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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2079)	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/12710)	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.

2079th MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 31 May 1978, at 4 p.m.

President: Mr. Rubén CARPIO CASTILLO (Venezuela).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Bolivia, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Kuwait, Mauritius, Nigeria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2079)

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/12710)

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/12710)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following documents: the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) covering the period 24 November 1977 to 17 May 1978, contained in document S/12710, and the draft resolution contained in document S/12721.

2. I shall now put to the vote draft resolution S/12721.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted by 14 votes to none.¹

One member (China) did not participate in the voting.

3. 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

[S/12710] states in paragraph 36 that ‘the present quiet in the Israel-Syria sector is, however, basically precarious. The main elements of the Middle East problem remain unresolved and the situation in the area as a whole will continue to be unstable and dangerous unless real progress can soon be made towards a just and durable settlement of the problem in all its aspects.’ This statement of the Secretary-General reflects the view of the Security Council.”

Further, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, I wish to state that, as it has not participated in the vote on this resolution, it takes the same position with regard to the statement which I have just read out on behalf of the members of the Council.

4. I have been informed that the Secretary-General wishes to make a statement and I now call on him.

5. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: My report on UNDOF contained in document S/12710 of 17 May 1978 speaks for itself. This has been a generally quiet period in the Israel-Syria sector and international attention has been focused elsewhere. However, as long as efforts to resolve the main elements of the Middle East problem do not make significant progress, the situation in the area will remain essentially unstable. The necessity of making progress towards a just and durable settlement in the Middle East therefore remains very high on the world's agenda and I hope that, despite all of the difficulties involved, we shall in the coming months see some progress in the right direction. I can assure the Council that, with the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF for another six months, the Force will continue to do its utmost to maintain quiet in the area, in accordance with the terms of the Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian Forces [S/11302/Add.1 of 30 May 1974].

6. Mr. CHOU Nan (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): With regard to the question of the United Nations Force, we have always held a different position in principle. Basing itself on this position, the Chinese delegation did not participate in the vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/12721.

7. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): Mr. President, the delegation of Kuwait would first like to thank you sincerely for the able and effective manner in which you have conducted the business of the Council during this month.

8. Kuwait voted in favour of the resolution which has just been adopted on the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF

¹ See resolution 429 (1978).

for another period of six months solely because the Syrian Government expressed its wish to have the mandate extended.

9. The delegation of Kuwait studied very carefully the report of the Secretary-General. Paragraphs 33 and 34 do not indicate any encouraging developments. The report gives the impression that the situation is tranquil and static. On the surface that may be so; in fact it only appears to be quiet. Israel is busy building Jewish settlements on occupied Syrian territory. Jewish immigrants are being brought from different corners of the world to settle on Syrian land to cultivate areas that Syrian farmers owned and for which they sweated. The soil that Syrians tilled is being plundered by Jewish settlers. Israel has been saying that the occupied Syrian territory will never be vacated, even after the achievement of a peaceful settlement.

10. Israel alleges and it claims that the Syrian land is indispensable for its security. This is not the right time or the right moment to blunt such macabre lack of logic. But it is tragic and indeed saddening that the role of the Security Council should have been sidelined in the expectation that talks conducted outside the United Nations could bring about better results. And after 11 years of Israel's occupation of Syrian territory and other Arab territories, the Council finds itself unable to rise to the responsibility conferred upon it by the Charter. Israel's persistent and consistent disregard for United Nations resolutions, including those of the Security Council, is due to the opposition by some permanent members of the Council to the imposition of sanctions on Israel in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, a course which we have been consistently advocating. Consequently, Israel enjoys the spoils of its occupation of Syrian and other Arab territories with impunity. Yet we speak endlessly about prospects for negotiations and the possibility of a peaceful settlement.

11. This exercise of renewing the mandate of the United Nations troops in the Middle East has become a seasonal routine, while more than 1 million Arabs are suffering odious occupation and while their territories are being plundered and pillaged by Israeli colonizers brought from all over. We meet here to renew the mandate of United Nations forces in Syrian territory invaded by Israel in 1967 and occupied since that year.

