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NOTE

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1964th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 22 October 1976, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Iqbal A. AKHUND (Pakistan).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Benin, China, France, Guyana, Italy, Japan, Libyan Arab Republic, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1964/Rev.1)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the Middle East:
Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Emergency Force (S/12212)

The meeting was called to order at 4.05 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/12212)

1. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now proceed with its examination of the item on its agenda, which mentions the report of the Secretary-General dated 18 October 1976 on the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) for the period 17 October 1975 to 18 October 1976.

2. I should like to direct the attention of the members of the Council to the draft resolution contained in document S/12219. During consultations prior to this meeting, an agreement was reached among the members of the Council on the 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.

3. Under the provisions of operative paragraph 1, subparagraph (c), of the draft resolution, the Security Council would request the Secretary-General to submit at the end of the period—that is, by 24 October 1977—a report on the developments in the situation and the steps taken to implement Security Council resolution 338 (1973). Members of the Security Council have asked me to make it clear that, should developments occur which would lead the Secretary-General to

consider it appropriate to report to the Council at an earlier date, they would of course expect him to do so and that he will continue his efforts to assist the early resumption of the negotiations for a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East.

4. Further, I have been asked by the delegations of China and the Libyan Arab Republic to say that they will not participate in the vote on the draft resolution and that, as a result, they do not subscribe to the agreed statement which I have just read on behalf of the members of the Council.

5. Before the Council proceeds to the vote, I call on the Secretary-General to make a statement in connexion with his report.

6. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: The Security Council has before it my report on UNEF, which gives an account of the activities of the Force over the past year. The report deals, among other things, with the role of the Force under the Agreement between Egypt and Israel of 4 September 1975 [see S/11818 and Add.1-4] and the Protocol of 22 September [see S/11818/Add.5 of 10 October 1975]. In this connexion, I would like to emphasize that, as mentioned in my report, both the area of operation of UNEF and its responsibilities are greatly enlarged under this Agreement.

7. In my report to the Council of 17 October 1975 [S/11849], I was obliged to propose to the Council certain increases in the personnel and equipment of the Force so that it could effectively carry out its new tasks. In the light of experience over the past year, it has been possible to make a reduction in the number of troops actually required as against the estimate which I gave at that time. This has meant that it has been possible also to make a reduction in the budget estimates for the coming year as compared with those for the past year. I wish to assure the Council that I shall keep continuously in mind the necessity of practising the utmost economy consonant with efficient performance.

8. I have indicated in my report that in the present circumstances I feel that the prolongation of the mandate is essential in order to maintain quiet and to create an atmosphere conducive to the active search for a peaceful solution. In this regard, I note that the preamble to the draft resolution now before the Council reflects the view expressed in my report that, in the

absence of progress in efforts to implement resolution 338 (1973), the situation in the Middle East will inevitably remain unstable.

9. As you, Mr. President, mentioned in your remarks to the Council a few moments ago, it has always been the practice for the Secretary-General to keep the Council informed of significant developments. I wish to assure the members of the Council that I shall not fail to do this should circumstances at any time require it.

10. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the procedure agreed upon previously, I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/12219.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Benin, France, Guyana, Italy, Japan, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America

Against: None

Two members (China and the Libyan Arab Republic) did not participate in the voting.

The draft resolution was adopted by 13 votes to none with no abstentions (resolution 396 (1976)).

11. The PRESIDENT: A number of representatives have expressed the wish to make statements following the voting and I shall now call on them.

12. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The Council, on the expiry of the mandate of UNEF, has before it two reports dated 18 October of the Secretary-General, one relating to the activities and functioning of UNEF which we are considering under the agenda item, and the other, relating to the efforts made by the Secretary-General to implement Security Council resolution 338 (1973) [S/12210].

13. From the first report it emerges that UNEF discharged its functions in an exemplary fashion, and the Romanian delegation would like to congratulate all the members of the Force on that accomplishment.

14. We should also like to take this opportunity to express our warm gratitude to the Secretary-General for the efficiency with which he has conducted the operations of UNEF and also for his initiatives and tireless efforts to promote the resumption of negotiations with a view to a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem, initiatives and efforts which we should like to see continued in the future.

15. Of course, peace and tranquillity have been maintained in the area, but that is due above all to the

political wisdom of the States directly concerned. We must recognize that in spite of the arrangements that have been made and other things that have been done to maintain peace, the situation in the Middle East will inevitably remain unstable and dangerous unless progress is achieved towards the implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council.

16. In this regard, the President of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, speaking just a few days ago to a group of press correspondents from the United States, said:

“The maintenance of a state of tension in the Middle East constitutes a serious danger to peace not only in that area but also throughout the world. For its part, Romania, which is in the vicinity of that area, had a direct interest, as indeed have other European States, in establishing at the earliest possible date a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. In this regard, the resumption of the Geneva Conference with the participation of the interested countries and other States able to make a contribution to a more rapid solution of this problem could be an important initiative. I believe that those primarily concerned should finally come to realize that it is not possible to bring about peace in the Middle East without the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories occupied as a result of the 1967 war and without a settlement of the Palestinian problem, including the creation of an independent Palestinian State. Furthermore, recent events in Lebanon have shown that the Palestinian problem must be solved as soon as possible. It is true that a lasting peace cannot be achieved unless the independence and territorial integrity of all States in the Middle East are guaranteed.

“In this regard, I consider that the United Nations could play a much bigger role than it has played so far. I believe that it is regrettable that the United Nations has not been involved more directly in the solution of Middle East problems, and it is my belief that in the future a more important role should be given to the Organization not only in Geneva but more generally with regard to all initiatives aimed at bringing about a solution to this problem. I believe that in fact we should now contemplate a new approach, namely, a global solution and not a partial solution of problems, because any partial approach can only serve to complicate matters and create new dangers for peace in the Middle East and in the world as a whole.”

