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SECRET

MEMORANDUM  
DE LA COMMISSION DES DIX  
DE L'ORGANISATION DE L'UNITE AFRICAINE

à

Monsieur Anouar El-SADATE  
Président de la République arabe d'Egypte

et à

Madame Golda MEIR  
Premier Ministre de l'Etat d'Israël

Les chefs d'Etat

membres de la Commission de l'O. U. A.

- 1) M. ~~Moktar~~ Ould DADDAH,  
Président de la République islamique de Mauritanie,  
Président en exercice de l'O. U. A. ;
- 2) Sa Majesté impériale Haïlé Sélassié Ier,  
Empereur d'Ethiopie ;
- 3) M. Léopold Sédar SENGHOR,  
Président de la République du Sénégal ;
- 4) M. El Hadj Ahmadou AHIDJO,  
Président de la République fédérale du Cameroun ;
- 5) M. le Lieutenant Général Joseph Désiré MOBUTU,  
Président de la République du Zaïre ;
- 6) M. le Général Yakubu GOWON,  
Chef du Gouvernement militaire fédéral,  
Commandant en Chef des Forces armées de la République  
fédérale du Nigeria ;

.../...

7) M. William TOLBERT,

Président de la République du Liberia ;

8) M. Jomo KENYATTA,

Président de la République du Kenya,

représenté par M. Daniel Arap MOI,

Vice-Président de la République du Kenya ;

9) M. Félix HOU PHOUET-BOIGNY,

Président de la République de Côte d'Ivoire,

représenté par M. Arsène USHER ASSOUAN,

Ministre des Affaires étrangères de Côte d'Ivoire ;

10) M. Julius K. NYERERE,

Président de la République de Tanzanie,

absent et excusé.

Excellences,

1. L'aspiration profonde des peuples d'Afrique, qui viennent, dans leur grande majorité, d'accéder à l'indépendance et à la souveraineté internationale, est la paix, qui demeure la condition première de leur développement.

2. C'est pourquoi les Etats africains se sont toujours sentis, plus directement que d'autres, concernés par le douloureux conflit israélo-arabe.

3. Trop de similitudes existent entre les Etats du Moyen-Orient et les jeunes Etats africains pour que la tension israélo-arabe, qui persiste, ne leur rappelle, par ses conséquences possibles, les menaces auxquelles ces jeunes Etats peuvent, demain, être exposés.

.../...

4. Au demeurant, par-delà la paix à rétablir au Moyen-Orient, leur souci permanent est que la paix s'étende sur toute la surface de la terre, afin que l'Afrique puisse mieux assurer son propre développement et apporter sa contribution à l'élaboration d'un nouvel humanisme dans le monde entier.

5. Leur souci majeur, aujourd'hui, est de seconder l'action de l'Organisation des Nations-Unies pour parvenir à un règlement pacifique du conflit sur la base de la résolution 242, votée, le 22 Novembre 1967, par le Conseil de Sécurité, qui contient, entre autres, les dispositions suivantes :

- "inadmissibilité de l'acquisition de territoire par la guerre" ;
- "nécessité d'oeuvrer pour une paix juste et durable permettant à chaque Etat de la région de vivre en sécurité" ;
- "retrait des forces israéliennes des territoires occupés lors du récent conflit" ;
- "cessation de toutes assertions de belligérance ou de tous états de belligérance" ;

.../...

- "respect et reconnaissance de la souveraineté, de l'intégrité territoriale et de l'indépendance politique de chaque Etat de la région" ;
- respect aussi "de leur droit de vivre en paix à l'intérieur de frontières sûres et reconnues, à l'abri de menaces ou d'actes de force" ;
- garantie de "l'inviolabilité territoriale" et de "l'indépendance politique de chaque Etat de la région, par des mesures comprenant la création de zones démilitarisées" ;
- "liberté de navigation sur les voies d'eau internationales de la région" ;
- "juste règlement du problème des réfugiés".

6. Les espoirs de paix que les Etats africains partagent avec la communauté internationale se fondent, très précisément, sur l'acceptation par l'Egypte et par Israël de la résolution 242.

.../...

7. C'est pourquoi ils ont salué l'initiative prise par M. JARRING, le 8 Février 1971, pour effacer, entre l'Etat d'Israël et la République arabe d'Egypte, les divergences des points de vue quant aux priorités qui doivent être accordées aux différents engagements à prendre par les deux parties pour l'application de la résolution 242.

8. Les propositions de M. JARRING représentent une contribution positive à la mise en oeuvre des dispositions de ladite résolution, dont l'acceptation a été réaffirmée par les deux parties à la Sous-Commission des Quatre.

9. C'est dans le cadre d'un appui total aux efforts de M. JARRING, en vue de la mise en oeuvre de la résolution 242, que la conférence au sommet de l'Organisation de l'Unité africaine, lors de sa session de Juin 1971, a désigné une commission de dix chefs d'Etat pour aider à la recherche d'une solution.

.../...



10. La mission que l'Afrique, unanime, a confiée à la Commission des Dix, qui a désigné la Sous-Commission des Quatre, est une mission de paix. Pour ces messagers de l'Afrique, il s'agit, non pas de remplacer M. JARRING dans son rôle de médiateur, et encore moins le Conseil de Sécurité, mais de l'aider à faire appliquer la résolution 242.

11. Les entretiens exploratoires que la Sous-Commission des Quatre a eus respectivement avec les autorités israéliennes, les 3, 4 et 5 Novembre 1971, et avec les autorités égyptiennes, les 6 et 7 Novembre 1971, ont été essentiellement guidés par la recherche d'un terrain d'entente possible qui permettrait aux parties de surmonter les obstacles s'opposant à la conclusion d'un accord de paix.

12. Les positions respectives des deux parties, telles qu'elles sont apparues à la Sous-Commission des Quatre, pourraient être ainsi résumées :

.../...

A - POSITION ISRAELIENNE.

a)- Israël affirme que, tout en préférant des négociations directes, il est disposé à engager des négociations indirectes, sans préalable, sous l'égide de M. JARRING.

b)- Israël déclare qu'il ne cherche pas à annexer des territoires, et qu'il n'est question, pour lui, que de "frontières sûres et reconnues".

c)- Israël est disposé à replier ses troupes sur les frontières qui auront été "définies" dans le traité de paix.

d)- Israël confirme son adhésion au principe d'un accord intérimaire pour l'ouverture du canal de Suez, tout en précisant que cet arrangement spécial n'est pas lié à la résolution 242.

.../...

B - POSITION EGYPTIENNE.

a)- L'Egypte accepte la reprise des négociations sous l'égide de M. JARRING dans le cadre de la résolution 242 ; elle est également disposée à accepter des négociations avec la médiation des Quatre Grandes Puissances comme du Conseil de Sécurité, ou dans le cadre de l'Assemblée générale des Nations-Unies.

b)- L'Egypte confirme les termes de sa réponse du 15 Février 1971 au mémorandum de M. JARRING, à condition qu'Israël réponde favorablement.

c)- L'Egypte est prête à appliquer les dispositions de la résolution 242 relatives aux "frontières sûres et reconnues".

d)- L'Egypte maintient sa proposition d'un accord intérimaire sur l'ouverture du canal de Suez, et elle accepte la présence, sur la rive orientale, des troupes des Nations-Unies ou des Grandes Puissances, entre les lignes égyptienne et israélienne, pour permettre au médiateur JARRING d'établir le calendrier d'application de la résolution.

.../...

13. Compte tenu du rapport de la Sous-Commission des Quatre sur les positions respectives des parties, la Commission des Dix de l'O.U.A. soumet à leur examen les suggestions suivantes :

a)- Acceptation, par les deux parties, de reprendre les négociations indirectes sous l'égide de M. JARRING et dans le cadre de la résolution 242, pour aboutir à un accord de paix.

b)- Acceptation, par les deux parties, de la conclusion d'un accord intérimaire pour l'ouverture du canal de Suez et le stationnement, sur la rive orientale du canal, de troupes des Nations-Unies, entre les lignes égyptienne et israélienne.

c)- Acceptation, par les deux parties, que "les frontières sûres et reconnues" soient définies dans l'accord de paix.

d)- Acceptation, par les deux parties, que la solution des problèmes de sécurité qui se posent soit trouvée :

- dans la garantie des Nations-Unies
- dans la création de zones démilitarisées
- dans la présence de troupes internationales en certains points stratégiques.

e)- Acceptation, par les deux parties, que les modalités d'évacuation des territoires occupés soient définies dans l'accord de paix.

f)- Acceptation, par les deux parties, pour garantir le libre passage de tout navire dans le détroit de Tiran, du stationnement, à Charm-El-Cheikh, de troupes internationales.

14. Les chefs d'Etat de la Commission de l'O.U.A. pensent que ces suggestions concilient les points essentiels des positions respectives des parties en présence.

15. Ils comptent sur leur acceptation par les autorités israéliennes et par les autorités égyptiennes, dont la volonté de paix, à tous deux, leur est apparue clairement.

16. Ils lancent un pressant appel au Président de la République arabe d'Egypte et au Premier Ministre de l'Etat d'Israël pour réserver à ces suggestions un accueil qui permette de reprendre les négociations JARRING et de parvenir, dans la région, à une paix juste, qu'ils souhaitent durable parce que fraternelle.

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Les Chefs d'Etat de la Commission de l'O. U. A.  
saisissent l'occasion qui leur est offerte pour exprimer à  
Leurs Excellences

- Monsieur Anouar El SADATE


Président de la République Arabe d'Egypte

- Madame Golda MEIR

Premier Ministre de l'Etat d'Israël

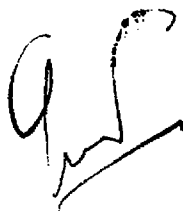
leurs sentiments de très haute considération.