12. This is a glaring example of how much military force is able to achieve. We do this in the midst of a linguistic marathon on disarmament that is taking place in the General Assembly at this very moment. UNDOF functions on Syrian territory and, behind UNDOF, in the Israeli-occupied Syrian land, Israeli settlers are enjoying the quiet that UNDOF ensures and provides. In other words, these Zionist settlers live in a relaxed atmosphere, offered and provided very freely by UNDOF. This fact sends an unpleasant chill into the bones of those who expect more from the Security Council.

13. Admittedly, some parts of the resolution which the Council has just adopted go against the grain of my delegation. The reference to resolution 338 (1973) and calling upon the parties to implement it immediately is uninspiring and placid. It gives the impression that the

paragraph was inserted in conformity with the requirement of formality rather than an indication of a serious endeavour by the Council to have it implemented.

14. The Middle East thus provides the best illustration of the decline of respect for the Charter and for the volume of booty that force can bring. It is indeed not a pleasant spectacle, and the inability of the Council to take drastic measures to put an end to Israel's occupation of Arab land adds very considerably to the muddle in this very unhappy region.

15. I note with a wry smile that the Secretary-General reported that "Syrian shepherds grazing their flocks close to and west of the A line continue to be a problem for UNDOF" [S/12710, para. 27]. These shepherds, who have been grazing their sheep for centuries cannot be a source of irritation to UNDOF. The problem comes from the Jewish settlers and Jewish settlements being built on Syrian land with a view to securing perpetual acquisition of Syrian territory in defiance of the Charter and of Security Council resolutions. That constitutes the irritation to UNDOF and to the United Nations, and to the world in fact.

16. It is ironic that Syrian shepherds should pose a problem, while these human predators of Syrian land enjoy an enviable comfort behind United Nations troops. This situation, in sum, is intolerable. I hope that this bleak image will give way in days to come to a brighter light.

17. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): As a result of the aggressive policies of the Israeli Government, the Middle East continues to be a source of constant tension. Events in Southern Lebanon have once again clearly demonstrated that Israel is continuing to set up new obstacles to a comprehensive solution to the Middle East problem.

18. The Czechoslovak delegation has already frequently had occasion to state its position on this problem. However, we consider it necessary to state once again that a durable peace in the Middle East will only be achieved when an end is put to the occupation of all Arab territories held by Israel, when the Arab people of Palestine is given an opportunity to exercise its inalienable rights, including its right to self-determination and to the creation of its own State, and when all peoples and States in that area, including Israel, have a system of effective international guarantees to ensure their security and independent existence.

19. The latest example of brute force against Lebanon has convinced the Arab people not only of the lack of reality but also of the danger inherent in separate talks with Israel, which have not yielded any firm prospects for the achievement of peace. In other words, the position of the Governments of Arab countries was fully brought out when they warned us about the policy of separate talks. The point is that through this policy the Government of Israel is pursuing exactly the same end, namely to disrupt the unity of the Arab countries. This policy also represents an attempt to keep the Palestine Liberation Organization out of the talks on a settlement in the Middle East. My Government has frequently come out in favour of a

proposal to the effect that a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East should be brought about by means of talks within the framework of a resumed Geneva Peace Conference, with the participation of all countries concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as a full-fledged participant.

20. Regarding the presence and the activities of the United Nations forces in that area, including UNDOF, they are only warranted if they can help to create the conditions whereby a just peace can be achieved in the Middle East precisely through a comprehensive resolution of all the key issues in the conflict and with strict observance of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

21. In this connexion, my delegation would like to stress that the presence of United Nations forces in the Middle East region is regarded by us as a provisional measure which should in no way be aimed at weakening the pressure on the aggressor or even encouraging it to continue to ignore the decisions of the Security Council.

22. The Czechoslovak delegation voted for the extension of the mandate of UNDOF for a further period of six months. In doing so, we have taken into account the position taken by the Syrian Government in giving its consent to the extension of this mandate.

23. Mr. BARTON (Canada): Since Canada is one of the countries contributing troops to UNDOF, the Council will not be surprised that that forms the focus of my remarks.

