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NOTE

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1851st MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 23 October 1975, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Olof RYDBECK (Sweden).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Costa Rica, France, Guyana, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Mauritania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1851)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the Middle East:
Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Emergency Force (S/11849)

The meeting was called to order at 11.10 a.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/11849)

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to direct the attention of the members of the Council to the draft resolution S/11856. During consultations prior to this meeting an agreement was reached among the members of the Council on this draft resolution, as well as on the procedure to be followed, to the effect that representatives wishing to speak would do so after the vote on the draft resolution.
2. Before the Council proceeds to the vote, I shall call on the Secretary-General in connexion with his report.
3. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: The Security Council has before it my report on the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF). As members of the Council will have noted, this report deals with the carrying out by UNEF of its duties during the past three months, and also covers new responsibilities.
4. In my report I have set out the new tasks conferred upon UNEF under the Agreement between Egypt and Israel of 4 September, its annex and the

Protocol [S/11818/Add.1-5] and have indicated the reinforcements both in personnel and in equipment which UNEF will require if it is to carry out these tasks effectively. I am very much aware that these reinforcements impose a new financial burden on the Organization. I wish therefore to assure the members of the Council that we have studied the recommendations from the field in this regard with the greatest care and have had very much in mind the need for the maximum possible economy, compatible with the effective discharge by UNEF of its task.

5. The future operation of UNEF is envisaged in a northern and a southern area which together comprise a line more than twice as long as the previous area of deployment. In addition, a number of detailed and complex tasks are envisaged for UNEF which it was previously not called upon to carry out. The terrain in most of the new area of deployment is extremely difficult, comprising desert, some mountainous areas and a long coastal strip along the Gulf of Suez. Inevitably, such a task requires an increase in manpower, in logistical capacity and in various forms of communication.

6. In addition to these circumstances, the new tasks conferred on UNEF call for two forms of activity in which it has not engaged before, namely, aerial and coastal surveillance. It is for this reason that four helicopters, two light aircraft and a small naval unit are included in the reinforcements.

7. As I have indicated in my report, I hope that at least some of the additional requirements will be provided on a voluntary basis, free of cost to the United Nations. I have made some preliminary soundings in this regard and as soon as the Council has made its decision I shall make more formal approaches. I hope very much that the Member States will respond as generously as possible to these approaches in the interest of ensuring the proper and efficient conduct of this important peace-keeping task.

8. Before concluding, I wish to emphasize the great significance of the United Nations peace-keeping function as it has developed in the Middle East and the importance which I attach to the full and understanding support which the Council continues to show for these operations. We demand a great deal from the officers and men of the peace-keeping forces and I can safely say that, up to now, they have responded magnificently to the challenge. In the new period

which is before us, subject, of course, to the decisions which the Council may take on this matter, I am sure that they will continue to carry out their difficult duties in accordance with the highest standards of the Organization, and that the Council will not fail to continue to afford to them all necessary support. For our part, I and my colleagues will continue to do our utmost to reconcile the two requirements of the highest efficiency with economy and good administration.

9. The PRESIDENT: I thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

10. I want to inform members of the Council that I have this morning received a letter from Mr. Ysmail Fahmy, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt, with a request that this letter be read to the Council, which I now propose to do:

"I am writing to you in connection with the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force, due on 24 October 1975.

"You may recall that the appeal [see S/11771] addressed by the President of the Security Council on behalf of the Council to the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt on 23 July 1975 has stressed the concern of the Council over the situation in the Middle East as well as the assurance that the Council will follow closely the situation in the region and accordingly appealed to President Sadat to reconsider Egypt's position on the renewal of the mandate. Furthermore, the Council has emphasized the importance of achieving further progress towards a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

"You may also recall the views my Government has formally conveyed to the Secretary-General on 26 October 1973 [S/11055], in particular that the presence of the Force on its territory is governed by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and accepted norms of international law which safeguard Egypt's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

"Furthermore, in its reply [see S/11771] to the appeal of the Council, the Government of Egypt stated that it shall continue to cooperate with the Council in all matters relating to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the region within the realm of the Charter and the framework of the United Nations resolutions on the question of the Middle East.

"Consistent with this policy, and in the light of the efforts currently undertaken with a view to achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, as well as in conformity with its sovereign rights, Egypt consents to a further extension of the mandate of the Force for one year, that is, until 24 October 1976.

"Egypt is confident that the Council will continue to follow closely the developments in the Middle East, and that the momentum for achieving a comprehensive settlement in accordance with United Nations resolutions will be preserved and enhanced, in particular through the reconvening of the Geneva Conference in the immediate future with the full participation of all the parties concerned."

11. I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution S/11856, in accordance with the procedure agreed upon previously.

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.

12. The PRESIDENT: A number of representatives have asked to speak, following the voting, and I shall now call on them.

13. Mr. AL-SHAIKHLY (Iraq): Iraq has once again refrained from participating in the voting on the extension of the mandate of UNEF in the Sinai. We believe that every extension of the mandate of the Force is providing the Israeli aggressors with more time to consolidate their occupation. The Zionists continue to persist in their notorious policy of "creating new facts" by establishing new settlements and colonies in the occupied Arab lands. If the Security Council is genuinely engaged in attempting to find a just solution for the conflict in the area, it should, a long time ago, have stopped Israel from pursuing its illegal actions in the occupied territories. We believe that the Council's failure to take a firm stand towards the Zionists' flagrant acts of aggression can only weaken the United Nations and establish dangerous precedents which the whole world will come to regret.

14. Mr. LECOMPT (France) (*interpretation from French*): The question before us falls within a familiar framework—too familiar indeed, underlining vicissitudes of this question—of our efforts to find a settlement in the Middle East. These efforts constitute the contribution which the international community, like the parties directly concerned, expect of us in a situation which threatens international peace and security. It has been our responsibility, and it still is, to meet these expectations.

15. Sometimes for this purpose, we have adopted *ad hoc* texts to deal with an immediate crisis, and sometimes we have laid down, on a longer-term basis, the principles for a future settlement. In the first category are the resolutions on the cease-fire and those which established emergency or observer forces; to the second group belong resolution 242 (1967) and certain

aspects of resolution 338 (1973) of the Security Council, to the extent that it relates to a type of procedure for seeking a settlement, excluding the use of force.

