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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.

SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIRST MEETING

Held in New York on Sunday, 10 September 1972, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. HUANG Hua (China).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Argentina, Belgium, China, France, Guinea, India, Italy, Japan, Panama, Somalia, Sudan, Union of Social Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Yugoslavia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1661)

1. Adoption of the agenda.

2. The situation in the Middle East:

Letter dated 9 September 1972 from the Permanent Representative of the Syrian Arab Republic to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10782).

The meeting was called to order at 11.15 a.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): The members of the Security Council remember that August was not a slack month. Presided over by the Belgian representative, Mr. Longestaey, the President for August, the Council held many committee and Council meetings for consultations and discussion of some important questions. As President of the Council for September, I wish to express appreciation for his efforts. I hope that this reflects the common feelings of all the members of the Council.

Adoption of the agenda

2. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): The provisional agenda for this meeting is before the Council in document S/Agenda/1661. It was approved after the decision was taken to call this meeting. A few minutes ago, however, I received a letter from Lebanon, copies of which were immediately made available to all members of the Council. The text of this letter will be circulated as a document of the Council under the symbol S/10783 in a short while in all languages. If there is no objection, I would amend the agenda by adding under item 2, entitled "The situation in the Middle East", a second sub-item which would read as follows:

"Letter dated 10 September 1972 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations ad-

ressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10783)".

The provisional agenda, as amended, was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East:

(a) Letter dated 9 September 1972 from the Permanent Representative of the Syrian Arab Republic to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10782);

(b) Letter dated 10 September 1972 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10783)

3. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): I should like to inform the members of the Security Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic, who requested this urgent meeting of the Council, asking to be invited to participate in the discussion of the matter just inscribed on the Council's agenda. If I hear no objection, I would propose in accordance with the provisional rules of procedure to invite the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic to take a place at the Council table in order to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. H. Kelani (Syrian Arab Republic) took a place at the Council table.

4. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): I have also received a letter from the representative of Lebanon asking to be allowed to participate without the right to vote in the current discussion of the Security Council. I would propose, therefore, in accordance with the provisional rules of procedure and the usual practice of the Council, and if there is no objection, to invite the representative of Lebanon to take a place at the Council table in order to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. E. Ghorra (Lebanon) took a place at the Council table.

5. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): I wish also to inform the members of the Council that in the afternoon of 9 September the Secretariat informed the Permanent Representative of Israel of the decision to convene a meeting of the Council today. In the evening of the same day the Permanent Representative of Israel informed the President that since 10 September would be the Jewish New Year, according to Jewish religious law he would not be able to attend this meeting.

6. The first name inscribed on the list of speakers is that of the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic, on whom I now call.

7. Mr. KELANI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like to begin my statement by congratulating you upon your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. At the same time, I should like to apologize to members of the Council for having been obliged to disturb them during the week-end by my request for a meeting of the Council, particularly since not even seven weeks have passed since the last meeting of the Council to examine the Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the kidnapping of Syrian and Lebanese officers on Lebanese territory. The Council has already adopted resolution 317 (1972) calling on Israel to free the Syrian and Lebanese soldiers, a resolution that up to date has remained unimplemented.

8. On instructions from my Government, I have requested the convening of a meeting of the Security Council to consider the new act of aggression against the Syrian Arab Republic. The day before yesterday, on 8 September, at 5 p.m., the Israeli air force bombed and launched rockets against several places populated by civilians, thus benefiting from the fact that on Friday, a weekly holiday, there were numbers of people at recreation areas and beaches.

9. These Israeli bombings of the Syrian coast, of the Mouzeirib Casino and El Hameh village, a suburb of Damascus, killed or wounded many peaceful civilians—most of them women and children—who were spending their week-end on the beach or in the country. At the same time, other civilian populated areas were also the object of bombings, as mentioned in my letter of 8 September [S/10781]. Israeli forces responsible for those acts did not confine themselves to those acts of aggression but in fact resumed their criminal attacks yesterday, 9 September, when Israeli aircraft bombed Syrian territory at 1.30 p.m., terrorizing the peaceful population.

10. Israel has, as always, decided to work for the destruction of peace and security in the Middle East and has pursued its criminal attacks, thus threatening international peace and security.

11. In the statement made yesterday by the Deputy Prime Minister of Israel he described those aerial operations as a first stage in a total offensive. And the arrogant statement made by the Israeli military spokesman in a press conference, reported in *The New York Times* of 9 September, confirms that it is Israel's intention to continue to expand its aggression, and at the same time that it is massing its troops on the cease-fire line with Syria. I quote the text of the report in *The New York Times*:

"The senior Israeli military officer, briefing newsmen on the operation in Tel Aviv tonight, held open the possibility that more air attacks and perhaps ground action might follow. . ."¹.

12. The Council has before it the facts of culpable, clear-cut aggression carried out by Israel against the

peaceful Syrian population without any motive or justification apart from Israel's hostility and persistent and obstinate determination to hold on to territory it acquired illegally at the time of the imperialist Zionist aggression of 5 June 1967.

13. By the attack launched against Syria the day before yesterday, an attack which has been continuing and expanding, as stated so cynically by the Deputy Prime Minister and the military spokesman of Israel, Israel is criminally and flagrantly violating the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. In this way Israel is bringing the situation in the Middle East close to war.

14. What we are witnessing, therefore, is the continued pursuit by Israel of its policy of aggression in the Middle East, although that policy has been repeatedly condemned by the Security Council and the United Nations as a whole. This policy maintains in the region dangerous military tension, fraught with serious consequences for international peace and security.

15. My delegation requests the Security Council to compel Israel to halt immediately, without delay, all military operations, to condemn Israel for this act of aggression and to take all appropriate measures to prevent a renewal of aggression.

