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NOTE

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

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

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

2010TH MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 26 May 1977, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Thomas S. BOYA (Benin).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Benin, Canada, China, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Venezuela.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2010/Rev.1)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the Middle East:
Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (S/12333)

The meeting was called to order at 4 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/12333)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to draw the attention of members to the two documents before the Council. The first is the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force [S/12333] for the period 23 November 1976 to 23 May 1977. The second is the draft resolution contained in document S/12337.
2. The Secretary-General has expressed the wish to make a statement concerning the report to which I just referred. I now invite him to address the Council.
3. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: The Council has before it my report on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) for the period 23 November 1976 to 23 May 1977 [S/12333]. I do not have much to add to what has already been stated in the report. I wish to inform the Council, however, that, since the report was published, I have been informed by the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic of its assent to the extension of the mandate of UNDOF for a further period of six months. The Government of Israel has also expressed its agreement. I am gratified that the parties have agreed to the extension of the mandate of UNDOF and I can assure the Council that the

Force will continue to do its utmost to maintain quiet in the area in accordance with the terms of the Disengagement Agreement [*see S/11302/Add.1 of 30 May 1974*].

4. Members of the Council will note from the report that the past six months have been a period of quiet in the Israel-Syria sector. I wish to emphasize once again, however, the fundamental instability and danger of the Middle East situation as long as progress is not made towards a just and durable settlement of the problem in all its aspects. As members of the Council are aware, the Disengagement Agreement, as specifically indicated in its paragraph H, is not a peace agreement but only a first step towards a just and durable peace on the basis of Security Council resolution 338 (1973). I very much hope that the efforts now being made will result in the early resumption of the negotiating process and further progress towards a settlement.

5. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the Secretary-General for the additional information which he has just given us.

6. I take it that the members of the Council are ready to vote immediately on the draft resolution in document S/12337. Since there is no objection, I therefore now put the draft resolution to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted by 12 votes to none.¹

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

7. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In connexion with the adoption of the resolution on the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force, 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/12333] states in paragraph 31 that ‘the present quiet in the Israel-Syria sector should not obscure the fact that the main elements of the Middle East problem remain unresolved and that the situation in the area will continue to be unstable and dangerous unless real progress can soon be made towards a just and durable settlement of the

¹ See resolution 408 (1977).

problem in all its aspects'. This statement of the Secretary-General reflects the view of the Security Council."

Further, I have been asked by the delegations of Benin, China and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya 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.

8. Mr. CHOU NAN (China) (*translation from Chinese*): With regard to the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force, we have always held a different position in principle. This is well known to all. On the basis of our consistent position, the Chinese delegation did not participate in the vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/12337.

9. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): I should like, first of all, to thank the Secretary-General for his report on the activities of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force, as well as for the tireless efforts he has made during the past six months with a view to obtaining the implementation of United Nations resolutions concerning the Middle East situation.

10. As can be seen from the Secretary-General's report,

"The United Nations Disengagement Observer Force . . . has continued to perform its functions effectively with the co-operation of the parties." [S/12333, para. 30.]

The Secretary-General considers it essential to maintain the UNDOF presence in the area, and has recommended that we renew the mandate of the Force for a further six-month period, that is, until 30 November 1977.

11. Convinced that the activities of UNDOF represent a contribution to the maintenance of a favourable atmosphere for the efforts at achieving a peaceful settlement of the conflict, the Romanian delegation, as in the past, voted in favour of the draft resolution that the Council has just adopted. We are particularly satisfied with the wise decision of the Syrian Government, which, despite recent events in the region, has once again agreed to the extension of the mandate of the Force, which, of course, is stationed on Syrian territory. We should be grateful to Syria for that decision which is further proof of its determination to promote peace in the region.

12. We also wish to stress on this occasion that the maintenance of the Force cannot be considered as an end in itself, but only as a provisional measure of limited duration, pending the establishment of a true peace. Moreover, it should be noted that the resolution which established UNDOF, as well as subsequent resolutions on the subject, called upon the parties concerned to implement immediately Security Council resolution 338 (1973). Now, for more than three years, there has been no real progress towards a just and lasting settlement of all the aspects of the Middle East problem and, therefore, the situation in that part of the world remains unstable and dangerous. It is true that at the beginning of this year efforts were

made—efforts which we hope will be pursued—to bring about a resumption of the peace negotiations within the framework of the Geneva Conference.

13. During the Council's debate on the Middle East situation, at the end of last March, I stressed [*1995th meeting*] the need for the Security Council to encourage the continuous process of diligently seeking the path towards peace. We share the view of the vast majority, who believe that this year holds greater chances for beginning real negotiations and for setting in motion the diplomatic process leading to a final settlement of the Middle East conflict. That is why the parties to the conflict and the States concerned should not let this opportunity slip, whatever the difficulties—whether they are old ones or new ones—which remain to be overcome. We believe that the Secretary-General should, as soon as possible, resume his contacts with the parties and with the States concerned, with a view to trying to clear the way for the reconvening of the Peace Conference with the participation of all the parties to the conflict, thus including the representatives of the Palestinian people.