Moktar Ould DADDAH  
Président en exercice de l'O. U. A.  
Président de la République Islamique de Mauritanie



Haile SELASSIE 1er  
Empereur d'ETHIOPIE

Léopold Sédar SENGHOR  
Président de la Sous-Commission de l'O. U. A.  
Président de la République du SENEGAL

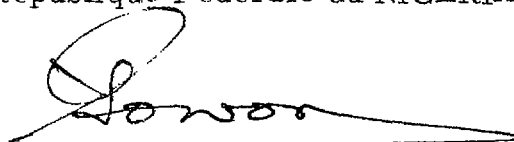


El Hadj Ahmadou AHIDJO  
Président de la République Fédérale  
du CAMEROUN

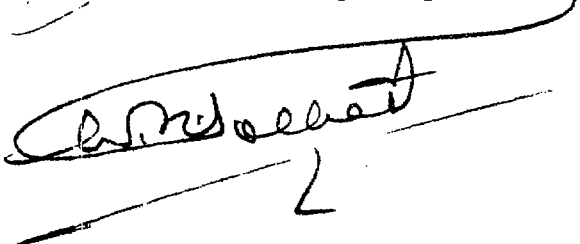
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Président de la République du ZAIRE

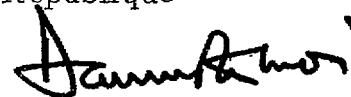
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Général Yakubu GOWON  
Chef du Gouvernement Militaire Fédéral  
Commandant en Chef des Forces Armées  
de la République Fédérale du NIGERIA

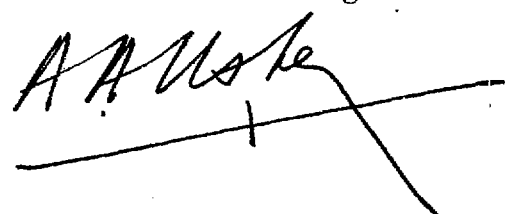
William TOLBERT  
Président de la République du LIBERIA



Pour Son Excellence Monsieur Jommo  
KENYATTA, Président de la République  
du KENYA et par délégation,  
Daniel Arap MOI  
Vice-Président de la République

  
2  
Pour Son Excellence Monsieur Félix HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY  
Président de la République de Côte d'Ivoire et par délégation  
Arsène USHER ASSOUAN  
Ministre des Affaires Etrangères



  
Julius K. NYERERE  
Président de la République de TANZANIE  
(empêché)

Le Caire, le 6 Shawal 1391 de l'Hégire

Le 23 novembre 1971.

Excellence,

En réponse à la demande formulée par la Sous-Commission des Quatre Chefs d'Etat, je me fais un plaisir de vous remettre le mémorandum ci-joint, précisant la position de la République Arabe d'Egypte eu égard aux entretiens qui se sont déroulés avec la Sous-Commission au Caire, et en ce qui concerne les points soulevés au cours de ces entretiens.

Je tiens à vous exprimer à nouveau mes remerciements M. le Président, et à travers vous aux membres de la Sous-Commission, pour les efforts que vous avez déployés dans le but de mettre en application la résolution du Conseil de Sécurité du 22 novembre 1967 et afin d'aider le Représentant du Secrétaire Général des Nations Unies dans sa mission.

Je prie Votre Excellence, d'agréer l'assurance de ma profonde estime et de ma très haute considération.

Avec mes meilleurs vœux.

ANWAR EL SADATE

Son Excellence Monsieur le Président  
LEOPOLD SENGHOR,  
Président de la République du Sénégal.



## MEMORANDUM

La République Arabe d'Egypte souhaite la bienvenue à la Commission des Chefs d'Etat Africains et exprime ses remerciements pour les efforts qu'elle déploie en vue d'assurer la mise en oeuvre de la résolution adoptée par l'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine à Addis-Abeba, le 23 juin 1971, et stipulant le retrait immédiat des forces israéliennes de tous les territoires arabes aux lignes du 5 juin 1967, conformément à la résolution 242 adoptée par le Conseil de Sécurité le 22 novembre 1967. La résolution de l'OUA exprime, en outre, l'appui total accordé par les Chefs d'Etat Africains aux efforts déployés par le Représentant Spécial du Secrétaire Général de l'ONU en vue de mettre en application la résolution du Conseil de Sécurité et notamment son initiative de paix du 8 Février 1971. La résolution réitère la solidarité des Chefs d'Etat Africains avec l'Egypte et rend hommage à son attitude positive telle qu'elle a été exprimée dans sa réponse à l'initiative du Représentant Spécial du Secrétaire Général de l'ONU le 15 février 1971. La résolution de l'OUA dénonce le défi lancé à cette initiative par Israël et demande à ce dernier de donner instamment, à l'instar de l'Egypte, une réponse positive au mémorandum de l'Ambassadeur Jarring.

La République Arabe d'Egypte exprime ses remerciements au Président en exercice de l'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine

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ainsi qu'aux Membres de la Commission des Dix pour les efforts qu'ils ont déployés en vue de la mise en application de la résolution de l'OUA, résolution aux termes de laquelle le Président en exercice a été chargé d'entreprendre des consultations avec les Chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement Africains afin d'user de leur influence pour assurer l'application totale de la dite résolution.

L'Egypte, soucieuse d'instaurer une paix durable au Moyen-Orient, a fait preuve de son entière coopération avec la Sous-Commission, à toutes les étapes de ses travaux, convaincue que le succès de ces travaux serait de nature à assurer l'application de la résolution 242 du Conseil de Sécurité et à tirer la mission de l'Ambassadeur Jarring de l'impasse créée par le refus d'Israël de répondre positivement à son mémorandum.

Au cours des réunions tenues au Caire, la Sous-Commission a affirmé que sa mission consistait à la mise en application de la résolution 242 du Conseil de Sécurité, conformément à la résolution de l'OUA. Elle a manifesté son plein appui à la mission de l'Ambassadeur Jarring dont le mémorandum présenté aux deux parties le 8 février s'était posé comme but la mise en oeuvre de la résolution du Conseil de Sécurité. La Sous-Commission a précisé en outre qu'elle n'entendait pas se substituer à l'Ambassadeur Jarring, mais qu'au contraire sa mission consistait à aider le Représentant du Secrétaire Général à assurer l'exécution de la résolution du Conseil de Sécurité, conformément à son initiative à cet égard.

Le Président de la République Arabe d'Egypte a souligné, lors de ses entretiens au Caire avec la Sous-Commission des

Quatre Chefs d'Etat, que l'Egypte était entièrement disposée à appliquer intégralement la résolution 242 du Conseil de Sécurité, et qu'elle acceptait l'initiative entreprise par Mr. Jarring, telle que formulée dans son mémorandum du 8 février 1971.

En réponse à la demande de la Sous-Commission, la République Arabe d'Egypte a donné les éclaircissements suivants quant à sa position en ce qui concerne les points soulevés au cours des entretiens :

- 1 - Acceptation de négociations indirectes sous l'égide de Mr. Jarring en vue d'appliquer la résolution 242 du Conseil de Sécurité dans toutes ses dispositions, ainsi que l'initiative prise par l'Ambassadeur Jarring le 8 février pour parvenir à un accord de paix.
- 2 - L'Egypte est disposée à entreprendre les arrangements nécessaires à la réouverture du Canal de Suez en échange du retrait d'Israël en tant que première étape conformément à l'initiative définie par le Président de la République dans son discours du 11 novembre 1971, et ce, à condition qu'Israël réponde positivement au mémorandum de Mr. Jarring du 8 février 1971.
- 3 - Nous acceptons que les frontières sûres et reconnues soient incorporées dans l'accord de paix sur la base de la résolution de l'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine qui stipule la nécessité du retrait des troupes israéliennes de tous les territoires arabes, et de l'initiative de Mr. Jarring qui stipule la nécessité du retrait d'Israël jusqu'aux frontières internationales de l'Egypte.
- 4 - Acceptation des garanties de paix suivantes :

- Garanties des Nations Unies.

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- Création de zones démilitarisées de part et d'autre des frontières.

- Présence de troupes internationales en certains points stratégiques.

5 - L'Egypte accepte la présence de troupes internationales à Cham El Cheikh pour garantir la liberté de navigation dans le détroit de Tiran.

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Ambassade d'ISRAEL  
DAKAR

Jérusalem, le 28 Novembre 1971

Excellence,

Permettez-moi de Vous exprimer, ainsi qu'à Vos éminents collègues de la Commission des Dix Chefs d'Etats Africains, et plus particulièrement à la Sous-Commission des Quatre, présidée par Vous, mon estime la plus profonde pour les efforts sincères et dévoués que Vous avez faits afin de promouvoir la paix au Proche Orient par la reprise des négociations.

J'ai l'honneur, en réponse à Votre requête et faisant suite aux éclaircissements de la position israélienne que je Vous ai transmises oralement et telles qu'elles figurent au procès verbal, de présenter à Votre Excellence les vues du Gouvernement d'Israël sur les suggestions contenues dans le Mémoire de la Commission des Dix que Vous m'avez remis, Monsieur le Président, le 24 Novembre 1971.

Ces vues sont les suivantes :

- a) Israël accepte les reprises des négociations sans conditions préalables, sous les auspices du Dr. JARRING aux termes de la Résolution 242 en vue d'arriver à un accord de paix. Ceci a été précisé au Dr. JARRING en août 1970.
- b) Israël accepte l'élaboration d'un accord sur le Canal de Suez dont les détails devront être négociés et acceptés d'un commun accord. Israël sera prêt, dans le cadre des négociations pour un tel accord, à discuter des mesures destinées à assurer le contrôle et le respect de l'accord sur le Canal de Suez.

.../...

- c) Israël accepte que les frontières sûres et reconnues soient déterminées par des négociations entre les parties et incorporées dans l'accord de paix.
- d) Israël accepte qu'en plus de la détermination de frontières sûres, reconnues et établies d'un commun accord, d'autres arrangements destinés à assurer la sécurité puissent être négociés.
- e) Israël accepte que les conditions de retrait sur les frontières négociées et établies d'un commun accord soient incorporées dans le traité de paix.
- f) La question de Charm-el-Cheikh sera incluse dans les négociations de paix, comme spécifié dans le paragraphe c) ci-dessus. Conformément à la Résolution 242 du Conseil de Sécurité, la liberté de navigation par toutes les voies d'eau internationales, telles que le Canal de Suez et les Détroits de Tiran, pour tous les navires et toutes les marchandises, y compris ceux et celles d'Israël sera prévue dans l'accord de paix.

Permettez-moi, Monsieur le Président, de Vous répéter à quel point nous avons été heureux de Vous accueillir, Vous et Vos éminents collègues, à Jérusalem et d'avoir avec Vous des entretiens francs et précis dans un esprit d'amitié et de quête commune de la paix.

Je Vous prie d'agréer, Monsieur le Président, en même temps que mes salutations personnelles les plus chaleureuses, l'expression sincère de ma plus haute considération.

( - )  
Golda MEIR

Son Excellence  
Monsieur Léopold Sédar SENGHOR  
Président de la République du Sénégal  
Dakar.

