

6264977
UNITED NATIONS



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-FIRST YEAR

UN LIBRARY

JUN 19 1985

1975th MEETING: 30 NOVEMBER 1976

UN/ISA/ST/12235/OM

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1975)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
The situation in the Middle East: Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (S/12235)	1

NOTE

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

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

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

1975th MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 30 November 1976, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Jorge Enrique ILLUECA (Panama).

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 and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1975)

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/12235)

The meeting was called to order at 4.40 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/12235)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Council will now consider the item on its agenda. I should like to draw the attention of members to the two relevant documents before the Council. The first is the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) covering the period 25 May to 22 November 1976; the second is the draft resolution contained in document S/12246. The text of the draft resolution was considered by the Security Council during its unofficial consultations held yesterday and this morning. In accordance with the procedure agreed to during the unofficial consultations, the Council will now vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/12246.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: France, Guyana, Italy, Japan, 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.

Against: None.

The draft resolution was adopted by 12 votes to none (resolution 398 (1976)).

Three members (Benin, China and the Libyan Arab Republic) did not participate in the voting.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In connexion with the adoption of the resolution on the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF, I have been authorized to make the following complementary statement on behalf of the Security Council regarding the resolution just adopted:

“As is known, the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force states in paragraph 32 that ‘despite the present quiet in the Israeli-Syria sector, there can be no question that the situation in the Middle East will remain unstable and potentially dangerous unless real progress can be made towards a just and lasting settlement of the problem in all its aspects’. This statement of the Secretary-General reflects the view of the Security Council.”

3. Further, I have been asked by the delegations of Benin, China and the Libyan Arab Republic to say that, as they have not participated in the vote on this resolution, they take the same position with regard to the statement which I have just read out on behalf of the members of the Council.

4. I shall now call upon the members of the Council who have asked to speak after the vote.

5. Mr. LAI Ya-li (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): With regard to the question of the United Nations Force, we have always held a different position in principle. This is well known to all. Based on our consistent position, the Chinese delegation did not participate in the vote.

6. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Security Council has just adopted a resolution renewing for a further six months the mandate of UNDOF. The question of extending the mandate of the Force is indissolubly connected with the whole range of questions relating to the Middle East settlement. Unfortunately, in spite of all the efforts made by the United Nations—in the Security Council and in the General Assembly—no real progress has yet been made towards the solution of this major international

problem. So far, the basic causes of the conflict in the Middle East have not been eliminated. That region continues to be one of the main focal points of international tension. Israel is still holding on to the Arab lands which it seized as a result of the 1967 aggression—the Golan Heights, the Sinai peninsula, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem. With the support of its protectors, Israel also continues to trample under foot the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine. All this inevitably leads to an increase of tension in the Middle East, fraught with the possibility of a new outbreak of war.

7. Recent events in the Middle East have quite clearly shown the correctness of the position of the Soviet Union. From the very beginning, the USSR warned that the so-called partial measures concluded on a separate basis and excluding the key questions in a Middle East settlement would not only not ease the situation, but, on the contrary, would complicate it even further.

8. Now, when the frank statements of the authors of the step-by-step policy in private talks with Israeli ministers have become public knowledge, the essence of this policy, its main aim, cannot be doubted by anyone. It consists in ensuring in good time, long before the last or the penultimate step is taken in withdrawing Israeli troops, that no such step should be taken at all. The step-by-step policy would seem to indicate that the interests of the so-called security of Israel cannot be met in any other way than by the annexation by Israel of part of the Arab territories. It is no secret that, according to them, Israeli troops ought to remain forever in a certain part of the Arab lands occupied in 1967. It is also now no secret that, as a part of this policy, Israel is continuing and will continue to block the exercise of the inalienable right of the Arab people of Palestine to create its own State.

9. Thus, it is clear what the policy of partial agreements is leading to. It is to the legalization of the annexation of a considerable part of the Arab territories. That is why the policy of partial agreements enjoys the full support of Israel. That is why Israel's Prime Minister, Mr. Rabin, has made another statement to the effect that instead of a universal peace it would, in his words, be more useful to strive to achieve new interim agreements dealing separately with each Arab country concerned.

10. In the opinion of the Soviet Union, such an approach, first, goes against the spirit and the letter of relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations; and secondly, it is alien to the interests of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East because an unjust peace cannot be lasting. The only way to establish a genuinely just, and therefore genuinely lasting, peace in this region is, as heretofore, by means of an all-embracing political settlement. This approach is supported by the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations.

11. The Security Council and the General Assembly have made considerable efforts to escape from the present impasse with regard to a Middle East settlement. The Council has this year held eight series of meetings devoted to various aspects of the Middle East problem. At five of these series of meetings a direct and active part was played by representatives of the Arab people of Palestine, in their capacity as representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Having invited the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, to take part in the discussion of the Middle East problem, the Security Council, following the General Assembly, thus officially recognized the following: without the participation of the Palestinian people, without a just solution of the Palestinian problem on the basis of the guarantee of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, a lasting and all-embracing settlement in the Middle East is impossible.

12. The discussion of the Middle East problem in the Security Council and the General Assembly this year once more quite clearly confirmed that an all-embracing political settlement of this conflict can be achieved only on the basis of the following three organically connected principles: first, withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied as a result of Israeli aggression in 1967; secondly, the satisfaction of the legitimate national demands of the Arab people of Palestine, including its inalienable right to establish its own State; and, thirdly, international guarantees for the security and inviolability of the boundaries of all States in the Middle East and their right to an independent existence and development. These principles taken together—and they are indissoluble—should take due account of the legitimate rights of all parties directly concerned.