14. Romania favours an overall negotiated settlement of the Middle East conflict. The just and lasting peace that would result therefrom should include Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied during the 1967 war, the solution of the problem of the Palestinian people in keeping with its legitimate aspirations including the creation of a free and independent Palestinian State, and the guarantee of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right to free and independent development of all the States of the region.

15. The dispatch and maintenance of United Nations forces to separate the belligerents on the Golan Heights and in the Sinai illustrate the very important role played during the past three years by our Organization, by the Council, in the creation of favourable conditions for the establishment of a Middle East peace. But we believe that the United Nations could play a much more important role in the efforts to achieve an overall political settlement in the Middle East. We are firmly convinced that, despite the remaining obstacles to a resumption of peace negotiations, the conflict can be solved by peaceful means, through the joint efforts of all States and, of course, primarily by the peoples directly concerned, which have the most to gain from a just and lasting peace and the most to lose, should a new war break out.

16. My country is determined to make its active contribution by encouraging all efforts aimed at the attainment of the objectives of peace and justice in the Middle East.

17. Mr. ELHOFARI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): I should like to reiterate once again the position of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya with regard to the creation of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force and the prolongation of its mandate. My delegation has already expressed this attitude many times in the Security Council and the General Assembly. We are convinced that Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), on which the presence of the Force is based, are irrelevant to any solution to the Palestine question and the Middle East problem.

18. We believe that the General Assembly adopted a proper attitude in dealing with the Palestine question in adopting resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3237 (XXIX), reaffirming the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, resolution 3376 (XXX), proposing 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 properties and to achieve self-determination, national independence and sovereignty.

19. Those General Assembly resolutions reflect profound and important changes. Basically, they call for a review of the entire question and of the ways of dealing with it. For that reason, we did not participate in the debate or the voting on the draft resolution which the Council just adopted.

20. Mr. LEONARD (United States of America): The United Nations and the Security Council accepted an important responsibility in deciding, on 31 May 1974 [*resolution 350 (1974)*], to establish the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force. The calm which has prevailed during the intervening three years in the areas under United Nations supervision testifies to the wisdom of that decision. None the less, as we accept the additional responsibility of extending the mandate of the Force for a further six months, we should review once again briefly the political and military context in which we take this action.

21. Any such review must begin with the observation that the Force has to date been an unqualified success. The parties have scrupulously observed their obligations under the terms of the Disengagement Agreement. There have been no serious incidents, nor has the area of disengagement been a source of significant military tension between the armed forces of Israel and Syria. Much of the credit for this is due to the professionalism and dedication of the officers and men who serve in UNDOF. In addition, however, we should recognize that the United Nations has built up, over the years, an impressive institutional experience and expertise in the area of peace-keeping operations. We should keep this very much in mind in the Middle East and elsewhere in our efforts to negotiate solutions to long-standing problems.

22. The mission of UNDOF and other peace-keeping forces is, of course, to help to maintain calm in the area so that the search for peace can go forward—as it must—in an atmosphere most conducive to success. The United States, in the last few months, has embarked on a new round of consultations with the aim of resuming the Middle East Peace Conference at Geneva. President Carter has met with the principal leaders on both sides. He has further indicated a desire to meet with the Prime Minister of Israel at the earliest appropriate time. Secretary of State Vance has recently discussed with Foreign Minister Gromyko the shared responsibilities of the United States and the Soviet Union as co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, and we have agreed to direct our efforts towards reconvening the Conference this fall.

23. In the course of all those discussions, we have gained considerable insight into the thinking of the various parties.

We have a keen appreciation of the difficulties that lie in the way of even the beginning of substantive negotiations, but we have also been impressed by the sincere desire for peace on the part of both Israel and its Arab neighbours. It is a desire that grows out of a profound weariness among all the peoples of the Middle East of continuing conflict. It is a hope nurtured by dreams of a better, more secure and more prosperous life for all. With those hopes in mind, the United States will persist in its deliberate and determined search for ways to bring the parties together and help them to realize the just and durable peace that is the wish of all. We firmly believe, in the words of President Carter, that:

“This may be the most propitious time for a genuine settlement since the beginning of the Arab-Israeli conflict. To let this opportunity pass could mean disaster, not only for the Middle East but perhaps for the international political and economic order as well.”

24. In closing, I should like to express once again our admiration and gratitude to Major-General Hannes Philipp and the forces under his command for the exemplary manner in which they continue to discharge their duties on the Golan Heights. We should also single out for special recognition those nations—Austria, Iran, Canada and Poland—that contribute forces to UNDOF. At the same time, we must urge all nations promptly and fully to pay their assessed amounts in support of these shared international responsibilities. Finally, I should like to acknowledge the constructive and statesman-like approach to this renewal on the part of the Governments of Israel and Syria and to thank both the Secretary-General and the President of the Council for their efforts, which have made possible our action today.

