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NOTE

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

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

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

2035TH MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 21 October 1977, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Rikhi JAIPAL (India).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Benin, Canada, China, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Venezuela.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2035)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the Middle East:
Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Emergency Force (S/12416)

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

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT: At the outset of this meeting, it is my pleasant duty to express, on my own behalf and on behalf of all members of the Council, our deep sense of gratitude to Ambassador Rüdiger von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany for his truly outstanding services to the Council during his term as President for the month of September. The immense patience and skill with which he discharged his very delicate and often difficult functions have earned the respect and admiration of all of us. He has set an example of excellence that will surely be an inspiration to those of us who follow him as President, and particularly to me. On behalf of all the members of the Council, I should like to thank him most sincerely.

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/12416)

2. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now proceed with its examination of the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) for the period from 19 October 1976 to 17 October 1977 [S/12416]. I should like to direct the attention of the members of the Council to the draft resolution contained in document S/12419. During the consultations that took place 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.

3. Under the provisions of operative paragraph 1 c, the Security Council would request the Secretary-General to submit by 24 October 1978 a report on the developments in the situation and on the steps taken to implement Council resolution 338 (1973). Members of the 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. Furthermore, I have been asked by the delegations of China and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to say that they will not participate in the vote on this draft resolution and that, as a result, they do not subscribe to the agreed statement which I have just read out 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 the United Nations Emergency Force which gives an account of the activities of the Force over the past year.

7. I have little to add to what has already been stated in this report in support of my recommendation for another extension of the mandate of the Force. I wish, however, to emphasize once again that, in spite of the present quiet in the area, the situation will be increasingly unstable and dangerous if no progress is made towards the achievement of a just and durable settlement in the Middle East. Intensive efforts are being made at various levels to promote an early resumption of the negotiating process at Geneva as a first step towards such a settlement. It is my earnest hope that those efforts will prove successful.

8. I cannot conclude this brief statement without expressing again my deep gratitude to the Governments contributing troops to the United Nations Emergency Force. I wish also to take this opportunity to pay a special tribute to the officers and men of the Force who have served so well under the United Nations flag.

9. The PRESIDENT: I thank the Secretary-General on behalf of the Council.

10. I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/12419 in accordance with the agreed procedure.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

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

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

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

12. Mr. CHOU Nan (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): In view of the fact that this meeting of the Security Council is devoted exclusively to the consideration of the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force, we have no intention of expounding our views here on the present situation in the Middle East. With regard to the question of the United Nations Force, we have always held a different position in principle. Based on this position, the Chinese delegation did not participate in the vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/12419.

13. Mr. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation would like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for October. My delegation much appreciates the flexibility and skill which enable you to conduct the proceedings of the Council with efficiency. Your militancy on behalf of just causes is familiar to the Council and your delegation's contribution is most valuable. You are a remarkable and very talented negotiator, and can call on excellent assistants who are both active and discreet. Your activities in the Council stand as an example to us all. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to convey to you, even though belatedly, our fraternal condolences on the brutal death of our unforgettable friend Hasmi.

14. My delegation voted in favour of the resolution renewing the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East. In so doing, my delegation wishes, in line with its well-known position on the Middle East crisis, to formulate its reservations and scepticism about the automatic renewal of the mandate of the United Nations forces made periodically by the Council.

15. It must be quite clear that my country, the People's Republic of Benin, is making no financial commitment with regard to contributions for the maintenance of the activities of the Force. My delegation recognizes, however, a certain usefulness in the Force in maintaining an unstable equilibrium in a multifaceted war situation, but we are not prepared to allow the real situation to be masked or veiled.

16. My delegation has closely followed the development of the situation in this part of the world where a dangerous crisis continues to be a threat. It notes that international imperialism has intensified its policy of resisting the

democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist forces of the region.

17. My delegation appreciates the courageous vigilance displayed by the Arab and Palestinian peoples in facing the situation. The Arab States have shown moderation and a readiness for peace, to facilitate a peaceful, just and lasting settlement of the problem. But my delegation still notes with regret the unacceptable intransigence of the Israeli leaders, who refuse to make concessions that could open a way out of the dangerous and unstable situation referred to in the Secretary-General's report. The new ultra-reactionary régime in Israel has raised the stakes and is blocking the renewal of useful dialogue, a dialogue which cannot exclude the Palestinians of PLO, who have now asserted themselves as a nation through their courageous struggle.

