters on which we and they have taken up the same position: we love peace and so do they; we need peace and so do they, in order to give people better lives and achieve development.

157. I can only conclude from Mr. Richard's statement that he does not much care about peace or security, or détente, or any of the other things I mentioned in my statement. Well, that is his business. At least we can agree to disagree on these points.

158. In my statement I also emphasized that the time has come to take steps to settle the Middle East problem once and for all. I referred to the statement by the Soviet Government [S/12063] setting out the basis for a settlement, comprising three organically interconnected elements: first, withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied as a result of Israel's 1967 aggression; second, satisfaction of the legitimate national demands of the Arab people of Palestine, including their inalienable right to establish their own State; thirdly, international guarantees of the security and inviolability of the frontiers of all Middle Eastern States and their right to independent existence and development.

159. I spoke of this in my statement on the situation in the occupied territories and again in my statement today. Yet Mr. Richard had nothing to say about any of this. I should therefore like to know whether he shares this approach. Does he agree that these three elements must underlie a settlement in the Middle East? We are waiting for his answer, and we hope that Mr. Richard, his Government, his Foreign Secretary and his country will take all the necessary steps to implement the provisions and principles embodied in the Final Act which was signed by 35 Heads of State in Helsinki and the resolutions of the General Assembly I mentioned, in order to strengthen peace and security. That would mean full implementation of all the agreements that are reflected in the Final Act.

160. Let us now agree Mr. Richard, to implement by joint efforts all the principles and provisions of that Act; and let us not try to conceal, by references to only one problem—the problem of human rights—a reluctance to implement several very important provisions, all of which are aimed at strengthening peace and security.

161. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of the United Kingdom to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

162. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): I feel I must apologize to the Council and those patient representatives of Member States who have been sitting and listening to this debate. I thought that in view of the fact that the representative of the Soviet Union spent about half of his first 25 minutes dealing with the question of détente in Helsinki, I was at least to be allowed a few words. I apologize, because it provoked another 12 minutes from the representative of the Soviet Union. I apologize particularly to those of our colleagues who are from the Arab world, because I had understood the Security Council was here this afternoon to discuss renewal of UNDOF's mandate.

163. I would say just one thing, if I might, in answer to the representative of the Soviet Union. He attempted to prove that his country was more concerned with

human rights and with freedom of expression and movement than the United Kingdom. It reminded me, as he said it, of a story I read about the great Duke of Wellington, who was once walking down Piccadilly in London: a man came up to him and said, "Excuse me, it is Mr. Robinson, isn't it?" And the Duke of Wellington looked at him and said, "Sir, if you will believe that you will believe anything!"

164. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call upon the representative of the Soviet Union to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

165. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Once again, this time by referring to an anecdote which has nothing to do with the question under discussion, Ambassador Richard has succeeded in evading my questions about his own attitude towards peace, security, the implementation of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference and the basis for a settlement of the Middle East problem. I just wanted to point out that fact.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.

Notes

¹ See resolution 390 (1976).

² United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, p. 287.

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