16. The situation is dangerous and is rapidly getting even worse. I hope that the Security Council, through the wisdom of its members, will succeed in adopting promptly a resolution in keeping with the request I have just made.

17. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): I call on the representative of Lebanon.

18. Mr. GHORRA (Lebanon): I should like at the outset to extend to you, Mr. President, the congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council, especially as this is the first time that a representative of the People's Republic of China is assuming this lofty office.

19. We have come again to the Security Council in the wake of a new Israeli aggression against my country, Lebanon. I do not have to dwell on the facts, which have been set forth by my Syrian colleague. I received my instructions to come to the Council just a few minutes before the meeting was convened. I would, at this stage, like merely to refer to the letter addressed to you, Mr. President, by the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of Lebanon on 8 September 1972 [S/10780], in which he related the facts concerning the attack which took place on that date.

20. Between 5 and 5.30 p.m. on 8 September, 24 Israeli military aircraft carried out a raid against the communities of Rachayya el-Wadi, al-Rafid and a refugee camp situated at Nahr-el-Bared, near the City of Tripoli, in northern Lebanon. Those attacks were indiscriminate; they were unprovoked by any action from our side in Lebanon; they were premeditated and in line with past Israeli aggressions against Lebanon.

¹ Quoted in English by the speaker.

21. As a result of those attacks, 12 Lebanese civilians were killed, as reported in the letter—our latest figure is that the number was 15. Among those killed were 10 children, one man and one woman; seven brothers and sisters were among the children who were killed. In this respect, I should like to refer to a dispatch from al-Rafid—one of the towns that was attacked—by correspondent Juan de Onis, that is published in today's issue of *The New York Times*. He states that:

“The cinder-block home of the Hamse family [at al-Rafid] was demolished. The mother, Rasmilla, and seven children from 14 months to 15 years of ages were . . . killed.

“A new concrete schoolhouse was reduced to rubble. Officials said the school served 600 children.

“The townspeople expressed great bitterness against what they considered an unjustified attack if the Israeli air force was seeking to punish Palestinian commandos for the killing of Israeli athletes at Munich.”

22. It has been alleged by Israeli authorities that what they were aiming at were commando camps. We know it for a fact that in Rachayya the targets which were hit were civilian targets. In Rafid there are not even any refugee camps, let alone commando camps. The demolished houses were the houses of the civilian population. The refugee camp which was attacked at Nahr-el-Bared, near Tripoli, was a refugee camp run by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. I shall leave it to the Secretary-General to enlighten the Council, on the basis of reports from his representative in the area, as to whether those who were killed in that camp were commandos or guerrillas or whether they were simple, poor refugees, and as to whether the houses that were demolished were the headquarters of commandos or the houses of the Palestinian refugees.

23. We are accustomed to claims made by Israel that such attacks are undertaken in self-defence; in fact, they have been described as reprisals. We in Lebanon have long suffered from various Israeli acts of aggression. Each time we have come to the Security Council and we have obtained from the Council a warning to Israel against the repetition of these acts. We come again requesting the Council to take measures to stop the atrocities committed by Israel against our civilian population. By these actions Israel is continuing to foment trouble and turmoil in the Middle East, is continuing to make the situation deteriorate and is continuing to nullify every effort made to promote conditions conducive to a permanent peace and the solution of the Middle East problem.

24. We come to the Council again, as my Syrian colleague has said, to request it to condemn Israel for this premeditated and unprovoked attack against Lebanon and to take all appropriate measures to prevent any recurrence of such attacks. In our view, immediate action by the Council requesting Israel to desist forthwith from all its military operations against Lebanon would be the kind of action necessary to prevent Israel from continuing its threats against Lebanon and the neighbouring Arab States.

25. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): The Council is meeting today on a complaint by the Syrian Government. The Middle East has again been the scene of violence, as it has often been in the past. This Council is once again seized of a problem with which it has repeatedly failed in the past to come to grips in an equitable way.

26. We should all recall that until a few days ago the world had again begun to hope, because a climate of reasonableness and realism seemed to be developing in the area. There were grounds to hope that new opportunities for progress towards peace in the Middle East were opening up before us. And then came “Munich”—the senseless act of terrorism which cast a pall over these hopes. Yet we are now meeting on a complaint by Syria—a complaint that stands out for its unreality. It makes no reference to that tragic causal event at Munich. It gives no salve to the wounded conscience of a deeply agonized world.

27. There is an obvious connexion between the actions of which the Syrian Government now complains and the tragic events which took place in Munich this past Tuesday. But did the Syrian Government join then in expressions of complaint or of outrage when terrorists invaded the Olympic Village, in violation not only of law but of the spirit of Olympic brotherhood, and murdered innocent athletes? Did we hear even a word of condemnation from the Government of Syria for that despicable act? No, quite the contrary. The Syrian Government continues to harbour and give aid and encouragement to terrorist organizations which openly champion such acts.

28. And the Syrian Government is not alone in its encouragement of terrorism. Frankly, certain other Governments in the area—whether by word or deed or by silent acquiescence and failure to dissociate themselves from the acts of a minority that preaches and practises lawlessness and violence—cannot be absolved of responsibility for the cycle of violence and then counterviolence, which we have again witnessed this past week.

29. The ultimate root of the problem is, of course, the absence of peace in the Middle East. I think everybody around this table understands that. My Government has laboured long and hard in this cause, as have many other Governments here; in the effort to achieve a just and durable peace the United States has been and will continue to be second to none.