24. We take particular satisfaction in noting from the Secretary-General's report that for the past six months the Force has continued to function efficiently in discharging the terms of its mandate. The conditions in which UNDOF operates are extremely difficult, and to this was added the fact that during the period under review the Force was required to operate at reduced strength because of the temporary assignment of personnel to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). Despite this, UNDOF has fulfilled its tasks and there have been no complaints by the parties concerning observance of the cease-fire. This reflects positively on the Commander and all the members of UNDOF, and on the direction given to it by the Secretary-General and his staff. It also indicates that the parties are co-operating well in observing the cease-fire.

25. UNDOF has been operating in the cause of peace since the signing of the Agreement between Israel and the Syrian Arab Republic in 1974. It has done an exemplary job in supervising the cease-fire and the areas of separation and limitation of armaments. My Government regrets that, despite the calm which has existed in the area for the last four years, Israel and Syria have failed to take further steps towards concluding an agreement that would move beyond their existing understanding on physical disengagement.

26. My country contributes willingly to peace-keeping in the hope that this will contribute to the search for peace. It is in this hope and expectation that the Canadian Government has authorized me to announce that we shall continue to provide troops for UNDOF at approximately the present level for the next mandate period.

27. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Security Council had just adopted a resolution renewing for a further period of six months the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force between Syrian and Israeli troops in the Golan Heights. It is quite obvious that the question of continuing the mandate of the Force is directly connected with a Middle East settlement. In this connexion, the Soviet delegation would like to refer particularly to the statement read out by the President of the Council, which contained a warning to the effect that:

"The main elements of the Middle East problem remain unresolved and the situation in the area as a whole will continue to be unstable and dangerous unless real progress can soon be made towards a just and durable settlement of the problem in all its aspects." [See para. 3 above.]

28. The entire course of events in the Middle East has clearly borne out the correctness of the frequent warnings given by the Soviet Union to the effect that failure to settle the Middle East conflict, the continued occupation by Israel of Arab land and the flouting of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine have created an explosive situation which contains the seeds of new military conflict. The recent overt aggression by Israel against Lebanon has shown clearly once again what dangers are inherent in any delay in settling the Middle East conflict.

29. The Soviet Union has always taken a consistent position regarding the situation in the Middle East. It has always favoured and continues to favour the speedy implementation of a comprehensive and just political settlement of the Middle East problem, which should consist in the following organically interrelated elements: the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967; the exercise by the Arab people of Palestine of its inalienable rights, including its right to self-determination and to the creation of its own State; assurance of the independent existence and security of all the States in the area. Such a settlement can only be achieved through the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization. The discussions of the question of the situation in the Middle East at the United Nations in recent years, together with the relevant decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, clearly show that the overwhelming majority of States Member support this approach to removing the source of tension in the Middle East.

30. The Soviet Union has frequently drawn attention to the fact that to resist the achievement of an over-all settlement and to delay a decision on these questions can only be the action of those who, for their own selfish purposes, are trying to maintain the present level of tension in the Middle East. Imperialist circles obviously consider that the maintenance of the *status quo* in the Middle East is in line with their long-term plans to strengthen their own control over the Middle East region, its tremendous oil resources and important strategic position. It is precisely for that reason that they want to weaken the Arab States as

much as possible, dissuade them from the course of progressive social development, pit them against each other and force them to act as separate entities.

31. The Soviet Union has never concealed its disapproval of the policies and actions of certain countries which have been designed to substitute separate arrangements for a comprehensive Middle East settlement. Any attempt to settle the problem of the Middle East by means of such separate arrangements could damage the vital interests of all the peoples in the area. The course of events has shown quite clearly that separate negotiations do not increase but rather tend to diminish the prospects of achieving a settlement in the Middle East.

32. The Soviet Union had no objection to renewing the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force in the Israel-Syria sector for a further period of six months, bearing in mind in particular that the Government of Syria had given its consent to such renewal. As the delegation of the Soviet Union has frequently stressed in the Council, the presence of United Nations armed forces in the Middle East is purely a provisional measure and should not be used to protract the efforts to reach a comprehensive settlement in the area.