18. The Force will serve no purpose if we do not take advantage of its presence to bring about a peaceful settlement of the crisis. My delegation supports the Secretary-General's actions directed to the reconvening of the Geneva Conference. The presence of PLO at that Conference is of vital importance, since it is the only organization representing the Palestinian people.

19. The policy of the Zionist régime of Israel, the springboard of international imperialism, is one which inevitably leads to war. One cannot ask others for rights which one refuses to one's negotiating partners.

20. Benin is opposed to any policy of aggression and any policy of illegal occupation and colonization of other peoples' territory. The Israeli régime must now understand that the international community disapproves of all its initiatives, which will earn it further condemnation.

21. Mr. LEONARD (United States of America): Mr. President, may I first express our profound gratitude to your predecessor, the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, for the manner in which he carried out the duties of President of the Council during the preceding month. The skill and wisdom which he brought to that task have been appreciated by all of us. I should also like to support the comments just addressed to you by the preceding speaker with an eloquence which we in our delegation could not muster. I should like only to add that we are grateful that the skills which we know you possess have already been engaged in the search for solutions to the very difficult problems with which the Council is faced even in the few remaining days of this month, and we deeply appreciate having those talents available to us.

22. The action of the Council today in extending the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force for one year is a constructive contribution to the maintenance of peace and stability in the region. During the past year, intensive diplomatic contacts and negotiations have taken place with the aim of reconvening the Geneva Conference by the end of 1977. It is an eloquent testimony to the effectiveness of UNEF that this diplomacy could proceed in an atmosphere reflecting the urgency and importance of the issue, but without a sense of emergency or military confrontation. The presence of United Nations peace-keeping forces in the Sinai and on the Golan Heights has helped to make this possible.

¹ See resolution 416 (1977).

23. We are gratified that the parties have once again agreed to an extension of the mandate of UNEF. We believe that, in doing so, they have reaffirmed their commitment to the cease-fire and disengagement as well as to the larger goal of a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. We would hope that they will continue scrupulously to observe their responsibilities in regard to the cease-fire and the disposition of their forces and that they will also continue to co-operate fully with the United Nations commanders in the field.

24. All of us are deeply indebted to those nations whose forces are participating in UNEF. We salute the officers and men who are serving in the Sinai with such distinction. It is appropriate that Lieutenant-General Siilasvuo should be singled out for particular praise for the integrity and skill with which he has represented the Secretary-General in the Middle East and led the forces under his command. I wish also to pay a tribute to UNEF Commander Major-General Rais Abin, who has performed his duties in a manner that brings credit to his profession and has furthered the cause of peace in the area.

25. Mr. President, I should like also to thank you for your efforts which have facilitated the orderly and calm consideration of this matter.

26. Mr. BARTON (Canada): Mr. President, I wish to join other representatives who have already spoken in expressing appreciation and gratitude to your predecessor, Ambassador von Wechmar, and to you for the excellent job you have both done in guiding the Council through some very difficult negotiations. I know that there are more to come, and I shall undoubtedly wish to express more praise for you at the end of your term as President of the Council. But even at this stage I can see that we have a firm hand at the tiller at a time when we need it most.

27. My Government is happy to note from the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Emergency Force covering the period from October 1976 to October 1977 that the situation in the area of UNEF operations remains quiet. It is encouraging to see that both parties have continued generally to comply with the cease-fire called for by the Security Council and with the provisions of the Agreement signed by Egypt and Israel in September 1975 [S/11818/Add.1].

28. In his report, the Secretary-General points out that it has been possible to reduce the estimate for the cost of maintaining the Force for a further 12 months to approximately \$73 million, a reduction of more than \$3 million over the amount appropriated for the present mandate. That it has been possible to do so is welcome proof of the Secretary-General's success in exercising the utmost economy consistent with the efficient performance of the Force.