16. Obviously there can be no contradiction between these two kinds of texts; and one cannot prevent the implementation of the other. Equally obviously, the Council, except where the Charter confers upon it exclusive competence, does not act in isolation. The General Assembly, too, has made recommendations on various aspects of the question, by no means the least important. The parties themselves have concluded agreements, and the Powers interested in a settlement of the problem have offered their assistance. In this complex tangle, what counts finally is the result and the will to maintain a momentum for peace. If this were to be paralysed in the present circumstances by obstacles encountered on the road, inevitably there would be the most serious consequences, because the situation remains explosive.

17. It is within this general context that we should view the decision we have just taken. Two of the principal parties to the conflict have agreed, with the assistance of the Secretary of State of the United States, to undertake a new disengagement restoring to Egypt an additional portion of its territory. This is progress to the extent that this agreement makes it possible to reduce tension and to promote the continuation of over-all negotiation. This is also progress towards the evacuation of the Arab territories occupied by Israel, which has been called for since 1967 by the Council, progress for which President Sadat deserves the credit.

18. This agreement makes even more necessary the maintenance of the Force, which has been in the region since the autumn of 1973, because it is now being given a wider responsibility, much broader in scope, although in substance it is not different from the task agreed on at the outset. This responsibility also demonstrates the growing confidence of the parties in the Force, in the light of past experience. At the same time, it is a tribute to those who had responsibility for the Force and to the contingents that make it up, a tribute with which my delegation fully associates itself. This is also a confirmation of the irreplaceable contribution that the United Nations can make in situations where peace itself is threatened. It is therefore entirely logical and fully justified that in response to the expectations of the parties the Council should have renewed the mandate of the Force.

19. While recognizing that the new responsibilities of UNEF and the broadening of its field of operations justify a substantial increase in its expenditures, we are nevertheless very much concerned about the financial aspects of the operation. This will be an additional burden on the budget of the Organization, and consequently upon all Member States. In these circumstances, stringent and continuing efforts at economy should be made to avoid a too rapid rise in

expenditure, although, of course, we are in no way denying that the expenditure is essential.

20. As when the mandate of the Force was renewed on previous occasions, the Council certainly does not feel that its decision represents any lasting solution. The action it authorizes belongs in the category of the *ad hoc* measures I referred to earlier. The Council, therefore, has not forgotten the more long-term objectives which it has also established. It is just because it understands how time presses that it has the duty of responding to immediate needs by trying to avert the more obvious threats. It can hope in this way to open the way for consideration of the substance of the problem. This consideration, in turn, calls for an approach that takes into the account the three principles on which we believe a lasting peace settlement could be based, principles which we recently reaffirmed in the Declaration on the Development of Friendship and co-operation between France and the Soviet Union, signed jointly on 17 October 1975, at the end of the visit to the Soviet Union of the President of the French Republic [see S/11877].

21. I should like to remind members, as I did at previous meetings of the Council on the same subject, these principles are, first, the evacuation of the territories occupied by Israel in 1967; secondly, the recognition of the right of the Palestinians to a homeland; and thirdly, the right of all States in the region to live in peace within secure, recognized and guaranteed frontiers. With regard to guarantees for a future settlement, I should also remind members that my country remains ready to make an active contribution to a system of over-all guarantees with a view to strengthening peace in the area.

22. We therefore express the hope that the necessary conditions for resuming the Geneva Conference can be established as soon as possible or, in any case, the conditions for genuine negotiation so that we can finally deal with the essential problems and apply the principles I have mentioned. Only an over-all settlement bearing on all the aspects of the conflict can bring about the just and lasting peace that the whole region needs so sorely.

23. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): My delegation was very pleased to vote for the draft resolution which we have just adopted renewing the mandate of UNEF for a further year. As the Secretary-General put it in his report, the presence of UNEF remains essential not only to help maintain the cease-fire called for in resolution 338 (1973), but also to assist in the implementation of the new agreement concluded between Israel and Egypt. Despite the progress that has been made, the situation in the area remains fragile. We have no doubt that UNEF's presence continues to be essential to provide the necessary calm within which alone efforts can continue towards the conclusion of an over-all settlement. At the same time, under the terms of the new agreement, to which my

delegation attaches the greatest importance, a number of essential new tasks are assigned to UNEF. The role of UNEF in the area has thus become more important than ever before.

24. In previous meetings of the Council to extend the mandate of UNEF, we made clear our view that UNEF remains in the Middle East not to serve as a substitute for a settlement but to provide the essential conditions for negotiations towards a settlement. My Government has therefore been very glad to note the progress which has been made towards this end by the conclusion of the recent Agreement between Israel and Egypt for a further withdrawal in the Sinai. As the Agreement itself says, it represents no more than a step towards a just and lasting peace. It is, however, an extremely valuable step not only in its own practical effects, but even more for the impetus which we hope it will provide to making progress towards a Middle East settlement as a whole. I would like to place on record our admiration for the tremendous efforts of statesmanship, and also perseverance, which have been made in bringing the negotiations for this Agreement to a successful conclusion.

25. It is now, however, of the utmost importance that this Agreement should be followed up by further efforts to carry the negotiations forward. The conclusion of this Agreement and the renewal of the mandate of UNEF for one year provide a real opportunity for progress to be made towards the comprehensive settlement which we all seek and without which, as the Secretary-General has himself noted, there can be no real security in the Middle East. At all costs, therefore, we must now resist allowing the pace of the negotiations to slacken. The momentum of the negotiations has been regained and it is vitally important that full advantage should be taken of this to make further progress.

26. In conclusion, I should like to express my admiration to the Secretary-General and his staff, and to General Siilasvuo and the staff of UNEF, first for the way in which UNEF has carried out its tasks over the past three months and, secondly, for the speed and efficiency with which they have responded in difficult circumstances and in the very short time available to them to the additional tasks now being placed on UNEF by the new agreement. I would like to add here, too, a tribute to the Governments of Canada, Finland, Ghana, Indonesia, Poland, Senegal and Sweden, which provide the contingents making up the Force and which will also now be making additional personnel available to undertake these new tasks. We appreciate the sacrifices which they are making in the cause of peace in the Middle East. I would also like to commend the important role played by General Siilasvuo and the United Nations Secretariat in the complex negotiations leading up to the signing of the Protocol [see S/11818/Add.5, of 10 October 1975] to the Agreement in the Military Working Group of the Peace Conference on the Middle East,

at Geneva. The contribution which the United Nations has made, both to the maintenance of peace in the Middle East and to the progress of the negotiations, is a very significant one indeed. The part which UNEF has played is one in which we can all take pride and one which deserves our continuing support.