33. In conclusion, the delegation of the Soviet Union would like to stress once again the need to take specific steps in order to effect maximum savings in the funds expended to maintain United Nations forces in the Middle East.

34. Mr. ROLON ANAYA (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, the Bolivian delegation would like once more to express its appreciation to you for the very skilful way in which you have presided over our work and we should also like to thank you for convening this meeting of the Council.

35. We supported the draft resolution submitted and the complementary statement accompanying it on the basis of the observation made by the Secretary-General that the calm prevailing in the Israel-Syria sector is a precarious one despite the efficient and arduous work of UNDOF. It could not be other than precarious since it was decided that the presence of the Force should be brief, just long enough for the parties concerned to implement the provisions of resolution 338 (1973), which was pre-emptory in tone.

36. Bolivia, which supported resolution 242 (1967) because it felt that it constituted a set of extremely moderate and well-balanced measures, fully in keeping with the legal traditions of Bolivia, also decisively supported resolution 338 (1973) which, in paragraphs 2 and 3, reiterates the terms of resolution 242 (1967) and sets a clear mandate to the effect that, "immediately and concurrently with the cease-fire, negotiations shall start between the parties concerned under appropriate auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East." This has not happened so far.

37. My delegation considers it unfortunate that these provisions have not yet been complied with. The resolution just adopted moves in the right direction again, because it

would be desirable to renew the mandate of the Force every six months unless the parties concerned comply with the substantive aspects of resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), in other words, unless they meet the urgent need to continue and intensify all necessary efforts to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

38. Mr. LEONARD (United States of America): Four years have passed since UNDOF was established and its first units sent to the Golan Heights. The purpose of the Force was to create and maintain conditions of calm in the area so that the search for peace could be pursued with vigour and perseverance. Difficult problems have been encountered in that search, and serious obstacles remain. But it is to the great credit of UNDOF that efforts to reach a lasting settlement continue in a stable atmosphere.

39. The success of UNDOF in carrying out its mandate has been greatly assisted by the parties' scrupulous observance of their obligations under the terms of the Disengagement Agreement. Another critical factor has been the able leadership of Major-General Hannes Philipp and the dedication of his officers and men. Less obvious, but just as important to the success of the Force, are the impressive institutional experience and professionalism that the United Nations has developed in peace-keeping operations. The Secretary-General and his outstanding staff have built up this expertise, with the help of many countries which over the years have contributed troops to United Nations peace-keeping operations. The Governments whose forces make up UNDOF—Austria, Iran, Canada and Poland—are following a noble tradition. To all those who have helped make United Nations peace-keeping operations the important force for international peace that they are today, my Government pays a sincere tribute.

40. We are pleased that Israel and Syria have once again agreed to extend the mandate substantially in advance of its termination date. We see this as another indication of the sincere desire for peace on the part of both Israel and its Arab neighbours. My Government will continue to work with the parties, with the Security Council and with the Secretary-General, and with all those who desire a just and lasting Middle East settlement. We believe firmly that, in the words of President Carter, "this may be the most propitious time for a genuine settlement since the beginning of the Arab-Israeli conflict".

41. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): My delegation was very pleased to vote in favour of the resolution which the Council has just adopted, renewing the mandate of UNDOF for a further six months. The role which the Force has played for four years now in maintaining the cease-fire and in supervising the Disengagement Agreement between Syria and Israel continues to be of the greatest importance. The lack of incident in the six-month period just concluded is testimony to the efficiency of the officers and men of the Force. This relative quiet continues to be important in creating a general climate in the area so that efforts to arrive at a solution to the underlying problems can make progress. We agreed, therefore, with the recommendation of the Secretary-General that the mandate should be extended for a further six months.