29. Early this year, I was fortunate enough to be able to visit UNEF and to meet the Commander and visit some of the contingents. I acquired a great appreciation for the arduous and trying conditions in which all ranks of the Force are working on our behalf in the service of peace. It was therefore with pleasure that I noted in the report the

Secretary-General's praise of the efficiency and dedication with which the members of UNEF perform their duties under those trying conditions. I should like to add my Government's appreciation to Major-General Rais Abin and his staff and to the other troop-contributors in UNEF for the highly professional way in which they are fulfilling an extremely difficult task.

30. Today Lieutenant-General Siilasvuo, the Chief Co-ordinator of United Nations Peace-keeping Missions in the Middle East, is present in this chamber, and this affords an opportunity for me to say, on behalf of my Government, a special word of appreciation for the outstanding way in which he fulfils his function as Chief Co-ordinator. General Siilasvuo is an officer of the highest principles who has quite deservedly won the respect of the parties in the area, and it is because of this respect that he is able to carry out his duties in such an exemplary fashion.

31. It is obvious that, in order for the forces in the area and General Siilasvuo to fulfil their mandates properly, they must have the full and complete backing of the Secretary-General and his staff in the Office of the Under-Secretaries-General for Special Political Affairs, and I would be negligent if I did not express appreciation to them also.

32. We notice in the report that there are still restrictions on the freedom of movement of personnel of certain contingents in the Force. We cannot but be concerned that the Secretary-General's efforts to achieve freedom of movement of personnel of all contingents in the Force has not been successful, although we are glad that some progress has been made. It is the Canadian Government's position that freedom of movement in the conduct of operations of a peace-keeping force is an essential element. We therefore fully support the Secretary-General's continued efforts to secure that freedom of movement.

33. The peace-keeping forces established by the United Nations require and deserve the unstinting support of all Members States if they are to be effective in the service of peace on our behalf. I have been authorized to announce that, for its part, Canada will continue to maintain its contribution of troops to UNEF during this next mandate period. But it is not only we troop-contributors who can demonstrate our support for UNEF. Other Member States confirm their support for UNEF by paying their assessed contributions to the Force and most, I am happy to say, have done so. But I must urge those Member States that have not paid those contributions in full to do so in order that the Force may continue to enjoy the financial stability which is necessary if it is to fulfil its task.

34. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation takes great pleasure in congratulating you, Mr. President, the representative of the great Indian people, on your assumption of the important post of President of the Security Council. We are very familiar with your diplomatic skill and tact, which have won you deep respect and gratitude within the United Nations. The Soviet delegation is particularly pleased to see you in the presidential Chair because the relations of traditional friendship between our

two countries, based upon mutual respect and trust—relations that have been strengthened by the 1971 Indian-Soviet Treaty on Friendship and Co-operation—have stood the test of time and continue to develop successfully. Indeed, within the next few days, Mr. Desai, the Prime Minister of India, will visit the Soviet Union. This constitutes a further contribution to the development of comprehensive friendly relations between the Soviet Union and India. I should like to express to you our warmest wishes for your success in carrying out your responsibilities.

35. We should like to take this opportunity also to congratulate the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, Ambassador von Wechmar, on his success in guiding the proceedings of the Council in September. We cannot fail to express our satisfaction at the positive development of relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany in recent years.

36. The Security Council has just adopted a resolution on a further extension of the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East. The Soviet delegation did not object to this further renewal of the mandate of UNEF in the Egypt-Israel sector. However, our position is based on the belief that this period will be used for an effective search for a comprehensive Middle East settlement. As has been stressed repeatedly by the Soviet delegation in the Council, the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East has always been only one of the means for creating a situation which would promote a comprehensive settlement. In the absence of progress in this extremely important matter, United Nations forces might become merely a means of freezing the existing situation, and that is why we continue to believe that the question of renewing the mandate of those forces cannot be viewed separately from the over-all context of the situation in the Middle East and the attainment of a comprehensive settlement in that area.

37. The position of the Soviet Union on the question of the character of a comprehensive Middle East settlement and the ways of achieving it is well known. This position has repeatedly been set forth in statements by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Andrei Andreyevich Gromyko. Therefore, there is no need here to go into any detail about individual aspects of this position.

