



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-NINTH YEAR

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NEW YORK

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NOTE

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

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

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

SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-NINTH MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 23 October 1974, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Michel NJINE
(United Republic of Cameroon).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Austria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Costa Rica, France, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Mauritania, Peru, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1799)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the Middle East:
Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Emergency Force (S/11536)

The meeting was called to order at 6.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East:

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Emergency Force (S/11536)

1. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from French*): The Secretary-General's report [S/11536] on the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) was circulated on 12 October 1974. The Security Council has before it also a draft resolution [S/11542], which was drawn up during intensive consultations among all the members of the Council. They agreed that the draft resolution would be put to the vote immediately after the Secretary-General had made his statement in this meeting.

2. I now call on the Secretary-General.

3. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: The Council has before it my report on UNEF for the period from 2 April to 12 October 1974. As members of the Council are aware, the period under review has been a period of tranquillity in the area, and the report therefore deals more with organization and administration than with operational factors. In this connexion, I wish to make some brief comments.

4. Paragraph 39 of my report deals with the question of reimbursement to the troop-contributing countries. As members of the Council are aware, that is a complex ques-

tion on which I and my colleagues in the Secretariat have been in contact with the troop-contributing countries for several months. During this period various different formulas have been discussed. Paragraph 39 states the proposal for reimbursement of all contributing Governments on an equal basis; that proposal has been agreed upon by all the troop-contributing countries. In addition to the troop-contributing countries, other Member States have also been informally consulted on this matter, and some of them have expressed reservations with respect to the formula for reimbursement put forward by the troop-contributing Governments as referred to in paragraph 39 of my report.

5. I wish to refer also to paragraph 40 of my report and the relationship between the costs of UNEF and the costs attributable to the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF). Obviously, the ultimate over-all size of the peace-keeping force and of the financing required will be dependent on the decision to be taken by the Security Council at the end of November 1974 with respect to the extension of the mandate of UNDOF. Since UNEF and UNDOF have certain common services and the personnel of UNDOF were taken from UNEF, as the Council is fully aware, it was proved difficult completely to separate their budgets.

6. I fully appreciate the preoccupations of the members of the Security Council concerning financial problems of UNEF. I wish to assure members of the Council that I shall continue to do my utmost to exercise the strictest economy wherever possible. I know, however, that members of the Council will agree with me that we also have the obligation to ensure that the troops which have been made available for peace-keeping operations can operate efficiently in acceptable conditions and be provided with the necessary support. I shall keep the members of the Council informed of our progress in striving to attain those twin objectives.

7. I wish to take this opportunity also to inform the Council that since my report on UNEF was issued the Government of Panama has informed me, through its Permanent Representative, that it has decided to withdraw its contingent with UNEF as of December this year.

8. I have recommended in the report under consideration that the mandate of UNEF should be extended for another period of six months. I believe that the maintenance of the present quiet in the Egypt-Israel sector is essential to further progress in solving the underlying problems of the Middle East and that UNEF plays a vital role in this regard. I wish to say again, however, that the

over-all situation will remain fundamentally unstable as long as the underlying problems are unresolved and that peace-keeping mechanisms, while playing a vital role, are not a substitute for progress towards a just and lasting settlement.

9. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution before the Council.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted by 13 votes to none.¹

Two members (China and Iraq) did not participate in the voting.

10. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in explanation of vote.

11. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): China has always held different views in principle on the question of dispatching the so-called United Nations Force. With regard to the dispatch of the so-called "UNEF" to the Middle East, the Chinese delegation pointed out at the Security Council meeting of 25 October last year [1750th meeting] that such a practice would be of no help whatsoever to the solution of the Middle East question and that it could only pave the way for international interference, with the super-Powers as the behind-the-scenes boss. In fact, the past year has seen unabated and intensifying contention between the two super-Powers in this region. This contention manifests itself in many aspects, one of which is their contention over the question of "UNEF". They have engaged in fierce contention and have put up one ugly performance after another, first on the question of the composition of "UNEF", and recently on the right of control over the United Nations Force, under one name or another.

12. A particularly remarkable show has been put on by one of the super-Powers, a self-styled "natural ally" of the Arab countries. Speaking in a passionate tone and making a hue and cry, it asked for an open meeting at one time, and secret consultations at another, during which it produced a combination of speeches and draft resolutions. Its action is best described in the Chinese saying: "Although one professes to be a drinker, he is really not interested in wine".

13. Has not the abundance of facts proved that it is talking about one thing while thinking and doing another? What it is dreaming about day and night is to squeeze out and overwhelm the other so as to strengthen its own control in the Middle East. To that end, they do not hesitate to reimpose the situation of "no war, no peace" on the people of the Middle East at the expense of the sovereignty of the Arab countries and the national rights of the Palestinian people. Under such circumstances, their boast about a "just and lasting peace" in the Middle East amounts to nothing but sheer deception.

¹ See resolution 362 (1974).

14. A genuine settlement of the Middle East question can be achieved only by relying on the Arab and Palestinian peoples strengthening their unity, firmly opposing Israeli Zionist aggression and heightening their vigilance to eliminate all meddlings of the super-Powers. The Palestinian and other Arab people have accumulated rich experience in their long struggles. We are deeply convinced that they will certainly carry on the struggle for the recovery of their occupied territories and national rights until final victory is won.

15. Basing ourselves on our principled position, the Chinese delegation did not participate in the voting on draft resolution S/11542, and it goes without saying that we will not pay the expenditures for the above-mentioned Force.

16. Mr. ZAHAWIE (Iraq): My delegation did not participate in the voting on the resolution contained in document S/11542, as Iraq has repeatedly dissociated itself from the Security Council resolutions which define the present role of the United Nations in the Middle East, including the resolutions which established UNEF.

17. United Nations forces deployed in different parts of the world have shown a tendency to continue in existence indefinitely, thereby freezing and perhaps perpetuating an iniquitous *status quo*. Seven years after the massive Israeli aggression against three Arab States, the Zionist forces continue to occupy the major parts of the Arab lands taken by force. The Zionists are furthermore actively engaged in implementing their expansionist policies through the so-called "creation of facts" in order to consolidate their occupation and to accomplish the eventual annexation of the large territories they covet.

18. The Council should not be content with merely agreeing to an extension of the mandate of UNEF for yet another period of time. The renewal of the mandate is a matter of immediate expediency which could prove, in the long run, to be a very costly operation in more senses than one could care to imagine. The process of settling and annexing the Arab territories engaged in by the Zionist occupiers in the present lull in the fighting would undoubtedly lead to a greater explosion in the future. Renewing the mandate of the Force with no parallel and determined efforts by the Council and the United Nations to ensure an immediate Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, or without any measures being taken to prevent Israel from pursuing its illegal actions in changing the status of the occupied territories, would, albeit unjustly, make the presence of UNEF appear as an act of complicity, leading, I repeat, to greater dangers in the future.

19. Mr. KITI (Kenya): Before I proceed with the explanation of our vote, permit me, Mr. President, since this is the first time we are addressing the Council since you have assumed the Presidency, to offer you our congratulations. We have been indeed very much encouraged by the way in which you have guided the Council through very difficult discussions to produce this resolution that has now been adopted without a dissenting vote. We are very happy, Sir, to see you presiding over the Security Council this

month, one in which very important issues are being discussed. But as I have just stated, your qualities have already shown that we shall be successful. Your country and mine share one common goal, that of justice, and we are very sure that that goal will be reached with you as President of the Council.