13. This all-embracing settlement of the Middle East conflict should be achieved at the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East with the participation of all parties directly concerned, including the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

14. The advantages of resuming the work of the Geneva Peace Conference are obvious. In that forum the key questions of the Middle East settlement should be discussed, for they cannot simply be ignored there. Representatives of the PLO should, of course, take part in the work of the Geneva Conference from the very beginning of its resumption and should enjoy equal rights with other participants.

15. The Soviet Union considers that the Geneva Conference should very soon resume its work in order to speed up the achievement of an all-embracing political settlement in the Middle East. It is well known to the members of the Council that the Soviet Union recently took a new initiative to aid the resumption of the work of that Conference. The Government of the Soviet Union put forward a specific agenda

for the Conference, encompassing all the problems whose solution would indeed lead to the establishment of a lasting peace in the Middle East.

16. The delegation of the USSR considers that at the present time all efforts should be directed towards the achievement of an all-embracing Middle East settlement within the framework of the Geneva Peace Conference. The Soviet Union does not object to renewing the mandate of UNDOF for a period of six months on the definite understanding that that prolongation of the mandate will be used to seek a settlement of the Middle East conflict within the framework of the Geneva Peace Conference.

17. In this connexion, the Security Council should take very seriously the statement of the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic, in which it is stated that

"The Syrian Arab Republic... has decided to approve the extension of the mandate of UNDOF for a further six-month period... hoping that this time the international community will assume its responsibility and prevent Israel from continuing to undermine the chances for peace, to violate the Charter of the United Nations and to defy the United Nations and its resolutions on the question of Palestine and the Middle East problem" [S/12237, annex].

In that statement of the Syrian Government there is a serious warning that Syria, like other Arab States, cannot reconcile itself with Israel's endless occupation of Arab territories and its obstinate policy of depriving the Palestinian people of their rights.

18. The Security Council likewise cannot ignore the warning contained in paragraph 32 in the Secretary-General's report on UNDOF, which states:

"Despite the present quiet in the Israel-Syria sector, there can be no question that the situation in the Middle East will remain unstable and potentially dangerous unless real progress can be made towards a just and lasting settlement of the problem in all its aspects."

It is not surprising that this warning has become an organic part of the decision just approved by the Security Council.

19. At the same time the Soviet delegation cannot but express most serious concern regarding the situation created by Israel during the informal consultations among the Council members on the resolution just adopted. The behind-the-scenes machinations of Israel in this respect should be made known publicly. The Israeli delegation—and this should be said quite openly—tried to block any references in the resolution just adopted to the urgent necessity of continuing and activating efforts to establish a just and

lasting peace in the Middle East and any references to the need for real progress towards a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem in all its aspects.

20. This position of Israel shows the true nature of the public statements made by Israeli leaders allegedly in support of a settlement in the Middle East. It shows once more that, in fact, Israel continues obstinately to block such a settlement. It shows that, as heretofore, Israel is trying to turn the United Nations forces stationed in Arab lands into a means of freezing the situation for all time.

21. The fact that the Council repudiated the Israeli approach and recognized the need to activate efforts to achieve a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem in all its aspects constitutes an important warning to Israel. We hope that this warning will be the last. The establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East can no longer be postponed.

22. The Soviet Union consistently and insistently supports not only the deepening of international détente but also the extension of détente to all the regions of the world, so that its fruits can be enjoyed by all peoples. The USSR position in favour of the immediate establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East is an important component of the consistent foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which was confirmed in resolutions adopted at the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth Party Congresses. Speaking on 24 November in Bucharest, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev, noted that:

"A lasting peace cannot be the privilege of Europe alone. Peace is indivisible. Nowadays this fact is truer than it has ever been, and as long as the seeds of war are not crushed in the Middle East, as long as the lands expropriated by aggression are not returned to the Arabs, as long as the Palestinian people are denied their right to their homeland, as long as the racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury flagrantly trample under foot the rights of the indigenous population of southern Africa and spill the blood of Africans, there can be no lasting peace anywhere."

23. The Soviet delegation would like to stress the following. We have turned our attention to a matter referred to in the Secretary-General's report, namely, the obligation of the United Nations Secretariat and the UNDOF Command to keep the expenditures on the maintenance of the forces within the limits of the appropriations adopted. The USSR wishes to restate its firm position that the United Nations forces in the Middle East should be maintained as economically as possible and, if possible, that expenditures should be cut. In any case, there must be no increase in expenditures for the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) and UNDOF beyond the levels established by the Security Council and the General Assembly.

24. Mr. MURRAY (United Kingdom): My delegation was very pleased to join in voting in favour of the resolution just adopted, renewing the mandate of UNDOF for a further six months. The role which the Force plays in maintaining the cease-fire and in supervising the Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces [S/11302/Add.1 of 30 May 1974, annex I] is of the greatest importance, and there can be no doubt that its continuation remains essential at the present time.

25. We were also pleased to note from the excellent report prepared by the Secretary-General that the situation in the area has remained quiet during the period under review and that there have been no serious incidents. Nevertheless, as he goes on to point out, in the absence of real progress towards a settlement, the underlying situation will inevitably remain unstable and dangerous.

26. It is now two and a half years since the establishment of the UNDOF, and we cannot but note with regret that there has not been more progress during this time towards defusing these dangers by means of real moves towards a settlement.