27. Mr. SAITO (Japan): My delegation voted for the draft resolution. We are fully satisfied with the Council's decision of today. We also wish to express our satisfaction and appreciation over Egypt's action in consenting to the extension of the mandate of UNEF for one year. The fact that UNEF's mandate has been extended for a year this time, instead of for three or six months as in previous cases, reassures us that significant progress has been made towards a settlement of the Middle East problem. In this connexion we have read with great interest the Secretary-General's report for the three months ending 16 October 1975.

28. I avail myself of this opportunity to pay a sincere tribute to the Governments which have contributed troops to UNEF; to the Commanders of the Force, Lieutenant-General Ensio Siilasvuo until 20 August 1975, and since that time Major-General Bengt Liljestrand; to the officers and men of the Force and its civilian staff; and also to the military observers of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) who co-operated with and assisted UNEF in the fulfilment of its responsibilities. And I cannot fail to express my appreciation to the Secretary-General and his devoted assistants for their work in organizing, deploying and supplying UNEF. My delegation feels highly gratified that the Council has given its endorsement to the Agreement between Egypt and Israel, concluded last September, by renewing the mandate of UNEF. The Agreement reflects the determination of the parties concerned to move towards peace, as stipulated in article I. We offer our high praise to all those whose attitudes and efforts made this Agreement possible.

29. The conclusion of the Agreement brightens our hopes for still further progress towards a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, but the situation in the area continues to be potentially dangerous. My delegation fully shares the Secretary-General's observations in paragraph 28 of his report, from which I quote:

"The interim agreement between Egypt and Israel, concluded last September, is an important development. However, any relaxation of the search for a comprehensive settlement covering all aspects of the Middle East problem could be especially dangerous in the months to come."

30. It is our conviction that it is all the more necessary to maintain the momentum of negotiations towards a final solution in compliance with Security Council resolution 338 (1973).

31. The basic position of Japan towards the Middle East problem is well known. I shall not repeat it today, but I wish to recall the statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, Mr. Kiichi Miyazawa, in the General Assembly on 23 September this year. After remarking that much more remained to be done, Mr. Miyazawa continued:

“My Government strongly urges the countries concerned to maintain their momentum towards a peaceful settlement, specifically towards the speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) in accordance with Security Council resolution 338 (1973).²

32. Indeed, in the past 27 years the United Nations managed on four different occasions to set up cease-fire machinery that would assist and encourage a just and durable settlement of the Middle East problem. On the three occasions in the past, however, the cease-fire machinery failed to provide the time and the circumstances necessary for a settlement. Today, my delegation views the outlook with real hope and feels confident that the cease-fire, and with it the extension of the mandate of UNEF for one year, will provide the time necessary to negotiate a final solution of the problem.

33. In concluding, we earnestly hope that today's action by the Council constitutes a real and welcome milestone in the long effort to solve the problem of the Middle East.

34. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Security Council is once again discussing the question of extending the mandate of UNEF in the Middle East, a Force which, as is well known, was created by resolution 340 (1973) of the Council to ensure the cease-fire and prevent a resumption of hostilities and thus speed up the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, on the basis of United Nations decisions and primarily the resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) of the Security Council.

35. In this regard, the delegation of the USSR considers it necessary once again to confirm the position of principle of the Soviet Union with regard to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, in the interests of all States and peoples of the area. The USSR still firmly believes in the need for the total elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression; the liberation of all Arab lands occupied by Israel in 1967; ensuring the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to the creation of its own State; and guaranteeing the rights of all States of the Middle East to an independent existence and development. This position of the Soviet Union was once again exhaustively set forth at the current session of the General Assembly by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Mr. Gromyko. In his statement Mr. Gromyko, setting forth the position of the USSR, stated:

“A Middle East settlement cannot make a headway if those crucial problems are left unsolved. Without their solution a settlement in the Middle East can only be delayed indefinitely, with increasing dangers for the situation. No palliative measures or camouflaging can change the substance of the matter.

...

“The main problems of the Middle East are still awaiting solution. There is appropriate machinery for their examination—the Geneva Peace Conference. The Soviet Union stands for the reconvening of the Conference with the participation of all—and I stress ‘all’—parties concerned, including representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization. It will be recalled that the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly reaffirmed by an overwhelming majority the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and national sovereignty. The solution of the Palestine problem is an integral part of an over-all settlement in the Middle East.”³

36. It was also stressed that the Soviet Union was ready to continue to do everything in its power to see the Middle East become a zone of lasting and durable peace. That is the most important thing that we, the Soviet people, want to see in the Middle East, an area directly adjacent to the southern frontiers of our own country. Regardless of the slander engaged in by malicious anti-Soviet people against the policy and position of the USSR on the Middle East question, this remains precisely our policy: to see to it that the Middle East should become an area of lasting and reliable peace. This is the only correct and just policy, both with regard to the Arab peoples, the victims of aggression, and with regard to Israel, the aggressor, which has occupied the lands of others by force and continues to hold them.

37. The position of principle of the Soviet Union on the Middle East problem was once again confirmed in the Declaration on the Development of Friendship and Co-operation between France and the Soviet Union, signed by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Brezhnev, and the President of the French Republic, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing, on the occasion of an official visit to the Soviet Union by the President of France. This has been mentioned here already by the representative of France [*see para. 20 above*]. The following was stated in that joint Declaration:

“Great attention has been given to the situation in the Middle East, which continues to be a source of grave concern to France and the Soviet Union. The two Parties are convinced that a just and lasting cannot be established in that region unless the Israeli troops are withdrawn from all the Arab

territories occupied in 1967, the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are secured, including their right to have a homeland, and the right of all States and peoples of that region to independent existence and development, with in secure and recognized frontiers, is solidly guaranteed.

"France and the Soviet Union will continue to maintain constant contact with each other and to hold appropriate consultations on questions concerning a settlement in the Middle East.