25. Mr. BARTON (Canada): My delegation was pleased to vote in favour of the resolution that we just adopted to extend the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force for a further six months to the end of November 1977. We did so in the knowledge that the presence of UNDOF has contributed measurably to the present relative lack of tension along the lines of the area of separation of forces in the Golan Heights. Our vote in favour was also an affirmation of our hope that the parties to the dispute will avail themselves of the present calm, which is a credit to both parties, to take steps towards the establishment of the just and lasting peace to which we were all committed in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

26. This is the first time since Canada's election to its present term on the Security Council that I have had an opportunity to speak to the Council on one of its principal Charter responsibilities, which is, namely, “the maintenance of international peace and security” as reflected in the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. On the last occasion when Canada was a member of the Council, 10 years ago, the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations was in its infancy. Today that Committee could be described as being in its adolescence or its old age, depending on your point of view; but the fact is that it has not yet completed its assigned task of providing guidelines for peace-keeping. But we are not discouraged and will continue to do all we can to bring about an agreement on

peace-keeping procedures, an agreement which we regard as a necessary complement to successful operations in the field.

27. In this connexion, as the representative of the only State member of the Council contributing troops to UNDOF, I am pleased to be able to report that my Government has authorized me to state that the Canadian contingent, in numbers approximating its existing level, will continue to serve for the further mandate period. Members of the Canadian contingent look forward to working, as always, in close co-operation with the forces of Austria, Iran and Poland in that common and worthy endeavour.

28. I personally was fortunate enough to visit UNDOF earlier this year, in the course of a tour of the United Nations peace-keeping operations to which Canada provides troops or observers. I visited the Force Commander, Major-General Hannes Philipp, at his headquarters at Damascus. I spoke to some of the observers from the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization who are attached to UNDOF and was able to visit each of the contingents in the UNDOF area of responsibility. I came away highly impressed by the job which Major-General Philipp and his officers and men are doing in the service of peace. We in the United Nations community can be proud of the service which they are performing on our behalf, often under trying, difficult and, as may be seen from the Secretary-General's report, hazardous circumstances. In this regard, I should like to express the Canadian Government's sympathy to the Austrian Government and to the family of Major Ernst Pellegrini, the Deputy Chief Operations Officer at UNDOF headquarters, who was so tragically killed on 20 April; I should also like to express our sympathy to the Government of Iran in connexion with the injuries sustained by Lieutenant-Colonel Firooz Ferdows, the Chief Operations Officer, in the same accident.

29. We are pleased to note from the Secretary-General's report that the cease-fire has been maintained over the last six months and that UNDOF has continued to receive the co-operation of the parties in carrying out the tasks entrusted to it; but we are concerned that complete freedom of movement has not been granted to members of the Force in the execution of their duties, particularly with regard to the inspection of areas of limitation of armaments. We are also pleased to note that UNDOF seems to be operating with due regard to economy and that the financial arrangements for the Force are based on a firmer foundation than those of some other forces established in the past, in other words, that its financing is based upon a universal scale of assessments.

30. We must not, however, be lulled into a complacent mood by the fact that the peace-keeping operation is going smoothly. The basic purpose in establishing a peace-keeping force is to provide an opportunity to the parties to a dispute to take the steps necessary to settle it. It is a sad fact that, since UNDOF was established three years ago, there seem to have been no further significant steps by the parties principally concerned to establish the "just and durable peace" which the Agreement signed at Geneva in May 1974 envisaged. A lesson of United Nations history has been that peace-keeping operations which are not accom-

panied by peace-making activity fail to prevent further outbreaks of fighting. The dispute between Israel and Syria may not be solvable bilaterally, but we are all aware that the machinery exists for multilateral negotiations. We urge all the parties concerned to convene and attend a renewed Geneva Conference, with the aim of establishing peace in the Middle East in conformity with resolution 242 (1967).

31. Mr. President, as this seems likely to be the last occasion on which I shall be speaking under your presidency, I should like to express the sincere appreciation of my delegation for the fine manner in which you have carried out your duties during the past month. I only hope I can do as well in the coming month of June.

32. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Security Council has just adopted a resolution on the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Force supervising the disengagement of Syrian and Israeli forces in the Golan Heights. The question of the renewal of the mandate of that Force is closely linked with the problem of a Middle East settlement, and it must be noted that the Middle East remains an extremely dangerous source of international tension. The present situation in the Middle East requires immediate further efforts in order to ensure a change of direction towards a comprehensive political settlement.

33. The Soviet Union has constantly made efforts to do away with the results of Israel's aggression and to establish in the Middle East a lasting peace and tranquillity. The Soviet Union will continue to pursue that policy as consistently as it can. We are convinced that a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict can and must be achieved on the basis of the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967. The exercise of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to self-determination and to the establishment of its own State, the guarantee of the right to existence and security of all the States directly involved in the conflict and also the provision of appropriate international guarantees for those States are principles which are closely linked to one another and which pay due regard to the lawful rights and interests of all the parties involved in the conflict.

34. It is clear that a peace built on the seizure of foreign territory as a result of aggression can be neither just nor, therefore, lasting. The Soviet Union is in favour of the unconditional return to Syria and the other victims of aggression of their ancestral lands which were seized by Israel.