42. At the same time I feel that I should place on record again our view that the renewal of the mandate should not be seen as an end in itself but as the means to an end. It is not a substitute for true peace though there is a danger that as time goes by it comes almost tacitly to be regarded as such. The extension of the mandate therefore provides a further period during which the search for a just and lasting peace in the area should be actively pursued. In yet another excellent report, for which we thank and congratulate him, the Secretary-General has underlined this latter point by warning against the dangers of being lulled into a false sense of security by the current relative tranquillity of the Israel-Syria sector. As he rightly points out, the situation remains basically precarious and we would not be doing our duty if we did not continually point out to the parties concerned the responsibilities placed on them under resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

43. In conclusion, I should like once again to express our profound thanks to the Secretary-General and his staff, to the Commander of the Force, Major-General Philipp, and to the members of the Force for the way in which they have carried out their role over the last six months. Their task was not eased by the secondment of half of the Iranian battalion to help UNIFIL on a temporary basis. The high quality of their performance continues to reflect nothing but credit upon the troop-contributing Governments of Austria, Canada, Iran and Poland and indeed upon the United Nations as a whole.

44. Mr. VON WECHMAR (Federal Republic of Germany): My delegation has cast its vote in favour of the resolution just adopted, which renews, on the recommendation of the Secretary-General and with the consent of the parties, the mandate of UNDOF for another period of six months. In doing so, my delegation was guided by the conviction, also expressed by the Secretary-General in his comprehensive and lucid report, that the continued presence of UNDOF in the area is essential for the maintenance of the cease-fire between Israel and the Syrian Arab Republic. My delegation has noted with satisfaction that the cease-fire has indeed been maintained and that no complaints have been raised by either party. This testifies both to the outstanding performance of UNDOF and the willingness of the parties to co-operate in order to avoid a dangerous confrontation.

45. Yet, despite these positive elements, it remains particularly disturbing that no progress has been achieved towards a peace settlement or at least a revival of the negotiating process in accordance with resolution 338 (1973). Since its establishment in 1974, UNDOF has thus been unable, for reasons beyond its control, to fulfil its basic aim of ensuring real progress towards a just and durable settlement in the area. Instead we cannot but agree once again with the Secretary-General that "the present quiet in the Israel-Syria sector is . . . basically precarious", leaving the situation in the area "unstable and dangerous" [S/12710, para. 36].

46. The same was true when we last renewed UNDOF's mandate. There was, however, a ray of hope that a change for the better lay ahead. Various efforts were then under way to create an atmosphere of readiness finally to discuss the main elements of the Middle East problem in a

constructive, realistic and conciliatory manner. It is therefore particularly sad to note that this unique chance has not yet been used to the full so as to avert the danger of the situation deteriorating once again. Without intending to put the total blame on either party or side, my Government feels compelled to point out that real progress cannot be achieved by window-dressing alone, nor by concessions that remain quite obviously below the minimum the other party can reasonably expect in return for its own willingness to compromise. Only if both sides to the conflict can find the same courage to overcome old prejudices and to forget painful experiences of the past can progress be achieved. It is in this spirit that my Government appeals to all parties to the Middle East conflict to show the courage that is needed in order not to fall back into the old clichés of sterile hate and hostility.

47. I should like to conclude my brief statement, as I did last time, by expressing our gratitude and admiration for their exemplary performance to the Commander of UNDOF, Major-General Philipp of Austria and to the officers and men of the force and its civilian staff, as well as to the military observers of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization assigned to UNDOF. Our gratitude goes also to the four countries contributing contingents to UNDOF.

48. Finally, I wish to congratulate you, Mr. President, as well as the Secretary-General and his staff, on the successful effort in bringing about the adoption of this resolution.

49. Mr. N'DONG (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): The decision just taken by the Security Council to extend the mandate of UNDOF for a further period of six months ending on 30 November 1978, far from being a token gesture is of great significance for my delegation. First and foremost it signifies recognition of an renewed confidence in the peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations, which is particularly important since we are going through a period in which there is a tendency to cast some aspersions on that machinery. This decision signifies also that we are convinced that the role of the United Nations as the only earnest for preserving peace in many parts of the world has been considerable and, in this connexion, my delegation would like to express the hope that, in the particular case we are now discussing, the Organization, apart from successfully discharging the mandate that has been entrusted to it, will contribute to promoting conditions propitious to bringing about an over-all settlement in the Middle East that is both just and lasting. However, my delegation sincerely hopes that this United Nations force will never become a permanent institution and that the parties concerned will do everything necessary to give full effect to resolution 338 (1973).