20. The Security Council has today extended the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East. We believe that by this act we have moved, if only in a small way, towards ameliorating the rather uneasy situation that still prevails there—uneasy but at the same time fairly stable. As the Secretary-General stated in his report, peace exists now rather uneasily, but UNEF should not be taken as a substitute for the lasting peace for which the Security Council originally sent the Force.

21. My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution S/11542 because we believed that in so doing we would be continuing with the steps that we have constantly been taking in trying to see that war does not return to that unhappy area. We do believe that, by extending the mandate of the Emergency Force, we shall give the parties that are directly concerned some time to think, some time to consult and to allay any worries that may distract them from the goal of achieving a peace that will be lasting, a peace that we can all take pride in having brought to that region.

22. Our positive vote was based on certain fundamental principles. For example, we have great interest in and attach great significance to paragraph 1, which states:

"... the United Nations Emergency Force should be extended ... until 24 April 1975, in order to assist in further efforts for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East".

We have held that the purpose of stationing peace forces is not to perpetuate separation of the combatants, but to try to bring them together. We do hope, therefore, that we shall not be called upon again and again to extend the mandate of the Emergency Force; for we believe and we have faith that wiser counsel will prevail during the ensuing months, and we shall, probably sooner than many of us think, see the withdrawal of the Force and happy faces all over the Middle East.

23. We also see another very significant principle in paragraph 4, which contains a very important element not only for the forces that are now in the Middle East, but for the forces that are everywhere. We have held and we shall continue to hold the opinion that these forces are not national forces, but forces of the United Nations, and they must be able to function as integral and efficient military units. This, however, cannot be done unless the forces are given freedom of movement by all, not by only one side of the combatants.

24. We attach great importance to this, and we hope that by adopting this resolution embodying these principles, we are not only assisting in a very efficient and very proper way the manner in which UNEF should be operating,

but also deterring those who may be enemies of peace-keeping operations in the future.

25. In conclusion, I should like to state that the peace that exists now is not really peace but only a sort of calm, that true peace will never come to the Middle East unless the fundamental problems are resolved. This is clearly shown in the report of the Secretary-General, and we appeal to all those concerned to work towards the resolution of the underlying problems in that region.

26. We should like to commend the Secretary-General and the members of his staff, all of whom have worked most untiringly. They have travelled long distances, they have endured long discussions in the cause of peace. We should like also to thank those countries that have found it necessary, despite probably difficult financial burdens, to contribute troops to the Force in the area, and we extend our condolences to all the peoples and Governments that have suffered in the cause of peace.

27. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): This is the first time I have spoken, Mr. President, since you became President of the Security Council, and I therefore wish to offer you my warmest congratulations. I do this all the more willingly in that I am keenly aware of the special relations between your country and mine; but I do so with even more pleasure, for the month is already well advanced and we have had the opportunity to witness the masterly fashion in which you have handled various matters and the extent to which you have given us the benefit of your wisdom and diplomatic skill.

28. I also wish to offer congratulations to Mr. Richard, your predecessor, on having had the good fortune not to have had to convene the Council during September. Mr. Malik did his work so well in August that there was no business for September, but this obviously denied us the privilege of witnessing the great talents of Mr. Richard in the presidential chair.

29. This brings us now to the subject of our meeting. We should like to comment briefly on the affirmative vote which my delegation has just cast on the draft resolution which was submitted to the Council. Obviously none of us could be in any doubt about the advisability of maintaining the emergency force for another six-month period. Its presence is indispensable in ensuring observance of the decisions of the Council and of the arrangements made between the parties themselves. So the Council could not fail to endorse the proposals made on this matter by the Secretary-General in his report of 12 October 1974. A reading of this document shows that the relevant services of the Secretariat have performed the difficult task entrusted to them with intelligence and dedication. My delegation wishes to say how satisfied it is with their performance, and to express to the Secretary-General our appreciation of the personal role he has played in this matter in the past year.

30. My delegation, however, must express its concern about the financial aspects of the operation. The report of the Secretary-General puts at the figure of \$83.6 million

the actual expenditure for the year which has just elapsed, which involves a deficit of \$23.6 million in terms of the ceiling figure authorized by the Council. If this deficit is confirmed it must be covered. This in turn means that the Secretary-General must first provide a more detailed statement of expenditures. Strict control is needed if we are to avoid getting into a long-time operation without any assurance of sound financing. In particular a decision must be taken on reimbursements to be made to countries providing contingents.

31. The role of the Council must be to take full charge of the functioning of an operation of this sort. It is for the Council—and here I repeat the principles we have always maintained in respect of peace-keeping operations—to define the mandate of the Force, to approve the appointment of its Commander, to set the troop strength and the ceiling for expenditures on the basis of estimates made by the Secretary-General.

32. However, in the case of an operation in the financing of which all Members of the Organization are to participate, it seems in order that the specialized organs of the General Assembly should concern themselves with establishing the respective contributions and organizing the financial details of the operation. But any decision about the length of the mandate, the troop strength, or the technical and financial means made available to it must all remain within the exclusive competence of the Council, which must not in any circumstances abandon its prerogatives. The authority of the Council on these points cannot be shared.

33. I felt it was necessary to clarify matters in this way in the light of the differences of opinion that have come to light in the Council on the financial aspects of the operation. In this respect my delegation, which shares the preoccupations expressed by the Soviet delegation, regrets that the resolution we have adopted is not more explicit about the financial aspects of this matter. Nevertheless, we did not wish to delay the Council's decision on the renewal of the Force's mandate, we should, however, be very glad if the Secretary-General could provide at an early date all the relevant details relating to an exact statement of expenditures actually made in the past year, and also the estimated expenditures for the new six-month period.

34. The Council, moreover, should not wait until the end of the new six-month period before stating its views on the various aspects of the operation. On the President's initiative, private consultations could take place at regular intervals. This would make it possible for the Council to receive periodic reports on the progress of the operation. I put this idea before my colleagues in the hope that they will agree with it.

35. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of France, whose very generous words have touched me deeply, especially as the relations between my country and France have always been excellent.

36. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): Mr. President, it is with great pleasure that I congratulate you on the goodwill, the patience and the leadership that you have demonstrated, leading us to this happy result: 13 affirmative votes and no dissenting voices in approving this important resolution. At a time when there were dissenting and differing views, you have successfully led us to a consensus of which we can all be proud.

37. One year ago renewed war broke out between Israel and its Arab neighbours, endangering the peace and the security of the entire area. Today, a year later, the Security Council has made a second important contribution to preserving the present cease-fire and disengagement and, it is hoped, to moving us closer to a lasting peace. By extending the mandate of UNEF for another six months, we seek to allow the necessary time and opportunity for negotiations which are indispensable.

38. This United Nations peace force has already made an historic impact for good in this highly strategic part of the world. It has a record of which we can all be proud. Despite some problems, UNEF has not only separated the combatants but has helped to create the climate of peace that is essential to successful negotiations.