27. As we have many times pointed out, the principal purpose of the Force in our view is not to serve as a substitute for a settlement but to provide the conditions in which progress towards a settlement can take place. There seems to be a general view, which I personally share, that the time may at last be ripe now for such a move. We very much hope, therefore, that the next six months provided by the extension of the mandate will be used to good effect.

28. I should like once again, in conclusion, to thank most profoundly the Secretary-General and, through him, Major-General Philipp, the Commander of the Force, his staff and all those associated, here in New York and in the area, with the running of the Force for the skill and dedication they have shown in carrying out their tasks over the past six months. I should also like to express our gratitude to the Governments of Austria, Canada, Iran and Poland, which provide the contingents making up the Force. The way in which the Force performs its difficult and delicate role evokes our admiration and is a source of continuing credit to the Organization.

29. Mr. CHALE (United Republic of Tanzania): Once again the Security Council is meeting to consider the report of the Secretary-General on the work of UNDOF, which was established in May 1974 to supervise the cease-fire called for by the Security Council and the Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces [*ibid.*].

30. On the one hand, we are happy to note that the tasks entrusted to UNDOF, namely, the maintenance of the cease-fire and the overall supervision of the area of separation, have been effectively performed with

the co-operation of the parties. On the other hand, however, the report intimates to us that, although UNDOF has done a good job, the situation is still fluid and hazardous. The Secretary-General's report, in paragraph 32, categorically states: "there can be no question that the situation in the Middle East will remain unstable and potentially dangerous unless real progress can be made towards a just and lasting settlement of the problem." Hence my delegation concurs that renewed efforts should be made to resume the negotiating process.

31. In order to achieve this desired goal, my delegation has gone along with the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF for another period of six months and has voted in favour of the draft resolution. This is in keeping with the recommendation contained in paragraph 33 of the Secretary-General's report before us.

32. However, one point of overriding importance we should like to emphasize is that UNDOF has been established for a purpose. That purpose exactly expressed, is the attainment of a just and lasting settlement of the problem in all its aspects. In other words, UNDOF is to be viewed as a United Nations instrument. It is a means to an end and not an end in itself. Once its instrumentality has been taken advantage of by the parties concerned, it has to go. Once the end has been achieved, it has to leave.

33. It is obvious, therefore, that the Force is not there to stay. Consequently, it would seem very encouraging to see the parties concerned leaving no stone unturned in pursuing the cause of a just and durable peace in the area. This is primarily the reason why the mandate has been extended—so that productive and concerted efforts may be made to foster and promote negotiations which will result in the long-awaited lasting peace in the area.

34. Therefore, I am very hopeful that today's extension of the period of the mandate is—to borrow the words of Talleyrand—the beginning of the end and—to borrow the words of Churchill—the end of the beginning. We are looking forward to the day when the inscription of the Isaiah wall, the wall facing the United Nations Secretariat building across First Avenue, where numerous demonstrations have been held, will be verified in fact somehow, some day, in the Middle East. That inscription says: "They shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation shall not lift up sword against nation; neither shall they learn war any more." I think that inscription is there for us to see and for us to mediate on, and it is for us to see to it that it is verified in fact, difficult as that may be.

35. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General, to Major-General Philipp, to Lieutenant-General Siilasvuo, Chief Co-ordinator of the United Nations Peace-

keeping Missions in the Middle East, and to all those valiant men in the Force for their efforts, sacrifices and dedication.

36. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): The favourable vote of my delegation on the resolution once more extending the mandate of UNDOF for a further period of six months, that is, to 31 May 1977, represents a reaffirmation of my country's keen desire to support measures that seek the creation of conditions conducive to progress towards the attainment of a final peace in the Middle East region.

37. That the performance of UNDOF has contributed to maintaining quiet in the area is beyond question. We are heartened by the continuing contribution of the Force in maintaining the cease-fire between Syria and Israel, thus avoiding the outbreak of serious incidents which could disturb the present calm in the Israeli-Syrian sector. Therefore, we agree with the Secretary-General's observation that in the circumstances the continued presence of UNDOF in the area is essential.

38. In this connexion, my delegation would have preferred the very pertinent and succinct observations of the Secretary-General contained in paragraph 32 of his report to be reflected in the resolution we have just adopted. That that was not possible is a source of great disappointment to my delegation. However, those observations concerning the unstable and potentially dangerous situation, which will continue in the Middle East unless real progress can be made towards a comprehensive settlement, have been included in your statement, Mr. President, indicating quite clearly that the Security Council shares those observations.

39. In expressing our view concerning the prevailing calm in the area, however, we cannot but repeat our warning against the tendency to see the routine adoption of resolutions renewing the mandate of UNDOF as a substitute for sustained and determined efforts to reach a final overall settlement in the Middle East. The Council is well aware of the tensions which simmer below the surface calm that at present prevails in the Middle East area. These tensions, natural and inevitable, are direct consequences of prolonged occupation. Continued occupation accompanied by repression only serves to aggravate those tensions. We have witnessed the vicious circle of the struggle for freedom and repression. That situation has occupied the Council's attention on a number of occasions this year. It is to be regretted that the many long hours the Council has devoted to the consideration of those grave problems have had little, if any, impact on the larger issue of a search for lasting peace in the Middle East.