38. We entirely share the concern of the Secretary-General with regard to the situation in the Middle East. Along with other members of the Security Council, we have drawn attention to the serious warning contained in the report of the Secretary-General, where it is stressed that:

“Unless and until a comprehensive settlement covering all aspects of the Middle East problem can be reached, the situation in the area will continue to be unstable and, with the passage of time, become increasingly dangerous.” [S/12416, para. 40.]

39. We consider that a settlement of the situation in the Middle East is a realistic goal. At the present time, objectively favourable conditions are arising for progress to be made towards the establishment of a just and lasting peace in that part of the world. We are firmly convinced that what is necessary in that regard is the earliest possible resumption of the work of the Geneva Peace Conference. The well-known joint statement of the Soviet Union and the United States on the Middle East, issued on 1 October 1977, represents a considerable step towards ensuring resumption of that Conference.

40. I should like to take this opportunity to say that the Soviet Union will continue to do everything in its power to achieve the kind of settlement in the Middle East that would establish lasting peace and would not infringe upon the legitimate rights or interests of any people or State in that area.

41. In consenting to a renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force, the Soviet delegation acts in the belief that the Secretariat of the United Nations and the Command of the Force will make persistent efforts to see to it that the troops are maintained as economically as possible. In this connexion, we have drawn attention to the assurance in the report of the Secretary-General that he and his staff will constantly take into account the need for the maximum economy in the use of the funds for the maintenance of the Force. The delegation of the Soviet Union considers that, in the present circumstances, it would be possible to carry out certain reductions in the strength of the Force without any detriment to the performance of its functions. Such a step would make it possible to reduce expenses in the maintenance of the Force and would relieve the burden of expense on Member States.

42. The Soviet delegation would like to take this opportunity to confirm its position of principle on the question of the financing of UNEF. The Soviet Union does not intend to bear expenditures connected with the performance by UNEF of additional functions arising out of the second Sinai agreement of 4 September 1975 [S/11818/Add.1]. The Soviet Union had nothing whatsoever to do with that agreement, which was concluded on a separate basis and which in fact by-passed the Geneva Peace Conference. Therefore, we do not and will not bear any responsibility for its consequences including the financing of additional expenditures for the United Nations armed forces.

43. In conclusion, permit me once again to stress that the Soviet Union considers the stationing of UNEF in the Middle East to be entirely provisional and esteems that it should not be used to protract and delay a comprehensive settlement in the area.

44. The PRESIDENT: I am grateful to Ambassador Troyanovsky for his kind remarks about me and for his observation about the friendly relations existing between his country and mine. I reciprocate the cordial sentiments expressed by him.

45. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): My first words will be words of cordial congratulation to

you, Mr. President, from the Romanian delegation on your accession to the presidency of the Council for the month of October. Our complete confidence in your ability to conduct our work successfully is based upon the universal recognition of your personal prestige. Our confidence is further strengthened by the fact that you represent India, a great non-aligned country, whose active role in the search for co-operation between nations is of long standing and widely recognized; a country with which my own country enjoys excellent relations.

46. I should also like to pay tribute to Ambassador von Wechmar, the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, who discharged his functions elegantly and effectively as President of the Council last month. We should like to convey to him our sincere gratitude.

47. The Security Council has just decided once again to prolong the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force by one year. In taking this decision, the Council has followed the advice given by the Secretary-General who, in his report, after having taken account of all the factors involved, said "I consider the continued presence of UNEF in the area to be essential" [S/12416, para. 41].

48. As in the past, the Romanian delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution whereby the mandate of UNEF has just been renewed, considering that the activities of the Force constitute a contribution from the Organization to the maintenance of an atmosphere favourable to the search for ways and means of bringing about a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Middle East. But I should like to repeat here too that the maintenance of UNEF in the region, though useful and necessary, should not become an end in itself. The activities of the force were conceived as temporary, that is, limited in duration, so as to permit the countries concerned to embark on negotiations, pursuant to the relevant resolutions of the Organization, to resolve the conflict in which they have been engaged for almost 30 years.