The Soviet delegation would like to express its profound satisfaction at the fact that the position of the Soviet Union with regard to the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East coincides with France's position.

38. With reference to the question of the extension of the mandate of UNEF in the disengagement zone in the Sinai Peninsula, now under consideration by the Council, the delegation of the USSR considers it necessary to make the following statement.

39. It would be a dangerous illusion and a serious mistake to attempt to use disengagement as a pretext for freezing the existing situation in the Middle East, to cover up and justify the continuation of the occupation by Israeli troops of the Arab lands occupied in 1967 or for disregarding the lawful national rights of the Arab people of Palestine. The problem of the Middle East should be solved as a whole. Its individual, separate aspects, parts or stages should be indissolubly linked with a general and immediate settlement and should be parts of a whole; otherwise, partial measures such as the disengagement of the troops of the two sides carry within them the danger of being confirmed into an illusory palliative, with all the dangerous consequences flowing therefrom for the situation in the Middle East and for the cause of peace. A comprehensive settlement of the problem of the Middle East should in no way be postponed, and still less should it be frozen. It is precisely in this regard that the Soviet delegation should like once again to confirm that United Nations troops in the Middle East should in no way be used as a means of perpetuating the occupation of Arab territories by Israel.

40. The delegation of the USSR has no intention of objecting at the present time to a further extension of the mandate of UNEF for one year, on the understanding that its present functions, as defined in the relevant decisions of the Security Council, will not change in substance. The consent of the Soviet Union to an extension of the mandate of UNEF in the Egypt-Israeli sector is also given on the understanding that the period of this extension should be actively used to take real steps towards a genuine peace settlement in the Middle East, in accordance with resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

41. In this regard, the Soviet delegation would like to express its satisfaction at the fact that, in the draft resolution just adopted by the Council, there is a reflection of a provision contained in paragraph 28 of the report of the Secretary-General to the effect that:

"any relaxation of the search for a comprehensive settlement covering all aspects of the Middle East problem could be especially dangerous in the months to come... [and] that urgent efforts will be undertaken by all concerned to tackle the Middle East problem in all its aspects, with a view both to maintaining quiet in the region and to arriving at the comprehensive settlement called for by the Security Council in its resolution 338 (1973)."

The Soviet delegation, upon whose initiative the resolution came to contain these provisions, fully supports them. The Soviet Union firmly advocates and will continue firmly to advocate an immediate comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem and will make every effort to see to it that real progress is achieved towards a final and lasting solution to this question.

42. The USSR will continue to pursue its position of principle of support for the Arab countries and peoples in their just struggle for their rights and for the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression. Until such time as Israel stops flouting the lawful rights of other countries, its neighbours, and occupying their lands, there can be no lasting peace in the Middle East.

43. In discussing the question of renewing the mandate of UNEF, the Security Council cannot fail to notice the fact once again, as emerges clearly from paragraph 12 of the Secretary-General's report, that Israel, despite the decisions of the Security Council and in violation thereof, and displaying an obstinacy worthy of a better cause, is continuing its discrimination against the majority of the contingents making up UNEF, limiting their freedom of movement to Egyptian territory occupied by Israeli troops. The fundamental and practical need for ensuring equality of attitude towards all contingents of the United Nations international forces, regardless of their nationality, and the granting to them of total freedom of movement, has assumed particular importance in the circumstances of a certain expansion and complication of the zone of operations of UNEF, as was reported to us by the Secretary-General.

44. No one would deny the obvious fact that a solution to this problem will determine, to a considerable extent, the effectiveness of the operations of UNEF as a single and effective military unit, something which the Secretary-General and the Commander of UNEF stress. This will also make possible the carrying out of UNEF operations in these new circumstances without increasing their strength and with the maximum economy of funds to maintain them. It would exclude

duplication and parallelism in the carrying out of operations caused by the discriminatory measures taken by the Israeli occupation authorities.

45. The discrimination by Israel against a number of the contingents of States Members of the United Nations which make up the United Nations international force, and the limitation on their freedom of movement, shackles and paralyses the work of those troops. As a result of this, the Secretary-General was forced to put before the Council the question of a further increase in strength and also a considerable increase—by a sum of more than \$30 million—of expenditure for the maintenance of those troops at the expense of all States Members of the United Nations. States Members of the United Nations are forced to pay, and, what is more, to bear tremendous additional expenditure, primarily for the consequences of Israeli aggression, and secondly, for the consequences of their discriminatory policy against a majority of the contingents of UNEF. In the circumstances, it would be fair to allocate to the aggressor at least half the expenditure involved in the maintenance of UNEF.

46. It is precisely as a consequence of these and a number of other reasons, that the delegation of the USSR sees no grounds for such a great increase in the strength of UNEF and the related expenditure. Such an increase is not occasioned, as is quite clear from the report of the Secretary-General, by the actual situation in the disengagement area. The situation there, as is clear from his report, is calm, at least for today. In any case an increase in the strength of UNEF and its expenditure should be minimal, as has quite correctly been provided for in the resolution adopted by the Council today.

47. Indeed, it is clear to everyone that even the slightest increase in expenditure for the maintenance of UNEF places an additional burden on the budgets of States Member of the United Nations and hurts their pocket-books. These compulsory levies on Member States, in the form of additional contributions to pay for Israeli aggression, prove to be a very heavy financial burden for many countries, which is borne out by the fact that up to 1 October this year an overwhelming majority of Member States—119 countries—had not paid their full contributions for these purposes for 1975 and 54 States had not fully paid their contributions for these purposes from the very beginning of the establishment of UNEF. Of those, 23 States have not paid a single dollar of their contributions. Those are the actual facts and the Council cannot disregard them.

48. A further increase in the strength of UNEF must also relate to our experience of its creation and functioning. It is said that certain generals prefer to have under their command two divisions, as a minimum, instead of one and that is what happened

in the establishment of UNEF in the Middle East. After all, UNEF is also led by generals.

49. The initial request, as we all know, with regard to the strength of UNEF was presented to the Security Council as 7,000 men [see S/11052/Rev.1]. We objected to such a figure at that time and experience has really confirmed the correctness of our position. The facts have substantially altered those figures. At the present time the strength of UNEF, as is clear from the report of the Secretary-General, is less than 4,000 men, that is, 3,000 less than the initial estimates. Nevertheless, with almost half the number, UNEF is still coping with its tasks. Accordingly, at that time the request was excessively high, and in this light, serious doubts arise about the necessity for an additional increase in the strength of UNEF by almost 1,000 men.