40. Therefore, while we can take some comfort from the constructive role that UNDOF is playing on Syrian territory occupied by Israel, we cannot lose

sight of the essential fragility of the present Middle East stalemate. We must not, out of passivity and habit, appear to compromise with aggression. We must use our influence and authority to ensure the return of the occupied Arab lands to their rightful owners, to secure the enjoyment by the Palestinian people of their right to self-determination in their homeland and to uphold the right of all States in the area to exist within boundaries that are universally recognized.

41. At its present session the General Assembly has already witnessed positive efforts in this regard in the reiteration of the indispensable bases for a Middle East settlement. The actions of the Security Council, which has special responsibilities under the Charter, should advance those efforts.

42. But it is not only within the organs of the United Nations that the essential framework for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East has been almost universally recognized, nor is it only in United Nations organs that there are insistent calls for some impetus to be given to the negotiating process with a view to bringing about an early resolution of the grave and complex problems of the Middle East. At Colombo, just a few months ago, the Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries expressed deep satisfaction with United Nations resolutions which stressed the importance of the establishment of a just and lasting peace in consonance with the aims and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. At that summit meeting of non-aligned countries the Heads of State or Government expressed their grave concern over the stagnation of efforts to establish a just peace and manifested their confidence that the non-aligned countries would bring stronger pressure to bear in order to create the impetus necessary for overcoming the obstacles.

43. Running through many of those calls is the belief that the months ahead are propitious for a sustained and intensified effort, for a renewal of the negotiating process. Many believe that the objective conditions for progress on the Middle East question are better today than they have been for some time. It is good, therefore, that the Council should lend its voice to stating these conditions, for it should unhesitatingly join so many in the international community who desire an urgent end to the occupation of Arab territories, the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the introduction of a régime of inter-State relations based on respect for the right of all States to live peacefully within determined boundaries.

44. In closing, I should like to pay a particular tribute to the Syrian Arab Republic for its decision to agree to the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF. The Government and people of the Syrian Arab Republic have once again placed their confidence in the Organization's capacity to facilitate the much desired peace settlement. Such a trust should not go unrewarded.

45. I should like also to express the thanks of my delegation to the Secretary-General, to the forces and to the troop-contributing countries for the laudable efforts they continue to make in the cause of international peace and security.

46. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden): The Swedish Government shares the view of the Secretary-General, as expressed in his report, that if all the factors involving the presence of UNDOF in the Israel-Syria sector are taken into account, this presence must be considered essential. My delegation was therefore pleased to vote today in favour of the draft resolution contained in document S/12246.

47. It is in fact obvious to all that UNDOF is playing an important and constructive role. The Force has so far been successful in assisting the parties to maintain the cease-fire, in supervising the area of separation in order to ensure that there are no military forces within it and in investigating complaints from both parties concerned—to mention only a few of the important achievements of the Force during the last six-month period. There can therefore be no doubt that UNDOF has been an important factor in maintaining quiet in the area.

48. However, while expressing satisfaction with the peaceful situation, it is necessary for the Swedish delegation to call attention to the fact that, in its resolution 390 (1976), adopted in May this year, the Council called upon the parties concerned—as it is doing now—immediately to implement its resolution 338 (1973). Although commendable efforts have been made by the Secretary-General to promote an early resumption of negotiations aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East, it must be recognized that very little progress indeed has been achieved in this context.

49. Certain recent developments have, however, given some cause for hope that the repeated call of the Council to the parties to implement resolution 338 (1973) may result in action. As my delegation has stated before in the Security Council, a grave responsibility rests with the parties to do their utmost to utilize the six months ahead in making their contribution towards the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. There is, indeed, an urgent need to continue and to intensify the peace efforts. The present quiet must not be allowed to degenerate into stagnation and immobility.

50. In this context, the Swedish delegation will emphasize what was stated in the Secretary-General's report and restated here today by the President on behalf of the Council, namely, that despite the present quiet in the Israel-Syria sector, there can be no question that the situation in the Middle East will remain unstable and potentially dangerous unless real progress can be made towards a just and lasting settlement of the problem in all its aspects.

51. In conclusion, the Swedish delegation would once again like to express our Government's warm appreciation to the Secretary-General for his efforts to promote a development towards peace, and to commend warmly the officers and men and the Commander of UNDOF, as well as the collaborators of the Secretary-General in charge of UNDOF operations, for their excellent services and their devoted efforts in the cause of peace.

52. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): As we gather from the report of the Secretary-General, in the course of the last six months UNDOF has continued to carry out its tasks successfully with the co-operation of the parties concerned.

53. The Force has unquestionably contributed to maintaining the cease-fire in the sector, and we must congratulate all its members.

54. It is true that the situation in this sector has been calm and that no serious incidents have taken place, but, on the other hand, we must admit that no progress has been achieved during this period towards the establishment of a true peace. As is clearly stressed in paragraph 32 in the report of the Secretary-General: "the situation in the Middle East will remain unstable and potentially dangerous unless real progress can be made towards a just and lasting settlement of the problem in all its aspects".

55. We all agree with this observation of the Secretary-General. In fact, my Government considers that the present state of tension in the region and the as yet unresolved problems flowing from the Middle East conflict constitute a grave danger for peace not only in that region but also throughout the world.

56. Therefore, it is imperative to undertake new efforts ensure the resumption of the negotiating process so as to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, based upon the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. To that end, an important initiative might be the resumption of the Geneva Conference, with the participation of the countries concerned and of other States in a position to contribute to a speedier solution of this problem. We are deeply convinced that, in order to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, the problem of the Palestinian people must be solved, by, *inter alia*, the creation of an independent Palestinian State. This presupposes the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Arab territories occupied following the 1967 war, and guarantees of the independence and territorial integrity of all States in the Middle East.