49. Of course, as the Secretary-General has pointed out, the situation in the Egypt-Israel sector remained quiet during the period under review. That is mainly because both parties continued to comply with the cease-fire called for by the Security Council and with the provisions of the Agreement of 4 September 1975 [S/11818/Add. 1]. But we cannot disregard the fact that the situation in the area will remain unstable and dangerous as long as there is no progress towards a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the problem of the Middle East in all its aspects. The political settlement of the conflict remains a task of extreme urgency which should be accorded the highest priority.

50. Romania is convinced that the Organization must, for all these reasons, redouble its efforts and act firmly in order to bring about a political settlement of the Middle East situation. In our view, a just and lasting peace in the area presupposes the withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territory occupied as a result of the war of 1967, settlement of the problem of the Palestinian people in accordance with its legitimate aspirations, including the establishment of a free and independent Palestinian State, and a guarantee of

the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of every State in the area. In this regard, a positive role could be played by the Geneva Peace Conference, with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization. It is now generally conceded that the Palestinian problem is at the very heart of the Middle East conflict and that peace in the region cannot be negotiated without the participation of the fully authentic representatives of the Palestinian people.

51. While expressing the hope that the consultations which have begun and the efforts now under way will lead to a resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference, we would venture to recommend to all parties directly concerned that they should take advantage of this further renewal of the UNEF mandate to unblock the road leading to peace in the Middle East.

52. Mr. AL-GAYED (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): Mr. President, allow me first to congratulate you on your assumption of the duties of the presidency of the Security Council. Your personal diplomatic skills and your sense of devotion and commitment are well known to us all, not only in the context of the debates and deliberations of the Council but also in that of the non-aligned representatives here at the United Nations. These qualities you have displayed will, we are confident, prove invaluable to the successful conclusion of the affairs of the Council this month.

53. Allow me also to convey my congratulations and commendations to your predecessor in your high post, the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, Ambassador von Wechmar, for the wise manner in which he presided over the affairs of the Council last month.

54. The position of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in regard to the question on our agenda is well known and unambiguous. This position is based on some fundamental precepts and principles not only of our own country, but also as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations. Our position therefore remains unaltered.

55. As previously stated by the Libyan delegation in the Security Council, it is our opinion that Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), on which the presence of the United Nations Emergency Force is based, are irrelevant as a framework for a just and lasting solution to the question of Palestine and the Middle East. We contend that any just and lasting solution must be solidly based on the principles enshrined in the Charter, including that of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by the use of force. Moreover, 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, must be fully incorporated into any framework calling for a just and peaceful solution. These and other recent resolutions of the General Assembly reflect the profound change and development of attitudes in the world community and international public opinion in regard to these issues. These principles, resolutions and attitudes require a re-examination of the entire

question, and of the basis on which the United Nations Emergency Force was established, lest in continuously and mechanically renewing its mandate year after year we run the risk of perpetuating the aggression, occupation and injustice the United Nations seeks to eliminate.

56. It is for this reason that my delegation did not participate either in the vote on the draft resolution on this matter or in what preceded it.

57. Mr. BYATT (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I should like to begin by offering you my delegation's congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We welcome this both because of the diplomatic talents which we know you personally will bring to the conduct of our debates and because of the very warm relations between our two countries as fellow members of the Commonwealth. I should also like to offer our sincere thanks to Ambassador von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany for the skilful way in which he handled our affairs during the month of September.

58. As we have done in previous years, my delegation was pleased to vote in favour of the resolution just adopted renewing the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force for a further year. There can be no doubt of the continuing importance of the role played by UNEF in maintaining the cease-fire, in carrying out the tasks assigned to it under the Agreement between Egypt and Israel of 4 September 1975 [S/11818/Add.1] and, perhaps most important, in providing the necessary climate of confidence within which negotiations towards a lasting settlement in the Middle East can be undertaken. We agree therefore with the recommendation of the Secretary-General that the mandate of the Force should be extended for one year. At the same time, we also agree with his judgement that the present quiet in the area is a precarious one and that the situation in the area will become increasingly dangerous over the passage of time unless moves towards a comprehensive settlement are carried forward.