17. We share the view of the Secretary-General as stated in his report that: “The presence of UNEF in the Egypt-Israel sector has undoubtedly been a major factor in the maintenance of the cease-fire” and that the essential role of the Force should be “to maintain quiet and to create an atmosphere conducive to the active search for the peaceful solution of underlying political problems” [S/12212, para. 43]. Consequently, we feel that the activities of UNEF form part of the

constructive measures which are conducive to the maintenance of a propitious atmosphere for efforts to bring about a resumption of negotiations. It was in this spirit that the Romanian delegation voted a few moments ago in favour of the draft resolution whereby the mandate of UNEF has just been extended for one year.

18. I should like to take this opportunity to express to you, the President, Mr. Akhund of Pakistan, the deep gratitude of the delegation of Romania for your persevering energetic and patient efforts, which made this positive result possible.

19. As has been stressed on other occasions, and within the mandate of UNEF itself, the Force must operate with the full co-operation of the parties. We are aware of the fact that the Force is on Egyptian territory and that in taking any decision concerning the activities of that Force it is very important to have, above all, the consent of that country. That is why we should like to pay tribute to the Egyptian Government for its patience in agreeing to a new extension of the mandate of UNEF and for its determination to abide by peaceful procedures within the political framework offered by the Organization in its attempts to claim its inalienable rights.

20. The extension of the mandate of the Force is a positive and necessary fact, but it cannot be an end in itself. The activities of the Force cannot be viewed as anything but a provisional measure of limited duration; otherwise it would mean perpetuating instability, injustice and, in particular, foreign military occupation.

21. That is why we recommend to the States concerned that they make the most of the new extension of the mandate of UNEF, redouble their efforts and begin as soon as possible real negotiations with a view to solving the fundamental problems of establishing the just and lasting peace which is so greatly desired by their peoples.

22. Mr. LAI Ya-li (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): With regard to the question of the extension of UNEF, the Chinese delegation has always held a different position in principle. Basing ourselves on that position, we did not participate in the vote on the draft resolution.

23. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Security Council has just adopted a resolution extending the mandate of UNEF in the Middle East. The question of extending the mandate of the Force cannot be viewed in isolation from the general overall context of the situation in the Middle East and in isolation from the fundamental task of achieving a comprehensive settlement in that area.

24. We note with regret and concern that the past year was not used as it should have been for a real

search for a proper solution to the Middle East problem. Security Council resolution 338 (1973), within the framework of which the mandate of UNEF was extended, has still not been complied with. Tension in the Middle East is still as strong as ever; the situation in that area is extremely unstable and insecure, and a new military outbreak could occur there. Furthermore, there cannot be peace and there will not be peace in the Middle East in general until the reasons for the Middle East conflict have been eliminated. These are: the occupation by Israel of Arab territory, the deprivation of the Arab people of Palestine of its inalienable rights and the continuing state of war.

25. The Soviet Union did not make any objection to the new extension of the mandate of UNEF in the Egypt-Israel sector, but we cannot fail today to give thought to what the almost automatic extension of UNEF's mandates will lead to. This is already the fourth year that this has happened. In the final analysis, the Security Council in setting up this Force, by no means considered it an end in itself. The Emergency Force has always been only one of the means of creating a favourable situation for a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. In the absence of progress in this extremely important matter the Force is becoming a means of freezing the situation in the interests of those who occupy Arab territory.

26. The Soviet Union is convinced that the present situation in the Middle East requires immediate efforts to ensure a breakthrough there in order to achieve a comprehensive political settlement. The basis for such a settlement has long been obvious. It has three organically linked and mutually interdependent elements.

27. The first is the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied as a result of the aggression committed by Israel in 1967. Such a settlement would be just to the Arab States, which are the victims of Israeli aggression. It would provide for their return to the territories belonging to them and for the restoration of their sovereignty over those territories and would eliminate the threat of new aggression.

28. The second element is to meet the lawful national demands of the Arab people of Palestine, including the demand to exercise its inalienable right to create its own State. Such a solution would be just to the Palestinian Arab people and derives from its right to create its own independent State.

29. The third element is international guarantees for the security and inviolability of the frontiers of all States in the Middle East, including Israel, and their right to an independent existence and development. Such a solution would be just to all countries in the area, including Israel. It would ensure for Israel conditions of peace and security within recognized frontiers.

30. The urgent need for a comprehensive political settlement in the Middle East on this basis is quite obvious, and a forum exists for this purpose and is recognized as politically acceptable by all parties concerned—the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East. We can no longer postpone a resumption of its work. The course of events in the Middle East is too dangerous. Anyone who opposed the resumption of the work of the Geneva Peace Conference would be assuming a very heavy responsibility.

31. In this connexion, the Soviet Union recently took a new initiative by putting forward its proposal for a settlement in the Middle East and a resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference, circulated on 7 October this year [S/12208, annex]. The Soviet Union proposes the immediate resumption of the work of the Geneva Peace Conference with the participation of all interested parties, including, of course, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

32. The Soviet Union has put forward concrete proposal for the agenda of the Conference: the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967; the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including its right to self-determination and the creation of its own State; the guaranteeing of the right to an independent existence and the security of all States which are direct parties to the conflict—the Arab States which are neighbours of Israel on the one hand and the State of Israel on the other—and the granting to them of appropriate international guarantees; and a cessation of the state of war between the Arab countries concerned and Israel. That agenda, which includes all the key aspects of a settlement, takes into account the lawful rights and interests of all the sides directly involved in the conflict.

33. The Soviet Union is convinced that a real possibility exists for eliminating the root causes of the Middle East conflict and reaching an agreement on a comprehensive settlement at the Geneva Peace Conference.