39. With this renewed mandate and our vote of confidence, we are sure that these soldiers for peace will overcome any difficulties as successfully as they have solved the inevitable problems that have occurred in the first 12 months of the existence of the Force. No force of this kind can expect perfect conditions for its task. The important point is that it has been an effective force for good, and we are confident that it can continue its effective role.

40. Last year's tragic conflict brought about a realization by the parties that the only realistic means of settling disputes is by a process of step-by-step negotiations based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). For the first time in 26 years this approach has produced concrete progress towards such a settlement. Significant steps have been taken, particularly in the Egypt-Israel and the Israel-Syria disengagement agreements. The United States has been privileged to participate actively in the negotiating process.

41. My Government is convinced, and the successes of the past year have strengthened our conviction, that the only way to break through existing stalemates and move concretely towards peace is through a progressive series of agreements. Each step helps to change attitudes and create new situations in which further steps towards an equitable and permanent settlement can be agreed upon. The United States pledges to continue strenuous efforts to achieve this goal. We thus note with approval that the Secretary-General, in his report, states that he considers:

"... the continued operation of UNEF essential, not only for the maintenance of the present quiet ... but also for any assistance that may be required in further efforts for the establishment of ... peace in the Middle East, as called for by the Security Council" [S/11536, para. 42].

42. I am grateful for this opportunity to commend UNEF for its outstanding work in maintaining peace and preserving the climate in which the negotiating process can go forward. It is difficult to exaggerate the constructive role played by these soldiers for peace in these important first steps. Therefore, I am pleased to convey my Government's highest appreciation to the Secretary-General and his Headquarters staff, and to the Commander-in-Chief of UNEF, for their faithful and dedicated performance. I also wish to commend the civilian staff and the observers of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) and, most of all, the UNEF troops who daily risk their lives far from their homes and families in the tasks of peace.

43. Our deepest sympathy is extended to the Governments of Canada, Peru, Finland, Panama, Indonesia, and Austria for the tragic loss of members of their contingents who in the past few months have given their lives in the service of peace. We ask the delegations of these countries to convey our condolences to the bereaved families of those brave men. May their sacrifice inspire our efforts to achieve a permanent settlement.

44. We also wish to commend the troop-contributing countries for their commitment to international peace and security, for the beliefs which have motivated them to volunteer troops for this peace-keeping operation. The operation of UNEF has demonstrated effectively that the willingness of United Nations Members to assume collective responsibility for international peace-keeping is important. We have all agreed that it is vitally important that UNEF should operate with the maximum efficiency possible and at the least cost to United Nations Members, all of whom share the financial burdens of peace-keeping.

45. We are also aware that the Secretary-General, the troop contributors, all United Nations Members, the Security Council and the General Assembly are vitally interested in the effective and efficient operation of this Force. Efficient operation, in my Government's view, must be coupled with maximum attention to economy. Indeed, the most efficient force is usually the leanest. My Government strongly urges the Secretary-General to continue his policy of keeping UNEF costs as low as possible, consistent with efficient operation and fair compensation to troop-contributing Governments. My delegation will be working to achieve these ends in the responsible organ of the General Assembly, the Fifth Committee.

46. The United States has voted in favour of the draft resolution just adopted, which extends the mandate of UNEF for another six months, in the belief that further progress towards a Middle East settlement can be made during this period. We know that peace-keeping operations in the Middle East are essential to the maintenance of stability during the negotiations between the parties, but we also firmly believe that peace keeping must not become a substitute for a just and permanent settlement.

47. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, before stating the position of the Soviet delegation on the question before us, I should like to express my sincere congratula-

tions to you on your assumption of the high post of President of the Security Council. The experience of the past few days has shown that your task is not an easy one, but the meetings and consultations between members of the Security Council that have already taken place under your guidance have made obvious your ability to direct the work of the Council and to find ways for solving problems. In particular—and I should like to emphasize this—I am glad of the fact that our positions on the questions at issue are completely identical. With all my heart, I wish you success in your post of high responsibility.

48. Turning to the substance of the question, the USSR delegation wishes to state the following. The Security Council is considering today a question of great international importance: whether the mandate of UNEF in the Egypt-Israel sector should be extended. What makes this question so significant is that the stationing of UNEF in the Egypt-Israel sector is part of a broad complex of international efforts undertaken with a view to achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. A central feature of these international efforts including the efforts of the United Nations, must be the prompt and effective resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East. In that connexion, the continued presence of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Egypt-Israel sector constitutes a positive contribution to the maintenance of peace in that area.

49. The Soviet delegation does not object to stationing UNEF in the Egypt-Israel sector for a third six-month period; at the same time, upon instructions from the Government of the USSR, it must underscore emphatically that the separation of forces which has been arranged in the Middle East is only a first step on the way to a general settlement of the Middle East conflict. It must not be used as an excuse for perpetuating the situation that exists today.

50. Furthermore, the USSR delegation considers it necessary to re-emphasize as strongly as possible that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East can be established only on the basis of the total withdrawal of all Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the securing of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine. This has been and remains the Soviet Union's firm position of principle. These are crucial problems and constitute the very foundation of a Middle East settlement.

51. In this connexion, the Soviet delegation also feels compelled to point out in particular that the continued presence of United Nations forces must be utilized for the prompt achievement of a radical political settlement in the Middle East. We see in this the principal significance of the Security Council's decision to extend the mandate of UNEF for an additional six-month period, until 24 April 1975.

52. The general debate at the present session of the General Assembly has shown that the great majority of States Members of the United Nations strongly favour an early Middle East settlement based on the complete with-

drawal of all Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories and the securing of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine. More than 100 States Members of the United Nations have not only spoken but also voted in the General Assembly in support of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine. This is the will of the international community of States. This international political reality, the necessity of securing the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine and liberating all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, cannot be evaded by either Israel or by those who support and sponsor its aggression.

53. Concerning the financing of UNEF, the Soviet position was stated in detail during two recent unofficial consultations between the members of the Security Council, which took place on 15 and 17 October, with the participation of the Secretary-General and his assistants.

54. As we have already stated, we see no justification for increasing the total expenditure for the maintenance of UNEF beyond the level specified by the Security Council and confirmed by the General Assembly. The USSR also holds firmly to the position that the Security Council which bears full responsibility for United Nations peace-keeping operations, must determine both the size of the United Nations forces and the total amount expended for their maintenance. The size of UNEF has been reduced to 4,500 men, and hence the expenses should be reduced accordingly. We have also pointed out the need for the Secretary-General to continue consultations with the States concerned, with a view to the further study of the question of compensation for the expenses of the contingents supplied by those States, and to submit a report to the Security Council in the matter.

55. We reaffirm our position concerning the need for handling as economically as possible the funds for the maintenance of the Emergency Force. Those funds, furnished by States Members of the United Nations at the expense of their own people and taxpayers, must be spent with the maximum economy. We are facing a paradoxical situation: the peoples of the entire world are forced to pay for the consequences of Israeli aggression. The Security Council has the right to consider the question and shift at least part of the financial burden to the aggressor.

56. The resolution adopted by the Security Council, as we understand it, obliges the United Nations Secretariat to make every effort for maximum economy in the handling of funds for the maintenance of UNEF. The Security Council will follow closely the implementation of that resolution.