59. It is now nearly four years since the United Nations Emergency Force was first established and it is a matter of great regret to my delegation that more progress has not been made during that time in the negotiations called for in Security Council resolution 338 (1973). As the British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs said when speaking recently in the general debate of the General Assembly:

"The United Nations cannot . . . in either Cyprus or the Middle East be used indefinitely as a cover for a stalemate in negotiations. It cannot continue to be seen as a refuge of last resort—a permanent crutch for remaining in a state of 'no peace, no war'."²

We have therefore been much encouraged by the intense diplomatic activity that has taken place over the last few weeks and that now gives rise to the hope that a resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference may be possible in the near

² Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings, 9th meeting, para. 120.

future. Here at last is a unique opportunity to break out of the stalemate of the last few years and take a significant step towards peace. The renewal of the mandate of UNEF today is another important element in this process and it is essential that the time which it provides should be made good use of.

60. Once again I should like to express, as we have done on previous occasions, the gratitude of my delegation to the Secretary-General, to Lieutenant General Siilasvuo and Major-General Rais Abin, to the officers and men of the United Nations Emergency Force and to the staff of the Secretariat here in New York, for the way in which they have carried out their tasks in managing UNEF over the past year. We owe them a real and lasting debt of gratitude for what they are doing and it is a tribute to their skills that the Secretary-General has been able to report that the tasks of UNEF have been carried out satisfactorily. There is, I think, a very wide measure of agreement on the continuing importance of the tasks performed by UNEF and on the fact that the financial support without which the Force cannot operate is an international responsibility which is shared by the international community as a whole. We are grateful to the Secretary-General for the way in which he has carried out his mandate and for the attention which he has given to the need to exercise the utmost economy in the running of UNEF consistent with its efficient performance. At the same time, we consider it of great importance that we, the Members of the United Nations, should do our part in ensuring that we pay promptly and fully our assessed contributions to the budget of the Force in order to enable it to carry out its responsibilities efficiently.

61. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his kind remarks about me and also for his reference to our common Commonwealth connexion which we regard as of continuing importance.

62. Mr. von WECHMAR (Federal Republic of Germany): Mr. President, I should like to begin by saying thank you to you and other speakers in this chamber for the very kind words that have been addressed to me. Permit me also to join those who have wished you well in the high office which you have assumed for this month. Your country and the Council can be proud to have at the helm during our proceedings a man of your skill, your experience, your patience, your tact and, last but not least, your drafting and mediation abilities.

63. My delegation was particularly pleased to vote in favour of the draft resolution just adopted, renewing, on the recommendation of the Secretary-General, the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force for another year. My delegation feels that the renewal of the UNEF mandate is of special significance in the present situation of intensified efforts to arrive at a resumption of the negotiating process for an agreed over-all settlement of the Middle East problem. This brings into focus very appropriately the principal aim of UNEF, namely, to provide the necessary conditions for the peace-making process.

64. My delegation has noted with relief and satisfaction the Secretary-General's statement in his detailed and lucid report that both parties have continued to comply with the

cease-fire and also generally with the provisions of the Agreement between Egypt and Israel of 4 September 1975 [S/11818/Add.1]. Thus the situation in the Egypt-Israel sector has remained quiet and there have been no incidents of a serious nature.

65. While agreeing with the Secretary-General's judgement that the present quiet is, by its nature as the quiet of a cease-fire, a precarious one, my delegation attaches even greater importance to his reference to

"intensive efforts . . . at various levels to bring about an early resumption of the negotiating process aimed at the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East" [S/12416, para. 40].

My delegation joins the Secretary-General in the hope

"that these efforts will be pursued by all concerned until the objective set by the Council is attained" [*ibid.*].

My Government urges the parties, in using this perhaps unique opportunity, to refrain from all unilateral measures which might endanger further progress.

66. In concluding, my delegation would like to express its sincere appreciation and gratitude to the Secretary-General, to Lieutenant-General Siilasvuo and Major-General Rais Abin and their respective staffs and troops as well as to the military observers of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine for the skilful, inspired and dedicated way in which they have carried out their difficult tasks in the past year. We also include in these words of thanks Lieutenant-General Liljestrand who was in command of UNEF until 12 January 1977. I should also like to express through you, Mr. President, my delegation's gratitude to the countries contributing more than 4,000 troops to UNEF. My deeply felt condolences go to the Governments of Ghana, Indonesia and Poland whose soldiers lost their lives in the fulfilment of their duties for the cause of peace.