**SECRET**

MEMORANDUM

FROM THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

COMMITTEE OF TEN

to

Mr. Anouar El-SADATE

President of the Arab Republic of Egypt

and to

Madam Golda MEIR

Prime Minister of the State of Israel

The Heads of State

Members of the O.A.U. Committee

- 1) Me. Moktar Ould DADDAH  
President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania  
Current Chairman of the O.A.U. ;
- 2) His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I  
Emperor of Ethiopia ;
- 3) Mr. Leopold Sedar SENGHOR  
President of the Republic of Senegal ;
- 4) El Hadj Ahmadou AHIDJO  
President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon ;
- 5) Lieutenant General Joseph Desire MOBUTU  
President of the Republic of Zaire ;
- 6) General Yakubu GOWON  
Head of the Federal Military Government,  
Commander - in - Chief of the Armed Forces  
of the Federal Republic of Nigeria



7) Mr. William TOLBERT

President of the Republic of Liberia ;

8) Mr. Jomo KENYATTA

President of the Republic of Kenya,

represented by Mr. Daniel Arap MOI

Vice-President of the Republic of Kenya ;

9) Mr. Felix HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY

President of the Republic of Ivory Coast,

represented by Mr. Arsene USHER ASSOUAN,

Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ivory Coast ;

10- Mr. Julius NYERERE

President of the Republic of TANZANIA

unable to attend.

Your Excellencies,

1. The paramount aspiration of the peoples of Africa who, in their great majority, have just acceded to independence and international sovereignty is peace which remains the primary condition for their development.

2. This is why, African States have always felt, more than others, directly concerned by the painful Israeli-Arab conflict.

3. There are too many similarities between the States of the Middle-East and the young States of Africa for the continuing Israeli-Arab tension not to remind them through its possible consequences, of the threats to which they too might, with time, be exposed.

4. Indeed, in addition to the restoration of peace in the Middle-East, their permanent concern is to see this peace extended to the whole world, so that Africa may be in a better position to ensure her own development and bring forth her contribution to the development of a new humanism throughout the world.

5. Today, their main concern is to complement United Nations action so as to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflict on the basis of Resolution 242 adopted by the Security Council on 22 November, 1967 and which contains among other things, the following provisions:

- "inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war";
- "and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security";
- "withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict";
- "termination of all claims or states of belligerency";

- "respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area";
- respect also for "their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force";
- guarantee of "territorial inviolability" and of "political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones";
- "freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area";
- "just settlement of the refugee problem".

6. The hopes for peace which African States share with the international community are based precisely on the acceptance by Egypt and by Israel of Resolution 242.

7. This is why they welcome the initiative taken by Dr. JARRING on 8 February 1971, in trying to remove between the State of Israel and the Arab Republic of Egypt, divergency of views as to priorities to be given to the various commitments to be undertaken by both parties in the implementation of Resolution 242.

8. Dr. JARRING's proposals constitute a positive contribution for the implementation of the terms of the said Resolution, the acceptance of which both parties reaffirmed to the Sub-Committee of Four.

9. It is in full support of Dr. JARRING's efforts to implement Resolution 242, that the Organization of African Unity Summit at the June 1971 Session appointed a Committee of Ten Heads of State to help find a solution.

10. The mission which a unanimous Africa entrusted to the Committee of Ten that appointed the Sub-Committee of Four is a mission of Peace. For these envoys of Africa, the point is not to replace Dr. JARRING as a mediator and less still the Security Council, but to assist him in ensuring the implementation of Resolution 242.

11. The first series of discussions which the Sub-Committee of Four has had with the Israeli authorities on 3, 4 and 5 November, 1971 and with the Egyptian authorities on 6 and 7 November, 1971 respectively, were guided essentially by a desire to discover possible areas of agreement which would enable the parties to overcome obstacles that prevent the conclusion of a peace agreement.

12. The respective positions of the two parties as the Committee of Four found them may be summarized as follows:

A - ISRAEL'S POSITION

a)- Israel states that, while she prefers direct negotiations, she is prepared to accept indirect negotiations without pre-conditions, under Dr. JARRING.

b)- Israel states that she does not intend to annex any territories and that the point at issue is one of "secure and recognized boundaries";

c)- Israel is ready to withdraw her troops to boundaries to be "defined" in the peace treaty;

d)- Israel confirms her adherence to the principle of interim agreement for the opening of the Suez Canal, while making it clear that this special arrangement is not linked with Resolution 242.

B - EGYPT'S POSITION

- a) - Egypt accepts the resumption of negotiations under the auspices of Dr. JARRING within the framework of Resolution 242; she is equally prepared to accept negotiations in conjunction with the Four Big Powers, or the Security Council or within the context of the United Nations General Assembly;
- b) - Egypt reiterates the terms of her reply of 15 February 1971 to the JARRING memorandum provided Israel replies favourably;
- c) - Egypt is prepared to implement the terms of Resolution 242 concerning "secure and recognized boundaries";
- d) - Egypt maintains her proposal for an interim agreement for the opening of the Suez Canal and accepts the presence of United Nations troops or those of the Four Big Powers on the Eastern Bank of the Canal between Egyptian and Israeli lines, in order to enable Mediator JARRING to draw up a time-table for the implementation of the resolution.



13. In view of the foregoing respective positions of the parties as reported by the Sub-Committee of Four, the Committee of Ten of the O.A.U. submits to the two parties the following proposals for their consideration:

- a) - Acceptance, by the two parties, to resume indirect negotiations under the auspices of Dr. JARRING and within the terms of Resolution 242, in order to reach a peace agreement;
- b) - Acceptance, by the two parties of an interim agreement for the opening of the Suez Canal and the stationing, on the Eastern Bank of the Canal, of United Nations forces between the Egyptian and Israeli lines;
- c) - Acceptance, by the two parties, that "secure and recognized boundaries" be determined in the peace agreement;
- d) - Acceptance, by the two parties that solution to security problems be found:
  - within the guarantee of the United Nations
  - in the creation of demilitarized zones
  - in the presence of international forces
  - at some strategic points;

- e) - Acceptance by the two parties that the terms of withdrawal from occupied territories be embodied in the peace agreement;
- f) - Acceptance by the two parties in order to guarantee freedom of navigation of all ships through the Strait of Tiran, the stationing of international forces at Charm-El-Cheikh.

14. The Heads of State Members of the O.A.U. Committee are of the view that these suggestions reconcile the essentials in the respective positions of the two parties.

15. They rely on their being accepted by the Israeli and Egyptian authorities whose yearning for peace was clearly manifested.

16. They earnestly appeal to the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt and to the Prime Minister of the State of Israel to accept these suggestions and thereby allow the resumption of the JARRING negotiations and the establishment in that region, of a just peace, which they wish to be lasting as between brothers.

The Heads of State of the O.A.U. Committee  
avail themselves of this opportunity to express to Their  
Excellencies

- Mr. Anouar EL-SADATE

President of the Arab Republic of Egypt

- Mrs. Golda MEIR

Prime Minister of the State of Israel

the assurances of their highest consideration.

Maitre Moktar Ould DADDAH  
Current Chairman of the O.A.U.  
President of the Islamic Republic of MAURITANIA

Haile SELASSIE Ier  
Emperor of ETHIOPIA

Leopold Sedar SENGHOR  
Chairman of the Sub-Committee of the O.A.U.  
President of the Republic of SENEGAL

El Hadj Ahmadou AHIDJO  
President of the Federal Republic  
of CAMEROON

Lieutenant General Joseph Desire MOBUTU  
President of the Republic of ZAIRE

General Yakubu GOWON  
Head of the Federal Military Government  
Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces  
of the Federal Republic of NIGERIA

William TOLBERT  
President of the Republic of LIBERIA

For His Excellency Mr. Jomo KENYATTA  
President of the Republic of KENYA and  
by Delegation,  
Arap MOI, Vice-President

For His Excellency Mr. Felix HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY  
President of the Republic of IVORY COAST and by  
Delegation,  
Arsene USHER ASSOUAN  
Minister of Foreign Affairs

Julius NYERERE  
President of the Republic of TANZANIA

(unable to attend)

Cairo, 6 Shawal 1391 Hegira

November 23, 1971

Excellency,

In response to the request made by the Sub-Committee of the four Heads of State, I have the pleasure to send you herewith the memorandum defining the position of the Arab Republic of Egypt during the meetings held with the Sub-Committee in Cairo, and regarding the points raised in the course of these meetings.

I would like to express anew my gratitude to Your Excellency and through you, to members of the Sub-Committee for your efforts to secure the implementation of the Security Council Resolution of 22 November, 1967, and to assist the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary General.

Kindly accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest esteem and consideration.

With my best wishes.

ANWAR EL SADAT

His Excellency President Leopold SENGHOR  
President of the Republic of Senegal

## MEMORANDUM

The Arab Republic of Egypt welcomes the Committee of the African Heads of State and expresses its gratitude for the efforts they have exerted to implement the resolution of the Organisation of African Unity adopted in Addis Ababa on 23 June 1971. This resolution called the immediate withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from all Arab territories to the lines of 5 June 1967 in implementation of Security Council resolution 242 of 22 November 1967, and expressed the full support of the African Heads of State to the efforts of the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary General to implement the Security Council resolution and particularly his initiative for Peace of 8 February 1971. The resolution reaffirmed solidarity with the Arab Republic of Egypt, appreciated the positive attitude reflected in its reply on February 15, 1971 to the Special Representative's initiative for Peace, deplored Israel's defiance to that initiative and called upon it to make a similar positive reply to Jarring's initiative.

The Arab Republic of Egypt expresses its appreciation to the President of the current session of the Organization of African Unity, and the members of the Committee of Ten Heads of State who have responded to the OAU resolution which requested the president of the Organization of African Unity to consult with the Heads of State and Government so that they use their influence to ensure the full implementation of this resolution.

Egypt has extended full cooperation to the Committee in all the phases of its mission in the belief that the successful conclusion of its endeavours to implement Security Council resolution 242, and the resumption of the Jarring mission, currently deadlocked

.../...

due to Israel's refusal to make a positive reply to his initiative for peace, would contribute to the achievement of a lasting peace in the Middle East.

During its meetings in Cairo, the Committee defined its mandate as seeking to implement Security Council resolution 242 and fully supporting Ambassador Jarring's Mission to implement the Security Council Resolution as well as his initiative to the two Parties of 8 February 1971 ; all this in application of the OAU resolution. The Committee also emphasized that it was not replacing Ambassador Jarring but that its mandate was to help him implement the Security Council resolution in accordance with his initiative for peace.