57. The United Nations, through the Security Council, has, in the course of the last three years, played an important role in the creation and maintenance of conditions propitious for the establishment of peace in that region. The dispatching of United Nations Forces to separate the belligerents in Sinai

and Golan attests to this fact. But today we have to find a new approach, namely, an overall solution to the problems, because any partial approach can only complicate matters and create new threats to peace in the Middle East.

58. The United Nations could play a much more important role in the efforts to achieve an overall political settlement in the Middle East. In this connexion, we emphasize the need to involve the United Nations more directly, both in the efforts to resume the Geneva Conference and in the work of that Conference, and, generally speaking, in any steps that are taken to bring about an overall solution to the problems of the Middle East.

59. Convinced that the activities of UNDOF are part of the constructive measures conducive to the maintenance of an atmosphere that will favour efforts for the resumption of the negotiating process, the Romanian delegation voted in favour of the resolution adopted a few moments ago by which the mandate of UNDOF has just been extended for six months. At the same time, we wish again to stress that the maintenance of the Force can in no way be considered an end in itself, but only a temporary measure, of limited duration, until the establishment of true peace. Otherwise, it would be tantamount to an indefinite prolongation of foreign military occupation, instability and injustice.

60. Since UNDOF is located on Syrian territory, it is obviously very important, first of all, to secure the agreement of that country to any decision concerning the activities of the Force. The Syrian Government has once again demonstrated patience and political wisdom by agreeing to a further extension of the mandate of UNDOF. We should be grateful to it for that decision, just as we must appreciate its determination to have recourse to the framework and procedures set forth in the Charter in order to assert its inalienable rights.

61. We trust that all the interested parties will take full advantage of this latest extension of the UNDOF mandate by resuming and intensifying their efforts to arrive at an overall negotiated solution to the problems of the Middle East and to establish a just and lasting peace in the region.

62. Before concluding what I think will be my last statement in the Council this month of November, may I be allowed, Mr. President, to offer you a warm and well-earned tribute for the impeccable way in which you have carried out your important tasks. Your intensive efforts as a persuasive negotiator have greatly assisted us in finding generally acceptable solutions to the extremely delicate situations the Council has had to face in the course of this month, and particularly yesterday and today, in connexion with the problem we are now discussing. As far as my delegation and I are concerned, it has been a real

pleasure to participate in the work of the Council under your leadership, which was both authoritative and benign.

63. Mr. KANAZAWA (Japan): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution which the Council has just adopted, renewing the mandate of UNDOF for another period of six months. We did so because we believe that the task which the Force has been performing in the Israel-Syria sector still remains indispensable for that period.

64. It is a source of great satisfaction to us to note 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, that it has continued to perform its functions effectively, that the situation in the area has remained quiet, and that there have been no serious incidents.

65. We wish to pay tribute to the Governments which provide troops and military observers from the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine (UNTSO). We should like to congratulate the officers and men and the civilian staff for having performed their duties with exemplary devotion and efficiency. We should like also to congratulate the Secretary-General and his staff for their constant efforts to maintain the high level of effectiveness of the Force.

66. While UNDOF is fully discharging the important task in the area assigned to it, my delegation cannot fail to reiterate its conviction that the presence of UNDOF is not an end in itself but is intended to provide the time and to create the climate conducive to negotiations for a peaceful settlement. The performance of UNDOF must not be allowed to have the effect of causing the quiet now prevailing to end up in stagnation and a state of "no war, no peace". The role of UNDOF is a temporary one; its presence cannot be perpetuated. We are in full agreement with the Secretary-General's view, as stated in his report, and as reflected in the note by the President, emphasizing the vital importance of making real progress towards a just and lasting settlement of the problem in all its aspects.

67. To be sure, efforts have been made at a number of levels to resume negotiations, as called for in resolution 338 (1973), but, much to our regret, these have produced no tangible results.

68. Despite the sharp differences of opinion which have made it impossible thus far to reconvene the Geneva Conference, the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General over the past year to achieve that end have at least been greeted with some goodwill. We wish once again to pay tribute to the contribution he and his assistants have made to the cause of peace in the Middle East. My delegation wishes to encourage them to continue their constructive efforts towards

that end. The Council can take satisfaction from the Secretary-General's readiness to renew his efforts, following the line taken by the Council, which is entrusted with the ultimate responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. The Secretary-General's contacts with the parties concerned constitute one of the reasons why we continue to hope that the resumption of negotiations can be agreed upon.

69. It should be noted, however, that neither today's decision, nor the Council's decision of 22 October last [resolution 396 (1976)] to renew the mandate of the UNEF, offers any assurance that negotiations will be resumed. We agree with the Secretary-General's view that the primary role of those peace-keeping forces is to create an atmosphere conducive to the active search for a peaceful solution of underlying political problems. In this connexion, we would suggest that perhaps recent events in the Middle East are fostering such an atmosphere. The situation in Lebanon is considerably improved. Are there not indications that responsible sectors of the parties concerned are now more inclined to an active search for a peaceful solution?

70. My delegation wishes to emphasize that the extra time provided by these extensions of the mandates of UNEF and UNDOF must not be wasted. My delegation continues to hope that renewed efforts will now be made in all responsible quarters to bring about an early resumption of the negotiating process, including the Geneva Conference, with the participation of all the parties directly concerned, so that genuine negotiations can be arranged without delay, thus bringing nearer a just and lasting settlement of the complex Middle East problem.