30. We shall continue to work towards the goal of peace, but the absence of peace cannot be exploited as a pretext for violence on any side. Those who preach violence and employ it as a matter of policy always suffer its consequences, for violence, as history shows, always begets violence. The crimes that were carried out at Lod and Munich cannot but breed tragedy for their perpetrators and for those who befriend them. States which harbour and give succour to terrorists cannot then claim sanctuary for themselves. The greatest tragedy of all is that when violence is employed, innocent people, on all sides, are almost inevitably made to suffer.

31. Slain Olympic athletes in Munich, heartbroken mothers searching for dead under rubble in Rafid—these are

some of the immediate victims of terror. But we suggest that the whole civilized world is the real and lasting victim of terror. We deplore the loss of lives on both sides.

32. Today the United States is engaged in a major effort along with other members of the international community to make our airways, our sports fields and other gathering places safe from terrorism and violence. A beginning has been made, in various international conventions dealing with aircraft hijacking and related problems, to establish a strong framework of law in these matters among the nations of our interdependent world. Secretary Rogers has urged rapid and meaningful action in the sub-committee of the International Civil Aviation Organization now meeting in Washington. He has urged rapid action in ratifying existing conventions by Governments that have not yet done so. But recent events make it clear that the problem is much broader, much more pernicious in nature. My Government urges that the issue of terrorism in all its aspects receive the highest priority when the General Assembly convenes, and the commendable initiative of the Secretary-General in placing this question on the Assembly's agenda ensures that the world can no longer close its eyes to this pressing matter.

33. The United States will continue to work for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. But one-sided resolutions of the type which this Council has so frequently adopted in recent times do not contribute to the goal of peace; indeed, they create an atmosphere in no way conducive to peace by encouraging perpetrators and supporters of acts of terrorism to believe they can escape the world's censure.

34. So let us not put our heads in the sand and perpetrate a kind of notion of unreality that is often assigned to the United Nations. Munich was so horrible, so vicious, so brutal, so detrimental to order in a civilized world and so detrimental to peace in the Middle East that we simply must not act here as if it did not exist. And so we believe that each member of the Council and, indeed, of the entire international community should make it unmistakably clear that acts of terror and violence practised against innocent people as a matter of policy are unacceptable in a civilized world. Each of us has a responsibility to make it clear that those who practice such acts or aid and abet them in any way are the one deserving of censure and condemnation. Only then will we begin to eliminate this scourge from the earth and with it the acts of conterviolence to which, as history proves, it gives rise.

35. In closing, I would say that the kind of resolution that could be helpful and would address itself to the thrust of our remarks here would be along the following lines. It would express concern about the renewal of terrorist attacks on innocent people. It would deplore the loss of innocent lives on both sides, and certainly the outbreak of renewed violence in the Middle East. It would state that any encouragement or support for those kinds of acts of terrorism is unacceptable in a civilized society and is, indeed, inimical to the maintenance of the cease-fire and to peace in the Middle East. It would condemn the unprovoked terrorist attack that has shattered the world—the one at Munich on 5 September by terrorists of the so-called

Black September organization—and it would call upon States that are harbouring and supporting such terrorists to cease such encouragement and support and take all necessary measures to bring about an end to those acts. It seems to us that a resolution that addressed itself to this problem would indeed move this troubled world closer to peace.

36. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): Mr. President, first I should like to extend to you the congratulations of my delegation on your assuming the presidency of the Security Council for the month of September. I am sure that under your wise guidance the deliberations of the Council will be conducted fairly and that whatever the Council does will be done efficiently, at least so far as procedure is concerned.

37. My delegation listened carefully to the statements by the representatives of the Syrian Arab Republic and Lebanon. Of course, the question of the Middle East has been uppermost in our minds over the past few days, because here we have witnessed another senseless attack against civilians. But the purpose of my delegation's intervention today is not to indulge in recriminations, not to apportion judgement, but to ask that this Council call for an immediate cessation of all military operations in the region.

38. Had it been possible for the representative of Israel to be present today, we should have had an opportunity for a meaningful debate. After all, in matters of international peace and security involving lives we cannot afford to suspend our deliberations because of religious or political susceptibilities. Our work must continue day in and day out. The least we can do today is to call for an immediate cessation of hostilities so as at least to preserve life.

39. My delegation wishes to introduce a draft resolution. It is simple. It addresses itself to the point at issue—that is, the cessation of military operations. It reads as follows:

"The Security Council,

"Deeply concerned by the deteriorating situation in the Middle East,

*"Calls on the parties concerned to cease immediately all military operations and to exercise the greatest restraint in the interest of international peace and security."*²

By the nature of its contents, this is an interim draft resolution submitted so that we can stop the situation, which is extremely dangerous, from deteriorating, and I trust that the Council will approve this draft unanimously.

40. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): With respect to the recent situation in the Middle East, the representative of Somalia has proposed a draft resolution. The full text of the draft will be distributed to the members of the Council within half an hour.

41. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): Our delegation will certainly look carefully at the draft resolution that we have just heard read out. In order that the Council will have

² Subsequently circulated as document S/10784.

the opportunity to consider, along with that text, a draft resolution along the lines of the one I referred to in the statement outlining our position which I made a few minutes ago, I should like to introduce such a draft at this time. As I said in my statement, it addresses itself to the problem before us. It reads as follows:

"The Security Council,

"Gravely concerned at the renewal of terrorist attacks on innocent persons,

"Deploring the loss of innocent lives on both sides and the outbreak of renewed violence in the Middle East,

"Convinced that acts of terrorism, and any encouragement and support for such acts, are totally unacceptable in a civilized society and are inimical to the maintenance of the cease-fire in the Middle East,

"1. Condemns the senseless and unprovoked terrorist attack in Munich on 5 September by terrorists of the so-called Black September organization which resulted in the loss of life of numerous innocent victims;

"2. Calls upon those States harbouring and supporting such terrorists and their activities to cease their encouragement and support of terrorists, and to take all necessary measures to bring about the immediate end of such senseless acts."³

42. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): First of all, my delegation would like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the responsible post of President of the Security Council for this month. As members are aware, the Soviet Union has for over 20 years consistently advocated the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. It is no secret that in the decisive voting in the General Assembly last year it was the votes of the countries of the socialist community that ensured the necessary majority and restored the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations despite the opposition of hostile forces.