The President of the Arab Republic of Egypt has stressed in his talks with the Four Heads of State Committee Egypt's complete readiness to implement Security Council resolution 242, in all its parts, and its acceptance of Jarring's memorandum of 8 February 1971.

In response to the Committee's request the Arab Republic of Egypt clarified its position on the points raised during the talks in the following manner :

1. Acceptance to hold indirect negotiations under the auspices of Ambassador Jarring for the implementation of Security Council resolution 242, in all its parts, and the implantation of Ambassador Jarring's initiative of February 8 for the conclusion of a peace agreement.

.../...

2. Egypt is ready to undertake the required arrangements for reopening the Canal in return for the first stage of Israeli withdrawal in conformity with the initiative underlined by the President of the Republic on condition that Israel responds positively to Ambassador Jarring's memorandum of February 8, 1971.

3. Agreement that secure and recognized boundaries should be embodied in the peace agreement in accordance with the OAU resolution which provides for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the Arab territories to the lines of 5 June 1967, and in conformity with the borders specified in the Jarring initiative which underlined necessity of the withdrawal of Israeli forces to Egypt's international borders.

4. Acceptance of the following guarantees for peace :

- United Nations guarantees.
- Establishing demilitarized zones astride the borders.
- Stationing of international forces at some strategic points.

5. Acceptance of the stationing of international forces in Sharm El Sheikh to guarantee the freedom of navigation in the Straits of Tiran.

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Jerusalem, 28 th November 1971

Excellency,

Permit me to express to You and Your distinguished colleagues fo the Committee of Ten Heads of African States, and in particular the Sub-Committee of Four headed by You, my profound appreciation for the sincere and devoted efforts that You have made to help promote peace in the Middle East by resumption of negotiations.

In response to Your request and further to the clarification of Israel's position, as I conveyed to You orally and as recorded in the verbatim minutes, I have the honour to present to Your Excellency the views of the Government of Israel on the suggestions contained in the Memorandum of the Committee of Ten, which You, Mr. President, handed to me on 24 November 1971. Theses views are as follows :

a) Israel agrees to resume negotiations without prior conditions under the auspices of Dr. Jarring within the terms of Resolution 242 in order to reach a peace agreement. This undertaking was given to Dr. Jarring in August 1970.

b) Israel agrees to work out a Suez Canal accord, the details of which will be negotiated and agreed. In the negotiation of such an agreement we would be prepared to discuss measures to ensure supervision and observance of a Suez Canal accord.

.../...

c) Israel agrees that the secure and recognized boundaries should be determined by negotiation between the parties and embodied in the peace agreement.

d) Israel agrees that in addition to the determination of agreed, secure and recognized boundaries, further arrangements for ensuring security could be negotiated.

e) Israel agrees that the terms of withdrawal to the boundaries negotiated and agreed should be embodied in the peace treaty.

f) The question of Charm-el-Cheikh will be included in the peace negotiations, as specified in paragraph c) above. In accordance with Security Council Resolution 242, free navigation in all international waterways, such as the Suez Canal and the Straits of Tiran, for all ships and cargoes, including those of Israël, will be provided for in the peace agreement.

May I add, Mr. President, that it was a great pleasure to welcome You and Your distinguished colleagues in Jerusalem and to hold with You frank and searching discussions in a spirit of friendship and a common quest for peace.

With warmest personal regards and the assurance of my highest consideration, I remain, Mr. President,

Sincerely Yours,

( - )

Golda MEIR

His Excellency  
Leopold Sedar SENGHOR  
President of the Republic of Senegal  
DAKAR

الجمهورية الإسلامية الموريتانية  
RÉPUBLIQUE ISLAMIQUE DE MAURITANIE

رئيس الجمهورية

Nouakchott, le 30

LE PRÉSIDENT DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE  
Président en Exercice de l'O.U.A.

N°      / PR.-

Secret

Copies given to

- ① Amb. Jarring
- ② M. Kantak
- ③ M. Guyer
- ④ M. Djumekoi
- ⑤ M. Stanopolis.

Excellence,

8  
3/12/71

J'ai l'honneur de faire remettre à Votre Excellence, par les Ministres des Affaires Etrangères du Sénégal, du Cameroun, du Nigéria, du Zaïre et de la Mauritanie, accompagnés du Secrétaire Général Adjoint de l'O.U.A., le Rapport de la Commission de Chefs d'Etats que la Conférence au Sommet de l'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine tenue à Addis-Abéba du 21 au 23 Juin 1971, avait chargée d'aider à la recherche d'une solution au conflit du Moyen-Orient, dans le cadre de la Résolution 242 du 22 novembre 1967 du Conseil de Sécurité des Nations Unies, et de la mission qu'en application de ladite Résolution vous aviez confiée à Dr. Jannar JARRING.

En Vous souhaitant bonne réception de cette modeste contribution de l'Afrique à l'avènement d'une paix juste et durable au Moyen-Orient, je tiens à réitérer la volonté qui nous anime de poursuivre nos efforts en vue de l'instauration d'une compréhension internationale toujours plus réelle, ainsi que nous en font obligation les principes des Chartes de l'O.U.A. et de l'O.N.U.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Secrétaire Général, les assurances de ma haute considération.

Son Excellence

U THANT

Secrétaire Général de l'Organisation  
des Nations-Unies

NEW-YORK -

MOKTAR OULD DADDAH.

REPUBLIQUE DU SENEGAL

= = = -

MINISTERE DES AFFAIRES ETRANGERES

= = .

RAPPORT

SUR LA MISSION DU SOUS COMTE DE L'O.U.A.  
EN ISRAEL ET EN EGYPTTE EN VUE DE L'APPLICATION  
DE LA RESOLUTION N° 242 DU CONSEIL DE SECURITE  
POUR LE REGLEMENT DU CONFLIT ISRAELO-ARABE.

=oOo=

1°) "inadmissibilité de l'acquisition de territoires par la guerre"

dont l'une des conséquences est :

2°) "le retrait des forces israéliennes des territoires occupés lors du récent conflit".

Il s'agit de concilier ces dispositions avec

3°) "le droit de chaque Etat de vivre en paix, à l'intérieur de frontières sûres et reconnues".

Les entretiens exploratoires que le sous-comité des Quatre a eus respectivement avec les autorités israéliennes les 3, 4 et 5 novembre 1971, et avec les autorités égyptiennes les 6 et 7 novembre 1971, ont été essentiellement guidés par la recherche d'un terrain d'entente qui permettrait aux parties de surmonter les obstacles s'opposant à la conclusion d'un accord de paix.

I.- AUX AUTORITES ISRAËLIENNES, le sous-comité a posé les questions suivantes :

1ère question : Pourriez-vous nous donner une idée de ce qu'il convient d'appeler des frontières sûres et garanties ?

2ème question : a)- que pense le Premier Ministre de la Mission JARRING comme cadre de négociations ?

b)- Israël est-il d'accord sur le principe du retrait de ses troupes des territoires occupés ?

c)- Israël est-il prêt à souscrire à l'élaboration d'un planning de retrait ?

3ème question : En même temps que les frontières sûres et garanties", Israël considère-t-il la reconnaissance par ses voisins comme une question primordiale ?

4ème question : Quelle solution préconisez-vous pour résoudre le problème des réfugiés palestiniens ?

La mission confiée par l'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine à la Commission des Dix qui a désigné le Sous-Comité des Quatre est une mission de paix. Pour ces messagers de l'Afrique, il s'est agi, non pas de remplacer M. JARRING dans son rôle de médiateur, et moins encore le Conseil de Sécurité mais d'aider le Représentant du Secrétaire Général des Nations Unies à faire appliquer la Résolution 242.

Il est bon pour éclairer la démarche du Sous-Comité de rappeler les différentes dispositions de la Résolution votée, le 22 Novembre 1967 par le Conseil de Sécurité, en mettant l'accent sur celles dont les modalités de mise en oeuvre opposent plus particulièrement,

- . l'Etat d'Israël
- . et la République arabe d'Egypte.

Et d'abord quelles sont elles dans leur ensemble ?

En premier lieu, il est des dispositions qui touchent à l'existence et à la souveraineté même des Etats :

- a - "respect et reconnaissance de la souveraineté, de l'intégrité et de l'indépendance politique de chaque Etat".
- b - "garantie de l'inviolabilité territoriale et de l'indépendance politique de chaque Etat de la Région".

Il s'agit là, de principes généraux et d'attributs liés à la notion de souveraineté qui ne prêtent pas à discussion.

D'autres dispositions réaffirment, en fait, une des règles consacrées en des conventions internationales.

Il en est ainsi "de la liberté de navigation sur les voies d'eau internationales de la Région".

Les difficultés majeures auxquelles s'est heurtée jusqu'à présent, l'application de la résolution du 22 Novembre 1967 tiennent à trois dispositions :

.../...

5ème question : Quelle est la position d'Israël sur le statut de Jérusalem ?

6ème question : Quelle est la position d'Israël sur le projet d'accord intérimaire pour l'ouverture du Canal de Suez ?

Sous-Questions : 1°/- Lorsque vous parlez de négociations pour des frontières sûres et mutuellement reconnues, cela s'entend-t-il :

- avec des pays arabes en tant que groupe
- ou avec des pays pris séparément ?

2ème sous-question : Pourriez-vous dire la position d'Israël sur le problème précis de l'internationalisation des Lieux Saints de Jérusalem, idée déjà soulevée par des hommes politiques modérés qui font un effort pour comprendre la position d'Israël et qui proposent qu'une éventuelle internationalisation soit placée sous la responsabilité de la communauté internationale ?

Questions subsidiaires : Dans le cadre de négociations en vue de la fixation de frontières mutuellement reconnues, Israël est-il disposé à accepter l'établissement de zones démilitarisées ou d'autres garanties collectives selon la formule du Dr. JARRING ?

II.- Le Sous-Comité a posé AUX AUTORITES EGYPTIENNES les questions suivantes :

1ère question : La résolution du 22 novembre 1967 parle de "frontières sûres et reconnues" ;

pouvez-vous nous donner une idée de ce qu'il convient d'entendre par cette expression ?

2ème question : Au cas où Israël accepterait le cadre des négociations JARRING, êtes-vous prêts à reprendre ces négociations ?