34. The delegation of the Soviet Union made no objection to the extension of the mandate of UNEF in the Egypt-Israel sector—but on the firm understanding that real and urgent steps will finally be taken to achieve a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. In that connexion, the Soviet delegation would draw attention to the timely warning contained in the Secretary-General's report that

“If there is a continuing lack of progress in efforts to implement Security Council resolution 338 (1973), the situation in the Middle East will inevitably remain unstable in spite of peace-keeping and other arrangements.” [S/12212, para. 43.]

35. We should like to note with satisfaction the Secretary-General's efforts in connexion with the

promotion of compliance with Council decisions, the exercise of the utmost economy in expenditures for the maintenance of UNEF, and the strength of the Force. At the same time, the delegation of the Soviet Union would like to stress the necessity that the United Nations Secretariat and the UNEF Command keep very close watch on the matter of exercising the utmost economy in expenditures for the Force and the matter of reducing the strength of the Force when circumstances make that possible.

36. Mr. LECOMPT (France) (*interpretation from French*): The decision that the Council has just taken under your capable and lofty guidance, Mr. President, might appear to be a routine decision. It is not, however, either useless or without merit. The renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Sinai is obviously useful because it means that in the coming year it will continue to be understood that the adversaries in the 1973 war will place their confidence in the United Nations so that they may remain separated from each other and may make further attempts to reach a true peace settlement. There is merit in our resolution because we are providing those who wish to assist in the reaching of a peaceful solution with the means of seeking such a solution with the co-operation of the two parties concerned, one of which has part of its territory occupied by the other.

37. As we know only too well, the present problems in the Middle East are so serious, their implications are so vast, their consequences are often so dramatic—as we see from the events taking place not far from Sinai—that there can be a certain feeling of disappointment at simply prolonging an existing arrangement in a particular part of the overall scene, at taking measures of a static nature that simply maintain what is already there, when all the world agrees on the need to set in motion a major movement towards peace.

38. I would say once again that there really is no contradiction here. The maintenance of UNEF is a necessary, although not sufficient, condition for any attempt at a solution in the Middle East. As the Secretary-General states in his report, the presence of the Force remains essential “to maintain quiet and to create an atmosphere conducive to the active search for the peaceful solution of underlying political problems” [*ibid.*].

39. Perhaps we should go even further and recognize all the positive results of the presence of the Force, whose functions and responsibilities were considerably expanded as a result of the Agreement of 4 September 1975 between Egypt and Israel [see S/11818 and Add.1-4]. The Force played a role, and an important role, in the improvement of the situation by making it possible to redeploy the opposing forces, in conditions that have been described as exemplary, thanks to the discipline, the understanding and the sense of duty of all the members of the Force, whatever their

rank. Moreover, the United Nations Force has given its full assistance in various humanitarian activities in the Sinai. And what has been the most remarkable has been the conditions in which the Force has carried out its task. As the Secretary-General's report states, the Force has "enjoyed the full co-operation of the parties" in carrying out the functions assigned to it [S/12212, para. 42]. Of course, some minor difficulties have arisen, there have been some complaints—indeed it would have been astonishing if there had not been; but corrective measures have been sought and, in the final analysis, we must congratulate ourselves on the fact that there has been no serious violation of the cease-fire or of the Agreement of September 1975.

40. The renewal of the mandate of the Force, which would not have been possible without the assent of the two parties, constitutes a further manifestation—following on the Agreement of September 1975—of their good will. I should like once again to salute their attitude, which is perhaps not always sufficiently understood or supported. To speak of the "dynamics of peace" is one thing; to put that into practice, to create and maintain the delicate conditions making it possible, is another thing. For that, real political courage must be shown—the kind of courage shown by one of the great apostles of peace of our century, a former French Minister for Foreign Affairs, Aristide Briand. In one of his speeches in the League of Nations, Briand made the following observation, which is very instructive in the context of the situation in the Middle East:

"A country does not go down in history as a great country because of the heroism of its sons on the battlefield or because of their victories there. A country becomes great if, in the midst of difficult events, in trying times when it is often difficult for the voice of reason to be heard, it is able to resist being carried away, it remains patient, and it has recourse to the law to confirm its legitimate interests."

41. The extension of the mandate of the Force bears witness to the renewed confidence of the countries that have accepted that renewal in the possibility of reaching a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East by peaceful means. That display of confidence must not be in vain, because in this respect, the despair of peoples deprived of their rights grows in proportion to their dashed hopes.

42. This means that the presence of UNEF can be justified only if there is an active search for peace. That is the meaning of the resolution just adopted, since it contains a provision calling upon all parties concerned immediately to implement Council resolution 338 (1973). That is also the opinion of the Secretary-General himself. In his report he does not fail to emphasize that, "if there is a continuing lack of progress in efforts to implement resolution 338 (1973), the situation in the Middle East will inevitably

remain unstable in spite of peace-keeping and other arrangements." [Ibid., para. 43.]

43. We are bound to regret that United Nations provisions regarding the settlement of the Middle East problem have not yet been fully implemented and that the time that has elapsed since the adoption of resolution 338 (1973)—a considerable time—has not been fully utilized to achieve progress in the search for a solution.

44. Certainly efforts have been made, and some goodwill has been shown. This is not discouraging. In particular I should like once again to pay a tribute to the remarkable contribution of the Secretary-General and his assistants in this task of peace. I am sure, we are all sure, that the Secretary-General is, as he has told us, ready once more to make further efforts for the cause of peace in the Middle East, in the same direction as that taken by the Council, which has been entrusted with the ultimate responsibility for the maintenance and consolidation of peace in the world. There is no doubt that the experience the Secretary-General has acquired in this matter will be an important reason—among others—for the hopes we place in the resumption of negotiations that are as needful as they are urgent.