43. The assumption of the Presidency of the Security Council by a representative of the People's Republic of China for the first time in the history of the United Nations cannot be regarded otherwise than as a momentous event. It serves as vivid and convincing confirmation of the success and triumph of those States Members of the United Nations which, throughout the history of the Organization, have conducted an unremitting struggle for justice in the United Nations, for the implementation of the Charter and for the universality of the Organization. May I be permitted to wish you success in your work as President of the Security Council.

44. Despite certain differences of opinion, my delegation, for its part, is prepared to co-operate in the work of the Security Council as the principal United Nations organ concerned with the maintenance of peace and security.

45. My delegation would also like to take this opportunity to note with satisfaction the work of your predecessor in

the post of President of the Security Council for last month, Mr. Longierstaey, the Permanent Representative of Belgium to the United Nations, under whose Presidency some extremely important questions were considered. We should also like to express our gratitude to Ambassador Longierstaey for his efforts in preparing the Council's reply to the Secretary-General's inquiry on the problem of strengthening international security. It is generally recognized that this problem is one of the most important of those in the United Nations, and the overwhelming majority of States Members of the Organization, especially the countries of the third world and those of the socialist community, attach great importance to it. We hope that the Council will complete the preparation of its reply this month.

46. As the representative of the Soviet Union, I should also like to take this opportunity to welcome Mrs. Cissé, the new Permanent Representative of the friendly African State of Guinea, and to wish her every success in her responsible task as the Guinean representative to the Security Council and the United Nations. It is particularly gratifying to note that she is the first female permanent representative of an African State to serve in the Council.

47. My delegation reserves the right to speak on the substance of the question under discussion somewhat later. I should now like to draw the attention of the Council to the following matter.

48. No member of the Council can fail to be astonished at the pretext on which the representative of Israel declined to take part in today's meeting, which is discussing the unprovoked acts perpetrated by Israel against two Arab States, the Syrian Arab Republic and Lebanon. It seems that today is a holiday, and the holiday spirit, holiday celebrations and holiday leisure have prevented the representative of Israel from taking part in this meeting. However, this same holiday, these same celebrations and these same days of holiday leisure have not prevented the Government of Israel and its armed forces from committing and continuing acts of aggression against these two Arab States. What logic is there in this? How can one justify such actions, such an attitude on the part of Israel and its official representatives towards the principal United Nations organ concerned with the maintenance of peace, towards the Security Council, which is discussing this new crime committed by the Israeli aggressors? Only the naive can be taken in by this pretext. There can be no doubt that this is a trumped-up explanation and pretext.

49. In view of the request of the representatives of the Syrian Arab Republic and Lebanon that the Security Council should respond immediately to Israel's new acts of unprovoked aggression, my delegation considers it essential that the draft resolution submitted by the representative of Somalia should be voted on forthwith. The aggression must be halted at once; that is why we are meeting today. My delegation favours an immediate vote on this draft resolution, reserving the right to speak on the substance of the matter after the vote. Mr. Bush, the United States representative, spoke of realism in the Middle East; he should have mentioned that the main basis for realism would be the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the occupied Arab

³ Subsequently circulated as document S/10785.

territories. That would indeed be realism. And it would be most desirable if we could hear from the United States representative, who spoke of realism here, about the realism of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab territories occupied by them and about the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) concerning a peaceful political settlement in the Middle East. That is the meaning of realism in this dangerous region. And as long as Israel continues to sabotage this realism, the situation in the Middle East will remain tense and the region will continue to be a hotbed of constant military danger, not only to the peoples of the region but to the peace of the whole world.

50. There is no basis for connecting Israel's new acts of aggression with the deplorable incident which took place recently in Munich. Israel's brutal provocation must be vigorously condemned by the Security Council, and the aggressor must be given a severe warning. If Israel continues to aggravate the situation, events in the Middle East may take a turn which would be extremely dangerous for peace. The Council should indignantly reject as completely unfounded all references by Israel and its supporters to the events at the Olympic Games in Munich and all attempts to use those events to justify new military provocations by Israel against Arab States.

51. The Syrian Arab Republic and Lebanon can in no way be regarded as responsible for the events in Munich, particularly the actions of terrorists. In this case it is perfectly obvious that we are dealing with a planned act of provocation by Israel and that this act cannot be justified by any artificial motivations. This aggressive, criminal act constitutes a flagrant violation of the armistice agreements, of the relevant decisions of the Security Council and of the Charter of the United Nations.

52. In view of these circumstances, my delegation once again stresses the need for an immediate vote on the draft resolution introduced by the representative of Somalia. After that vote, those members of the Council who wish to express their Governments' views on the problem under discussion will have an opportunity to do so.

53. Mrs. Cisse (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation would like to associate itself with previous speakers in extending to you, Mr. President, congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month.

54. My delegation has listened to the representatives of the Syrian Arab Republic and Lebanon with a great deal of interest.

55. For some days now we have with deep feelings been following through the press what is happening in the Middle East. We have of course deplored what happened in Munich. However, we have been asking ourselves why one would wish to make the Syrian Arab Republic and Lebanon responsible for the acts committed by commandos. An attempt is being made here to have us link the facts. Of course, we want to link them; however, if we link them, then we are obliged to review all the facts, to place responsibility and to see whether, in fact, the international community has the duty to hold two Republics responsible

for wrongs for which, in our view, international opinion and the international community are responsible.