3ème question : Maintenez-vous les termes de votre réponse du 15 février au mémorandum du Dr. JARRING ?

4ème question : Envisagez-vous d'entreprendre des négociations dans un autre cadre international que le Conseil de Sécurité, avec bien sûr, le consentement du Conseil de Sécurité ?

5ème question : Acceptez-vous d'engager, avec l'autre partie, des négociations indirectes selon par exemple la formule de Rhodes, sous les deux seules conditions préalables :

- que ces négociations soient menées :
  - . sous l'égide de M. JARRING
  - . et dans le cadre de la résolution 242 ?

6ème question : Acceptez-vous que les négociations aient comme objet principal la conclusion d'un accord de paix qui reconnaisse à chaque partie "le droit de "vivre en paix à l'intérieur de frontières sûres et reconnues", mutuellement et garanties par les Nations-Unies ?

LES POSITIONS RESPECTIVES des Parties qui ne présentaient pas des divergences irréductibles ont été résumées dans un mémorandum communiqué le 23 novembre 1971 aux autorités égyptiennes ; et le 24 novembre 1971 aux autorités israéliennes par

Leurs Excellences :

- . M. Léopold Sédar SENGHOR,  
Président de la République du Sénégal ;
- . M. le Général Yakubu GOWON,  
Chef du Gouvernement militaire fédéral, Commandant en Chef  
des Forces armées de la République fédérale du Nigéria ;

accompagnés de :

- . M. le Ministre Mario CARDOSO,  
Représentant le Président de la République du Zaïre
- . et de M. le Ministre ETEKI,  
Représentant le Président de la République fédérale du Cameroun.



Les deux Parties ont répondu aux suggestions du mémorandum dans les termes ci-après :

SUGGESTION A : Acceptation par les deux Parties de reprendre les négociations indirectes sous l'égide de M. JARRING et dans le cadre de la résolution 242, pour aboutir à un accord de paix.

A)- Acceptation de négociations indirectes sous l'égide de M. JARRING en vue d'appliquer la résolution 242 du Conseil de Sécurité dans toutes ses dispositions, ainsi que l'initiative prise par l'ambassadeur JARRING le 8 février pour parvenir à un accord de paix.

Réponse israélienne :

A)- Israël accepte les reprises des négociations sans condition préalables, sous les auspices du Dr. JARRING aux termes de la résolution 242 en vue d'arriver à un accord de paix. Ceci a été précisé au Dr. JARRING en Août 1970.

SUGGESTION B : Acceptation par les deux Parties de la conclusion d'un accord intérimaire pour l'ouverture du Canal de Suez et le stationnement sur la rive orientale du Canal, de troupes des Nations-Unies, entre les lignes égyptienne et israélienne.

Réponse égyptienne :

B)- l'Egypte est disposée à entreprendre les arrangements nécessaires à la réouverture du Canal de Suez en échange du retrait d'Israël en tant que première étape conformément à l'initiative définie par le Président de la République dans son discours du 11 novembre 1971, et ce, à condition qu'Israël réponde positivement au mémorandum du Dr. JARRING du 8 février 1971.

Réponse israélienne :

B)- Israël accepte l'élaboration d'un accord sur le Canal de Suez, dont les détails devront être négociés et acceptés d'un commun accord. Israël sera prêt dans le cadre des négociations pour un tel accord, à discuter des mesures destinées à assurer le contrôle et le respect de l'accord sur le Canal de Suez.

SUGGESTION C : Acceptation, par les deux Parties, que "les frontières sûres et reconnues" soient définies dans l'accord de paix.

Réponse égyptienne :

C)- Nous acceptons que les frontières sûres et reconnues soient incorporées dans l'accord de paix sur la base de la résolution de l'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine qui stipule la nécessité du retrait des troupes israéliennes, de tous les territoires arabes, et de l'initiative de M. JARRING qui stipule la nécessité du retrait d'Israël jusqu'aux frontières internationales d'Egypte.

Réponse israélienne :

C)- Israël accepte que les frontières sûres et reconnues soient déterminées par des négociations entre les deux Parties et incorporées dans l'accord de paix.

SUGGESTION D : Acceptation, par les deux Parties, que la solution des problèmes de sécurité qui se posent soit trouvée :

- dans la garantie des Nations-Unies
- dans la création des zones démilitarisées
- dans la présence des troupes internationales en certains points stratégiques.

.../...

Réponse égyptienne :

D)- Acceptation des garanties de paix suivantes :

- garanties des Nations-Unies
- création de zones démilitarisées de part et d'autre des frontières
- présence des troupes internationales en certains points stratégiques.

Réponse israélienne :

D)- Israël accepte qu'en plus de la détermination de frontières sûres, reconnues et établies d'un commun accord, d'autres arrangements destinés à assurer la sécurité puissent être négociés.

SUGGESTION E : Acceptation, par les deux Parties, que les modalités d'évacuation des territoires occupés soient définies dans l'accord de paix.

Réponse égyptienne :

La réponse égyptienne semble avoir été donnée au point C.

Réponse israélienne :

E)- Israël accepte que les conditions de retrait sur les frontières négociées et établies d'un commun accord soient incorporées dans le traité de paix.

SUGGESTIONS F : Acceptation, par les deux Parties, pour garantir le libre passage de tout navire dans le Détroit de Tiran, su stationnement, à Charm-El-Cheikh, des troupes internationales.

.../...

Réponse égyptienne :

F)- L'Egypte accepte la présence de troupes internationales à Charm-El-Cheikh pour garantir la liberté de navigation dans le Détroit de Tiran.

Réponse israélienne :

F)- La question de Char-El-Cheikh sera incluse dans les négociations de paix, comme spécifiée dans le paragraphe C ci-dessus. Conformément à la résolution 242 du Conseil de Sécurité, la liberté de navigation par toutes les voies d'eau internationales, telles que le Canal de Suez et les Détroits de Tiran, pour toutes les navires et toutes les marchandises, y compris ceux et celles d'Israël sera prévu dans l'accord de paix.

CONCLUSION :

On peut retenir, de ces réponses, un certain nombre d'éléments positifs.

Le premier de ces éléments, c'est

- . l'affirmation par les deux Parties de leur volonté de paix.

Le deuxième, c'est

- . leur adhésion renouvelée aux termes de la résolution 242 du Conseil de Sécurité.

Un troisième élément, c'est

- . l'acceptation par les deux Parties de la reprise des négociations sous l'égide du Dr. JARRING et, par conséquent, des négociations indirectes.

.../...

Le principe de la conclusion d'un accord intérimaire par la réouverture du Canal est en soi accepté, même s'il est assorti de certaines réserves.

L'impression générale que l'on emporte des entretiens qui ont précédé les réponses, c'est que

- Du côté égyptien, la préoccupation dominante se ramène à l'évacuation du territoire national par les forces armées israéliennes.

Une fois ce point acquis, l'Egypte est certainement disposée à conclure un accord de paix avec l'Etat d'Israël.

Et l'Egypte est prête à souscrire à des garanties qui assurent la liberté de la navigation à travers le Détroit de Tiran et dans le Canal de Suez.

Il apparaît possible à la lumière des données recueillies par le Sous-Comité de relancer les négociations sous l'égide du Dr. JARRING.

On peut tenir leur succès pour certain, si la mise en pratique de la notion de frontières sûres et reconnues ne contraint pas l'Egypte à aliéner une partie de son territoire national.

Il s'agit, en définitive, d'amener l'Etat d'Israël à donner son accord sur la mise en place (sans annexion territoriale) de dispositif offrant des garanties suffisantes pour assurer sa sécurité.

Il semble bien que le Conseil de Sécurité et les Grandes Puissances qui ont la possibilité, le moment venu, de faire respecter les décisions arrêtées, ont ici un rôle déterminant à jouer.

Secret

Pr. keep.

ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF MAURITANIA

4/10/71

Nouakchott, 30 November 1971

The President of the Republic  
The current President of the OAU

No.00898/PR

Excellency,

I have the honour to transmit to Your Excellency, through the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Senegal, Cameroon, Nigeria, Zaire and Mauritania, accompanied by the Assistant Secretary General of the O.A.U., the report of the Commission of Heads of State that the Summit Conference of the Organization of African<sup>Unity</sup> held at Addis Ababa from 21 to 23 June 1971, had entrusted with the task of helping to find a solution of the Middle Eastern conflict, in the framework of resolution 242 of 22 November 1967 of the Security Council of the United Nations and of the mission which in implementation of that resolution you had entrusted to Dr. Gunnar Jarring.

In hoping that this modest contribution of Africa to the attainment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East will be acceptable to you, I wish to reiterate our determination to continue our efforts aimed at the establishment of an increasingly real international understanding as we are called upon to do by the principles of the Charters of the O.A.U. and of the United Nations.

Accept, Mr. Secretary General, the assurances of my high consideration.

Sd/-

MOKTAR OULD DADDAH

His Excellency  
U Thant  
Secretary General of the United Nations  
New York

[Provisional translation]

REPUBLIC OF SENEGAL  
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

REPORT ON THE  
MISSION OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE  
ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY TO  
ISRAEL AND EGYPT WITH A VIEW TO THE  
IMPLEMENTATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL  
RESOLUTION 242 FOR THE SETTLEMENT  
OF THE ISRAELI-ARAB CONFLICT.

The mission entrusted by the Organization of African Unity to the Committee of 10 which in turn appointed the Sub-Committee of 4 is a peace mission. For these <sup>messengers</sup> / <sup>not</sup> of Africa, the task was/to replace Mr. Jarring in his role of mediator, and less still the Security Council, but to assist the representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to get resolution 242 implemented.

To understand the <sup>démarche</sup> / taken by the Sub-Committee, it is good to recall the different provisions of the resolution voted on 22 November 1967 by the Security Council, stressing those concerning the implementation of which Israel and the United Arab Republic <sup>are</sup> / especially in opposition.

What are these provisions as a whole?

In the first place, there are dispositions which affect the sovereignty of states:

- (a) "respect of the sovereignty, integrity and political independence of each state".
- (b) "a guarantee of the territorial inviolability and the political independence of each state in the region".

These are general principles and attributes associated with the idea of sovereignty which do not lend themselves to discussion.

Other <sup>provisions reaffirm, in fact,</sup> / one of the rules sanctioned in international conventions.

That is the case "of freedom of navigation of international waterways in the region".

/...