45. Today I shall once again briefly recall the background to the action we must take. In the opinion of the French delegation, any lasting peace settlement in the Middle East must be based on three fundamental principles: withdrawal from the territories occupied by Israel in 1967; recognition of the right of the Palestinians to a homeland; and recognition of the right of all the States in the region to live in peace within secure, recognized and guaranteed frontiers. In regard to the guarantees of the future settlement I should like also to recall that my country is prepared actively to contribute to a system of overall guarantees so as to strengthen peace in the region.

46. Therefore, we express the hope that as soon as possible the conditions for a resumption of the Geneva Conference will be met and that there will be genuine negotiations that will finally make it possible to deal with the essential problems and with the implementation of the principles I have just recalled. An overall settlement covering all the aspects of the conflict increasingly appears to be the proper means of facilitating the establishment of the expected peace. We must all act in such a way as to preserve the peoples of the region from a new conflict. It is my delegation's most ardent wish that the year we have set ourselves will be fruitful in developments which will open the way for actions more concrete than the mere interposing of an emergency force, so that we may attain the peace to which we all aspire.

47. Mr. VINCI (Italy): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution in document S/12219. The reasons for our decision are quite obvious. I shall

sum them up by saying that my Government fully shares the view of the Secretary-General, who in his comprehensive and enlightening report states, "I consider the continued presence of UNEF in the area to be essential" [S/12212, para. 44].

48. There are grounds for comfort in dealing with the present item. In fact, my delegation considers that the United Nations is indeed conducting a successful operation in the Sinai peninsula. As is indicated in paragraph 2 of the Secretary-General's report, the situation in the area of operations of the UNEF has remained stable and the Force has continued efficiently to discharge its mandate. We further note that, as is indicated in paragraph 43 of his report, in the opinion of the Secretary-General the presence of UNEF has undoubtedly been a major factor in the maintenance in the Egypt-Israel sectors of the cease-fire called for by the Council.

49. In short, the UNEF operation is a success, and the 4,174 young men the Council has sent to the Sinai to prevent war and to keep peace in the area are most valiant representatives of the Organization and individually and collectively embody all the United Nations stands for.

50. That being the case, may I add that we should all be grateful to those who helped to bring about this achievement.

51. First I should like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, who very wisely and generously supervised and instructed the process which eventually led to the assumption of new functions and responsibilities such as those indicated in paragraph 2 of his report under the terms of the Agreement and the Protocol of September 1975 [see S/11818 and Add.1-5].

52. I should like again to express our thanks and appreciation to all the countries that contribute to the Force—namely, Australia, Canada, Finland, Ghana, Indonesia, Poland and Sweden, as well as to the countries that contribute to the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine (UNTSO), which, as we know, provides UNEF with a special task force. I personally take some pride in the services rendered by the Italian officers in UNTSO.

53. UNEF has succeeded in setting up a highly disciplined, well-organized and efficient unit. I wish once again to acknowledge the commendable manner in which it has carried out its functions and to pay a tribute to its Commanding Officers, Lieutenant-General Ensio Siilasvuo and Lieutenant-General Bengt Liljestrand.

54. We extend our congratulations also to the two Governments involved, those of Egypt and Israel, for the wise stand they have taken. In particular, we wish to express our appreciation to the Cairo Government for the further consent it gave for the stationing of the Force.

55. We could not agree more with the view expressed by the Secretary-General in his statement and in paragraph 43 of his report that, if there is going to be a continuing lack of progress in the efforts to implement resolution 338 (1973), the situation in the Middle East will inevitably remain unstable despite peace-keeping and other arrangements.

56. We have appreciated the efforts carried out for that purpose by the Secretary-General himself and by interested parties. We should like to assure the Council that Italy favours and effectively promotes the continuation of those efforts in close co-operation with the other members of the European Community.

57. Mr. SHERER (United States of America): The Council has acted today to continue for a period of one year the essential peace-keeping services of UNEF in the Sinai. The Emergency Force has played an indispensable role in helping to maintain the cease-fire called for by the Council in resolution 338 (1973) and reaffirmed in the Agreement between Egypt and Israel of 4 September 1975 [*ibid.*]. Maintenance of the cease-fire, however, was only one element of the carefully balanced formulation contained in resolution 338 (1973). In renewing UNEF for an additional year we must remind ourselves in the most urgent terms that negotiation of a just and durable peace was the ultimate purpose of that resolution.

58. In welcoming this renewal the United States wishes to reiterate its commitment to a determined effort to achieve an overall settlement in the Middle East acceptable to all the parties. In this regard I would recall that Secretary of State Kissinger said on 30 September in speaking to the General Assembly:

"The United States will do all it can to assure that by the time this Assembly meets next year it will be possible to report significant progress towards a just and lasting peace in the Middle East."

That pledge is equally appropriate in the context of the Council's deliberations today.

59. The performance of the UNEF Command in responding to its expanded responsibilities during the past year has been exemplary in every respect. The territorial scope of its activities substantially widened as a result of the Agreement of 4 September 1975. In addition, as the Secretary-General noted in his report, UNEF has to an increased extent been called upon to exercise its good offices to resolve problems in the implementation of that Agreement which might otherwise have posed difficulties. We were fortunate that during this critical period the United Nations peace-keeping forces in the Middle East were ably led by Lieutenant-General Ensio Siilasvuo. Our appreciation goes also to Lieutenant-General Liljestrand for his efforts as Commander of UNEF for the past 14 months.

60. The Secretary-General has noted in his report that UNEF has enjoyed the full co-operation of the parties concerned in discharging its complex and vital responsibilities. We should like to pay tribute here to the constructive spirit in which both sides have approached their responsibilities in fulfilment of the cease-fire and subsequent agreements.

61. We are particularly gratified to observe that the Secretary-General has been able through judicious management to reduce the UNEF budget for the coming year without sacrificing its operational effectiveness in any way. I heartily congratulate him and his staff for this achievement.