56. The death of 11 Israeli athletes in Munich has been deplored; we also deplore it. But, as a result, must hundreds of lives of mothers and children be sacrificed for the death of 11 persons? Does the international community want to weigh human lives against each other as if one human life was worth more than another? That is why my delegation, together with those of Somalia and Sudan, would hope that the Council would adopt a resolution which would call for an immediate end to acts of aggression against Lebanon and the Syrian Arab Republic.

57. My delegation would like the Security Council to deal also with the lives of these innocent victims in the Syrian Arab Republic and Lebanon. Judging from press reports, this is only a beginning. According to an Israeli spokesman himself, Israel intends to extend its aggression to other Arab States. Is the international community going to allow a State, merely because it is strong and is receiving support, to attack other States? That is the question my delegation is asking itself and that is why it hopes that the Council will be able to adopt at once a resolution calling for an immediate cessation of the Israeli aggression against the peaceful populations of the Syrian Arab Republic and Lebanon.

58. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): I call on the representative of Belgium on a point of order.

59. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): We now have before us two draft resolutions, one introduced by the representative of Somalia and the other by the representative of the United States. We have heard these drafts read out; we have taken note of them—but very briefly and without being able to grasp all the shadings of meaning. The texts have not yet been distributed. In accordance with the practice of the Council and with the rules of courtesy, I should like to propose a suspension of the meeting in order, first of all, that all the members of the Council can receive copies of these draft resolutions in the working languages of the Council; secondly, that delegations may hold consultations; and, thirdly—and this is important too, since it is Sunday—that all delegations may contact the appropriate authority and receive instructions on how to vote.

60. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): The primary duty of this Council is to ensure that at least we do not delay calls for the cessation of military operations; that is the whole basis of the reason for our existence. We have ample evidence. It is contained in the very disturbing reports circulated to members of the Council by the Secretary-General, reports compiled by the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization concerning the incidents that have been observed by the United Nations military observers on the ground [*see S/7930/Add.*].

61. We have no evidence and we have no assurance now from Israel that it will cease military operations against Lebanon and the Syrian Arab Republic. What must go out from this Council is not an appeal but a demand that all military operations cease immediately and that the utmost

restraint be exercised. In making that demand we are not passing judgement. What we are doing is saving lives, because it is a continuing military operation. The representative of Israel is not here, he is on holiday—but death does not take a holiday.

62. If members will examine my draft resolution carefully, they will see that no instructions from a foreign ministry are required; it is purely an act of humanity. I would therefore ask that it be voted on today. Perhaps the draft resolution of the United States could be discussed later on.

63. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): My delegation fully supports the proposal just made by the representative of Somalia that the draft resolution which he introduced should be put to the vote immediately. Any opposition to that procedure, any delay in adopting such a draft would offer encouragement to Israel to continue its aggression against the Syrian Arab Republic and Lebanon in spite of its holidays.

64. With regard to the second draft, we do not have a Russian text, but, judging from the English version, it bears no direct relation to an immediate cessation of Israel's aggression against the Arab countries. If any delegations wish to hold consultations on the matter, then after the vote on the Somali draft and the adoption of this resolution calling for the immediate cessation of Israel's aggression against the Arab countries we can continue consultations, and every delegation will find something to say on this subject. Incidentally, Mr. Bush's draft resolution mentions some kind of private organization, but the Security Council has never discussed the activities of "Black September" or the "Black Panthers". Why, then, should any private organization be mentioned in a Security Council resolution? The Council is meeting today at the request of the representatives of the Syrian Arab Republic and Lebanon to take immediate steps to bring about the cessation of further acts of aggression by Israel against those Arab countries. The Council is obliged to do so immediately; that is its sacred duty. Then perhaps we can also exchange views on the other matters raised at this meeting of the Council.

65. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): I call on the representative of Belgium on a point of order.

66. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): A few moments ago on a point of order I asked for a suspension of the meeting, Mr. President. I would refer you to the last paragraph of rule 33 of our provisional rules of procedure, which states that a motion for suspension shall be voted upon without debate. I propose, Sir, that you put my motion to the vote without debate in accordance with that rule.

67. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): A motion has been made by the representative of Belgium under rule 33 of the provisional rules of procedure to suspend the meeting. But does he wish to suspend the meeting until this afternoon or this evening or is it his intention that we should suspend the meeting until tomorrow? If his intention is that the deliberations of this Council should be suspended until tomorrow, then his delegation, I hasten to say, will bear a heavy responsibility for any lives that may be lost. It is our

duty to call upon all parties in that area to desist from military operations.

68. Mr. ABDULLA (Sudan): My delegation feels that the situation in the Middle East is very serious and that it is bound to deteriorate minute by minute, taking into consideration the official statements and declarations from the Israeli side that this is part of a series of attacks. The fact that Israel has not come here is in itself an indication that it does not want to stand before this Council and account for anything; it will come later on and say "We have not been here". Our feeling is exactly the same as that of the Somali representative, that the aggression is going to continue and that it is the responsibility of this Council to stop any sort of aggression. Otherwise we shall be responsible for the lives which will be lost between now and tomorrow. So we support the draft resolution submitted by the representative of Somalia.

69. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): My delegation, for its part, objects to the postponement of a vote on the Somali draft resolution and fully supports the proposal of the delegation of Somalia, which has been supported by the representatives of the Sudan and Guinea. The proposal to vote on the Somali draft was submitted first, and I think that we should now proceed to vote on that draft.

70. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, taking the floor for the first time, may I congratulate you on assuming the presidency of the Security Council, a most responsible and very high post. I am sure that under your wise guidance the Council will achieve success in its work. We must stress the importance of the fact that the Council, for the first time, is being presided over by a representative of the People's Republic of China.

71. I should like to reserve my right, however, to speak at greater length and in more substance on the subject before us and on the problem on our agenda. For the moment I should like to say that the interim draft resolution submitted by the representative of Somalia is the indispensable minimum in order for the Security Council to fulfil its primary duties in accordance with the terms of the Charter. The Council cannot be indifferent; it cannot refrain from taking action if its members cannot call an end to its meetings without doing something when hostilities are occurring and are likely to break out and when threats are levelled against other States. Surely our duty is to put a stop to them, despite the respect we have for the religious holidays of Member States of the United Nations. Therefore the Council should take a decision and later discuss the actual roots of the problems confronting it. My delegation would be the last to oppose such a comprehensive study of the causes of the conflict and of the situation we are now facing. Now, however, it is a question of putting an end to hostilities among Member States and to stop the aggression by one Member of the United Nations against two other Member States. It is not up to us at this time to study the origins of the act of terrorism committed by a group of individuals: the views of the Government of Yugoslavia on the events in Munich are well known, since they were stated by the Yugoslav delegation to the Olympic Committee and

by the official representative of the Yugoslav Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs there. We believe that this act committed by a group of individuals only stresses the responsibility of Israel, since Israel is carrying out official terrorism. Therefore, we are in favour of an immediate vote being taken on this minimum interim draft resolution.

72. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): May I reassure the representative of Somalia and the others who spoke after him that my proposal is not to ask to adjourn the meeting until tomorrow, but to ask for a few hours' respite. My delegation is willing to rely on your wisdom, Mr. President, for the setting of some time this afternoon or this evening for the reconvening of the Council. I do not wish to stifle the debate, but I do need instructions on the two draft resolutions that have been read out, copies of which are not yet in our hands in any of the working languages.

73. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): I am most grateful to the representative of Belgium for having clarified his proposal and for having set our minds at rest. My delegation would have liked to have an immediate vote on the draft resolution before the Council, but since it has not been distributed in all the working languages we would have no objection to a suspension of the meeting for a few hours in order that this essential work can be done and also in order to allow members to contact their respective Governments by telephone or by whatever other means.

74. Mr. DE LA GORCE (France) (*interpretation from French*): May I first of all, Mr. President, echo the best wishes and congratulations addressed to you by other members of the Council on your assumption of the presidency for the first time today on behalf of the People's Republic of China. This is a significant day in the annals of the Council, and we therefore wish to endorse the congratulations addressed to you.

75. With regard to the procedural question that has now arisen, the last statement of the representative of Somalia really answers the question that I was going to ask. I understand that the sponsors of the draft submitted by the Somali delegation would agree to a brief suspension of this meeting, and I believe that this meets the desires of those delegations which asked for some time to consider the documents and to contact their Governments, as well as meeting the practical needs of distribution and reproduction of those documents.

76. Mrs. CISSE (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): When I asked for the floor I was somewhat worried over the proposal that had been made by the representative of Belgium. But in his wisdom, he has just given us a reply that has somewhat reassured my delegation. We do feel that the situation is serious and human lives are still in danger in the Middle East, and the sooner we adopt a decision to safeguard those lives, the better. So I am very gratified by what the representative of Belgium has just said: namely, that his requested suspension of the meeting would not exceed one day.

77. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): If I understood the Belgian

representative's remarks correctly, the main reason for his proposal to defer the vote is that the text of the draft resolution has not yet been circulated in all languages. I have before me the text of the draft in three official languages. How do matters stand with regard to its circulation in the other two official languages? I should like the Secretariat to give us this information. If that is the main consideration and if the Secretariat informs us that the text has been prepared in all the languages, then there will be no reason to postpone the vote. That is my first observation.

78. My second is the following: the remarks made by the representative of France deserve attention in that he has to communicate with his Government by telephone. The question that arises, however, is for how long, for how many hours, the meeting of the Council should be suspended. If I understood the interpretation correctly, the Belgian representative asked for a suspension of several hours. In the practice of this body, "several hours" means not less than five or six hours. I am not inclined to support this proposal, despite the consent given to it by the author of the draft resolution, my friend and colleague Ambassador Farah. If it becomes necessary to suspend the meeting of the Council in the light of the remarks of the representative of France, I propose that it should be suspended until 3 p.m. and that we should then proceed to a vote. We should proceed to the vote immediately after the suspension, since "several hours" would give Israel an opportunity, in spite of its holidays, to continue its aggression, to spread death and destruction in Arab territories and to slaughter innocent inhabitants of Arab countries—women, children and old people. The representative of the Soviet Union cannot raise his hand to vote in favour of such a postponement of the discussion of the question in the Security Council and in favour of a decision being taken in the Council in several hours, rather than in an hour and twenty minutes, since several hours may well be extended to several days. I therefore formally propose that if we have to suspend this meeting, it should be resumed not later than 3 p.m.

79. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): The representative of the Soviet Union has just proposed that the meeting be adjourned until 3 o'clock this afternoon. If there is no objection I shall put that proposal to the vote.

80. Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, although we are involved in a procedural debate, I believe that an interruption is necessary in order to offer you the warmest congratulations of the Argentine delegation on your assuming the presidency of the Council for this month. It is particularly gratifying since this is the first time that a representative of the People's Republic of China has held such high office.

81. Like all other delegations around the Council table, the Argentine delegation is also fully aware of the gravity of this hour and of the urgent need to adopt an appropriate decision. It has quite correctly been stated that we must act speedily to avoid the loss of human lives. This is a fact of which we must never lose sight. Unfortunately, however, that has not always been the case in the Security Council. In December of last year human lives had also been lost and

we were confronted by a grave crisis. Yet some of the delegations that today urge us to take an immediate decision asked then for a 24-hour delay in order to seek instructions from their Governments.