The major difficulties which have impeded up to now the implementation of the resolution of 22 November 1967 are contained in three provisions:

- (1) "the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war" of which one of the consequences is:
- (2) "the withdrawal of Israeli forces from territories occupied during the recent conflict". This provision must be reconciled with
- (3) "the right of each state to live in peace, within secure and recognized boundaries".

The exploratory conversations which the Sub-Committee of 4 held with the Israeli authorities on 3, 4 and 5 November 1971, and with the Egyptian authorities on 6 and 7 November 1971, were essentially aimed at seeking common ground which would allow the parties to overcome the obstacles in the way of concluding a peace agreement.

I. To the Israeli authorities, the Sub-committee put the following questions:

1st question: Could you give us an idea of what is meant by secure and guaranteed frontiers?

(a)  
2nd question: What does the Prime Minister think of the Jarring mission as a framework for negotiations?

(b) Is Israel in agreement with the principle of withdrawal of occupied territories?

/...

(c) Is Israel ready to join in the preparation of planning for withdrawal?

3rd question: Together with secure and guaranteed frontiers, does Israel consider recognition by its neighbors as a question of prime importance?

4th question: What solutions do you favor for solving the problem of Palestinian refugees?

5th question: What is the position of Israel on the status of Jerusalem?

6th question: What is the position of Israel on the proposed interim agreement for the reopening of the Suez Canal?

Sub-questions: (1) When you speak of negotiations for secure and mutually recognized borders, does that mean:

- with the Arab countries as a group
- or with the countries considered separately?

2nd sub-question: Can you tell us the position of Israel on the precise problem of internationalization of the holy places in Jerusalem, an idea which is already being brought up by moderate politicians who are making an effort to understand the position of Israel and who propose that an eventual internationalization should be placed under the responsibility of the international community.

Subsidiary question: In the framework of negotiations for fixing mutually recognized boundaries, is Israel ready to accept the establishment of demilitarized zones and other collective guarantees according to the formula of Dr. Jarring?

II. The Sub-committee put to the Egyptian authorities the following questions:

1st question: The resolution of 22 November 1967 speaks of "secure and recognized boundaries";

can you give us an idea of what is meant by this expression?

2nd question: In case Israel would accept the framework of the Jarring negotiations, are you ready to resume those negotiations?

3rd question: Do you maintain the terms of your reply of 15 February to the memorandum of Dr. Jarring?

4th question: Do you envisage undertaking negotiations in an international framework other than the Security Council, of course with the agreement of the Security Council?

5th question: Do you agree to undertake with the other party or to enter into, with the other party, indirect negotiations according to Rhodes formula, subject to the two following prior conditions:

- That these negotiations should be carried out:

under the auspices of Mr. Jarring

and in the framework of resolution 242?

6th question: Do you agree that the negotiations should have as their principal aim the conclusion of a peace agreement which would recognize to each party "the right to "live in peace within secure and recognized frontiers", mutually [agreed] and guaranteed by the United Nations?

/...

THE RESPECTIVE POSITIONS of the Parties where they were not irreconcilable were summed up in a memorandum which was communicated to the Egyptian authorities on 23 November 1971 and to the Israeli authorities on 24 November 1971 by:

Their Excellencies:

Mr. Léopold Sédar SENGHOR  
President of the Republic of Senegal;

General Yakubu GOWON,  
Chief of military federal Government, Commander in Chief  
of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria;

accompanied by:

Minister Mario CARDOSO  
Representative of of President of the Republic of Zaire  
and

Minister ETEKI  
Representative of the President of the Federal Republic of Cameroch.

The two Parties replied to suggestions in the memorandum in the following terms:

SUGGESTION A: Acceptance, by the two parties, to resume indirect negotiations under the auspices of Dr. JARRING and within the terms of resolution 242, in order to reach a peace agreement.

Egyptian reply

A)- Acceptance to hold indirect negotiations under the auspices of Ambassador Jarring for the implementation of Security Council resolution 242, in all its parts, and the implementation of Ambassador Jarring's initiative of February 8 for the conclusion of a peace agreement.

Israeli reply

A)- Israel agrees to resume negotiations without prior conditions under the auspices of Dr. Jarring within the terms of resolution 242 in order to reach a peace agreement. This undertaking was given to Dr. Jarring in August 1970.

SUGGESTION B: Acceptance, by the two parties, of an interim agreement for the opening of the Suez Canal and the stationing, on the Eastern Bank of the Canal, of United Nations forces between the Egyptian and Israeli lines.

/...

Egyptian reply

B)- Egypt is ready to undertake the required arrangements for reopening the Canal in return for the first stage of Israeli withdrawal in conformity with the initiative underlined by the President of the Republic on condition that Israel responds positively to Ambassador Jarring's memorandum of February 8, 1971.

Israeli reply

B)- Israel agrees to work out a Suez Canal accord, the details of which will be negotiated and agreed. In the negotiation of such an agreement we would be prepared to discuss measures to ensure supervision and observance of a Suez Canal accord.

SUGGESTION C: Acceptance, by the two parties, that "secure and recognized boundaries" be determined in the peace agreement.

Egyptian reply

C)- We agree that secure and recognized boundaries should be embodied in the peace agreement in accordance with the Organization of African Unity resolution, which provides for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the Arab territories, and of the initiative of Mr. JARRING, which lays down the need for withdrawal of Israel to the international borders of Egypt.

Israeli reply

C)- Israel agrees that the secure and recognized boundaries should be determined by negotiation between the two parties and embodied in the peace agreement.

SUGGESTION D: Acceptance, by the two Parties, that the solution to security problems be found in:

- United Nations guarantees
- creation of demilitarized zones
- presence of international forces at certain strategic points

Egyptian reply

D)- Acceptance of the following guarantees for peace:

- United Nations guarantees
- Establishing demilitarized zones astride the borders
- Stationing of international forces at some strategic points

/...

Israeli reply

D)- Israel agrees that in addition to the determination of agreed, secure and recognized boundaries, further arrangements for ensuring security could be negotiated.

SUGGESTION F: Acceptance, by the two parties, to guarantee free passage of any ship in the Straits of Tiran, to the stationing of international forces in Sharm El Sheikh.

Egyptian reply

F)- Egypt accepts the stationing of international forces in Sharm El Sheikh to guarantee the freedom of navigation in the Straits of Tiran.

Israeli reply

F)- The question of Charm-el-Cheikh will be included in the peace negotiations, as specified in paragraph c) above. In accordance with Security Council resolution 242, free navigation in all international waterways, such as the Suez Canal and the Straits of Tiran, for all ships and cargoes, including those of Israel, will be provided for in the peace agreement.

/...

CONCLUSION:

A certain number of positive elements can be found in the replies.

The first of these elements is the affirmation by the two parties of their will to peace.

The second is their renewed acceptance of the terms of Security Council resolution 242.

A third element is the acceptance by the two parties of the resumption of negotiations under the auspices of Dr. Jarring, and, consequently of indirect negotiations.

The principle of an interim agreement on the Suez Canal is accepted, even if it is ~~the~~ subject to certain reservations.

The general impression arising from the discussions which preceded the replies is that -

On the Egyptian side, the main preoccupation is in essence the withdrawal from its national territory of the Israeli armed forces.

Once this point is settled, Egypt is certainly ready to conclude a peace agreement with the State of Israel.

It appears possible in the light of the material assembled by the Sub-Committee to start up again the negotiations under Dr. Jarring's auspices.

Their success can be regarded as assured, if the practical application of the concept of secure and recognized boundaries does not oblige Egypt to alienate a part of its national territory.

In effect, it is necessary to bring Israel to give its agreement to the putting into effect (without territorial annexation) of arrangements offering sufficient guarantees to ensure its security.

/...

It seems that the Security Council and the great Powers, which have the possibility at the appropriate time, to ensure that the decisions which have been drawn up are respected, have a decisive role to planning.



Secret R. Kemp.  
3/12/71

Interpreter's Record of the Meeting with the Secretary-General  
held at 10:30 a.m. on Friday, 3 December 1971

<u>Participants:</u>	SENEGAL	H.E. Dr. Amadou Karim Gaye Minister for Foreign Affairs Chairman
	MAURITANIA	H.E. M. Hamdi Ould Mouknass Minister for Foreign Affairs
	NIGERIA	H.E. Dr. Okoi Arikpo Commissioner for External Affairs
	ZAIRE	H.E. M. Mario Cardoso Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation
	CAMEROON	Ambassador Njine
	OAU	Deputy Secretary-General, M. Pognon Executive Secretary, Amb. Thiam
	UN	Mr. Djermakoye Mr. Guyer Ambassador Jarring Mr. Kutakov

Greetings and welcoming words by the Secretary-General. Response by the members of the Delegations.

Secretary-General: Gentlemen, it is my understanding that the purpose of this meeting is to hand to me the report of your group.

M. Ould Mouknass (Mauritania): The President in office of the Organization of African Unity wanted us to introduce the report of the Ten and to express the hope of the Organization of African Unity that this report will contribute to a solution of the problem of the Middle East by making it easier for the Secretary-General to reactivate the mission of his Special Representative.

The President would like the Secretary-General to listen to the comments and the clarifications which may be offered at his request by the members of the group, and especially those who have actually been to the Middle East.

Secretary-General: I thank you. You will realize that I will need some

time to study this report and I may have occasion to ask for certain clarifications from the members of your group.

M. Ould Mouknass (Mauritania): We would believe that this report which covers the whole of the activities of the Ten will be useful to the Secretary-General and to his Special Representative in their efforts. When the African group meets we shall acquaint them with the activities undertaken by our group and, of course, the Secretary-General himself can use this report in any manner in which he should deem it appropriate.

Secretary-General: I thank you. Am I to understand that this is a report of the group of Ten or is it a report of the group of Four?

Dr. Amadou Karim Gaye (Senegal) and M. Ould Mouknass (Mauritania) speaking together: The report can only be a report of the group of Ten, since the Four have reported to the Ten and this report is a report of the Ten.

Secretary-General: Am I to understand that this report is addressed to me only, or will it go to anybody else as well?

Dr. Gaye (Senegal) and M. Ould Mouknass (Mauritania): This report is addressed to you exclusively.

Secretary-General: I shall study this report and consult with Ambassador Jarring and my associates. After such study we may have certain questions, or we may have to ask for certain clarifications. Whom should we contact to this purpose? This may happen next week and I believe that almost all of you gentlemen will still be here next week.