57. In deciding to extend the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Egypt-Israel sector, the Security Council could not, of course, ignore such an important question as guaranteeing the freedom of movement of all contingents of the Force in that sector. We should like to express our sincere gratitude to the representatives of the non-aligned countries for their support of the Soviet delegation's initiative in this matter. The political and practical importance of this question is obvious, since the question concerns Israel's politically motivated discrimination against the contingents of cer-

tain countries in UNEF. We must finally see to it that this inadmissible policy of discrimination pursued by Israel is stopped. The troops concerned are not troops of individual nations which Israel does not like, but United Nations troops. It is a question of principle. Lack of freedom of movement means that UNEF cannot be an integral and efficient military unit. This paralyses UNEF in the performance of the functions assigned to it. Moreover, it obliges the Security Council to station a larger Emergency Force in this sector than would be necessary in the absence of discrimination and of restrictions on freedom of movement. It is therefore a fact of great importance that the decision that the Council has today taken in the resolution just adopted reaffirms that the United Nations Emergency Force must be able to function as an integral and efficient military unit in the whole Egypt-Israel sector of operations. We should like to express our gratitude to the distinguished representative of Indonesia, who found a way out of the difficulty and proposed this formula, which has proved acceptable to a majority of the members of the Security Council.

58. It should also be particularly pointed out that the Council, in the resolution it has adopted, made a clear reference to the fact that there must be no differentiation regarding the United Nations status of the various contingents. By this decision of the Security Council, Israel is required to stop discriminating against any United Nations contingents.

59. A political settlement in the Middle East remains one of the acute problems of today's international politics. We must finally make sure that the decisions taken in this matter by the United Nations and by the Security Council, its principal organ for the safeguarding of peace and security, are complied with, that the Arab lands seized by Israel are liberated and the legitimate interests of the Arab people of Palestine and its right to its own national home are satisfied. If we want lasting peace to prevail in the Middle East, this must be done without further delay. As Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, said in a recent speech:

"A just and lasting peace must finally be established in the Middle East. This will be a gain to the security of every State in the region, including Israel, and we are convinced that such a peace will be achieved, because that is the will of the peoples, because that is demanded by the interests of universal security."

60. What can be said concerning one statement made at the meeting, in which the speaker bored everyone by repeating for the hundredth time his old formula about the "two super-Powers"? Like a battered and played-out gramophone record, he says the same thing over and over again. What is the purpose of this? It is to disguise his position, the position of his country; but that position is completely obvious from his statement and from his vote. He gloats when any disagreement arises between the representatives of the major Powers concerning the Council's formulation of resolutions. He would rejoice and gloat even more if the disagreements grew into more serious clashes. In the Middle East his country stands not

for a just and lasting peace but for chaos, in order that it may fish in the troubled waters. Having no arguments to advance, he quotes absurdly irrelevant proverbs. It is hard to say how they sound in the speaker's language, but I listened to the Russian interpretation and was reminded of a Ukrainian folk proverb which I have already had occasion to quote once before. "Flowers bloom in the garden, and my uncle lives in Kiev." Our people use this proverb when someone talks nonsense.

61. We are proud of the fact that in the Security Council we stand with the third world on this important question. In contrast, the one that has claimed to be the protector and friend of the third world is standing on the other side of the barricades. We are proud of the fact that we stood with the representatives of the third world in the Security Council in October of last year, when, at their initiative and with our support, for the first time in the history of the Organization, a United Nations Emergency Force was established on terms close to those of the Charter of the United Nations. This United Nations operation is close to the principles of the Charter in its character and its implementation, but it has not yet been brought completely in line with them. In many cases, the Council stays aloof from the leadership of such operations.

62. We firmly maintain that peace-keeping operations should be handled by the Security Council. The Council should be the master and commander-in-chief of such operations and of such United Nations emergency forces as are set up to carry them out. This is fully in keeping with the Charter, and we have been fighting for this in the United Nations for 29 years; we are very gratified that, on this question as on others, we share the position of the third world countries.

63. With regard to assistance and support for the Arab people in its legitimate struggle against Israeli aggression and for the return of the land that lawfully belongs to it, for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, everyone knows how the Soviet Union has helped and is continuing to help in that legitimate and sacred struggle.

64. The head of the Chinese delegation, speaking in the general debate at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly,² spoke highly of the great victory of the Egyptian people in last year's October war. But he failed to say that the weapons for that victory were supplied not by that speaker's country but by the Soviet Union and its people. The most modern weapons and rockets were supplied by the Soviet Union, and that helped to bring victory. Therefore, any slander concerning the position of the Soviet Union on the question of the Middle East is being circulated only in order to conceal his own position, which is essentially not helpful to the Arab people but prevents it from gaining the victory and ridding itself of the aggressor. That is where the approach of the Soviet Union and its people differs from the leadership of the country on whose behalf that speaker took the floor here.

65. And we are certainly proud of the fact that from the high rostrum of the sixth special session of the General Assembly, dealing with raw materials and development, Foreign Minister Bouteflika,³ an outstanding diplomat of our day and chairman of the group of non-aligned countries, thanked the socialist countries for the aid and support they had given to the developing countries and the countries of the third world. Indeed, he declared that the socialist countries were the natural friends of the non-aligned developing countries, and this fact is known to the whole world.

66. We have heard another statement from the lofty rostrum of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly—a statement by our distinguished friend, Foreign Minister Fahmy of Egypt.⁴ He spoke highly of the Soviet Union's co-operation and friendship with Egypt and its assistance to Egypt in its struggle for the right.

67. As to the assistance given by the Soviet Union to the Arab Palestinian people in its legitimate struggle for its rights, I take the liberty of quoting a cable from Mr. Arafat, which was published in the Soviet press today. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, has sent L. I. Brezhnev a cable in which he expressed profound gratitude on behalf of the Palestinian people for the firm position taken by the Soviet Union and the socialist community in support of the Palestinian people and its legitimate cause. The cable reads as follows:

"Your speech delivered at Kishinev, capital of the Moldavian Republic, in which you declared your determination to give unswerving assistance to our people's struggle for its legitimate rights, including its right to a national home, has made a profound impression on the minds of the broad masses of our steadfastly struggling people.

"Our people will not forget the position of principle taken by you and by the people of the great Soviet Union in providing assistance at this difficult and hard time for our people, when it is resisting the attacks of imperialism and zionism, which are trying to destroy its national existence."

That is my brief reply to the broken record about the "two super-Powers".

68. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria): My delegation, Mr. President, feels privileged to serve under your wise guidance during the present month. It seems traditional that the month of October should bring heavy and important business to our Council. We feel confident that the tact, experience and diplomatic skill which you, Mr. President, bring to the President's chair personally, as well as the international prestige and the peaceful policies of your country, the United Republic of Cameroon, will be of great benefit to us all.

² Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2252nd meeting.

³ Ibid., Sixth Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 2230th meeting.

⁴ Ibid., Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2250th meeting.

69. Our thanks are also due to our past President, Ambassador Ivor Richard of the United Kingdom. We owe him a particular tribute for not trying to share with others, through meetings and consultations, the burdens of his office. Considering his widely acknowledged parliamentary talents, of which the gift of chairmanship is certainly one, this must have been a sacrifice for which we should like to commend him.