82. My delegation at this time must also seek instructions from its Government on the two draft resolutions before the Council. If we are unable to receive such instructions, most reluctantly we shall be unable to participate in the vote. Therefore, I must endorse the request made—and accepted by the sponsors—that we permit a reasonable delay to allow us to contact our respective capitals and seek the instructions that the case calls for. I believe that we might decide to adjourn until some appropriate time such as 5 p.m. today. I am happy that for some delegations the difficulties in communication that existed a year ago have now been overcome.

83. Mr. MIGLIUOLO (Italy): Mr. President, as this would be indeed an unpropitious time for laudatory speeches, I reserve the right of my delegation to comment at another time on your accession to the presidency.

84. My delegation strongly supports the proposal put forward by the representatives of Belgium and Argentina for a postponement of our deliberations. In that respect we appreciate the spirit of co-operation shown by Ambassador Farah. It is not a question of having the texts in front of us in all the working languages. It is for us a question of having instructions from our Governments. The matter is serious and urgent. We do share the concern for human lives. But there are many political overtones in this question and delegations need to be instructed by their Governments.

85. I have just received the text of the draft resolution submitted by the representative of Somalia. I see that the operative paragraph: "*Calls on the parties concerned to cease immediately all military operations*". In seeking my instructions, I am in somewhat of a difficulty because neither from the reports of the United Nations military observers nor from the statements of the representatives of Lebanon or the Syrian Arab Republic nor from the news I have received from Rome so far have I any confirmation that operations are going on at this moment.

86. I would indeed be grateful to the Secretariat or to the representatives of the Syrian Arab Republic and Lebanon if they could place me in a better position to get instructions from my Government by supplying us with further information on the state of the operations in the area concerned.

87. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): I should just like to support the proposal made by our colleagues from Belgium, Argentina and Italy. Our Italian colleague has put a very important point. Simple though this draft resolution is, the whole situation in the Middle East is of such importance that it will be difficult for us to proceed if we cannot give our Governments even the remotest idea of what we are doing. So I would propose, Mr. President, as others have done before me, that we should leave this matter very much in your wise discretion, that you should summon the Council at an appropriate time—possibly at 5 or 6 this evening—when you consider that we are in a position to proceed.

88. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): Our delegation would support the appeal by the representative of Belgium—and it appears that we are moving towards some kind of agreement in this respect. I should like to make two very brief comments.

89. The first one relates to something that my colleague Ambassador Malik said. Perhaps I misunderstood him, but let me just state that our country like many countries around this table has many citizens of the Jewish faith living proudly as citizens within our boundaries. I would hate by my silence to appear to be acquiescing in any claim that Ambassador Tekoah or any individual Jew anywhere—or frankly anybody of any religion—was using some kind of trumped-up pretext when he practised the dictates of his religion as an individual.

90. Secondly, I should like to ask that in this period of suspension members consider the position that we have put forward. One is just as dead from terrorist action condoned by Governments as from military action. It would seem to me that each of us here as a human being is vitally concerned about each individual life. With the facile minds that we have around this table, there should be some way to find a quick resolution of this problem that would respond not only to the substance of the Somali draft resolution but also to the agony that I know all of us feel about terrorist activity.

91. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): I should like to announce that the delegations of Guinea and Yugoslavia are now co-sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document S/10784.

92. The representative of Italy addressed himself to the words "military operations" in the draft resolution and wanted to know whether or not such operations were continuing. This is a point on which the representative of Lebanon or the Syrian Arab Republic may wish to address himself later on. But I should like to say that none of the attacks that have taken place have taken place after the Council had been first so informed. There has been a continued series of attacks during the last three days and confirmation of those attacks have reached this Council only today—for example, incidents which took place yesterday were reported today. We must, therefore, assume—unless there is a declaration by one of the parties concerned that the attacks have been discontinued—that they are continuing. I hope that, with that brief explanation, I have put the mind of the representative of Italy at rest.

93. With regard to the question of postponement, I know that each of us has a different understanding of the phrase "several hours". Frankly speaking, when the representative of Belgium said "several hours" I looked at the clock and thought that perhaps 3 o'clock would be a good time because we would have a break for lunch. But since several delegations have spoken forcefully on the matter and want a vote by 5 o'clock, it is not impossible for us to arrive at the compromise of 4 o'clock, taking into account the varying time factors throughout the world. But, Mr. President, we leave the setting of the time entirely to your discretion.

94. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): In view of the statements made in the Council, the President agrees with the view expressed by the representative of Somalia that the meeting should be adjourned until 4 p.m. If there is no objection, it will be so decided.

95. When we meet this afternoon we shall first of all vote on the draft resolution sponsored by Guinea, Somalia and Yugoslavia, and then have the explanations of vote. The United States draft resolution will be discussed subsequently.

96. Mr. MIGLIUOLO (Italy): First of all I should like to thank the representative of Somalia, Ambassador Farah, for having kindly replied to my question. I should like to say, however, that in such a serious case my Government prefers to act upon facts and not upon assumptions.

97. With reference to the President's proposal that we proceed to the vote immediately after the resumption of our deliberations this afternoon, I would submit that it would be preferable to leave open the possibility for delegations to speak before the vote. Frankly I do not know whether I shall be able to receive instructions from my Government, and I too might find it necessary to ask to speak to explain our position later on, and in any case before the vote. It might perhaps be wise to take a final decision on this point when we reconvene this afternoon.

98. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): I thank the representative of Italy. I agree with him that it is good to act on facts; but my delegation also believes that there is a great deal of merit in acting not only on hindsight but with foresight, based upon a combination of facts and logical assumptions.

99. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): I call on the representative of Lebanon.

100. Mr. GHORRA (Lebanon): In reply to the representative of Italy I should like to state the following. My delegation does not lack arguments to deal with the problem which was raised, for instance, by the representative of the United States. As a matter of fact, I have a long statement to make about that matter. But what we are concerned with here is the continuing attacks by Israel against Lebanon and the continuing threats. The experience in the past has been that those threats have always been followed by concrete acts. We are not dealing with assumptions here; we are acting with foresight, as the representative of Somalia has said, and it is the duty of the Security Council not only to stop hostilities but also to prevent them. We have heard responsible sources in Israel—the Deputy Prime Minister of Israel, the Israeli radio, the Israeli press and the military spokesman of Israel—continually stress that what happened on 8 September was nothing but the beginning. Our duty here in the Council is to prevent any further deterioration of the situation and any further acts of aggression against my country and the Syrian Arab Republic, a neighbouring country.

101. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The ruling of the President of the Security Council that the Council should meet at 4 p.m. and proceed to a vote on the three-Power draft resolution

has not been challenged by anyone. The Italian representative has expressed the wish to take the floor, but he can do so after the vote. It therefore seems that we have reached agreement on this matter.

102. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): The course suggested by the representative of the Soviet Union would prevent us from arriving during the suspension at any compromise or any amendment or any kind of accommodation between positions that have different emphasis. Certainly within the regular framework of Council activity and the rules of procedure of the Council, my Government does not want to be dilatory or to cause any unnecessary delay. But I would hope, as I said earlier, that reasonable people concerned about the loss of human life, whether it be from military operations or from terrorist operations, would be able to utilize some of this "standing-around" time in order to come up with something that might have broader acceptance and that might be able to do more to avoid the loss of human life.

103. Therefore, I would not want to acquiesce at this point in any view that there should be no further debate and no more opportunity for compromise on one draft resolution that has been submitted. It is hoped that an amendment might be found and some kind of agreement might be reached that would make the draft resolution more acceptable to some Governments. Perhaps I misunderstood the situation, but under the provisional rules of procedure of the Council I believe there are provisions for submitting amendments, and we have not come to anything of that nature during the procedural part of this debate. Therefore, I would hope that we would recognize that although most of the statements on substance may have been made, the representative of Italy has the right to explain his views. Certainly we should not forgo any opportunity in the meantime for some kind of reasonable discussion among men that might result very quickly in a unanimous agreement.

104. Mr. MIGLIUOLO (Italy): I apologize for asking to speak again. First, I owe thanks to Ambassador Ghorra for his courtesy towards me. May I say that he knows very well, in the spirit of the friendly relations existing between Italy and Lebanon, that we indeed share the concern for human lives and for the territorial integrity of Lebanon. But if I permitted myself to draw attention to that specific phrase of the operative paragraph of the three-Power draft resolution, it was because somebody might maintain that there were no operations going on, and then it could also be maintained that the operative paragraph was devoid of content.

105. As I understand it, the representatives of the Syrian Arab Republic and Lebanon are concerned about the future and what can happen. In that case perhaps a different wording would be more fitting, for instance a wording such as "refrain from any other military operations". I am not submitting an amendment; I am simply explaining the position of my delegation in asking for certain clarifications.

106. I also asked to speak in order to clarify the request that I submitted to you, Mr. President, for a continuation

of the debate. Ambassador Malik said that I wanted to make a statement. In reality I was thinking along the lines of the statement just made by Ambassador Bush. Why should we rule out completely the possibility of improving the text of the draft resolution? If delegations have some difficulty at this time—and my delegation could not act on this draft resolution without instructions—why not use the four or five hours to try to arrive at a text which might command unanimity or a large majority in this Council?

107. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): I wish simply to say that I have not so far in this debate had occasion, or indeed had the opportunity, to express the views of my delegation. I may well have such an occasion at the end of the suspension, and it may well be that I shall wish to express my views before the vote. Therefore, I think it would be desirable that the matter should be left that we shall continue the discussion and then move to a vote on the three-Power draft resolution, and that we should not be precluded from opening our mouths before we actually come to a vote.

108. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): When I introduced the draft resolution I did emphasize that it was an interim draft resolution, because indeed my delegation has not expressed itself at all on the complaints before us. I think it would be unwise—and certainly my delegation would be against it—for this draft to become involved with any other draft resolution. This draft resolution as it stands is simple, direct and to the point. It calls for a cessation of all military operations. When that aspect is disposed of, then the delegation of the United States will be quite entitled to

have its draft resolution discussed with all the seriousness that it deserves. Then perhaps we could continue with our debate. However, what we must do for the time being is get our priorities fixed. We must first of all call for a cessation of all military operations.

109. Mr. SEN (India): Mr. President, all our congratulations and so on can be delayed a little, if you do not mind.

110. I am all for postponing the meeting until 4 o'clock, as you have suggested. I am all for giving delegations the right to explain their vote before the vote, if that is their wish. I am all for making compromises, but these attempts at compromise should not lead to further delay, further desires to ask for instructions and so on. Hence, whatever you decide, Mr. President, would be perfectly acceptable to us provided that between 4 o'clock and 6 o'clock we come to a vote on this matter. Otherwise there will be more delay, further requests for instructions and consultations, and this process can go on indefinitely. This would not be the first time that we would see this process at work. I would suggest that between 4 o'clock and 6 o'clock, unless people wish to explain their vote for three hours—they could easily explain their vote briefly—we can come to a vote one way or the other.

111. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): I declare the meeting adjourned until 4 o'clock this afternoon.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

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