50. Mr. HARRIMAN (Nigeria): First I should like to join preceding speakers in expressing appreciation for the lucid report of the Secretary-General on UNDOF for the period 24 November 1977 to 17 May 1978.

51. UNDOF was established in May 1974 to supervise the cease-fire on the Israeli-Syrian border called for by the Security Council. The primary responsibility of UNDOF, therefore, is to ensure the faithful adherence of all parties

to the articles of the Agreement on Disengagement, and it is indeed a tribute to the effectiveness of UNDOF as a peace-keeping force that this particular part of the Middle East has been kept quiet in recent times.

52. Admittedly, the co-operation of the parties in the realization of the basic tenets of the mandate of UNDOF during the period under review has been quite encouraging as well, yet we cannot and we certainly should not but be impressed by the resilience, tact, exemplary efficiency and devotion to duty demonstrated by all members of UNDOF in the performance of the delicate and dangerous tasks assigned to them by the Security Council. This is even better appreciated when one reflects on the statement of the Secretary-General in his report that the existence of mines within the area of separation continues to cause danger to members of UNDOF as well as to the civilian population. When fatal explosions do occur—and that has indeed happened quite often—it has not been easy to reduce tension and prevent a military flare-up in a generally explosive situation.

53. As this is the first time we have participated in the Security Council debate on this subject we should in the circumstances like to place on record our deep gratitude to the Governments of Austria, Canada, Iran, Poland and other troop-contributing countries whose nationals at present constitute the bulk of UNDOF. We also express the hope that they will continue to give positive support to the Council in the fulfilment of its functions as the world's custodian of international peace and security.

54. In adopting resolution 420 (1977), the Security Council agreed to renew the mandate of UNDOF for a further period of six months, which is due to expire today. At that time the Council called for the immediate implementation of resolution 338 (1973). It is on record that the same call was made on eight different occasions, namely in resolutions 350 (1974), 363 (1974), 369 (1975), 381 (1975), 390 (1976), 398 (1976), 408 (1977) and 420 (1977). The resolution adopted today merely requests the Secretary-General to submit at the end of the new period a report on developments in the situation and the measures taken to implement resolution 338 (1973), thus creating the atmosphere of a *fait accompli* in the situation and merely endorsing with stoic resignation the *status quo*.

55. It is a matter of extreme disappointment to my delegation that the repeated calls by the Council for the immediate implementation of resolution 338 (1973), which would have provided a political solution to the entire Middle East problem, have remained largely ignored.

56. The problem not only subsists, but new ramifications extend today into Lebanon, and the situation in the Middle East continues to be as explosive as ever. We cannot conceal our disappointment at the fact that the country which, in its inordinate pursuit of its policies of expansion, has seized large chunks of adjoining territories of Egypt, Jordan, Syria and recently Lebanon, has stubbornly held on to these territories in flagrant violation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the decisions of the Security Council.

57. I did say that this was the first time that my delegation has contributed to the debate on this question and I wish to expand further. For close to three decades, the protestations of the entire world community to the effect that the usurping State should respect international law, morality and decency by withdrawing from the territories seized by naked force and aggression have regrettably remained ignored. What if the world were thrown into such chaos where every big Power could expand its territory without concern for international peace and security, which in effect amounts to anarchy? Even President Sadat's spectacular *démarche* of last November, which underscored the Arab readiness to exchange peace for Arab recognition of the State of Israel, received only muted responses from Tel Aviv. Worse still, there has been a provocative escalation in the establishment of Jewish settlements in occupied Arab lands in order to create so-called facts on the ground in the hope that such settlements would influence the final determination of Israeli boundaries in the event of a peace settlement. But far from bringing us close to any peaceful accord, the settlements have even been admitted by Israel's backers as having created serious obstacles in the path of peace.

58. Without wishing to infringe on the prerogatives of bilateral relations, we have observed how during the last few weeks Israeli leaders have moved around Western capitals and publicly campaigned for exclusivity in their access to Western sources of military supplies, and we all recall the response.