67. Finally, Mr. President, I wish to pay a tribute to the extraordinarily skilful way in which you have prepared and brought about the extension of this mandate.

68. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all I should like to acquit myself of a very pleasant task by extending to you the congratulations of my delegation on your accession to the presidency of the Council. You represent your great country here with unanimously recognized experience and talent and this is a guarantee of the success of our work. I also wish to extend the congratulations of my delegation to Ambassador von Wechmar for the skill and effectiveness with which he presided over the Council last month in the consideration of particularly delicate matters.

69. Each of the meetings which the Council has in the past devoted to the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations forces in the Middle East has given us an opportunity to make some remarks on the subject. In general these have referred to the temporary nature of those forces as an instrument of peace but not a substitute

for peace, as well as to the usefulness of the forces not only in maintaining the cease-fire but also in creating an atmosphere propitious for the active pursuit of peace efforts. The presence of the United Nations could not in any case, as we see it, serve as a pretext for maintaining the status quo or for a lack of action. On the contrary, it is justified and has real significance only in combination with genuine and sustained efforts to seek a political solution to the fundamental problems of the region.

70. I do not wish to dwell at length today on such observations, but we note that, in the present circumstances, they once again become necessary. The decision which we have just adopted to renew the mandate of the Force in the Sinai commits us, even more than in the past, to seek a better future and the realization of the hopes for peace of the international community. That decision was made possible because of the agreement of the parties. But a broader dimension must be given to the efforts that have been undertaken to reach a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East by peaceful means, because we must not forget that a part of the territory of one of the parties continues to be occupied by the forces of the other party.

71. At a time when, on various sides, sincere efforts are being made to convene a peace conference and when, as emphasized by the Secretary-General in his recent report, we are at a crucial stage in the quest for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, I should like firmly to express the wish that developments may confirm our hopes.

72. In conclusion, I should like to express the appreciation of my Government for the manner in which the Secretary-General and his assistants, as well as the Commander of the Force, whose presence I welcome here, and the various contingents fulfil the tasks entrusted to them. All the staff of the Force give distinguished proof of the indispensable role of the United Nations in seeking and maintaining peace.

73. Miss LOPEZ (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We are convinced that the contribution of the United Nations Emergency Force has been valuable in maintaining peace in the region, and we have accordingly given our firm support to the resolution just adopted. We consider that the part played by the United Nations in the field of peace-keeping in various areas of the world has been outstanding. It is our hope that, in this specific problem, the presence of the Organization, besides discharging the duties entrusted to it, will create conditions favourable for arriving at a general and lasting understanding in the Middle East.

74. This meeting presents a suitable opportunity to repeat our hope that the obstacles which bar the way to a just and lasting peace in the region may be overcome. In order to achieve that goal, it is essential for the parties concerned to comply with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

75. We should like to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General for the report that he has submitted to us on the activities of the United Nations Emergency Force, to the countries which have contributed contingents and to

the outstanding officers who have directed activities in the region.

76. Before concluding, I should like to express the gratitude of the delegation of Venezuela and our warmest congratulations to the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, Ambassador von Wechmar, for the effective, intelligent and skilful manner in which he guided the Council during the month of September. Mr. President, we should like to congratulate you most warmly on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We are certain that you will guide us with your characteristic skill and ability.

77. Mr. RIOS (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, it is a great pleasure to see you, a highly esteemed and skilful diplomat, presiding over the work of the Security Council during this month of October. You represent a country with which my country maintains traditional diplomatic, social and cultural ties. We offer you our ready co-operation in all matters pertaining to Security Council affairs.

78. It is also a great pleasure to express our appreciation to the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. von Wechmar, for the efficient, responsible and dedicated manner in which he dealt with the delicate problems before the Council during the month of September last.