35. A peace cannot be lasting if it flouts the vital interests of any State or people in the Middle East. This applies, above all, to the Arab people of Palestine, which is engaged in a courageous struggle for the creation of its own State. At the same time, it must be noted that all the peoples of the Middle East, including the people of the State of Israel, are entitled to national independence and to a secure existence.

36. The Soviet Union is convinced of the need to continue and to intensify the efforts speedily to reconvene the

General Peace Conference on the Middle East, with a view to the early achievement of a comprehensive political settlement in that part of the world based on justice for all. It goes without saying that the Palestine Liberation Organization should take part in the work of the Conference on an equal footing. The Soviet Union firmly believes that no decision affecting the Arab people of Palestine should be adopted without the Palestinians, and especially not against their will.

37. The proposals of the Soviet Union concerning a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem and the convening to that end of the Geneva Peace Conference are realistic and well balanced, and it is no coincidence that the views of the Soviet Union concerning the main principles and directions of any future peace settlement, which were set out in the speech of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Brezhnev, at the sixteenth Congress of Trade Unions of the USSR in March this year, elicited a broad and favourable response throughout the world. In expressing its views on the possible bases for peace in the Middle East, the Soviet Union is guided by its duty as a co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference and as a State which is situated in direct proximity to the area of the Middle East conflict.

38. Of course, considerable significance attaches to co-operation between the co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference—the Soviet Union and the United States. The joint communiqué on the results of the talks between the Foreign Minister of the USSR, Mr. Gromyko, and the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Vance, which took place recently at Geneva, states the following:

“Both parties believe that the elimination of the continuing source of tension in the Middle East is one of the primary tasks in the work of ensuring peace and international security. They are convinced that the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East has an important role to play in the attainment of that goal. It is the international forum especially established for negotiations on a settlement of the Middle East problem in the interests of all the interested parties.

“Having confirmed that co-operation between the USSR and the United States, the co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, is extremely important for the attainment of a just, lasting and firm peace in the Middle East, the parties agreed to make joint efforts for the renewal of the work of the Conference during the autumn of 1977 and they recognized the importance of detailed preparations.”

As the Foreign Minister of the USSR noted:

“The solution of this problem concerns not only the United States and the Soviet Union, as major Powers and co-Chairmen of the Conference, but also other States. We should like them to display the necessary willingness. The main thing is that such activities should move in the right direction.”

39. It is perfectly evident that the working out of conditions for peace in all their details is mainly the

concern of the participants in the conflict themselves. The Soviet delegation deems it necessary to take special note of the constructive approach of the Syrian side in the search for ways of establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We fully share Syria's view to the effect that this latest renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force should not be viewed as automatic or routine. On the contrary, it is essential to use this renewal to speed up the implementation of United Nations resolutions concerning the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the occupied Arab territories and the exercise of the national rights of the Palestinian people. There is no doubt that Syria's constructive position eases the task of the United Nations, especially that of the Security Council, which is to promote in every possible way the attainment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

40. The Security Council cannot overlook the warning contained in the Secretary-General's report, which states:

“The present quiet in the Israel-Syria sector should not obscure the fact that the main elements of the Middle East problem remain unresolved and that the situation in the area 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.” /S/12333, para. 31./

41. In view of what I have said and especially in the light of Syria's position, the Soviet Union has not objected to the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force in the Israel-Syria sector for a further period of six months. However, the USSR delegation deems it necessary to stress once again that the stationing of United Nations forces in the Middle East is, in our opinion, of a temporary nature and cannot be used for delaying a comprehensive settlement in that part of the world. The USSR also stresses again its position to the effect that the United Nations forces in the Middle East must be maintained with the maximum economy.

42. The delegation of the USSR expresses the hope that the renewal of the UNDOF mandate will be used for the purpose of seeking a Middle East settlement within the framework of the Geneva Peace Conference.

43. Mr. AKHUND (Pakistan): On the recommendation of the Secretary-General that, as he considers the continued presence of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force on the Golan Heights to be essential, its mandate should be extended for a further period of six months, and with the consent of the parties concerned, the Security Council has just extended the mandate of the Force for another six months. Pakistan voted in favour of that decision since we fully share the view that UNDOF is performing a valuable task in keeping the peace in the area and that its continued presence will be conducive to the efforts which are being made to bring a just and lasting peace to the Middle East.

44. We note with satisfaction the fact that the Force has continued to perform its functions effectively and that, during the past six months, the situation in the area has

remained quiet. We join other members of the Council and the Secretary-General in paying a well-deserved tribute to the officers and men of the Force for the performance, under the command of Major-General Hannes Philipp, of their difficult tasks with diligence and devotion. Our thanks are also due to the countries which have so readily provided those sentinels of peace to the United Nations.

45. We offer our condolences to the Government of Austria and to the family of Major Pellegrini, whose tragic death lengthens the roll of honour of those who have laid down their lives in the service of international peace. We offer our sympathy to the Government of Iran for the injuries sustained by Lieutenant-Colonel Ferdows in the course of performing his duties.

46. Once again we have to recall the fact that, in resolution 398 (1976), by which the Security Council extended the UNDOF mandate last time, in November 1976, the Council also decided to call upon the parties concerned to implement immediately Council resolution 338 (1973) and requested the Secretary-General to submit a report on the developments in the situation and the measures taken to implement that resolution.