70. We have just extended the mandate of UNEF for another period of six months and it seems appropriate, therefore, to cast a short look backwards at the situation as it existed only a year ago. On the night of 21/22 October 1973, the Security Council adopted resolution 338 (1973) proposed by the United States of America and the Soviet Union and calling, in one of its key provisions, for an immediate cease-fire in the Middle East. The establishment of UNEF by the Security Council only a few days later [resolution 340 (1973)] was the indispensable complement to this speedy and momentous decision.

71. Looking back on a year of UNEF presence and activity in the Middle East, one can say—and I believe without exaggeration—that this has been one of the most efficient and one of the most successful United Nations operations in the eventful history of peace-keeping. When we consider the situation as it existed then, it might be sufficient to compare a military confrontation of threatening dimensions—which many thought might at any given moment escalate into a conflict of unforeseen consequences—with the quiet which prevails and has now prevailed for some time in the Egypt-Israel sector. If any further proof was necessary, this operation has shown us once again what a central role the United Nations plays in peace-keeping and peace-making.

72. This operation further demonstrates that, despite long-standing differences of opinion, on the principles of peace-keeping, an operation like this can be made to work if all the members of the main organ of the United Nations charged with the maintenance of international peace and security are genuinely willing and prepared to set aside disagreement on issues of principle when a highly dangerous situation requires swift, decisive and concerted action.

73. I would not venture here to go into the substance of issues all too well known by us all. Whatever position one might take in regard to the mutual functions and responsibilities of the Council as compared with those of the Secretary-General in peace-keeping operations, one element remains and in our opinion needs to be duly emphasized: the exemplary relationship, communication and interplay between the Security Council and the Secretary-General which have prevailed in establishing UNEF and in subsequently carrying out its functions successfully.

74. The Council has been kept fully informed on all matters of policy, organization and operation affecting the Force and has repeatedly, either officially or in informal consultations, pronounced itself on various matters in this regard. It is therefore appropriate, I believe, to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, to his associates either on the policy-making or on the operational level, as well

as to the Commander of UNEF and indeed to all the men in the field, for the outstanding service they have rendered to the cause of peace. We do so not only as a member of the Security Council but also as having been a contributor of troops to UNEF ourselves until the early part of June of this year.

75. I believe that countries such as mine, which have a direct share in the operation can, with perhaps increased authority, bear evidence to the particular importance of enabling the Force to function as an integral and efficient military unit in the area of operations. This is significant not only in terms of political considerations but also with regard to the status, efficiency and, last but not least, the morale of any multinational force. We express the hope that as the operation proceeds progress can also be achieved in that respect thanks to the action undertaken by the Secretary-General.

76. Another aspect of considerable importance to my country—particularly since it has contributed troops—which should likewise be of concern to all Members of the United Nations is the question of providing adequate financial means for the past and future operations of the Force. We feel that the almost universally accepted principle of collective responsibility for peace-keeping, which we, like many others, have consistently advocated in various bodies of the United Nations, bears particular relevance to this very question. For the first time in the history of the Organization, that principle was applied when the Force was being established.

77. Considering the financing of the Force—and, indeed, of peace-keeping operations in general—the two basic considerations of maximum efficiency and economy must constitute a necessary point of departure. I believe everybody would subscribe to that. But maximum economy can and should be effected only to the extent that it neither endangers the operational capacity of the Force to carry out its mandate nor constitutes an additional factor jeopardizing the personal safety or health of the men in the field, for which we are all responsible.

78. I wish to assure the Security Council that small countries such as Austria take their role in the maintenance of international peace, and in United Nations peace-keeping in particular, very seriously indeed. Their role may be more modest—indeed, it is more modest—than that of several other factors in the process, but it is still indispensable. I am sure the small countries are willing and prepared to shoulder their share by providing troops or whatever may be required. But at the same time I strongly feel that it should be our common concern to maintain that willingness and even to strengthen it, and not to create conditions where the share of the small countries becomes materially and thus politically unbearable. I express the hope that those considerations will be borne in mind when the question of financing the Force for the past and for the future is considered in the appropriate bodies of the United Nations.

79. In conclusion, I feel the following fact should and must be stressed. This, like any other United Nations

force, is not and should not be a substitute for genuine peace in the area. The Force must not be allowed to be an end in itself, thus running the risk of becoming another open-ended commitment on the part of the Organization. In extending the mandate of the Force for another six months, for which my country voted, we should not forget that the operation should be only a tool, though an indispensable one, in achieving our over-all objective, and we must strive with even more determination for a truly genuine and lasting political settlement in the Middle East. From that determined effort, which is based on principles spelled out in the resolutions of the Council, no one is exempt.

80. Today the Council has made a new contribution. Other highly constructive, patient efforts are under way to achieve that goal. We express the hope that those efforts will bear fruit, and we pledge our firm and continued support for the cause of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

81. Mr. SALAZAR (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, my delegation associates itself with the congratulations that have been addressed to you on your assuming the Presidency of the Security Council for this month. I had not yet had the opportunity to do so, on behalf of my delegation and personally, I must say that it is a great pleasure that your country and the one I represent maintain cordial relations and participate, as developing countries, in the struggles and concerns which emanate from our desire for better living conditions for our peoples.

82. As for the subject under discussion, my delegation has considered with great interest the report of the Secretary-General. It is a precise account of the delicate task that has been given UNEF in the Middle East. An analysis of that report reveals and confirms the wisdom of the decision by the Security Council a year ago to create the United Nations Emergency Force for the Middle East. One year later, it is with genuine satisfaction that we can say that because of the creation of the United Nations Emergency Force and the decisive role it has played in developments in the Middle East, the hope of a just and lasting peace is more than a distant and unattainable mirage. While the initial role of the Force was to guarantee the cease-fire agreements called for by the Council, its later duties concerning the disengagement of forces removed the danger of new armed confrontations; without a doubt, it has created conditions that had never existed before facilitating the achievement of specific peace agreements by the parties involved.

83. My delegation wishes to express its keen gratitude to the Secretary-General for the way he has carried out his responsibilities in connexion with UNEF. He has been meticulous in carrying out the Council's mandate, and his reports to us reveal the depth of his dedication to the success of the Force.

84. While we hope that in the not too distant future the parties involved in the Middle East conflict will resume their conversations with a view to attaining more lasting objectives, in the present circumstances there can be no

doubt that we should extend the mandate of the Force for one more six-month period. That is why my delegation voted for draft resolution S/11542.

85. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): Mr. President, let me first express my appreciation of the benign and fruitful role you have played in the affairs of the Council during your Presidency, and assure you of my delegation's continued full co-operation and support in the remainder of the month. Had not your predecessor, the representative of the United Kingdom, managed skillfully to preserve throughout September such harmony everywhere as to absolve him from the necessity of convening a meeting, we should certainly have extended to him the same willing support.