50. In view of these reasons and factors, and in the light of the resolution just adopted, in which the Council calls for UNEF to display maximum economy and to ensure maximum efficiency, it would be advisable for the Secretary-General and the UNEF Command once again to review this question so that the increase in strength of UNEF and the related expenditure could be really minimal. The Soviet delegation would like to express the hope that this provision of the resolution with regard to maximum economy of resources for maintaining UNEF will be unswervingly complied with by the Secretariat of the United Nations and the UNEF Command in the Middle East.

51. The objection may be raised that as a result of the expansion of the zone of disengagement and the inclusion in that zone even of water space, the need might arise that, to judge from the report of the Secretary-General, UNEF should be equipped with four coastal patrol vessels and also four helicopters and three aircraft for air patrols and other purposes. In this regard it is appropriate and correct to expect assistance for UNEF on the part of the parties directly concerned, the parties to the Disengagement Agreement [see S/11198]. Indeed, both parties to that Agreement, as we all know, have in their possession patrol vessels, helicopters and aircraft. It would be appropriate, therefore, for the Secretary-General and the UNEF Command to ask them to help UNEF in this matter. I believe that a positive reaction to this request on the part of the parties to the Agreement would be favourably received by the Security Council. There is also no doubt that such a gesture and act of goodwill on the part of both parties to the Agreement would meet with a positive response on the part of Member States which are being forced to bear the burden of expenditures to pay for UNEF in the Middle East.

52. To sum up, the Soviet delegation would like once again to stress that the consent of the Soviet Union to the renewal of the mandate of UNEF is given on the understanding that such a renewal should

be actively used for the taking of real steps towards a genuinely peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem in accordance with resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) of the Security Council, without further procrastination or delay, and without any attempts to freeze the present abnormal, unjust, and consequently dangerous situation for peace in the Middle East.

53. Mr. MOYNIHAN (United States of America): The renewal today of UNEF's mandate for a period of one year, and its continuing role as envisaged in the Secretary-General's report, is an essential part of the process leading towards a viable solution to the conflict in the Middle East. Together, with the Agreement signed by Egypt and Israel on 4 September, it presents us with an opportunity that we must not miss. This is the opportunity to move forward, to continue the process, to maintain the momentum. We therefore welcome the extension of the mandate of UNEF with a sense of dedication and determination to continue in our efforts for a negotiated settlement in the Middle East that will ensure a just and lasting peace.

54. It is the policy of the United States, as expressed by Secretary of State Kissinger to the General Assembly on 22 September, that we are: "determined to take every feasible step to... promote further practical progress towards final peace"⁴.

55. I am pleased to note from the Secretary-General's report the continuing stability and quiet in the area of UNEF's operation and the exemplary bearing and general discipline of all members of the Force. I am confident that UNEF, praiseworthily led by Generals Siilasvuo and Liljestrand, and ably supported by the Secretariat staff, will meet the challenge of its continuing heavy responsibilities. I congratulate them and you, Mr. President, for your leadership in bringing us today to this important and essential renewal of UNEF's mandate.

56. Mr. LAI Ya-li (China) (*translation from Chinese*): During the general debate at the current session of the General Assembly, the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs already expounded in a comprehensive way the Chinese Government's position on the Middle East question, and I am not going to repeat it here. With regard to the question concerning UNEF, now under discussion at the Security Council, the Chinese delegation has always held a different position in principle. Based on such a position, we did not participate in the voting on the draft resolution.

57. Mr. EL HASSEN (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): The draft resolution just adopted by the Council, renewing the mandate of UNEF, is part of our quest for a solution to the problem of the Middle East, as regards the liberation of the occupied Arab territories as well as the restoration of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people. However, as long as the Arab territories of Egypt, Jordan and Syria remain occupied by force, and as long as the

Palestinians are not allowed to return to their homes and to recover their rights, any peace can only be provisional, and even potentially dangerous.

58. We could even say that this relative calm which today prevails on the Egyptian, Jordanian and Syrian fronts can be jeopardized at any time, particularly when one knows that Israel's military potential is growing substantially and in a most serious manner, which could have ominous consequences. This state of affairs has often been emphasized in the Council. We therefore hope that the presence of UNEF will not serve to consolidate the *status quo* but will promote the urgent quest for a comprehensive solution to the entire problem.

59. It is in this spirit that we consider this decision of the Council as a step in that direction—a step that should lead as soon as possible to progress in other sectors. It is for this reason that we have supported this decision of the Council.

60. We should have preferred, of course, that the mandate of the Force be of a more limited duration so as to avoid prolonging for another year the situation of no-war, no-peace. But Egypt in this case being the only party which could decide on the duration of the mandate of UNEF on its national territory, we have agreed to the one-year period decided on by the Council. We must insist on the fact that, just as Egypt alone can agree to renewal of the mandate, of course, the Council can shorten the duration of the mandate if Egypt so requests. It could not be otherwise, since the Force is carrying out its mandate on Egyptian national soil.

61. In conclusion, I should like to pay tribute to the Secretary-General and his aides for the remarkable manner in which UNEF is acquitting itself of its mission. May I extend my gratitude also to the Member States supplying contingents to the Force, thereby contributing to the quest for a solution to this distressing problem of the Middle East.

62. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): The draft resolution we have just adopted extends the mandate of UNEF once more, but on this occasion for a period of one year. The Council has thus departed from the precedents set in relation to its previous decisions extending the mandates of the United Nations forces in the area, which have seen extensions for periods of no more than six months. This longer but welcome extension has come about as a result of the Agreement between Egypt and Israel of 4 September 1975. It is an agreement which has required of the Egyptian people and their leaders much fortitude and courage in circumstances of great difficulty, and despite the situation in which their lands continue to be despoiled by a foreign occupier.