62. Mr. ELHOFARI (Libyan Arab Republic): Mr. President, as this is the first occasion that my delegation has had to address the Security Council this month, allow me, first of all, to extend to you on behalf of the delegation of the Libyan Arab Republic our sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. My delegation is gratified to see an eminent diplomat of a sister country, with which we maintain close and affectionate ties, presiding over the Council. We are deeply satisfied with the efficient manner in which you have been conducting the Council's deliberations, a manner which, indeed, reflects the familiar vigour and fervour of the people of the great country that you represent. Those of us who have been privileged to know you over the years are not at all surprised by the striking calibre of the leadership that you have revealed.

63. On behalf of Mr. Kikhia, I thank the esteemed members of the Council for their most kind words of praise and congratulations for the manner in which he presided over the deliberations of the Council during the month of September.

64. Also on behalf of the Libyan Arab Republic delegation, I should like to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his earnest endeavours as well as for his excellent report to the Council in connexion with the item under discussion.

65. The position of the Libyan Arab Republic regarding the renewal of the mandate of UNEF is well known and has not altered. As was previously stated by the Libyan delegation in the Council on 28 May last, resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), on which the presence of UNEF is based, are "irrelevant as a framework for any just and lasting solution to the Palestine problem and to the Middle East question" [1923rd meeting, para. 71].

66. We contend that General Assembly resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3237 (XXIX), reaffirming the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people; resolution 3376 (XXX), proposing means designed to enable the Palestinian people to achieve their national rights; and resolution 3379 (XXX), condemning zionism as a racist movement, elucidate the profound changes in

and maturity of the attitude of the United Nations and international opinion, and invoke re-examination of the entire question and the mode of dealing with it.

67. Hence, for that reason the delegation of the Libyan Arab Republic did not participate in the debate on the present item or in the vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/12219.

68. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden): As a consequence of the Agreement between Egypt and Israel of 4 September 1975, [see S/11818 and Add.1-4] a number of essential new tasks were assigned to UNEF in addition to those already given to the Force at the time of its creation. The deployment of UNEF was changed considerably and the area which it has to cover became vastly expanded. Its responsibilities are thus far more extensive and complex now than those with which it had been entrusted previously. The assignment of these new tasks has increased the importance of the role that UNEF has to play in the area. The decision just taken by the Security Council is therefore of great importance as it establishes a basis for another year of UNEF peace-keeping activities.

69. With increased responsibilities assigned to it, UNEF has become an integral element in the implementation of the new Agreement. The Force is not only crucial for the fulfilment of the Agreement, but it is a central element in the delicate structure that constitutes the present political and military situation in the Middle East. The Secretary-General states in his report that

"The presence of UNEF in the Egypt-Israel sector has undoubtedly been a major factor in the maintenance of the cease-fire called for by the Security Council and reaffirmed in the Egypt-Israel Agreement." [S/12212, para. 43.]

The Secretary-General also concludes that "the continued presence of UNEF in the area [is] essential". [Ibid., para. 44.] The Swedish Government fully shares this view of the Secretary-General.

70. However, as other delegations have already pointed out, UNEF remains in the Middle East not to serve as a substitute for a settlement but to provide a foundation for negotiations towards a settlement. The presence of UNEF must not be allowed to have the effect of causing the quiet now prevailing in the area to degenerate into stagnation. The paramount reason for the continued presence of UNEF is to serve as a means of helping further negotiations by providing time and ensuring calm in the area.

71. The prolongation of the mandate for a period of one whole year should give all the parties ample time to take real and positive steps towards negotiations. If, however, the time given is not utilized for efforts towards implementation of resolution 338 (1973), the tension could rapidly increase. As the Secretary-

General states in his report, the situation in the area is "unstable in spite of peace-keeping and other arrangements" [*ibid.*, para. 43]. Inactivity in this respect could therefore be extremely dangerous. Sweden strongly urges all concerned to undertake renewed efforts.

72. I want to use this opportunity to express my Government's sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General and his staff for their dedication and untiring efforts in connexion with UNEF and its operations and especially for the extremely smooth and efficient way in which the new and considerably more difficult task has been carried out.

73. In conclusion, I also wish, on behalf of my Government, to pay a warm tribute to the Chief Coordinator of the United Nations Peace-keeping Missions in the Middle East, Lieutenant-General Ensio Siilasvuo, to the Commander of UNEF, Lieutenant-General Bengt Liljestrand, and to the officers and men of UNEF. Having had the opportunity to visit the area recently and to talk to the generals, to other officers and to a considerable number of soldiers, I came away with a strong impression of the considerable responsibility each one of them faces in their daily work, of the keen awareness on their part—officers and men alike—of this responsibility and of the calm, skilful, efficient and courteous way in which they all perform the complicated and difficult tasks entrusted to them.

74. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): One year ago, when the mandate of UNEF was extended for an unprecedented period of one year, my delegation expressed the cautious hope that the year-long extension would provide the opportunity for movement towards a comprehensive Middle East settlement. Now, a year later, our hopes have not yet been realized. The Secretary-General, in his report to the General Assembly and the Security Council, has informed us of his efforts to bring about a resumption of negotiations aimed at achieving a just and lasting Middle East settlement. Those efforts have so far been unsuccessful.

75. My delegation has, however, voted in favour of the extension of UNEF's mandate, because we agree that the presence of the United Nations peace-keeping forces has been instrumental in maintaining a cease-fire between Egyptian and Israeli forces. Furthermore, committed as Guyana is to the peaceful settlement of disputes, we continue to harbour the hope that the fresh breathing space offered by the renewal of the mandate will underscore the need to redouble efforts to achieve a comprehensive Middle East settlement. At the same time, we wish to warn, as on previous occasions, against any tendency to see the renewal of the mandate of UNEF as a routine and procedural exercise. We do not subscribe to the indefinite passage of resolutions in such a manner. They can in no way stand as a substitute for a peace settlement.