47. We wish to place on record our deep appreciation of the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General in discharging his mandate under General Assembly resolution 31/62 and Security Council resolution 338 (1973), efforts such as are described in his report in document S/12290 of 28 February 1977.

48. The visit of the Secretary-General to the Middle East in February of this year and his meetings with the leaders of the parties involved, including Mr. Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), confirmed the desire of all parties for an early resumption of the negotiating process through the convening of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East. While that is indeed encouraging, the prospect of actually holding a peace conference continues to be clouded by disagreement over the question of participation. Israel's insistence that one of the principal parties, the PLO, should not be invited to the Peace Conference is untenable. The Secretary-General has quite correctly concluded that that difficulty cannot be surmounted by purely procedural means.

49. We agree with the Secretary-General's assessment that the main elements of the Middle East problem remain unresolved and that the situation will deteriorate once again, unless progress is made towards a just and lasting settlement of the problem in all its aspects. We can only add that a reversal of the present trend towards such a settlement will have incalculable consequences not only for the Middle East but also for the international community as a whole.

50. The basis for a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict is laid down in resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which call for the withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967 and for the establishment of a real peace which would ensure the security and safety of all the countries and peoples in the region. In addition, and equally important, no peace

arrangements for the Middle East will be viable unless the inalienable rights of the Palestinians to return to their homes, to exist as a nation and to have a State of their own are recognized and implemented.

51. The Government of Syria has agreed to the extension of the mandate of UNDOF in order to facilitate efforts for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the region and in order not to exacerbate the prevailing tension. The Syrian position not only merits our appreciation but calls for reciprocation from the other side. Unfortunately the Middle East situation is still filled with uncertainty—an uncertainty which seems to have been compounded by the recent change of leadership in Israel.

52. On the other hand, one must admit that the policies advocated by the new Israeli leadership do not so much add new difficulties to the situation as make more manifest the real nature of the obstacle which has all along prevented progress towards a just and lasting settlement, that is, the refusal of Israel to accept the basic elements—set out in Security Council resolutions and universally recognized as such—of such a settlement.

53. In the circumstances, special responsibility obviously lies with those who are in a position to influence the situation. Cease-fires and peace-keeping arrangements are no substitute for peace and should not be allowed to become a protective screen behind which Israel can pursue a policy of annexation and expansion. They must, on the contrary, lead to the establishment, at an early date, of a peace which ensures the rights and security of all the peoples of the region and brings about the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied territories. We hope and expect that, at this crucial juncture in the region, all possible efforts, through the United Nations and outside it, will be made and intensified to that end.

54. Mr. JAIPAL (India): We have studied the report of the Secretary-General with a good deal of interest. As a peace-keeping operation, the activities of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force have been quite successful. We are glad to note that the cease-fire was maintained during the past six months. The violations of the Agreement in regard to the areas of separation and limitation have been of a minor character.

55. It is particularly satisfying that the Force has been able to avoid incidents. What is disturbing, however, is that, in the zones where it carries out responsibilities, landmines—some of them newly planted—continue to endanger human life. One officer has already lost his life and there have been several casualties among civilians and livestock. The Force has been in position for three years. It seems to us that, if it is to carry out its responsibilities—as indeed it must—, it should receive the co-operation of all parties concerned in regard to clearing old mines and refraining from planting new ones.

56. My delegation wishes to place on record its tribute to the various contingents in the Force for their valuable work in keeping the peace in an extremely sensitive area.

57. My delegation would like also to extend its congratulations to the Secretary-General for his persistent efforts to

maintain contacts with the parties concerned and with the two co-Chairmen. We attach considerable importance to his role in the implementation of Security Council resolution 338 (1973). We hope that all parties concerned and the two co-Chairmen will recognize this role and keep him fully in the picture and, indeed in the mainstream of the ongoing negotiations. We have no other source of authoritative information about what is going on except the reports of the Secretary-General. All of us, of course, as members of the Security Council, have a right to be kept informed from time to time of the developing situation, and in this context also the Secretary-General's role is very important.

58. We observe from the Secretary-General's report that, although the situation in the area has been quiet, the problem nevertheless remains unsolved and the situation 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. The Secretary-General has reiterated his belief that, unless negotiations are resumed in a meaningful way as soon as possible, there is a growing and serious danger that the situation will deteriorate once again. We are inclined to agree with the Secretary-General's assessment. My Foreign Minister stated only last month, at the New Delhi meeting of the Co-ordinated Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries:

"The search for peace in the Middle East continues to be as elusive as ever. The situation remains a source of great anxiety. Israel must vacate occupied Arab territories. The inalienable rights of the Palestinian people should be recognized. It is our hope that ways and means will soon be found to implement the relevant Security Council resolutions, and that there will be an early resumption of the Geneva Conference with the participation, among others, of the PLO."