71. Mr. VINCI (Italy): In the circumstances prevailing in the Middle East, there is no doubt in our mind that the extension of the mandate of UNDOF is more than advisable. We fully share the opinion of the Secretary-General, who, in paragraph 33 of his commendable report of 22 November, considers "the continued presence of UNDOF in the area to be essential". That being the predominant opinion existing among the members of the Council, we have at the same time, met the general expectations in adopting the resolution introduced by the President and contained in document S/12246. For the same reason, my delegation has fully associated itself with the President's statement. In fact, we consider it most appropriate in its contents and timing. I shall explain that later in my statement.

72. We feel that the action we have now taken is the best we could take at this stage, and we wish to acknowledge the wisdom of the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic for having given its assent to the proposed extension. We also want to express our appreciation to the Government of Israel for having agreed to the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF.

73. May I add that we fully share also the feelings which led the Secretary-General to make the other observations appearing in paragraphs 31, 32 and 33 of his report. In particular, my delegation has had the opportunity of stressing on several occasions in the Council Italy's concern over the uneasy and precarious state of affairs existing in the Middle East. My delegation is firmly convinced—and has said so more than once—that UNDOF's aim and that of the other peace-keeping forces in the area is not to maintain and protract the present situation any longer than necessary. Its main task is, rather, to help to bring the parties concerned closer together and promote the climate and conditions best suited to encouraging them to proceed with determination along the road to peace.

74. In this connexion and in respect of what I said in my introductory remarks, I wish to note that the present situation in the area and the declarations and statements made hitherto by many parties in the course of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly show some encouraging signs of a better adjustment to the reality as it is, rather than what they wish it was. If this trend, as we hope, gains strength, the road to meaningful negotiations for a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East crisis may indeed be easier. May I summarize the views of my delegation with regard to such negotiations by simply saying: the sooner they are undertaken, the better it will be for all concerned and for all peace-loving States.

75. In conclusion, we should like to express our sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General for his personal endeavours in the most potentially dangerous problem facing the Organization in nearly 30 years. We should also like to extend our thanks to all countries contributing to UNDOF, to its Commander, Major-General Hannes Philipp, and to the officers and men of the Force for the good job they have done once again, at times under strenuous circumstances. In this respect, may I be allowed to recall here also the contribution made by some of my countrymen at present serving in UNDOF as members of UNTSO.

76. Mr. SCALABRE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Six months ago, the Security Council adopted resolution 390 (1976), by which the mandate of UNDOF in the Golan area was renewed for a period of six months. At that time, the French delegation stressed that that decision ought to give the parties to the dispute an opportunity to search for ways to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Today we are forced to deplore the fact that the past six months have not allowed us to make progress in the matter. We are forced to state that resolution 390 (1976), which calls upon the parties concerned immediately to implement Security Council resolution 338 (1973), has still not even begun to be implemented.

77. Despite the absence of progress, the parties to the dispute have nevertheless accepted the renewal, for a

period of six months, of the mandate of the United Nations Force stationed in the Golan area. Naturally, we welcome that decision, which is a manifestation of good will. We must stress here how much the Council's task is facilitated when the agreement of the parties to the dispute is made known in advance, as on this occasion. The initiative taken by Syria should definitely be considered as a positive factor.

78. The presence of the observer Force is, nevertheless, only really justified by the active pursuit of peace efforts. We hope that advantage will be taken of the next six months to make new efforts. That is the aim of our vote; that was also the Secretary-General's conclusion in his report which is before the Council. We are in total agreement with the opinion as stated in paragraph 32 of the report, that

"Despite the present quiet in the Israel-Syria sector, there can be no question that the situation in the Middle East will remain unstable and potentially dangerous unless real progress can be made towards a just and lasting settlement of the problem in all its aspects."

79. At a time when each of us is wondering about the chances for a return of peace to the Middle East, renewal of the mandate of UNDOF in the Golan just now and the renewal of the mandate of the Emergency Force in the Sinai last month are encouraging signs. Let us not deceive ourselves, however; if the presence of UNDOF is essential to maintain calm and to create an atmosphere conducive to peace efforts, it is not itself an active element in the negotiation process. Only political determination will enable us to achieve a just and lasting peace settlement. We express the hope that, pending such a settlement, that determination will prevent the adoption of any unilateral action that would render future negotiations more difficult.

80. In our view, the peace settlement, I recall once more, must be based on three principles: evacuation of the territories occupied by Israel in 1967; recognition of the right of the Palestinians to a homeland; and finally, recognition of the rights of all States in the region to live in peace within secure, recognized and guaranteed boundaries.

81. We express the hope that the necessary conditions will materialize as soon as possible for reconvening the Geneva Conference, and that real negotiations can begin with a view to giving effect to the principles that I have just recalled.

82. In conclusion, I should like to say how much my Government appreciates the way in which the Secretary-General and his colleagues, as well as the Commander of UNDOF and the various contingents under his orders, are fulfilling their difficult tasks. In Golan as well as in Sinai, the United Nations daily gives proof of the importance of the role which

it is playing in the search for and in the maintenance of peace.

83. Mr. ELHOFARI (Libyan Arab Republic): My delegation has made its position clear on previous occasions with regard to the creation of UNDOF and the prolongation of its mandate. Our attitude is well known concerning Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), on which the presence of UNDOF is based. However, I should like to reiterate our position.

84. On numerous occasions, in the General Assembly and in the Security Council, we have affirmed that those resolutions are irrelevant as a framework for any just and lasting solution to the Palestinian question and the Middle East problem.