M. Ould Mouknass (Mauritania): Any clarification you may require will be given immediately and with readiness. We suggest that such questions be addressed to the Four Ministers of Foreign Affairs who have actually been to Tel Aviv and Cairo, the Foreign Ministers of Nigeria, Senegal and Zaire are here. The representative of the Cameroon will be here within 48 hours and these gentlemen will all be at your disposal.

Dr. Gaye (Senegal): I believe that while we are all assembled here it would be appropriate to highlight the main items of this report. I refer specifically to such points contained in the report as may be of use in the efforts to reactivate negotiations. The purpose of such a review would be to dispel any misunderstandings which may arise out of various interpretations that may be given to the contents of the report. I shall be here over the whole of next week and shall, of course, be available for any further clarifications if needed. If any additional discussion is required, anyone of us present here will be glad to take part in it. Now, however, I believe that it would be useful to outline the main points contained in this report of the Ten as they emerged out of the discussions which were held in Tel Aviv and in Cairo.

Dr. Arikpo (Nigeria): It was felt, and in fact agreed, at Dakar that it would be useful if the President or the Ministers of Foreign Affairs would inform the Ambassadors of the Great Powers regarding the contents of the report so as to listen to their reactions and have their evaluation. At Lagos I have myself so informed the Ambassadors of the US, the USSR, the UK, France and China, asking them for their support of the effort aimed at reactivating negotiations. We felt that the permanent members of the Security Council should get some first-hand information.

Dr. Gaye (Senegal): The Heads of State meeting at Dakar agreed that the report should go to the President and that the President should then address it to the Secretary-General and that he should also at the same time inform the representatives of the five permanent members of the Security Council about the main lines of the report and specifically ask them to support the Secretary-General in his efforts. This, in fact, happened yesterday. However, the two parties, Israel and Egypt, have not seen this report and have not received any information regarding its contents. The report contains certain suggestions and ideas of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs who undertook the mission and of the Heads of State of the ten members of the group. These conclusions were not

conveyed to the five permanent members but were submitted to the Secretary-General for his exclusive use at his discretion.

Secretary-General: I thank you. I will, however, have to communicate on this report with Ambassador Jarring and my closest co-workers.

Dr. Gaye (Senegal): Now that this report has been handed over to you it is entirely up to you to use it as you deem appropriate. We understand full well that your Special Representative and your closest associates will participate in any deliberations or steps related to this report. In short, its use is entirely at your discretion. Our only objective is to be helpful in bringing about a solution to the problem. If any document such as this report can be of any assistance in the Secretary-General's efforts he should be the only one to judge how it can be used in the best way to achieve this end. In fact, this report is no longer ours but yours.

Secretary-General: Thank you.

M. Cardoso (Zaire): I wanted to add that the ten Heads of State - one President was in fact absent so they were nine - seven of them were actually Heads of State and two were representatives of their Heads of State - have all signed a memorandum which the Ministers of Foreign Affairs then took on their trip for use in their negotiations. It contains questions to which replies were elicited. To grasp thoroughly every aspect of the problem it would be helpful not only to know what the replies were, but also to be aware of what we had to say.

Dr. Gaye (Senegal): In our negotiations we took as a starting point the resolution of the Security Council of which Ambassador Jarring was expected to explore the implementation. In that resolution there were points of general principle which were never challenged by anyone as such. Thus the principle of sovereignty of States is one on which all agreed. The principle that the territory of any State should remain inviolate likewise was never contested. Even the principle of the freedom of navigation which has been often the underlying principle

of international conventions, has not been challenged by anyone. Thus it can be said that the principles in themselves were never open to question. However, certain difficulties did arise in their application. Firstly, with regard to the principle of the inadmissibility of territorial acquisition by force of arms; its only logical consequence could be the withdrawal of occupying troops. However, the withdrawal is not the only provision incorporated in the resolution. If it were the only provision then there would have been no further discussion. But the resolution links the withdrawal to the right to live peacefully within recognized boundaries. This could be interpreted - especially by jurists - as linking the question of the withdrawal to that of assured boundaries. In our discussions with the representatives of Israel and Egypt I asked several questions aimed at resolving the difficulties we encountered. Thus we asked the following question: What does the concept of assured boundaries really mean? The Israeli response was first the affirmation of the principle that Israel does not wish any annexations of territory. However, while no such wish is entertained, the Israeli side must insist on mutually recognized boundaries. Here they specifically used the word "mutually" which does not occur in the text of the resolution. At the same time, they renewed their declaration that they do not wish for any annexation of territory.

The Egyptian side mentioned that the borders - especially of States which are practically as old as the world itself - are very well known to all. In his memorandum, Ambassador Jarring mentions the boundaries which had existed between Egypt and the Palestine under British Mandate. The Egyptian side would be prepared to go along with such a definition. We asked what would be a prerequisite for reopening discussions. The answer was that an assurance was needed that the resolution will be in fact respected.

We asked the Israeli representatives whether they would accept a resumption of negotiations under the good offices of Ambassador Jarring or whether they absolutely insisted upon direct negotiations. They answered that while they preferred direct negotiations, they would accept

talks conducted by Ambassador Jarring.

We also spoke of the possibility of reaching interim agreements, even though this possibility is not mentioned in the resolution. The Egyptian side said that they regarded such interim arrangements as a "test of peace". The opening of the Suez Canal would be such a test. The Egyptian side would accept such an interim arrangement on the condition that Egyptian troops would cross the Canal.

The Israeli side stated that they would agree in principle to an opening of the Suez Canal. However, they stressed that they have erected fortifications on the side of the Canal ~~now~~<sup>now</sup> under their occupation. If no agreement is reached and hostilities are resumed, these fortifications - if occupied by Egyptians - could be either destroyed or even used against Israel. Therefore they could accept the idea of technicians or engineers crossing the Canal on the condition that no military units of Egypt would come to the other side.

Egypt, on the other hand, mentioned that it is not admissible to limit movements of Egyptian troops on what is Egyptian territory. However, Egypt would agree to have international forces play a role.

In view of the above, some progress seems possible. It is clear that the Israeli side is mainly interested in protecting their fortifications. However, no side has excluded the possibility of an international occupation provided no Egyptian troops occupy the fortified side of the Canal now held by the Israelis. I hasten to add that the above is my own conclusion. It seemed logical to me, seeing that the one side was mainly interested in the future of the fortifications while the other wanted their troops to cross the Canal, none of the two parties insisted upon having their own troops occupy and guard the fortifications.

A similar situation exists in respect of the Straits of Sharm-el-Sheikh. The Israeli side stressed that what is most important to them is not Sharm-el-Sheikh as such, but the freedom of passage. In the course of these conversations, which were held in the presence of Mrs. Golda Meir, the Israeli representative emphasized that freedom of passage was often promised but never observed. This is the reason why Israel wishes its garrison to guard the passage. This would not be the first case where the presence of such a garrison would be compatible with another country's sovereignty over the actual territory. In other words, the territory itself may be recognized as Egyptian but they would want their garrison to protect the freedom of passage.

The Egyptian side indicated that they would accept the presence of an international contingent to guarantee freedom of passage.

My own comment would be that in this case the main objective is not territorial but it is definitely the freedom of passage. One side says that they want to guard the Straits to ensure such freedom. The other side would accept an occupation by international troops for the same purpose. However if international troops were to assume this task and neither Israeli nor Egyptian contingents would stay in the area, a withdrawal of those international troops could be effected only by a decision of the Security Council. A specific aspect would therefore be inherent in such a situation since the Security Council can only act on a basis of the unanimity of the permanent Members. Should an agreement be reached for the Security Council to put such a status in effect, it would no longer be possible for any one of the parties to modify the status unilaterally. This assurance would be encouraging as a means of promoting a solution.

If such a course were to be contemplated and if the Egyptian-Israeli frontier would be agreed upon on the basis of the definition given in the abovementioned memorandum, our next question was what guarantees would the two sides request to ensure such boundaries? We asked specifically if a guarantee by the United Nations and/or the presence of contingents of the four great powers would be acceptable.

The Egyptian side stated that it would accept such a solution.

The Israeli side did not reject it. The Israelis were very sceptical during the first round of our talks on this subject. They accepted in principle the idea at our second meeting, with the reservation that they would regard such

guarantee as valid only if it were supported by other guarantees - specifically if the borders were to be defined and fixed by a treaty. I believe that this direction should also be explored in the efforts of reactivating negotiations.

On the Egyptian side there exist other problems too which were not covered by our memorandum, such as the problems of Jerusalem and of the Palestinian population. We did ask certain questions ranging over a broad spectrum, and did receive some replies. However, we felt that it would be useful to incorporate in our report only such replies as were of a nature to help us in our efforts.

Our own feeling is that the number one concern of Egypt is to achieve the evacuation of the occupied territory. If they are assured that this will be done, it is our feeling that they would be prepared to sign an agreement. On the Israeli side the main concern is security. If they are given full assurances in that regard they would not ask for any annexations. We believe that this is the basis on which negotiations can be resumed.

On the Egyptian side other parties too are involved in the problem. We did not consult them because our mission this time was very specific: to explore the position of just two sides, Egypt and Israel. When the African group convenes to discuss our mission we shall inform them of our efforts. We feel that when the question comes before the General Assembly this should not become an occasion for grand speeches and the like. Every effort should be soberly directed towards achieving some progress. Maybe what is needed to start a movement in a positive direction is just a spark. If our efforts could produce such an incentive we would be amply rewarded for our own modest contribution. My Head of State said in that regard that it is not at all our aim to substitute ourselves for the Security Council or the Assembly. All we want is to help in bringing about a solution. We hope that our report and any clarification we can add to it will serve this purpose.

M. Mario Cardoso (Zaire): I do not wish to prolong this meeting, having regard to the state of health of the distinguished Secretary-General. I think that the clarifications offered by my distinguished colleague of Senegal were very useful. On my part I should like to add that it was decided in Dakar that we should try to facilitate the Secretary-General's efforts by providing the fullest possible information on our negotiations. Both the Egyptian and the



Israeli side have kept a verbatim record of our talks. We thought that it may be useful for you to study these records which reflect almost word for word what was actually said. Maybe you will be able to extract from this text more than we did.