63. In referring to this Agreement in a statement in the general debate in the General Assembly on 1 October, my Minister for Foreign Affairs stated:

"The prospects for lasting peace in the Middle East begin and end with the rights of the Palestinian people. For their struggle is an integral part of the liberation struggle throughout the world. This area, the ancient cradle of so many cultures and religions, is today the arena in which is being played out the competition and conflict of the interests of major Powers, Powers which are intent on supporting the expansionist aims of Zionism, or securing the control of communications or of energy resources.

"In the welter of such turbulence we must continue to insist that the foremost responsibility of the international community in this area is the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people.

"At the same time, we welcome the recent agreement which has been negotiated, the first agreement not spawned in the immediate wake of armed conflict. It may be that such gradualist approaches can lead to an ultimate peace... Such a peace must be founded on an acceptable solution to the Palestinian problem and on an Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied by force."⁵

My delegation hopes that this new agreement will give an important impetus towards the search for an over-all settlement leading to just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

64. It is in that context that Guyana has been able to support the extension of the mandate of UNEF for a period of one year. We remain conscious, however, of the Secretary-General's most pertinent observation in paragraph 28 of his report, which has found a place in our resolution, that

"any relaxation of the search for a comprehensive settlement covering all aspects of the Middle East problem could be especially dangerous in the months to come."

Guyana fully subscribes to that analysis.

65. There are certain aspects of the Secretary-General's report which are of special concern to the Council. It is to be noted that with the expanded role envisaged for UNEF the cost of maintaining the Force for the period of the next year may amount to some \$100 million. It is a well-worn cliché to say that the price of peace, though heavy, must be paid. But that does not absolve us from the responsibility of being aware of how heavy that price is becoming. How much better if this large expenditure could have been devoted to the economic and social programmes of the United Nations, which are always without adequate resources.

66. My delegation notes also from the report that the problem of restrictions on the freedom of movement of personnel of certain specified contingents still exists. We repeat our concern at this continuing

problem and would fully support the Secretary-General in his sustained efforts to achieve the objective of freedom of movement of personnel.

67. I should like to make one further observation. In his report, the Secretary-General drew the Council's attention to high-level meetings between the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference and advised us that he was not privy to the results of those efforts. I do not know whether the situation has improved since then. Now, however, that the prospects of peace in the Middle East appear, no matter how tentatively, to be less dismal than hitherto, it is even more necessary for the Council to be fully apprised of developments in this regard. I would therefore repeat what I said at an earlier meeting: my delegation trusts that modalities will be found to keep the Council informed, through the Secretary-General, of the developments in relation to the Geneva Conference, which, it must not be forgotten, is being held under the auspices of the United Nations.

68. Finally, my delegation wishes once again to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and to his staff for their untiring efforts, and to express its appreciation to the men in the Force for their services and to the countries which provide the contingents. We are indeed profoundly grateful to them all.

69. Mr. OYONO (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): The United Republic of Cameroon has just voted in favour of the draft resolution, by which the Security Council has renewed for one year the mandate of UNEF stationed in the Egypt-Israel sector. Our reasons for that are sufficiently well known to everyone here to make it unnecessary for us to emphasize the concern that we feel regarding the very unstable and potentially explosive situation which still exists in that part of the world and which has led the Secretary-General once again to recommend, in his report, the continuation by UNEF of its necessary and complex peace mission.

70. Since the most recent developments in that region have substantially increased the important obligations of UNEF, my delegation believes that it is justified for additional resources to be given the Secretary-General to enable him effectively to discharge the task that the Security Council entrusted to him in resolutions 340 (1973) and 341 (1973) regarding UNEF.

71. My delegation is gratified at the peace efforts which were given specific form in the Agreement signed on 14 September 1975 between Egypt and Israel and which made it possible to unfreeze a situation that had entailed serious risks of armed confrontation. The Governments of Israel and Egypt have made it clear that they regard that Agreement as an important step towards a just and lasting peace, and not as a peace agreement. In other words, additional efforts must be made in the dynamic atmosphere of goodwill

that has been created, in order to accelerate the establishment of a peace which, if it is to be lasting in that region must above all be just.

72. My delegation is convinced that, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Cameroon emphasized on 30 September last, during the general debate at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly,⁶ a felicitous outcome of the Middle East problem is to be found in an over-all solution of the basic causes of the present situation, a solution taking into account the interests of all the parties concerned, and particularly the legitimacy of the claims of the Palestinian people for the full exercise of all their rights, including their right to their own homeland.

73. It is because we are convinced that peace and security in the Middle East can be achieved only through such an over-all approach, and without underestimating the complexity of the problem which has led, for practical considerations and reasons of effectiveness, to step-by-step approaches to the settlement of the problem, that my delegation accepts the renewal of the mandate of UNEF for one year, in the hope that the parties directly concerned will make good use of the time thus given to them to speed up the process of a total and peaceful settlement of the Middle East question in accordance with Security Council resolution 338 (1973).

74. In conclusion, my delegation would once again express its sincere gratitude to the Secretary-General, to General Ensio Siilasvuo, Commander of the Force until August, and to his successor, General Bengt Liljestrand, as well as to all the staff of UNEF, for the efforts they have made in carrying out their delicate task.

75. Mr. VINCI (Italy): The important decision taken by the Security Council this morning to renew for one whole year the mandate of UNEF seems to indicate that circumstances and conditions have somewhat improved. Recalling those hard-working and anxious days last July when the previous renewal for three months was negotiated, I feel in duty bound to express the satisfaction of my Government at the betterment of the situation in the Sinai, and I must also acknowledge that this is due to strenuous, relentless efforts from many sides to overcome various difficult problems with which they were confronted.

76. The Security Council's resolution 371 (1975) has proved a crucial and indispensable step towards new and major negotiations and achievements, as was rightly foreseen by all those who at the time worked for its adoption.

77. It is generally acknowledged that today even more than before, UNEF appears an irreplaceable instrument in fulfilling the aim of maintaining tranquillity and international order in the area. In so doing, the Force plays an outstanding auxiliary role

with respect to the efforts displayed through the years in order to reach the final objective of a just and durable peace in the Middle East. To this end, some significant results have already been achieved, and among the most recent we must attach to the reopening of the Suez Canal all the symbolic and factual importance it deserves. Moreover, there is a widespread feeling that further encouraging progress may be in sight. At this juncture, renewing the current mandate of UNEF appears a necessary measure to safeguard the pursuance of a dynamic negotiating process, leading to the implementation of resolution 338 (1973) of the Council.