59. At a time when mankind is preoccupied with the problem of reducing world tension and strengthening international peace and security, it is indeed depressing that this State has engaged in those very activities calculated to aggravate tension and increase the dangerous possibilities of a global conflict. In a continuing manner, we observe that it is either Israeli and international Zionist objectives or peace in the area.

60. My delegation has an obligation to draw the attention of members of the Council to the intolerable possibility of this body being relegated to a mere instrument for the purpose of rubber-stamping unending renewals of the UNDOF mandate for an unspecified period far into the future. Peace-keeping forces should be used for the very purpose they are meant for: that of holding together a tenuous peace in any area of conflict while political solutions are sought to the conflict itself. They should not be a permanent substitute for our search for political solutions of conflicts. That is not all. United Nations peace-keeping troops should not be transformed into international military units for shoring up Israeli occupation forces in occupied Arab territories. Unless the political impasse created by Israel's acts of aggression is rapidly removed, the various United Nations peace-keeping forces now established around the Jewish State may be relegated to merely providing logistic support for the Israeli occupation army.

61. In this regard, I submit that only a political solution of the conflict in the Middle East is likely to bring us close to a durable peace in the region. The aggressor State in the area must be bluntly told that the indiscriminate acquisi-

tion of territory by use of force is certainly not dictated and cannot be justified by so-called security considerations. Indeed, security for all States in the area can only be laid on the foundation of intrinsic respect for the territorial integrity of States in the whole area. This should be predicated on a faithful implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council which would enable all peoples in the region to live in peace and security within recognized and secure borders. This naturally involves Israel's unconditional withdrawal to the borders existing before the June 1967 war and the creation of a Palestinian homeland which will enable the dispossessed Palestinians to exercise their inalienable rights to self-determination and national independence.

62. A political solution to the Middle East impasse has eluded us for so long because of lack of political will on the part of Israel's Western backers. For the same reasons, the vicious racist minority régimes in southern Africa have also survived and persisted in their defiance of the entire international community. We shall be close to a solution of the twin problems today—durable peace in the Middle East and the restoration of genuine majority Governments in Zimbabwe and Namibia and the liquidation of the obnoxious system of *apartheid*—only if the Western world can bring broad positive support to the concerted international search for durable solutions based on national justice. Whether a solution in the Middle East and southern Africa will be forged out of genuine and sensible peaceful negotiations or through a bloody conflict may well depend on Western responses to the twin problems in the immediate future. I sincerely hope that the Western world makes the right choice at the earliest opportunity.

63. In our world today, it is more and more apparent that what is most crucial is the power that money and influence can procure. International responsibility within this system of values and responsiveness to wider international value judgement become diffused into a rather unsalutary melting pot.

64. Our experience and knowledge of the situation today in the Middle East—and I shall be brazen enough to refer again to South Africa—is that we hitch our wagons to the periphery of the issues: peace-keeping in the Middle East, which does not appear to go further than a passive exercise.

65. In southern Africa, we are beginning to build up our hopes on a similar *cordon sanitaire* around the problem. We hope that here again we shall not in the process only help to perpetuate the core of the problem itself.

66. Our problem is that when the issues bear on South Africa and Israel—and I say this for a second time—there automatically emerge value variants which are incomprehensible. Where we should apply pressure, we provide solace and comfort and arms. We circumvent the issues. We concoct new idioms and new strategies and, in the process, become only articulate to the extent that this conforms with our chauvinistic values.

67. My delegation still believes that should the West, and in particular the United States, decide today to harness its power, prestige and honour to a genuine international push

for a durable peace in the Middle East, we shall certainly move nearer to peace today than at any other time in the past. But the opportunity for achieving peace with justice cannot subsist indefinitely. I only hope that the principal actors in the Middle East drama, particularly those with the requisite political leverage, will act now to stave off another round of fighting which may well develop into a world disaster with tragic and monumental dimensions.

68. My delegation sees not a silver lining on the horizon but a dark cloud, and we hope that we shall not merely continue to postpone the day of decision, but act more positively to find a solution to the problems in the Middle East as well as in southern Africa.