76. In recent months, developments of a particular nature in the Middle East may have had the effect of obscuring the fundamental realities of the Middle East problem, but the real situation in the Middle East has tended to take on an increasingly disquieting aspect. The reality of aggression, occupation and injustice has become subordinated to a situation the underlying cause of which is to be found in the displacement of the Palestinians from their homeland. We must be on guard against being distracted from the substantive issue. We must focus firmly on the crux of the Middle East problem. My Foreign Minister, Comrade Wills, did this in the general debate when he said:

"In the Middle East the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people remains the *sine qua non* of a just and lasting peace. Huddled in refugee camps, subjected to the crumbs of international compassion, the Palestinians still await the restoration and exercise of their inalienable... rights."²

My Foreign Minister went on to reiterate the three principles on which, in Guyana's view, a Middle East peace hinges: first, the right of the Palestinian people to a homeland; secondly, the right of all States in the area, including the State of Israel, to exist within boundaries that are universally recognized; and, thirdly, the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied since 5 June 1967.

77. However, a Middle East peace still seems all too elusive. As you said in your statement, Mr. President, members of the Council expect that the Secretary-General will assist in the early resumption of negotiations for a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. It is time indeed to regain the momentum. It is time to reconvene the Geneva Peace Conference, with the involvement of all interested parties, including importantly the representatives of the Palestinian people, the PLO.

78. Before concluding, I wish to pay tribute to the troops that serve in the Emergency Force and to those countries that have so selflessly supplied them. I should like in particular to congratulate the forces and their officers for performing their trying and arduous duties with such commendable efficiency in a widely expanded Area. Finally, our congratulations and thanks go to the Secretary-General and his hard-working staff.

79. Mr. MURRAY (United Kingdom): My delegation was pleased to vote in favour of the draft resolution we have just adopted renewing the mandate of UNEF for a further year. There can be no doubt of the important role played by UNEF in maintaining the cease-fire and in carrying out the tasks assigned to it under the Egypt-Israel Agreement [*see S/11818 and Add.1-4*]. Despite the progress that has been made, the underlying situation in the area remains dangerous. We agree, therefore, with the judgement of the Secretary-General that the continued presence of the Force remains essential at the present time.

80. At the same time, I wish to reiterate what we have said at previous meetings of the Council on this question, that the principal aim of the Force should be to provide the necessary conditions of calm within which efforts towards the conclusion of a just and lasting settlement can progress. It cannot and should not serve as a substitute for a settlement but should serve as an instrument to help in the search for a real peace. My delegation welcomed the conclusion of the Egypt-Israel Agreement last year as an important step towards an overall settlement in the Middle East. It is a source of great satisfaction to my delegation to note from the report of the Secretary-General that the implementation of the Agreement has been carried out satisfactorily and that it has been maintained without significant violations during the past year. At the same time, we cannot but regret that for a number of reasons the Agreement has not yet been followed up by further progress. I should like once more to stress the importance that we attach to making use of the time provided by the extension of the mandate to get the negotiating process restarted and to press on with efforts to achieve a just and lasting settlement, without which there can be no real security in the Middle East. As the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary said, speaking in the general debate in the Assembly a little over two weeks ago:

“no one can guarantee in advance that negotiations will lead to a lasting peace, but, unless the opportunity is grasped now, the chances of success will surely diminish as time passes.”³

81. Once again I should like to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General and to Lieutenant-General Siilasvuo and their respective staffs for the skill and efficiency with which they have carried out their tasks in the past year. We are grateful also to those countries which have made the role of UNEF possible by continuing to provide troops. The Secretary-General has drawn attention in his report to the increased size and complexity of the responsibilities which UNEF has had to undertake under the new Agreement. The way in which the Force has responded and adapted itself to these new tasks and the success with which it has carried them out, in sometimes difficult circumstances, does credit to all concerned. I should like, therefore, to join others who have already spoken in paying tribute to the Secretary-General and all those responsible for the operation of UNEF for the exemplary way in which they have carried out this essential task.

82. Mr. ABE (Japan): The Japanese delegation was pleased to vote for the resolution which the Council has just adopted renewing the mandate of the UNEF for one year.

83. The Force is now deployed in an area more than four times the size of the former area of disengagement, and its responsibilities under the new Agreement between Egypt and Israel [*ibid.*] are far more extensive and complex than those it had previously assumed.

84. My delegation noted with satisfaction from the Secretary-General's report that the co-operation of the parties concerned had enabled the Force to discharge its responsibilities in a satisfactory manner, and thus the cease-fire had been observed by both parties.

85. We wish to express our sincere appreciation to the Governments which have provided troops; to Lieutenant-General Siilasvuo, Chief Co-ordinator of the United Nations Peace-keeping Missions in the Middle East; to Lieutenant-General Liljestrand, Commander of UNEF; to the officers and men of the Force; to its civilian staff and the military observers of UNTSO assigned to assist them; and, of course, to the Secretary-General and all his staff, who have been so helpful in maintaining this extraordinary force at its high level of performance.

86. While UNEF is playing a more important role in the area than ever before, my delegation cannot fail to emphasize once again that UNEF is not in the Middle East to serve as a substitute for a settlement but to provide the time and climate which are essential for negotiations leading to a peaceful settlement.

87. It is true that efforts have been made at several levels to resume negotiations for a just and durable peace in the Middle East, as called for in resolution 338 (1973); but, as the Secretary-General has rightly pointed out in his report, if there is a continuing lack of progress in efforts to implement resolution 338 (1973), the situation in the Middle East will inevitably remain unstable in spite of peace-keeping and other arrangements. We therefore attach great importance to the meaning of subparagraphs (a) and (c) of paragraph 1 of the resolution just adopted, namely, that the Security Council should call upon all the parties concerned to implement immediately its resolution 338 (1973) and request the Secretary-General to continue to follow closely the development of the situation and the steps taken and inform the Council thereof as deemed necessary.