86. My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution S/11542 for the same reasons that we supported resolution 346 (1974) adopted by the Council on 8 April last. We considered then, as we consider now, that the continued presence of UNEF in the Middle East is indispensable not only to the maintenance of the quiet prevailing in its area of operation but, equally important, to the creation of an atmosphere in which a final solution to the problems of the Middle East can come about. We are particularly mindful of the fact that at this time a further round of negotiations and consultations is under way between the parties most directly concerned. We therefore consider that any action we take here should complement those consultations and contribute in whatever way possible to their successful outcome. By voting to renew the UNEF mandate today, the Council has ensured that those negotiations can proceed in the confident hope that on the ground the military situation will remain quiet.

87. We have given the Secretary-General's report the close attention it deserves and we commend him and his staff for providing us with another comprehensive record on UNEF. We are grateful to him too for the progress reports issued regularly since the establishment of the Force.

88. There are several matters arising out of the Secretary-General's report that I should like to touch on briefly. First, as regards the performance of UNEF in the field, we must all again congratulate the Force Commander, Lieutenant-General Ensio Siilasvuo, the officers and men of the contingents and the civilian staff on a job well done in conditions far from ideal. They have carried out efficiently and effectively the tasks given them by the Council.

89. Secondly, my delegation offers to Canada and Peru and to the bereaved families of the officers and men concerned our condolences on the tragic losses they have suffered in the past six months. We are all too painfully aware that soldiers without enemies are not immune from casualties in their service in the cause of peace.

90. Thirdly, my delegation shares the concern of others, those around this table as well as non-members of the Council, at the financial position which UNEF is now placed. The Secretary-General has disclosed that, if he is to meet all his obligations with regard to UNEF and

UNDOF, a further \$23.6 million over and above the \$60 million budgeted for the last 12 months will be required. We also note that for subsequent six-month periods the estimated costs of the operation are of the order of \$40 million. We appreciate, as do others who recall the circumstances surrounding the establishment of UNEF and the speed with which the Force was formed, that original cost estimates had to be tentative ones and that variations would inevitably occur and adjustments become necessary. We also appreciate that there were a number of factors quite outside the Secretariat's ability to control. Nevertheless, the size of the adjustments that the Secretary-General considers necessary is disconcerting, to say the least, and my delegation sees the need for an early and full examination of UNEF finances in the Fifth Committee of the General Assembly. We consider it important that avenues be explored which might lead to the elimination or at least reduction of the commitment the Secretariat faces. We shall be prepared to join in active discussion of these questions.

91. With the creation of UNEF the United Nations has broken new ground in the method by which a peace-keeping force has been financed. Members have agreed to assume a collective responsibility for its costs, and this we regard as a most important and welcome development. It follows that in the discussion of the financial situation of UNEF all Members should have the opportunity to express their views. While the ultimate authority over the Force's operations, including of course its over-all cost, must reside with the Council, it is only logical and proper that a detailed financial examination of the Force should be undertaken in the appropriate committees.

92. Let me conclude by expressing the hope that in the period of the renewed mandate we shall see further progress towards the attainment of a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East. The road ahead, as we know, is not an easy one, there are many difficulties to overcome, and in doing this all parties will undoubtedly be required to display the same statesmanship, good will and forbearance that have brought us thus far along the path to peace.

93. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): Mr. President, may I start by congratulating you upon the assumption of the high office of President of the Security Council. After the rigours of the month of August and the efforts that we are undertaking in October, it may be that September will be seen in retrospect as a period of tranquillity and peace. Certainly I hope you would agree that I handed over the Security Council to you rested.

94. My delegation was very glad indeed to join others around this table in supporting the draft resolution which we have just adopted. We agree with the judgement of the Secretary-General in his report that the continued operation of UNEF is essential to provide the necessary conditions for negotiations which we hope will lead to a just and lasting settlement. It is not our wish that what was set up as an emergency force should become permanent, any more than that the present measure of disengagement should be confused with that full and fair and final settlement that we all still seek. But we believe that the role

which the United Nations Force has played over the past 12 months has been a necessary and a valuable one, and we believe that it will continue to be necessary over the next six months. The contribution which the Organization has made and is making to peace in the area is one in which I think we may all take pride.

95. I should like also to join those who have commended the conduct of the Force in carrying out its difficult and at times delicate tasks over the past six months. Sitting in New York it is a little too easy at times to forget the problems and hardships faced by those who have to operate on the ground, and I think we owe a special debt of gratitude to those countries which have contributed contingents to the Force. It is on them that we depend for the continued ability of the United Nations to perform its essential peace-keeping role. We fully appreciate that this has entailed their making sacrifices, sometimes extremely real and painful sacrifices, as, for example, in the tragic crash of the United Nations aircraft in Syria in August in which nine members of the Canadian contingent lost their lives.

96. It is with these considerations in mind that my delegation believes that the troop-contributing countries should receive adequate reimbursement for the services they are providing, and in particular that those countries least well placed to bear it should not be asked to make financial sacrifices in addition to the other sacrifices they are already making. At the same time, it would, of course, clearly be difficult for us to agree that reimbursement should be set at a level above that strictly necessary to cover the cost of the troops. We hope that an equitable solution can be reached which would provide adequate and fair reimbursement for the contributors as well as satisfying the concern which has been expressed in the Council that the Force should be run with as much economy as possible.

97. Next, I should like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and his staff for their efforts and for the efficiency and the skill which they have shown in the running of the Force. We are very conscious of the problems and the uncertainties which have surrounded their task, particularly in view of the circumstances and the speed with which the Force had to be established last year.

98. At the same time, I am sure the Secretary-General will have taken careful note of the concern expressed by the Council that the United Nations Emergency Force should be maintained with the maximum efficiency and economy. We share that concern. We think it is quite right that the Council, which has the over-all authority for the Force, should express its views clearly on this point. We also think it right to couple these two considerations, economy and efficiency, together. For however important the final considerations may be, they must never be allowed to impair the efficiency of the Force and its effectiveness to carry out its mandate.

99. Finally, I should like to reaffirm what I said in the Council in April [1765th meeting], when the mandate of the Force was renewed for a second six months. My Government draws a clear distinction between the pres-

ent Emergency Force and any more permanent peace-keeping force that may later be set up to guarantee a settlement in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967). While we have no desire to push ourselves forward, we stand ready to play our part in that latter force, just as we stand ready to play any role that may be helpful in the negotiations themselves.

100. Mr. KANE (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Since the head of the Mauritanian delegation to the Security Council, Ambassador El Hassen, is now on a mission for our Government, I have the honour and privilege to extend to you, Sir, the sincere congratulations of the Mauritanian delegation on your accession to the Presidency of the Security Council for this month. All those who have had the privilege of working with you are well aware of your talents as a skilled, discreet and patient diplomat. My delegation wishes also to congratulate, through you, your country, the United Republic of Cameroon, with which my country, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, maintains friendly relations on the basis of fruitful and mutually advantageous co-operation. I am convinced that under your wise guidance the Security Council's work will be crowned with success.

101. I should like to express our gratitude also to your predecessor, Ambassador Richard of the United Kingdom, for the tact and fairness with which he guided the Security Council's work last month.

102. I would take this opportunity to express my delegation's condolences to the delegation of Iraq on that country's cruel loss of its Minister for Foreign Affairs, who died a few days ago in Morocco. We extend our deepest condolences to the Government and people of Iraq.