78. The Secretary-General's report exhaustively illustrates the activity of UNEF in the three-month period which is about to end, and gives abundant proof that this body has officially fulfilled its assignment, thus assuring the stability of the area under its control. Among various tasks, those mentioned in paragraphs 15 and 19 of the report, and the new tasks referred to in paragraph 20, have been of particular importance in this period. Their prompt and courageous implementation has provided a considerable contribution to the maintenance of the ceasefire. On the other hand, it has to be emphasized that a further renewal and the prolongation of the present situation should by no means be considered in itself a result on which we can rest. Rather, we share the Secretary-General's assessment that the next months will be crucial for bringing about new positive negotiating results in the interests of the Middle Eastern region.

79. In this connexion, my delegation has taken note with appreciation and satisfaction of the letter which the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt has addressed to you, Mr. President, and which you read to us at the opening of this meeting. The progress advocated seems to have been the main inspiration, indeed, of the interested parties themselves when they reached the Agreement of 4 September 1975.

80. I should like to express once again the appreciation of my delegation to the parties, Governments and individuals alike, who endeavoured with such dedication to reach agreement. The constructive approach assumed on that occasion and at present both by Egypt, in further consenting to the stationing of the Force, and Israel, is still the best ground for encouragement to all those who have followed with great anxiety the development of the Middle East situation over 30 years, including many painful crises and tragic events.

81. I should also like to pay tribute to the positive role played by the Government of the United States of America in reconciling opposed positions, and to the Secretary of State for his personal diplomatic efforts.

82. It goes without saying that in supporting the adoption of the Secretary-General's report, my

delegation joins previous speakers in praising the dedication demonstrated by the Commander of the Force, by its staff, and by individual members of UNEF, and wishes to express particular gratitude and appreciation of the role of co-ordination and supervision played by the Secretary-General himself with his characteristic efficiency.

83. I should like to conclude by thanking the Secretary-General for the further information he has provided us with this morning. My delegation in particular appreciates the assurance he has given that the greatest care will be taken in order to reach the maximum economy compatible with the effective discharge of the task conferred upon UNEF.

84. Mr. TCHERNOUCHTENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): In the course of this year the Security Council has for the third time now had occasion to consider the question of renewing the mandate of UNEF in the Middle East. Unfortunately one thing can be said today: the situation in the Middle East remains complicated and explosive. In practice, because of the position of the aggressor, no steps have been taken which would demonstrate that the relevant decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly are being successfully implemented, decisions designed to bring about a settlement of the Middle East problem and the establishment there of a just and lasting peace, something in which the peoples, not only of the Middle East but of all the countries of the world, have an interest.

85. In this regard, I must remind you that in its resolution adopted three months ago [*resolution 371 (1975)*], the Council once again called upon the interested parties immediately to implement resolution 338 (1973) of the Security Council. However, it is really difficult to talk about any progress in the implementation of resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). The blame for this lies entirely with Israel, which continues to occupy Arab lands and disregards decisions of the United Nations, doing everything it can to delay a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East on the basis of those decisions.

86. The Byelorussian SSR, in the Council and in other organs of the United Nations, has invariably favoured the idea that just and lasting peace should be established in the Middle East. In this regard, the key conditions for establishing that peace are: the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967; the ensuring of the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state; and the guaranteeing of the rights of all States and peoples of the area to an independent existence and development.

87. Our delegation is firmly convinced that no progress can be achieved in a settlement in the Middle

East without a solution to these fundamental problems. In order to achieve a general settlement in the Middle East, what we need is not separate measures which do not resolve the fundamental issues, but a renewal of the work of the Geneva Peace Conference with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

88. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR voted in favour of the draft resolution which renews for one year the mandate of UNEF in the Middle East. In so doing we considered that the Force should on no account be used as a means of perpetuating the occupation of the Arab territories by Israel.

89. With regard to the financial aspects of the problem of UNEF's activities, reference to which is made in paragraph 24 of the Secretary-General's report, we should like to stress that the Council has repeatedly said that UNEF should be maintained with the maximum efficiency and economy; reference is made to this in the draft resolution just adopted by the Council.

90. In his report, the Secretary-General once more, as he has done time and time again, noted the discrimination by Israel against certain contingents of UNEF in restricting their freedom of movement. This obviously reduces the efficiency of UNEF and, in turn, makes it impossible to bring the strength of these troops down to the minimum required and to carry out the operations of the United Nations with the utmost economy. Direct responsibility for this situation lies with Israel, and it is time to demand that Israel cease this discriminatory practice.

91. Without going into detail on the points made in the report of the Secretary-General concerning the increase in the strength of UNEF or the other proposed additional appropriations, our delegation would like to express its conviction that maximum economy will be achieved and that the Secretariat of the United Nations will take measures necessary to achieve that goal, including decisions to avoid increasing the strength of UNEF.

92. At the same time, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR would like to state with regard to the implementation of the provisions of the resolutions of the Security Council concerning maximum economy of funds appropriated for UNEF operations in the Middle East, that it is important to have an accounting of the expenditures for the maintenance of UNEF in that area. In our view this question deserves attention and has assumed even greater urgency because the proposed general volume of expenditure for the maintenance of these forces, if not substantially reduced, will amount to a sum almost equal to one third of the annual budget of the United Nations. The Security Council—and we are sure of this—is entitled to know how in practice these vast sums of money are being spent, sums which are presented for

payment by Member States because of the consequences of Israeli aggression.

93. In conclusion, I should like to state that the Byelorussian SSR has always been and will continue to be unswervingly on the side of the Arab peoples, the victims of Israeli aggression. My country has given them and will continue to give them support in their just struggle for their rights, for the elimination of the consequences of that aggression. Along with other members of the Council who have spoken, we should like to say how right the Secretary-General was to say—and this is reflected in the resolution just adopted—that “any relaxation of the search for a comprehensive settlement covering all aspects of the Middle East problem could be especially dangerous in the months to come”.

94. The latest decision of the Council to renew the mandate of UNEF in the Middle East should be used not for freezing the existing situation, but for the taking of real measures aimed at a comprehensive and genuine settlement in the Middle East in accordance with the relevant decisions of the Security Council designed to establish a just and lasting peace in that part of the world.