88. It is the hope of my delegation that the time gained by the extension of the mandate of UNEF for one year will not be wasted and that renewed efforts will be made by all the parties concerned to establish the necessary conditions for an early resumption of the negotiating process, including the Geneva Conference, so that genuine negotiations can be arranged without delay to deal with the difficult problems that stand in the way of a just and lasting peace in the area.

89. Before concluding, I should like to pay tribute to you, Mr. President, for the role you have played so efficiently in bringing about the unanimous adoption of this resolution.

90. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation wishes to place on record its gratitude to the Secretary-General for his report on the situation in the Middle East [*S/12210*] and his report

on UNEF, which we are considering under the agenda item. That report provided the Council with authentic data for the preparation of the draft resolution in document S/12219, which we have just adopted, renewing the mandate of UNEF for one year as has been done in the past.

91. The resolution adopted today responds fundamentally to the statements and wishes of the Secretary-General as set forth in the reports I have mentioned. The content of the reports must be borne in mind not only by members of the Council but in particular by the parties to the conflict, the PLO and the co-Chairmen of the Geneva Peace Conference.

92. This is an appropriate time to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his indefatigable efforts for the restoration of peace in that region in accordance with the resolutions of the Council, and also for the miracle he performed in effecting savings in the operating budget of UNEF in a manner compatible with its effective functioning.

93. We also express our gratitude to the officers and men of the UNEF contingents for the exemplary manner in which they have been discharging their difficult and delicate task. We therefore appeal to the appropriate persons and authorities to give UNEF all the co-operation and respect it deserves so as to enable it to function as an integrated military unit, and therefore to abolish the restrictions imposed on the freedom of movement of the personnel of certain contingents, since that type of discrimination is not desirable, advisable or helpful in improving the situation.

94. The delegation of Panama wishes to place on record that, when we voted in favour of the resolution adopted today, we did so in the conviction that it is a necessary measure which cannot be postponed, but not a permanent measure which freezes a situation; it is a provisional measure applied until such time as, to quote the Secretary-General, a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem is reached.

95. We believe that, to attain that goal, the negotiating process must be reactivated as soon as possible by a resumption of the Geneva Conference with the participation of the PLO, since in this case the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people must be taken into account.

96. I conclude by expressing to you, Mr. President, the gratitude of my delegation for your brilliant diplomatic negotiations which have been decisive in securing approval today of this resolution which not only renews the mandate of UNEF but also appeals to the parties—and this is very important—to implement immediately resolution 338 (1973).

97. The PRESIDENT: No other Council member wishes to speak at this stage, but I have just received

a request from the representative of Saudi Arabia to address the Council on this matter. If I hear no objection I shall invite him to do so, and thereafter I shall make a statement on behalf of my delegation.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Barody, representative of Saudi Arabia, took a place at the Council table.

98. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Saudi Arabia.

99. Mr. BARODY (Saudi Arabia): Thank you, Mr. President, for according me the opportunity to make a short statement, although I am not a member of the Council, and I have taken note of the fact that only members of the Council have addressed themselves to the question before the Council. However, since no one raised any objection to my making a short statement, I can promise members that I shall not exacerbate matters by going into the genesis of this question or into its substance. I should like rather as an old-timer in the Organization, as one who witnessed what has happened since 1947, leaving aside the 1973 conflict, to draw the attention of my colleagues to certain facts. As I have said, I shall not delve into the substance of the matter, but I must draw certain matters to the attention of those who have been kind enough to finance the peace-keeping operations. Of course, there is our colleague from China who did not participate in the vote and our colleague from Libya, who also did not participate in the vote.

100. Saudi Arabia could have been a member of the Council two or three times over the period of 30 years, having been a signatory of the Charter, but we refrained, hoping that the five major Powers had enough wisdom to resolve the questions of security, the more so because they had the right of veto. Even if we were members of the Security Council and the five Powers were opposed to any decision that the others might have arrived at in contravention of the decision the five Powers had taken, our decision would be null and void because of the veto. That is why I salute my colleague from China and my colleague from Libya for not having participated in the vote.

101. However, I must mention one thing. From my humble knowledge of the world situation, I note that we started extending the mandate by periods of six months: from October 1973 to April 1974 the mandate of the Force was extended for six months [resolution 341 (1973)], then again between April 1974 and October 1974 [resolution 346 (1974)], and again, from October 1974 to April 1975 [resolution 362 (1974)]—three periods of six months each—and then there were two periods of three months each [resolutions 386 (1975) and 371 (1975)]. Now the Council has adopted a resolution to extend the mandate for a period of one year. Are we so optimistic as to believe that nothing will happen in the meantime that might perhaps endanger the lives of the soldiers from the countries

making up the Force, from Australia, Canada, Finland, Ghana, Indonesia, Poland, and Sweden, countries which we thank and praise for providing 4,174 troops.

102. I come from the area. I am from the region of the Middle East. The Middle East is a boiling kettle, aside from what is happening in Palestine and the neighbouring region. Why did the Council not renew this peace-keeping operation for three months or for six months? We are told, of course, that it was so that the negotiators could have a sufficient period in which to negotiate. We have been negotiating since 1948. What has happened? There were conflicts in 1956, 1968 and 1973—major conflicts. Are we fooling ourselves? Do we want to gain time? Is it a question of détente? Does the word détente have a magical significance to each member? Has it been repeated so often that members finally believe in it? We would like to believe in it. I am not going into the substance of the matter. I promised the Council that I would not do so. But I believe this is a travesty of what we expect from the Council, which has the duty of bringing about peace, not only in the Middle East but in any region where there is a conflict. Is the Council gaining time? Human behaviour is not a mathematical formula. It is not one of the pure sciences. Political science is not a pure science. The pure sciences are chemistry, physics and astronomy. We do not know how humans behave from day to day, let alone from month to month and from year to year.