103. The search for just and lasting solutions through peaceful means has been a constant feature of the Mauritanian Government's foreign policy, as indeed it has been and remains the basic concern of the Mauritanian delegation in the Security Council. My delegation's support for the resolution just adopted by the Security Council on the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East is eloquent proof of that position taken by my Government.

104. Everyone is aware that despite the praiseworthy efforts made in the Middle East to ensure that there will finally be a just and lasting peace in that region, the situation of "no war, no peace", which is encouraged by some because it is temporarily to their advantage, can at any moment engender a conflict with incalculable consequences.

105. Thus, in order to assist the Security Council in its efforts to maintain this fragile peace which has yet to be defined, my delegation supported the resolution just adopted. It goes without saying that this extension of the mandate of UNEF—which involves additional expense for some developing countries and constitutes a large sacrifice for the countries with military contingents in the area—must be put to use in order to ensure substantial progress towards a settlement based on justice and law.

106. We hope that the determination of the Arab countries and their readiness to reach a political settlement of the conflict will not once again be interpreted by the Tel Aviv Zionists as weakness. The unanimous determination of the Arab countries to reconquer their occupied lands by all possible means is a fact that cannot be ignored today—especially if the Security Council's efforts towards peace fail.

107. For its part, my delegation can only express the sincere hope that this additional period will make possible the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

108. Mr. ANWAR SANI (Indonesia): Speaking for the first time under your Presidency, Sir, I have the great pleasure of extending to you my delegation's congratulations on your accession to the Presidency of the Council for the month of October. It is the more gratifying for my delegation to see you, a distinguished son of Cameroon and Africa, in the chair during this month of October, when the Council is seized of a question of the relations between the United Nations and South Africa, a question of great importance not only to Africa but to the whole world.

109. My delegation would like to congratulate also the outgoing President, Ambassador Ivor Richard of the United Kingdom, who had the good fortune to steer the Council through the relatively quiet month of September.

110. I am going to confine my remarks to the question of the extension of the mandate of UNEF for another six months. Indonesia's view with regard to the Middle East conflict and its solution is well known; I do not need to repeat it and can therefore be relatively brief.

111. My delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General for his report, which in a comprehensive manner reflects the activities of UNEF during the period from 2 April to 12 October 1974 and the problems, including the financial ones, facing UNEF if it is expected to perform in an efficient and effective manner the task assigned to it. It is certainly not for Indonesia, as one of the troop-contributing countries, to praise UNEF on its performance. My delegation would like, however, to express its thanks and high appreciation to the Secretary-General for the role he has personally played and is playing in assisting the efforts to bring a just and lasting peace to the Middle East. Indonesia is happy to learn from the Secretary-General's report that UNEF, under the command of General Silasvuo, has discharged the duties entrusted to it in a satisfactory manner.

112. The Council has adopted the resolution contained in document S/11542 on the extension of the mandate of UNEF for a further period of six months starting tomorrow, 24 October 1974. My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution because we think that the Council should continue to assist the efforts at establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. However, my delegation would like to express its expectation that the presence of UNEF will indeed assist those efforts, and that its

presence will not create an atmosphere of false security which would reduce the sense of urgency in solving the problem. I do not think that it is the intention of the Council to station UNEF indefinitely in the Egypt-Israel sector, patiently waiting for the parties to move towards a solution which will bring peace to the region. Neither will the General Assembly react with great enthusiasm if year after year it is going to be confronted with a demand for funds—which apparently has a tendency to increase constantly—for the maintenance of UNEF, unless it can be convinced that progress is indeed being made towards the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

113. Meanwhile, as a troop-contributing country, my delegation would like to make it clear that it is Indonesia's view that UNEF should be treated as a unit: that there should be no discrimination in the treatment of its component contingents, whether within UNEF itself or by parties involved in the conflict. My delegation would like to interpret paragraph 4 of the resolution as including a request to the Secretary-General to increase his efforts to eliminate all kinds of discriminatory restrictions on the movements of the contingents to ensure that all contingents shall be accorded, by the parties involved, the same freedom of movement, in the whole area of their operation. This will certainly increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the Force.

114. Mr. TCHERNOUCHTENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, allow me first of all to offer you my cordial congratulations on your assumption of the high office of President of the Security Council. You are occupying it during a crucial period when the Security Council is working intensively and is considering extremely important questions in the interests of the peace and security of the peoples of the world and the enhancement of the role and authority of the United Nations. I should like to wish you every success in the fulfilment of your exalted and noble mission.

115. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR voted in favour of the draft resolution providing for an extension of the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East for a further six months. With regard to the resolution which has been adopted, we should like to state the following. Our delegation considers that paragraph 4 of this resolution is a definite step forward and we are confident that its strict implementation will make it possible to raise the effectiveness of all the military units composed of various contingents representing States Members of the United Nations. We are confident that the problem of restriction of the freedom of movement of personnel of certain contingents will finally be solved. This resolution essentially calls to order the aggressor—Israel—which is discriminating against units from certain countries and thereby grossly violating the rights and failing to respect the status of the United Nations troops.

116. The Byelorussian delegation believes that it is precisely the Security Council which, by exercising full control over the course of peace-keeping operations, must

determine the composition and numerical strength of the United Nations troops and the total amount of expenditure for their maintenance. Our delegation feels that the considerable increase in the over-all amount of expenditure in the two preceding periods, compared with the previously approved appropriations, was unwarranted. It also considers that the planned increase in the level of expenditure for the new six-month period cannot stand up to criticism. In noting this, my delegation calls attention to the fact that the resolution which has just been adopted refers expressly to maximum economy. We hope that the United Nations Secretariat will do whatever may be necessary to implement that provision of the resolution concerning economy of resources.

117. As is well known, the Security Council, in resolution 338 (1973), adopted in October 1973, decided that negotiations should start immediately (and I emphasize the word "immediately") for a political settlement of the conflict and for the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East. This task has been entrusted to the Peace Conference at Geneva.

118. The extension of the mandate of UNEF for the third time is indicative of the delay in reaching such a settlement. We agree that the presence in the Egypt-Israel sector of the Emergency Force, which is carrying out its mission of ensuring observance of the cease-fire and implementing the troop disengagement agreement, is producing favourable results as far as the maintenance of peace is concerned. However, the troop disengagement must be regarded as only a first step towards an over-all settlement and in no way takes the place of a settlement of the problem itself.

119. In the present situation, the earliest possible resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestinians, would be an important step towards the attainment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. It is time for the ruling circles of Israel to stop shying away from resumption of the work of the Conference.

120. As to the settlement itself, it can be achieved on the basis of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories seized by them in 1967 and the guarantee of the legitimate rights and interests of the Arab people of Palestine. The Byelorussian SSR actively supports and consistently fights for the just cause of the Arab States. It shares the indignation of the Arab States at the aggressive policy of Israel, which continues to declare that it has no intention of returning to the 1967 borders. This creates even more complications on the road to settlement.

121. The Byelorussian delegation, together with all peace-loving States, advocates the earliest possible political settlement of the situation in the Middle East. My delegation believes that the new six-month period must be used to the maximum benefit so that the talks at Geneva, after their resumption, will lead to positive results and to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. All the States of the region would gain from this, and so would the peoples of the entire world who are truly

concerned about the strengthening of peace and general security.