59. In the light of the Secretary-General's assessment and our own, we agree that the mandate of the peace-keeping Force between Israel and Syria should be extended for a further period of six months. In saying that, we should like to make it clear that we are not in favour of automatic extensions of the mandate of the Force. The purpose of maintaining the Force is not to enable any party to freeze the situation but, rather, to enable the parties concerned to negotiate a lasting peace on the basis of Security Council resolutions. We hope that negotiations will begin soon—at any rate, during the next six months—and make some progress towards a just and lasting settlement.

60. Mr. von WECHMAR (Federal Republic of Germany): My delegation gladly joined in voting in favour of the draft resolution just adopted, renewing, on the recommendation of the Secretary-General, the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force for a further period of six months. My delegation notes with satisfaction that the parties to the conflict have again accepted the continuation of UNDOF's presence and have thereby made the extension of its mandate possible.

61. It is the understanding of my delegation that this renewal, like the previous ones, is meant to provide the parties with another opportunity to achieve progress towards a peace settlement. It has been noted in the

Council time and again that it cannot be the purpose or the justification of UNDOF to serve as a substitute for a peace settlement, that is, for the implementation of Security Council resolution 338 (1973), which is overdue. My delegation shares the concern of other members at the fact that this goal is still far from being achieved. The Secretary-General, in his excellent report, has expressed the feeling of my delegation and, I think, of the Council as a whole, by his observation in paragraph 31

"The present quiet in the Israel-Syria sector should not obscure the fact that the main elements of the Middle East problem remain unresolved and that the situation in the area 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. As indicated earlier in this report, efforts at various levels are under way to further this goal. I must reiterate my belief that, unless the opportunity is seized to resume as soon as possible negotiations in a meaningful way, there will be a growing and serious danger that the situation will deteriorate once again."

62. It also seems necessary to endorse the Secretary-General's statement that the continued presence of UNDOF in the area is essential for the maintenance of the cease-fire and thus for the prevention of armed hostilities. It is gratifying to note, in this connexion, that UNDOF has been able, with the co-operation of the parties, to carry out the task entrusted to it, thereby maintaining the cease-fire during the whole period under review. The quiet situation in the area, while certainly doing credit to UNDOF's outstanding performance, also testifies, in the opinion of my delegation, to the desire of the parties to maintain an atmosphere conducive to serious peace efforts. In his report, the Secretary-General points to peace efforts at various levels during the recent months, including his own important mission of good offices. While not allowing for undue optimism, this nevertheless reflects a general feeling that the efforts towards a peaceful solution of the Middle East crisis have recently gained greater momentum than in any former period of UNDOF's existence. It is imperative that that momentum be maintained and that the general move towards a more realistic and conciliatory attitude by all the parties concerned not be allowed to suffer a tragic setback.

63. In concluding, I should like to express our sincere appreciation of the inspired and devoted efforts undertaken during the last six months by the Secretary-General and his staff. My delegation feels a special obligation to pay a tribute to the memory of Major Ernst Pellegrini, Deputy Chief Operations Officer of UNDOF who died in the performance of his duties and thus gave his life for the cause of peace. May I express through you, Mr. President, the deeply felt condolences of my Government, my country and my delegation to the family of Major Pellegrini and to the people and the Government of Austria. I should also like to voice our sympathy to Lieutenant-Colonel Firooz Ferdows of Iran, Chief Operations Officer, who was injured in the same incident.

64. My delegation's gratitude and appreciation also extend to all countries contributing contingents to UNDOF.

65. Finally, may I congratulate you, Mr. President, on your persistent and successful efforts in bringing about the agreement of the parties, which has made possible this further renewal of the UNDOF mandate.

66. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): The renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force on the Golan Heights is undoubtedly a sign of goodwill and hope which we should welcome since it removes the most immediate threats. However, there is no need to make the point that it does not deal with the substance of the problem. That is why our pleasure in ensuring the retention of this instrument which, we feel, has been useful in the present circumstances, in no way diminishes our concern over the lack of progress towards a settlement. That lack of progress is all the more regrettable because, when the mandate of the Force was renewed last November, we unanimously expressed the hope that the intervening period would be used by the parties to make renewed efforts for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Such was at that time and such remains today the meaning of the presence of the United Nations forces in the Middle East.

67. In the circumstances, and inasmuch as there is still uncertainty, it seems to us that the renewal of the mandate of the Force is a sign of wisdom. There can be no doubt that the parties concerned will thus still have the opportunity to arrive at a peace settlement by peaceful means. However, their mutual trust and the trust placed in them by the international community must not be betrayed. We are indeed aware that, as indicated by the Secretary-General in paragraph 31 of his report, "the situation in the area 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". It is for that reason that we voted as we did today, since, in our view, the presence of the Force can be truly meaningful only if it is part of the search for peace.

68. The Force whose mandate we have renewed today is not in itself an active factor in the negotiation process. But it is a sign of our hope for a just and lasting solution, our desire to see progress towards a settlement based on reasonable and carefully considered views. Everyone here realizes that delaying too long does not promote peace. As the Secretary-General also pointed out, unless the opportunity is seized to resume negotiations as soon as possible in a constructive spirit, the risk of a further deterioration in the situation will increase and become ever more serious.