85. We are convinced that General Assembly resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3237 (XXIX), reaffirming the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, resolution 3376 (XXX), proposing the means designed to enable the Palestinian people to achieve their national rights; resolution 3379 (XXX), condemning zionism as a racist movement; and resolution 31/20 regarding the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and property and to achieve self-determination, national independence and sovereignty, reflect the profound changes and developments in the attitude of the United Nations and international public opinion, and call for a review of this question and the method of dealing with it.

86. For these reasons, my delegation has not participated in the debate on this item and in the vote on the draft resolution in document S/12246.

87. I should like on behalf of the delegation of the Libyan Arab Republic to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his efforts and for his report to the Council.

88. Finally, Mr. President, since we are approaching the end of the month, I should like to express to you our sincere congratulations and appreciation for the manner in which you have directed the important work of this Council.

89. Mr. AKHUND (Pakistan): Mr. President, since I am speaking in the Council for the first time under your presidency and since this is the last day of your presidency, I should like to place on record the admiration and respect which my delegation and I have for the exemplary manner in which you have conducted the proceedings of the Council during the current month. The tact, skill and firmness of hand with which you have guided the Council's deliberations during the many difficult problems with which it has had to deal during the current month attest to your personal wisdom and to the great experience, including experience in this chair, which you have brought to this office.

90. I should like to take this opportunity also to convey my gratitude to my colleagues who expressed kind sentiments towards me during the previous meetings. I value greatly the expression of their confidence and consider it as a reflection of the friendship and close co-operation which my country enjoys with theirs.

91. The Council has just adopted a resolution extending the mandate UNDOF for another six months. We have noted with satisfaction from the Secretary-General's report of 22 November that UNDOF has continued to perform its functions effectively with the co-operation of the parties and that during the period under review the situation in the area remained quiet. We join previous speakers in paying tribute to the members of the Force and its officers for the devotion and effectiveness with which they have performed their duties under the able command of Major-General Hannes Philipp. By discharging so ably the tasks assigned to them, these sentinels of peace have also brought honour to the countries to which they belong.

92. Especially praiseworthy is the fact that UNDOF has facilitated and continues to supervise meetings between members of families separated as a result of the hostilities. It is our hope that the UNDOF mine-clearing team, whose mandate has been further extended, will be able to complete its work soon and that the inhabitants of the area will no longer fall victim to mine explosions in the zone and will be able to go about their daily tasks and occupations without risk or fear.

93. In its resolution 390 (1976) of 28 May, the Council renewed the mandate of UNDOF for six months, called upon the parties concerned to implement immediately Security Council resolution 338 (1973) and requested the Secretary-General to submit a report on the developments of the situation and the measures taken to implement 338 (1973). The Secretary-General in his reports in documents S/12210 and S/12235 has quite rightly concluded in paragraph 32 of the latter that

"Despite the present quiet in the Israeli-Syria sector,... the situation in the Middle East will remain unstable and potentially dangerous unless real progress can be made towards a just and lasting settlement of the problem in all its aspects."

94. We also fully endorse the Secretary-General's view that the Agreement on Disengagement between the Israeli and Syrian Forces [S/11302/Add.1, annex I] is not a peace agreement but a step towards a just and durable peace on the basis of resolution 338 (1973). We join him in urging that renewed efforts should be made to resume the negotiating process.

95. It is evident from the Secretary-General's report that the lack of progress towards a pacific settlement

of the Middle East problem has not been due to a lack of initiative on the part of the United Nations. It is plain, in fact, that movement towards peace in the Middle East is being held up because Israel is not willing to have a settlement except on its own terms and, in effect, in disregard of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

96. Resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) have enunciated the two main elements of a durable Middle East settlement. In accordance with those resolutions, Israel should withdraw from all the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967 and negotiations should be undertaken in order to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which will ensure the security and safety of all the countries and peoples of the region.

97. In its resolutions 3236 (XXIX), 3376 (XXX) and 31/20, the General Assembly has also declared that the inalienable rights of the Palestinians must be recognized and implemented. Those resolutions stipulate that the Palestinians should have the right to return to their homes, to exist as a nation and to have a State of their own.

98. The current state of no war, no peace in the Middle East is not to the real advantage of any of the parties concerned and should not be so considered by Israel. Israeli settlements are being established on a permanent basis in many parts of the occupied territories. Also, through administrative acts and policies, the original character of many areas and cities, including Jerusalem and Hebron, is being altered. Acts of repression, intimidation and oppression are being committed by the occupying Power. Recognizing the dangers inherent in the situation, the Security Council adopted a consensus statement on 11 November [1969th meeting]. Israel would do well to pay heed to it. Israel should also ensure the safety of the inhabitants of the territories and facilitate the return of those who had to flee from their hearths and homes. It should apply the fourth Geneva Convention¹ and refrain from establishing any settlements in the occupied territories.

99. The Government of the Syrian Arab Republic has agreed to the extension of the mandate in the hope that international efforts will achieve a just and lasting peace based on the principles embodied in the relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions. The statement of the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic [S/12237, annex] represents a stance based on reason and deserves a positive response from the Council.

100. My delegation voted for the resolution extending the mandate of UNDOF in the belief that the Force is a potent factor against the recurrence of war in the Middle East. However, we do not support the stationing of the Force on the Syrian-Israeli border, or, for that matter, anywhere else, on a permanent or semi-permanent basis, thus freezing the situation.