69. Mr. JAIPAL (India): The item before us is entitled "The situation in the Middle East", and it is in that general context that we have examined the Secretary-General's report. My delegation accepts the assessment of the Secretary-General that the continued presence of UNDOF in the area is essential for another six months only because we have every confidence in his judgement.

70. We accept the necessity of the presence of this United Nations force on Syrian territory not only because Syria has agreed to it but also because the Security Council has so far failed even to start the negotiating process in terms of its resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). As a consequence, peace continues to be precarious and the situation continues to give us cause for grave concern.

71. The responsibility for this sterile situation should be placed on the Security Council, especially on those of its permanent members which can and should do more than they have done so far. In these somewhat petrified circumstances, the renewal of the mandate of UNDOF or of the United Nations Emergency Force has become a routine but necessary procedure. With no prospect of a peace settlement, the more or less permanent presence of any United Nations force in the Middle East may well be apprehended by some as possibly designed to freeze the *status quo* indefinitely.

72. In our view it is a misnomer to refer to the United Nations forces in the area as a peace-keeping operation. There is in fact no peace to keep; maintenance of cease-fires is not peace-keeping; it is no more than a truce-keeping operation. These routine renewals of the mandate of truce-keeping forces of the United Nations do not add to the glory of the Council or to its prestige and authority, since nothing was done during the last six months or is being done at present by the Council itself to bring about a peace settlement in the Middle East. The Charter of the United Nations does not expect the Security Council to maintain international peace and security by maintaining cease-fires here and there in the Middle East.

73. In conclusion, Mr. President, I wish to extend to you on this last day of your high office my delegation's warm congratulations on your skilful performance as President of the Council for this month. You have brought to the Council the courtesy, impartiality and wisdom of Latin America, which we esteem very highly in my country.

74. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council has just renewed the mandate of UNDOF for a further period of six months. This decision, which was reached thanks to the agreement of the parties concerned, is in keeping with the recommendation made by the Secretary-General in his report of 17 May. It is due to your skill, Mr. President, before this meeting of the Council. This resolution should make it possible to avoid serious incidents in the sector and also maintain the conditions necessary to a search for peace. But it should not replace the search itself nor serve as an alibi to maintain the *status quo*.

75. When we met in identical circumstances last November, many of us mentioned the intense peace efforts which were then being made and expressed the hope that they would lead to positive developments. These developments have not yet occurred. Of course, we know that a rapid solution to the Middle East problem cannot be expected and we understand that a certain period of time is necessary for the minds of all to adapt gradually to the requirements of peace. That said, the French delegation hopes that efforts will be redoubled to achieve negotiations which would include all the parties to the conflict. This seems to be the wisest course of action in working towards a comprehensive settlement of the problem in keeping with the principles which France has so often expressed in the Council.

76. In conclusion, I should like once more to express to the Secretary-General and his colleagues my Government's appreciation for the way in which they have discharged the duties entrusted to them. I should also like to pay a tribute to the Commander, the officers and the members of the Force, as well as to the civilian personnel assisting them, for the quality of their work. Thanks to their action, the

United Nations is able to pursue its peace-keeping mission. We owe all of them our thanks.

77. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): There are no further speakers on the list. I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of VENEZUELA.

78. I should like to state the importance which the Venezuelan Government attaches to the role played by UNDOF in the maintenance of peace in the Middle East. We have always supported the Force because we understand that its presence has avoided confrontations, preserved peace in the area and maintained the cease-fire since its establishment in May 1974. But we are aware that only negotiations among the parties can definitively solve the problem of peace and security in the Middle East. We hope that there will soon be a resumption of the negotiations which the thunder of guns interrupted and caused to fail. In my Government's view, only a negotiated solution will provide the basis for a just and lasting peace.

79. As PRESIDENT for the month of May, I should like now to take this opportunity of addressing the members of the Council for the last time, to thank all the representatives for their invaluable contributions and the Secretary-General for his constant personal efforts to achieve peace in the Middle East.

80. The assistance afforded me by the Secretariat in general made it easier for me to discharge my duties and obligations as President. During the month which is about to end, my modest experience has been considerably enriched, and I should like today to place on record my appreciation to all.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.

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