69. I should like here to quote the President of the French Republic, who said a few days ago that 1977 could be the year when a decisive step would be taken towards peace if everyone were to show goodwill together. The head of the French State went on to say that he was convinced that it was necessary to arrive at an overall, just and lasting solution in the near future. I should like to recall that, in our view, this solution must be based on the following three principles: withdrawal from the territories occupied by Israel in 1967; recognition of the right of the Palestinians to a homeland; finally, recognition of the right of all States of the area to live in peace within secure, recognized and guaranteed borders.

70. We therefore express the hope that all the conditions for the resumption of the Geneva Conference will be met as soon as possible and that real negotiations will begin with the aim of implementing the principles which I have just mentioned.

71. In conclusion, I should like to say how much my Government appreciates the manner in which the Secretary-General and his associates, as well as the Commander of the Force and its various contingents, have been carrying out the difficult tasks which have been assigned to them. I should like here to pay a tribute to the memory of Major Pellegrini, Deputy Chief Operations Officer of UNDOF, who was killed in the performance of his duties and to wish Lieutenant-Colonel Ferdows a speedy recovery. UNDOF's entire staff has shown with distinction that the United Nations has an indispensable role to play in the search for and maintenance of peace.

72. Mr. FIFOOT (United Kingdom): My delegation was pleased once again to join with other members of the Council in voting in favour of the resolution we have today adopted renewing the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force for a further six months. The role played by the Force in supervising the cease-fire and the Disengagement Agreement remains extremely important. We fully support the judgement of the Secretary-General that the extension of the mandate and the continued presence of the Force remain essential at the present time.

73. At the same time, I should like to take this occasion to reiterate our view that the renewal of the mandate should not be seen as an end in itself but as the means to an end, that is, to the establishment of a full, just and lasting peace in the Middle East through negotiations between the parties concerned. The presence of the Force cannot act as a substitute for peace but is there to provide the conditions which are necessary to permit negotiations to take place. In his report, the Secretary-General has voiced his concern, which is shared by many of us, that the present opportunity must be seized if we are to avoid the danger of a new deterioration in the situation. Over the last six months, a certain amount of progress has been made towards preparing the way for negotiations to resume in the second half of this year, though a number of important differences between the parties still remain. This fresh renewal of the mandate of UNDOF provides further time to carry on with the process that has been begun and to help in narrowing those differences. It is vital that this time should be well used and that the pace of the peace-making process should not now be allowed to slacken.

74. Once again, we should like to offer our congratulations to the Secretary-General and his staff and to the Commander, Major-General Philipp, and the members of his Force for the way in which they have fulfilled their important and sometimes delicate role over the past six months. The skill, tact and efficiency which they have demonstrated is worthy of the highest praise. My delegation would also like to offer its condolences to the Austrian Government for the tragic death, on 20 April, of an Austrian officer of the Force in an incident in which an Iranian officer was also injured.

75. The tasks which the members of the Force are performing remain of the highest importance to the maintenance of the present calm and the achievement of a future peace. Their performance of those tasks does lasting credit both to themselves and to the Organization which they serve.

76. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): My delegation is happy that the draft resolution contained in document S/12337 has been adopted unanimously. I am particularly happy that, in the resolution, the Council calls upon the parties concerned to implement immediately resolution 338 (1973) and, at the same time, renews the mandate of UNDOF for a further period of six months, until 30 November 1977. Your statement, Mr. President, which included a quotation from the report of the Secretary-General, has given true meaning to the resolution.

77. Syria has shown great restraint and understanding. It is obvious that Syria is bending backwards not to escalate the present tension in the region. It is my understanding, however, that Syria's agreement to the extension of the mandate of UNDOF should in no way be construed as an automatic or routine acceptance. The United Nations should avail itself of the chances thus provided for the establishment of a just and lasting peace within the framework of resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

78. In this respect, our esteemed Secretary-General and his staff deserve a special tribute for all their constructive and positive efforts in search of justice and peace in the Middle East.

79. Other, similar dialogues and *démarches* at the highest level are also encouraging. However, certain difficulties seem to have cropped up recently, and I hope that, whether they be procedural or substantive, they will be ironed out soon and that the Geneva Conference can be resumed before the end of this year.

80. In the meantime, those participating in UNDOF deserve our deep appreciation and encouragement. Our sympathy goes to the families and Governments of those participants in the disengagement action who have fallen or been injured.

81. I cannot imagine a just and lasting peace in the region without a complete withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories and an unqualified respect for the inalienable rights of the Palestinians. The absence of the true representatives of the Palestinians—namely the PLO—at the conference table at Geneva will not be helpful to anyone. On the other hand, it must be understood that Israel does exist and that it has the right to exist within secure boundaries. I pray that good sense will prevail on all sides and that, once again, peace will settle on the Middle East before long.

82. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Secretary-General has presented to the Council a report on the activities of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force for the period 23 November 1976 to 23 May 1977 [S/12333]. My delegation wishes to note that this comprehensive, useful and objective report

has made it possible for the Council to reach a decision to which my delegation lent its support.