95. Mr. SALAZAR (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation is most pleased that the Security Council has adopted the draft resolution, and for our part we are pleased to have been able to contribute by our vote, to its adoption.

96. In the context of the turbulent events which have been occurring in the course of the last quarter of a century in the Middle East, the recent Sinai Agreement which was signed between Egypt and Israel is the most far-reaching step towards the much desired peace in the region. The Agreement reveals that despite the profound differences between the signatory parties, they have chosen the course of negotiation instead of hostile confrontation, which throughout the conflict has represented a high cost in human lives and material losses.

97. The world must view with relief the fact that because of the great negotiating capacity demonstrated by the Israeli and Egyptian parties, for the first time in many years there are real grounds to believe that the agreement they have reached represents the most solid contribution for later arrangements that will be conducive to the establishment of a just and lasting peace. In paying a tribute to the heads of States of both nations for their patient quest to find means to avoid a new outbreak of hostilities, my delegation wishes to emphasize the invaluable contribution made by Mr. Henry Kissinger, the Secretary of State of the United States, thanks to whose lucid mediation it was possible to get the parties to agree on a final arrangement.

98. The presence of UNEF continues in the new arrangement to be a vital factor for maintaining peace and security in the region. As a contingent of vigilance in observing the disengagement of armed forces in the Sinai and in accordance with the will of the parties, it is essential that UNEF continue to function. It was therefore imperative for the Security Council to renew the mandate, as it has just done, so that UNEF will remain in the region for an additional period of one year.

99. Lastly, I should like to refer to the report of the Secretary-General, which contains valuable judgments of the utmost value in assessing the various aspects of the presence of UNEF in Sinai. The Secretary-General rightly points out in paragraph 29 of his report that “The presence of UNEF remains essential, not only to help maintain the cease-fire called for by the Security Council in its resolution 338 (1973), but also to assist in the implementation of the new Agreement.”

100. The report speaks of increased expenditures for UNEF within the new role assigned to it. This is an unavoidable cost which we must pay if the Force is to be kept up to the level of requirements, so as not to disturb peace in the area. Despite all the very understandable appeals that while not reducing efficiency, there should be maximum economy, the cost of maintaining the Force, as has been rightly stated, is the contribution which the international community must make for the lofty purposes of peace. It has been said that “peace has no price”, and this is a demonstrable reality in the Sinai.

101. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): My delegation was pleased to vote for the draft resolution. We did so in the hope that the extension of the mandate would provide yet another opportunity to intensify efforts towards a just and lasting solution of the Middle East conflict, a solution which must entail the total withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the Arab territories under their military occupation and the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinians, as amply championed by the PLO.

102. In brief, we voted for the draft resolution in the hope that the one-year extension which has been consented to by the Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt, gives the parties concerned an opportunity to move without equivocation to the implementation of resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). We consider the consent given by the Government of Egypt to extend the mandate as a clear manifestation of that country's willingness to extend full co-operation with a view to finding a peaceful solution of the problem. Such a position is fully in accord with the wishes and demands of both the Security Council and the General Assembly. The fact that the mandate has been extended for one full year, instead of the previous practice of a quarterly or six-months' extension, must be viewed as a unique opportunity for an intensification of efforts

and negotiation towards a peaceful, just and lasting settlement.

103. But nothing would be more dangerous than to use the length of the extension as an opportunity for further consolidation of the forces of occupation. And nothing would be more irresponsible than for the Council, or for that matter the international community as a whole, to view the situation with complacency, for as the Secretary-General has candidly pointed out in paragraph 28 of his report and the Council has rightly just endorsed in the resolution, "any relaxation of the search for a comprehensive settlement covering all aspects of the Middle East problem could be especially dangerous in the months to come". We entirely endorse this pertinent observation of the Secretary-General.

104. It is our hope, therefore, that the Security Council and the United Nations in the days and months to come will work relentlessly to bring an end to the injustice currently prevailing in the Middle East, as characterized by the continued occupation of Arab land and the flagrant violation and denial of the Palestinians' legitimate rights and aspirations, and we should like to stress emphatically that UNEF should under no circumstances be used as an instrument to perpetuate occupation.

105. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to join those who have preceded me in paying a well deserved tribute to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts in the cause of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We also fully associate ourselves with the tribute and commendation rightly paid to the Commanders and men of UNEF for their dedicated and efficient contribution in the cause of peace. Needless to say our gratitude also goes to the Governments contributing troops to UNEF.

106. The PRESIDENT: With the permission of the Council I should now like to make a brief statement as representative of the Government of SWEDEN.

107. My Government shares the view of the Secretary-General, as expressed in his report, that the presence of UNEF remains essential to help maintain the cease-fire called for by the Security Council in its resolution 338 (1973). My delegation thus was pleased

to vote today in favour of the draft resolution which has just been adopted.

108. My Government also shares the view expressed by the Secretary-General in his report that the Agreement between Egypt and Israel concluded last September is an important development. The Agreement has assisted in achieving a considerable relaxation of tension in the area concerned. However, it is in no way a final peace agreement, and none of the parties to it regard it as such.

109. Now, when the situation in the Sinai area is one of relative calm, we urge the parties in the Middle East to use this breathing spell for a thorough analysis of all possibilities of taking further steps towards a just and lasting peace. No lasting peace is possible without a solution of all the basic problems in the Middle East. The parties there now have an historic opportunity which they must seize. If this opportunity is not used creatively and actively, the consequences will certainly be very serious indeed. They could even be disastrous. The real importance of the 4 September Agreement will thus in future be evaluated in the light of what measures and steps the parties in the area are prepared to take.

110. I want to use this opportunity to congratulate the Secretary-General and his staff for their dedication and untiring efforts in connexion with the UNEF and its operation, not the least their skilful efforts now under way to adjust the UNEF operations to the new complicated picture created by the Sinai Agreement. The problems ahead are certainly difficult, but if all Member States are prepared fully to assist the Secretary-General in implementation of his report, I am convinced that it will be possible for the UNEF to continue to operate efficiently and smoothly, as it has done up to now with a more limited task.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

Notes

¹ See resolution 378 (1975).

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Sessions*, 2358th meeting.

³ *Ibid.*, 2357th meeting.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2355th meeting.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 2370th meeting.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 2368th meeting.

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