122. Mr. PEREZ DE CUELLAR (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, may I tell you how pleased I am to see you acting as President of the Council. May I congratulate you on the brilliant work that you have already accomplished and tell you that I am confident you will achieve success in your endeavours. None of this surprises me, for I am well acquainted with your talents, your wisdom and your far-sightedness.

123. I could not, under the pretext that there were no public meetings of the Council during the month of September, omit to state my tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Ivor Richard, who, I am sure, would have presided over our debates in public with all the intelligence and brilliance of which he has given us such eloquent proof during past debates.

124. I should like to thank all the delegations that were kind enough to extend their condolences to my Government on the tragic loss of Peruvian soldiers in the Sinai. May we assure you that even in our sorrow we have felt proud to serve, even to that point, in the cause of maintaining peace as part of UNEF.

125. Our reading of the Secretary-General's report on the United Nations Emergency Force for the period from 2 April to 12 October 1974 could lead us to no position other than the one we have just adopted. Indeed, the continued presence of the Force has proved to be one of the conditions for the maintenance of a state of calm—unfortunately a precarious one—in the Sinai Peninsula. I wish, however, to state that I have been impressed by the words of the representative of Iraq concerning the need for parallel and simultaneous measures to overcome the fundamental obstacles to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the region.

126. Peru, not only as a member of the Council but also through the contingent it has contributed to UNEF that is now on the Golan Heights, has been able to perceive in the most direct fashion the urgency for proceeding to implement the provisions of resolution 338 (1973) and subsequent resolutions of the Council. This, in our view, is the meaning of paragraph 1 of the resolution we have just adopted.

127. Regarding paragraph 3, which perhaps euphemistically or critically summarizes certain sensitive aspects of the mandate of UNEF, I can say only that I shall be very much surprised if an acceptable balance is achieved between efficiency and economy. We should perhaps ask ourselves whether there is not a certain contradiction between these two ideas. In any case, it is not our understanding that that paragraph puts any sort of strait-jacket on the Council or on the Secretary-General.

128. I should not like to conclude without expressing the gratitude of my delegation to the Secretary-General for the report he has submitted to us and, above all, our thanks to him and his assistants in New York and in the Middle East for their unrelenting efforts to overcome the

obstacles of all kinds that constantly arise in the difficult task assigned to the Emergency Force. I also repeat once again the fervent hope of my Government that practical steps will very soon be taken within the broader framework of the peace negotiations.

129. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): And now, in my capacity as representative of the UNITED REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON, I should like briefly to explain the vote cast by my delegation.

130. First, on behalf of the delegation of the United Republic of Cameroon, I wish to express my gratitude to the Secretary-General for the clear and thorough report he has submitted to the Security Council on the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East, and also for the untiring efforts he is exerting to bring about the advent of a just and lasting peace in that region.

131. By its vote in favour of draft resolution S/11542 which the Council has just adopted, my delegation has once more wished to demonstrate its conviction that the peace-making work of UNEF should be continued as long as the root causes underlying all the frustration, all the distrust of the peoples and the war itself are not definitively eradicated from the region.

132. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to offer my congratulations once more to the Governments which, at the expense of great sacrifices and in the cause of mankind, are continuing to place contingents at the disposal of the Organization.

133. I should also like to pay a tribute to the Commander, the officers and the soldiers of UNEF, to the observers of UNTSO, and to the representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross for the efficiency and devotion with which they are discharging their duties under conditions that are often dangerous.

134. As with any other human enterprise, the functioning of UNEF, despite the successes achieved thus far, is not free from certain shortcomings. I am, however, convinced that the frank and constructive exchange of views that has taken place on this subject among the members of the Council and the Secretary-General will contribute usefully to the search for equitable solutions with regard to the problems of the restrictions imposed on the freedom of movement of the members of certain contingents of the Force, the reimbursement of the expenses incurred by the countries whose contingents are serving in UNEF and certain other financial aspects.

135. Peace-keeping operations are not an end in themselves but, to be really beneficial to the international community, should be conducted together with serious negotiations among the parties directly concerned. In raising the question of the relationship between these operations and the process of establishing peace, our Secretary-General, in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization for this year, writes:

"It would seem, however, that all too often, as was the case in Cyprus, the sense of urgent necessity for

reaching an agreed settlement of the underlying problem tends to diminish as soon as a peace-keeping operation has been established and is functioning effectively.”

136. A similar opinion was expressed on 25 September last at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly by the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada,⁵ whose country's invaluable contribution to peace-keeping operations is well known to all, when he said that “peace-keeping endeavours often seem to do no more than perpetuate an uneasy *status quo*”.

137. Since my delegation shares the concern of those who are disturbed at seeing peace-keeping operations, whose usefulness is undeniable, deeply discredited in world public opinion, because it believes that these operations are costly to the Organization, when it is called upon to play a constantly active role in the area of the economic development of States, I express the hope that very soon there will be a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, a peace based particularly on the withdrawal of Israel from Arab territories which have been occupied by force since 1967 and taking into account the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

138. That is the end of my statement on behalf of my country. Now, as PRESIDENT of the Council, I should like to inform the members of the Council that the representative of China has asked to be permitted to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

139. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): In connexion with the unreasonable remarks made by Mr. Malik to justify himself, it will suffice for me just to say a few words. It is known to all that the Soviet Government has taken advantage of the temporary difficulties of the Arab countries and the Palestinian people in an attempt to bring the countries of this region under its control and to contend for, and expand, its spheres of influence. In fact, the expression “to fish in troubled waters” is the best description of the actions of no one else but themselves.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Twenty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 1A, p. 4

⁶ *Ibid.*, Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2242nd meeting.

140. Mr. Malik has unabashedly boasted about their so-called “military aid” to Arab countries. But it was precisely the leaders of certain Arab countries which accepted your so-called “aid” and the just Arab public opinion that has repeatedly exposed the motivations of that so-called “aid”. Not only have they pointed out that you have used that so-called “aid” to extort high repayment—that is to say, you are a downright merchant of death reaping great fortunes through war—but they have also pointed out how, at the crucial juncture of the October war, you did not hesitate to resort to the cessation of arms supply as a means to pressure those Arab countries and people who were persisting in a war of resistance into submission to the Israeli aggressors, thus disrupting their war against aggression. Leaving other things aside, I would only mention the foregoing few facts. Are they not sufficient to reveal fully your true features as the self-styled “natural ally” of the Arab countries? The more ugly one is, the more one likes to use cosmetics to make oneself pretty, but the result will only be an even uglier face. This is our reply to the unreasonable remarks made by Mr. Malik.

141. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of the Soviet Union wishes to exercise the right of reply.

142. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Out of respect for the Security Council and for the guests who are present in this room, and in view of the utterly slanderous nature of the statement which has just been made, the delegation of the Soviet Union does not consider it necessary to react to this routine expression of the pathological anti-Sovietism of the previous speaker. It considers it to be beneath its dignity to enter into polemics with him. No matter how often slander is repeated, it never becomes truth.

143. An unenviable and thankless duty has devolved upon that speaker. If he himself believes in the slander against the Soviet Union which he repeats at nearly every meeting of the Security Council, then we, simply as a matter of humanity, are sorry for him.

The meeting rose at 8.30 p.m.