103. Had this been the first extension for which we had asked, well and good. There have been six extension periods, with abortive results. We know that some members support the idea of the Geneva Conference. We know that the other party in the dispute, namely Israel, does not seem to be anxious to go to Geneva unless the Palestinians are not present as a separate entity. Again, I do not want to be tempted to go into this question, because I may touch on matters of substance. But what assurance do members have that there will not be a conflict within a few months? Are you prepared to jeopardize the lives of those troops from those seven countries, which we thank? What are we doing here—trying to find a common denominator for the interests of members of the Council, especially the major Powers on the Council, as we have done whenever we could not solve anything and had to arrive at a consensus instead? I have become nostalgic about the veto when many times a consensus has meant nothing at all.

104. Mr. President, you will forgive me for speaking in an emphatic manner, because I speak not as a representative of a country that is a Member of the United Nations but rather as a human being. Remember the Charter. It does not say, "We, the States Members of the United Nations"; it says, "We, the peoples of the United Nations".

105. The region is a powder keg. Again, I shall not go into matters of substance. A few sparks might

create a conflict that could also plunge us all into the abyss of a world war.

106. Who can guarantee that it will not, because there are extraneous interests there, the interests of the major Powers, and spheres of influence? Can we afford to continue with that policy of spheres of influence—this is my region, the other is yours, and do not interfere? But the major Powers—I do not have to name them—do interfere. Who can guarantee that they will not interfere in each other's spheres of influence? The whole concept of spheres of influence is wrong; but, since we still go by policies predicated upon spheres of influence, there is no assurance that there will be no conflict.

107. I hope that there will not be, but what precautions are we taking? None whatsoever. I notice how generous the major Powers become when it is a question of protecting the relative *status quo* in their spheres of influence: \$83 million of taxpayers' money, which could be used for peaceful purposes.

108. That is the statement I wanted to make. It did not deal with the substance of the matter, but we shall have occasion to deal with that in the Council as well as in the General Assembly.

109. The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers, and I should like now, with the Council's permission, to make a brief statement in my capacity as the representative of PAKISTAN.

110. The Council has adopted this afternoon a resolution extending the mandate of UNEF for another year. My delegation voted in favour of the resolution since we agree with the Secretary-General that the presence of UNEF in the Egypt-Israel sector continues to be a major factor in the maintenance of the cease-fire. We note with satisfaction that the Force has continued to provide its good offices to the parties in dealing with urgent problems on the ground. I should like to pay my delegation's tribute to Lieutenant-General Liljestrand, the Commander of the Force, and Lieutenant-General Siilasvuo, the Chief Co-ordinator of the United Nations Peace-keeping Missions in the Middle East, as well as to individual members of the Force for the devotion with which they have performed their difficult tasks. We note in particular and with deep appreciation the humanitarian tasks performed by the Force, making possible family reunions, student exchanges and the crossing over of persons from one side to the other.

111. When extending the mandate of the Force last year the Council decided, *inter alia*, to call upon all the parties concerned to implement immediately Council resolution 338 (1973) and the Secretary-General was requested to submit at the end of the period a report on the developments in the situation and the steps taken to implement resolution 338 (1973). We have studied carefully the Secretary-General's

report of 18 October 1976 as well as his report on the situation in the Middle East [S/12210] of the same date. We note that the Secretary-General sent his personal representative to the Peace Conference on the Middle East, Under-Secretary-General Roberto Guyer, to undertake an exploratory mission in the Middle East and that the Secretary-General himself made contacts with the representatives of the parties at United Nations Headquarters. However, there has been no visible progress towards a settlement of the Middle East dispute in accordance with resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). The replies received by the Secretary-General from the two co-Chairmen and the parties concerned put into sharp focus once again important differences of view among the parties concerned on the course of action to be followed. Thus there has in fact been very little movement forward during the last year towards the implementation of resolution 338 (1973).

112. The Council met last year to renew the mandate of UNEF in the wake of the Sinai Agreement of 4 September 1975 [see S/11818 and Add.1-4]. That Agreement had generated hope that it might lead to the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied territories, thus bringing about a lasting settlement of the Middle East dispute. As many representatives have pointed out, the continued presence of UNEF in the Sinai, while necessary for the maintenance of the cease-fire, is not and cannot be a permanent or long-term arrangement. We fully endorse, therefore, the Secretary-General's view that the primary role of the peace-keeping force is to create an atmosphere conducive to the active search for the

peaceful solution of underlying political problems. The elements of a lasting peace, as defined in resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), include the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories.

113. The delegation of Pakistan maintains that real peace cannot return to the Middle East unless all Arab territories occupied by Israel are vacated and the inalienable rights of the Palestinians, including their right to self-determination and to independent nationhood, are fully recognized and implemented without reservation. A peace settlement would also ensure the security and the right to live in peace of all the States of the region. In supporting the extension of the mandate of UNEF, my delegation wishes to emphasize that efforts towards a just settlement of the Middle East dispute, in accordance with resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the resolution just adopted, should be pursued with determination and vigour. We agree that the time has come to convene the Geneva Peace Conference. We hold that if the Conference is to succeed all the parties concerned, including the PLO, should be able to participate in it at all stages. In this regard the Secretary General's efforts towards a settlement of the dispute will have our full support.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.

Notes

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings, 11th meeting, para. 191.*

² *Ibid.*, 6th meeting, para. 316.

³ *Ibid.*, 17th meeting, para. 65.

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