83. We wish also to voice our appreciation to the Secretary-General and his associates, in particular to Major-General Hannes Philipp, Commander of the Force, and to Lieutenant-General Ensio Siilasvuo, Chief Co-ordinator of United Nations Peace-keeping Missions in the Middle East. We also express our appreciation to those countries which have contributed contingents to the Force, namely, Austria, Canada, Iran and Poland, as well as to those countries which contribute the United Nations military observers attached to the Force.

84. According to the Secretary-General's report,

“Despite the efforts made towards resolving the question of freedom of movement, the existing arrangements still fall short of what is required and of what is provided for in the Protocol to the Agreement on Disengagement.”
[*Ibid.*, para. 16.]

This is a matter which we wish to stress once again. We recognize the importance of the Force as an element which contributes to the creation of peace conditions in the region, and the parties should, without any reluctance, provide the Force with all the necessary facilities so that it may carry out its functions, not only out of consideration for the Force itself, but as a sign of respect for Security Council resolutions.

85. My delegation wishes also to voice its deep regrets at the death of Major Ernst Pellegrini of Austria, Deputy Chief Operations Officer, who lost his life as a result of a mine explosion on 20 April. We wish to convey to the Government of Austria, as well as to the family of Major Pellegrini, the condolences of the people and Government of Panama. We would also extend our sympathy to the Government of Iran and to Lieutenant-Colonel Firooz Ferdows, Chief Operations Officer, who was wounded in the same incident.

86. Finally, we wish to point out that the decision taken today by the Council is reflected in two documents: the draft resolution in document S/12337 and the note by the President of the Council in document S/12338. Those two documents, taken together, form the decision in which the Council calls upon the parties concerned to implement immediately resolution 338 (1973), extends the mandate of the Force for an additional six months, that is, to 30 November 1977, and asks the Secretary-General to submit another report to the Council at the end of that period. In the opinion of my delegation, it is very important to bear in mind that, by adopting this resolution, we are not freezing the situation, but rather creating favourable conditions for a just and lasting settlement.

87. Today's decision specifically cites the opinion of the Secretary-General that:

“the main elements of the Middle East problem remain unresolved and that the situation in the area 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” [*ibid.*, para. 31].

In this connexion, my delegation listened with great interest to and welcomed the statements made at this meeting of the Council by the representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union, since those countries are co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference. Essentially, their statements indicate a willingness to take advantage of the favourable circumstances that exist for a resumption of the Conference and for the parties to sit down at the conference table.

88. My country hopes that, when the Secretary-General submits his next report, the Security Council and world public opinion will receive positive information about the efforts made by the co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference and about effective and genuine United Nations participation, in the person of the Secretary-General, in the Geneva talks, since this is something to which the third world attaches particular importance.

89. In conclusion, Mr. President, I wish to convey to you my delegation's appreciation for your diplomatic tact, your devotion and the wisdom with which you have conducted the deliberations that have culminated today in what we view to be a positive decision, one towards which the parties have demonstrated an attitude which—in spite of the great difficulties we know exist—offers hope that the Arab-Israeli conflict will be solved in a just and lasting manner.

90. Miss LOPEZ (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We voted in favour of the resolution which has just been adopted in accordance with our position with regard to the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force. We believe that the Force has been a valuable factor in relieving tension in the area. It is for that reason that we favour its existence and will continue to do so until a settlement has been found.

91. We are very pleased that the Governments of Syria and of Israel have agreed to accept the renewal of the mandate of the Force, and we hope that the spirit of flexibility and compromise that has made that decision possible will be applied to other complex aspects of the situation, so that those problems that obstruct the achievement of peace in the area may be resolved. We hope that every means will be used to make it possible for the Geneva Peace Conference to be resumed with the participation of all the parties

involved in the conflict, and we hope that that will bring us closer to an understanding in the area.

92. We should also like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his continuing efforts on behalf of a lasting peace in the Middle East.

93. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Since there are no further speakers on my list, I shall now address the Council in my capacity as the representative of BENIN.

94. The position of my country, the People's Republic of Benin, on all aspects of the Middle East conflict is well known to everyone. Benin supports unreservedly the cause of the Arab and Palestinian peoples in their legitimate struggle to free themselves from imperialist domination and the exploitation of man by man. My country has followed with great interest the efforts made up to now by the Secretary-General to obtain the resumption of the Geneva Conference which, for the moment, appears to be the most appropriate framework for bringing together all the parties, without exception, in order to achieve a negotiated settlement of this crisis provoked and maintained by international imperialism.

95. My delegation reaffirms that there will be no lasting peace in the Middle East without the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab territories. Furthermore, my delegation would like to state that there is no chance for a negotiated settlement of the Middle East crisis if the Palestinian national entity continues to be disregarded.

96. As concerns the non-participation of Benin in the renewal of the mandate of the Force, I should like to state that our position remains the same as that which we assumed in November 1976, at the time of the adoption of resolution 398 (1976), the text of which is similar to the one that the Council has just adopted.

97. My delegation commends the efforts made in recent times by the Arab States of the region towards achieving a peaceful and just resolution of all aspects of the crisis within the framework of the Geneva Conference.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.