Dr. Amadou Karim Gaye (Senegal): I also wanted to add that the OAU had adopted in the past many resolutions such as the resolution of Addis Ababa. This time however we felt that we should give you the scope of resolutions, since resolutions do not always resolve a problem. This is why the Committee of "Wise Men" was set up, which in turn appointed a sub-committee with a mandate to go and actually talk to the parties involved. We felt that the tension in the region is mounting. One token of this fact is that whereas Ambassador Jarring's mission is regarded as a mission of mediation within the United Nations framework, we actually heard the Egyptian representative say that they no longer regard Ambassador Jarring's mission as one of mediation, but as one aimed at the implementation of the resolution of the Security Council. We feel that the United Nations should also try to go beyond the scope of yet another resolution. We believe that Ambassador Jarring should again consult the parties and we have a definite impression that he will be well received by both. We do not think that he will get a cool reception. If his mission is resumed our efforts will have reached their main objective.

Dr. Okoi Arikpo (Nigeria): I want to support all that was said by my colleagues. We are mainly interested in getting the negotiations started again. The Egyptians may very well say that Ambassador Jarring's first task should be to seek the application of resolution 242. However, they do recognize the usefulness of indirect negotiations. They feel that Israel has not responded positively so far and they want of course to go back to their boundaries of 1967. The Israeli side does not exclude a resumption of indirect negotiations. It is furthermore clear that if Egypt could be convinced that Israel is sincere and that a withdrawal of occupation troops will eventually take place, Egypt would be prepared to continue negotiations and will not insist upon waiting for the actual departure of Israeli troops to start them again.

Regarding interim arrangements, my own impression is that this direction is not very promising. The Egyptians say that they regard them merely as a "test for peace", while Israel seems even less interested. We have submitted our report

in the hope that it will contribute to the resumption of Ambassador Jarring's indirect consultations. We are also interested in bringing down the temperature of the debates. We think that there should be no recriminations and that the two parties to the conflict should be encouraged to think that some progress is possible. You will see from the reply of Israel that it is indicative of a certain movement towards progress. It is definitely my impression that both parties much prefer negotiation to a resumption of warfare. As for the well heated atmosphere in Egypt, I think that a conciliatory resolution of the General Assembly would be very useful at this juncture. I also wanted to say that we shall be at your disposal this week and shall be glad to supplement these clarifications if you so wish.

Secretary-General: I thank you very much and very sincerely for your very substantive and very positive contribution to the cause of peace. As you know, I have always been very much in favour of close co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity and I have always endeavoured to offer my contribution to all the decisions taken by the Organization of African Unity. You have read my last report concerning the mission of Ambassador Jarring which was submitted to the Security Council and the General Assembly and may I draw your attention to the presentation in it of the reasons why the mission of Ambassador Jarring could not be reactivated. I and my closest associates shall now study your report as well as the verbatim records which you were kind enough to provide and I want to ask you to convey to the Heads of State my greetings and my gratitude for the effort which they have undertaken. I wish you a pleasant and successful stay in New York and we shall probably have another occasion to meet next week.



PERMANENT  
REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

OXFORD 7-5500

11/12/71

9 December 1971

Excellency,

Further to the statement by Mr. Abba Eban, Minister for Foreign Affairs, made in the General Assembly on 6 December 1971 in the debate on the situation in the Middle East, I have the honour to transmit to you the text of the Israel reply to the proposals by the Committee of Ten of the Organization of African Unity.

The reply by Mrs. Golda Meir, the Prime Minister of Israel to those proposals was as follows:

"Jerusalem, 28 November 1971

Excellency,

Permit me to express to You and to Your distinguished colleagues of the Committee of Ten Heads of African States, and in particular the Sub-Committee of Four headed by You, my profound appreciation for the sincere and devoted efforts that You have made to help promote peace in the Middle East by resumption of negotiations.

In response to Your request, and further to the clarification of Israel's position as I conveyed to You orally and as recorded in the verbatim minutes, I have the honour to present to Your Excellency the views of the Government of Israel on the suggestions contained in the Memorandum of the Committee of Ten, which You, Mr. President, handed to me on 24 November 1971. These views are as follows:

His Excellency  
U Thant  
The Secretary-General

- a) Israel agrees to resume negotiations without prior conditions under the auspices of Dr. Jarring within the terms of Resolution 242 in order to reach a peace agreement. This undertaking was given to Dr. Jarring in August 1970.
- b) Israel agrees to work out a Suez Canal agreement, the details of which will be negotiated and agreed. In the negotiation of such an agreement we would be prepared to discuss measures to ensure supervision and observance of a Suez Canal accord.
- c) Israel agrees that the secure and recognized boundaries should be determined by negotiation between the parties and embodied in the peace agreement.
- d) Israel agrees that in addition to the determination of agreed, secure and recognized boundaries, further arrangements for ensuring security could be negotiated.
- e) Israel agrees that the terms of withdrawal to the boundaries negotiated and agreed should be embodied in the peace treaty.
- f) The question of Sharm el-Sheikh will be included in the peace negotiations as specified in para. c) above. In accordance with Security Council Resolution 242, free navigation in all international waterways, such as the Suez Canal and the Straits of Tiran, for all ships and cargoes, including those of Israel, will be provided for in the peace agreement.

May I add, Mr. President, that it was a great pleasure to welcome You and Your distinguished colleagues in Jerusalem and to hold with You frank and searching discussions, in a spirit of friendship and a common quest for peace.

With warmest personal regards and the assurances of my highest consideration, I remain, Mr. President,

Sincerely yours,

Golda Meir

His Excellency Leopold Sedar Senghor  
President of the Republic of Senegal  
Dakar"

The proposals to which the aforesaid reply was made are enclosed herewith. They were signed by Maitre Moktar Ould Daddah, Current Chairman of the O.A.U., President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania; Haile Selassie Ier, Emperor of Ethiopia; Leopold Sedar Senghor, Chairman of the Sub-Committee of the O.A.U., President of the Republic of Senegal; El Hadj Ahmadou Ahidjo, President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon; Lieutenant General Joseph Desire Mobutu, President of the Republic of Zaire; General Yakubu Gowon, Head of the Federal Military Government, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria; William Tolbert, President of the Republic of Liberia; For His Excellency Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, President of the Republic of Kenya and by Delegation, Arap Moi, Vice President; For His Excellency Mr. Felix Houphouet Boigny, President of the Republic of Ivory Coast and by Delegation, Arsene Usher Assouan, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Julius Nyerere, President of the Republic of Tanzania (unable to attend).

I have the honour to request that this letter and its enclosure be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

*action  
being  
taken*

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

*Y. Tekoah*  
Yosef Tekoah

Permanent Representative of Israel  
to the United Nations

13. ... "The Committee of Ten of the O.A.U. submits to the two parties the following proposals for their consideration:

a) - Acceptance, by the two parties, to resume indirect negotiations under the auspices of Dr. Jarring and within the terms of Resolution 242, in order to reach a peace agreement;

b) - Acceptance, by the two parties of an interim agreement for the opening of the Suez Canal and the stationing, on the Eastern Bank of the Canal, of United Nations forces between the Egyptian and Israeli lines;

c) - Acceptance, by the two parties, that "secure and recognized boundaries" be determined in the peace agreement;

d) - Acceptance, by the two parties, that solution to security problems be found:

- within the guarantee of the United Nations
- in the creation of demilitarized zones
- in the presence of international forces at some strategic points;

e) - Acceptance by the two parties that the terms of withdrawal from occupied territories be embodied in the peace agreement;

f) - Acceptance by the two parties in order to guarantee freedom of navigation of all ships through the Strait of Tiran, the stationing of international forces at Charm-El-Cheikh.

14. The Heads of State Members of the O.A.U. Committee are of the view that these suggestions reconcile the essentials in the respective positions of the two parties.

15. They rely on their being accepted by the Israeli and Egyptian authorities whose yearning for peace was clearly manifested.

16. They earnestly appeal to the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt and to the Prime Minister of the State of Israel to accept these suggestions and thereby allow the resumption of the jarring negotiations and the establishment in that region, of a just peace, which they wish to be lasting as between brothers."

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N°.DOC/23/OUA/71 Rev.2

Draft Resolution on "The Situation in the Middle East"

The General Assembly,

Deeply concerned by the continuation of the grave situation prevailing in the Middle East particularly since the conflict of June, 1967 which constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security.

Convinced that the immediate implementation of all the provisions of Security Council Resolution 242 (1967) provides for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

Determined that the territory of a State should not be the object of occupation or acquisition by another State resulting from threat or use of force, which is a basic principle enshrined in the United Nations Charter and reiterated in Security Council Resolution 242, as well as <sup>in</sup> the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security 2734 (XIV) adopted by the General Assembly on 16 December, 1970.

Expressing appreciation of the efforts of the Commission of Heads of African States undertaken in pursuance of the OAU resolution of 23 June, 1971.

Gravely concerned by the continued Israel's occupation of <sup>the</sup> ~~an~~ Arab territories since 5 June, 1967,

Having considered the item entitled "The situation in the Middle East":

1. Reaffirms that the acquisition of territories by force is



inadmissible and that, consequently, territories thus occupied must be restored,

2. Requests the Secretary General to take the necessary measures to reactivate the mission of his Special Representative in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to reach a peace agreement as envisaged in the <sup>Jarring</sup>~~January~~ Memorandum of 8 February 1971,
3. Expresses its full support to the efforts of the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General to implement Security Council Resolution 242 of 22 November, 1967, and to his peace initiative of 8 February, 1971,
4. Notes with appreciation the positive reply given by the Arab Republic of Egypt to Ambassador Jarring's initiative for establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East,
5. Calls upon Israel to respond favourably to Ambassador Jarring's peace initiative of 8 February, 1971,
6. Further invites the parties to the Middle East conflict to give their full co-operation to the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary General in order to work out practical modalities for :
  - a) the establishment and implementation of measures guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area"
  - b) the definition and implementation of guarantees for "the freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area"
  - c) the achievement of a just settlement of the refugee problem.

7. Requests the Secretary General to report to the Security Council and the General Assembly as appropriate, on the progress made in the implementation of the present resolution by the Special Representative.
8. Requests the <sup>Security Council</sup> ~~Secretary General~~ to consider, if necessary, making arrangements, under the relevant articles of the Charter, to ensure the implementation of <sup>its</sup> the resolution.

Dr. H. G. G. (Afghanistan)  
For the Ambassador

SENEGAL

Cameroun. W. H.

Mauritania Y. G. A. F.

Q. P. J. C.  
NIGERIA

ZAMBIA V. M. S.

Somalia L. J. S.

Somalia

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MALAYSIA

S. S. S.  
Tanzania

S. S. S.

Indonesia