The United Nations Force is not to be used as a shield for Israel's policy of annexation. The Council, in the resolution it has just adopted, has again called upon the parties concerned to implement resolution 338 (1973) and has requested the Secretary-General to submit a report at the end of the six-month period on developments in the situation and the measures taken to implement that resolution.

101. No doubt the Secretary-General will take all possible steps to reactivate the process of negotiations on the Middle East. He has employed in the past a number of means available to him for implementing Council resolutions on the Middle East. We are certain that the Secretary-General will continue to exert all efforts and take such additional measures as he considers necessary to fulfil the mandate entrusted to him under the resolution.

102. It is our view, furthermore, that the Geneva Peace Conference should be resumed at an early date with the full participation of all the parties, including the PLO. Also, other appropriate additional measures should be undertaken to achieve a just and lasting peace in the area. In brief, the delegation of Pakistan supports all possible efforts aimed at achieving a comprehensive solution of the Middle East problem in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

103. Mr. BENNETT (United States of America): The United States is gratified that the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF has been expeditiously handled. Keeping the peace is a goal on which we can all agree, and UNDOF has done an outstanding job in overseeing the cease-fire on the Golan Heights. My delegation would like to commend in particular the excellent work done by the Secretary-General and the Commander of UNDOF.

104. The co-operation of the Governments of Israel and the Syrian Arab Republic with UNDOF has ensured the success of its mission. It is the two parties which have kept the cease-fire. Their agreement to the resolution extending the mandate of UNDOF is a major element in the Council's action. Today's decision by the Security Council is an important contribution to the maintenance of peace.

105. In concluding, I should like to congratulate you, Mr. President, for your persistent efforts in bringing about the agreement of the parties to this further renewal of the mandate of UNDOF.

106. Mr. HACHEME (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation justly appreciates the efforts you have made throughout the discussions we have been engaged in. We should like to state that our attitude with regard to the vote was taken in accordance with clear instructions which we have only just received. That is why we were not able to inform the members of the Council in advance.

107. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): With the Council's leave, I should like now to make a statement in my capacity as the representative of PANAMA.

108. The decisions which the Council has adopted today and which appear in documents S/12246 and S/12247 have, in Panama's view, greater scope than the mere extension of the mandate of UNDOF for a further period of six months, ending on 31 May 1977. As the main part of its decision states, the Council is profoundly concerned and determined that the parties should implement resolution 338 (1973) immediately.

109. As the preamble of the resolution states, the Council is still concerned over the prevailing state of tension in the area and it agrees with the Secretary-General as to the urgency of achieving real progress towards a just and lasting settlement of the unstable and potentially dangerous situation obtaining in the Middle East by tackling the problem in all its aspects.

110. The Council's decision cannot therefore be taken as an automatic renewal of the mandate UNDOF devoid of any other meaning. As we understand it, the Council is not in favour of freezing an abnormal situation which is unstable and unjust. Quite the contrary. The Council has repeatedly expressed its desire that the parties should achieve a genuine agreement that will ensure a just and stable peace on the basis of resolution 338 (1973). The will of the Council, as we interpret it, is that the efforts at negotiation should be resumed.

111. That is why my country supported the request contained in the resolution that the Secretary-General should "submit at the end of this period a report on the developments in the situation and the measures taken to implement resolution 338 (1973)." We trust that during that time the Council will be able to note true progress towards peace and international co-operation in the region.

112. Since the Council has now concluded its agenda, and since this is the last meeting to be held by the Council in the month of November, I feel it appropriate to make a few comments at the end of my tenure as PRESIDENT.

113. Since the beginning of November the Council has endeavoured to cope with a heavy work schedule, which has been concluded with almost total success. I say "almost total success" because all the subjects discussed this month have culminated in decisions that have helped to enhance the positive image of the Council with the exception of one case in which the approval of one of the permanent members of the Council was withheld. But, because of the weight and cogency of the opinions expressed in the course of the debate, we believe that this subject will doubtless receive favourable reconsideration, which will redound to the honour of the permanent member to

which I have referred and will further the aims and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and assist in strengthening international peace and security.

114. I should like to express to the members of the Council and to the Secretary-General my profound satisfaction at the work done in the course of this month. May I also say that if any merit can be attributed to the work of the President, it is only that he has endeavoured to harmonize and co-ordinate the tasks of the Council in order to achieve unanimous solutions. All the President did during this month was to try to follow the path of friendly understanding, something that is possible only when one takes full advantage of the wisdom, prudence, diplomatic discretion, experience and co-operation—qualities that were constantly displayed by the representatives of the countries which make up the Council during the presidency of the representative of Panama. Thus, like our colleague from Guyana, I believe we have acted in keeping with what the in-coming President of the Council, Mr. Datcu of Romania, has called the

progressive traditions of the diplomatic and legal schools of Latin America.

115. I must conclude by expressing to the members of the Council my heartfelt appreciation for the courtesy, support and co-operation they have constantly shown me during my presidency in the course of this month. I wish to extend profound thanks to the Secretary-General and to his colleagues in the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs, including not only our visible collaborators but also those who, in their anonymous but essential interpretation booths and in the offices where official records and public information are prepared, are the dynamo which keeps the Organization moving. To all of them, therefore, I offer my appreciation and thanks.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.

Note

¹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973, p. 287.

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم . استعلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب إلى : الأمم المتحدة ، قسم البيع في نيويورك أو في جنيف .

如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经售处均有发售。请向书店询问或写信到纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.