79. Once again this most important world body is meeting to consider the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force to maintain peace in the Middle East. The delegation of Panama, which has been and is a member of the Council—I am referring to the years 1972 and 1973 and the years 1976 and 1977—has at all times given its most determined and firm support to the Emergency Force in order to allow time for the parties directly concerned to find a way to bring to the tormented region of the Middle East a just and lasting peace, a peace founded on the right of all States of the region to exist in freedom and sovereignty within secure and recognized frontiers, a peace that would give due regard to the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

80. For many years the Middle East has been an explosive region and upheavals there have threatened international peace and security. For those of us who have closely followed events the situation has become increasingly dangerous and precarious by reason of the state of "no peace, no war". On more than one occasion we have advocated the resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference. Today, I am bound to state that, in our opinion, that appears to be the only hope for the peace which is so much desired. It is our understanding that the two Co-Chairmen of the Conference are making special efforts to bring about the convening of that Conference. We should like to encourage them to be unflagging in those efforts. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that the Conference can arrive at the desired goal only with the participation of all the parties directly involved in the conflict.

81. We bring these thoughts before the Council because we are convinced that the mere renewal of the mandate of the Emergency Force is not the solution to the problem.

Under no circumstances this procedure become a routine practice whereby we meet every year during the month of October for the same purpose. In this case, as in the case of a human body, a disease neglected becomes more serious and, what is worse, may lead to tragedy.

82. The statement just made by the Secretary-General is yet another proof of his devoted dedication to the cause of peace in the Middle East. His report describes the complex situation in very clear terms. The Council accordingly has a duty to act in line with the tireless efforts of this high United Nations official and the world community. We should think very seriously about the statement in paragraph 40 of the report that:

"Unless and until a comprehensive settlement covering all aspects of the Middle East problem can be reached, the situation in the area will continue to be unstable and, with the passage of time, become increasingly dangerous."

The Secretary-General expresses himself here in unmistakable terms.

83. The Government of Panama, which has endorsed the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes and which maintains good relations both with Israel and with many Arab States, hopes that in October 1978 the Council will not have to meet to renew once again a mandate for an emergency force. Let us hope that the Council will meet to ratify peace, harmony and peaceful coexistence among all the governments and peoples of that part of the world, the cradle of civilizations and of the three religions which have the largest number of followers throughout the world.

84. Panama, which at one time contributed a military contingent to peace-keeping operations in the legendary Sinai Peninsula, today pays a tribute to the skilful work carried out in the Middle East by the Chief Co-ordinator of United Nations Peace-keeping Missions in the Middle East, Lieutenant-General Ensio Siilasvuo, to the Commander of UNEF, Major-General Rais Abin, to the officers and men of the Force and its civilian staff, and to the military observers assigned to assist UNEF in the fulfilment of its responsibilities. We also express our appreciation to the Secretariat staff here at Headquarters.

85. For all these reasons, in fulfilment of our historic responsibility, we voted for the draft resolution contained in document S/12419.

86. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Mr. President, for reasons of brevity, I reserve the inalienable right of my delegation to express all the pleasant—or unpleasant—ritual remarks to you and to our colleague, Baron von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany, the noble author of the Nine-plus-One Commandments in connexion with the presidency of the Council, at a later date when, it is hoped, we shall be discussing issues regarding racist South Africa.

87. My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution renewing the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force for a period of one year, that is, until 24 October 1978. We earnestly hope, however, that this force will not

turn out to be a permanent force and that the parties concerned will make a special effort to implement Security Council resolution 338 (1973). Only such implementation will pave the way for meaningful peace and security in the Middle East.

88. I salute the presence in this chamber of Lieutenant-General Ensio Siilasvuo, the Chief Co-ordinator of United Nations Peace-Keeping Missions in the Middle East. My delegation pays a well-deserved tribute to the Lieutenant-General, as well as to the Commander of UNEF, Major-General Rais Abin, and to the officers and men of the force, as well as the civilian staff. Indeed, all of those involved in the peace-keeping exercise deserve our admiration for the impeccable manner in which they have fulfilled their responsibilities. Our esteemed Secretary-General deserves our highest appreciation and praise.

89. Mrs. HYDER (Pakistan): Mr. President, I should first like to take this opportunity to express the admiration of my delegation for the brilliant and statesmanlike manner in which your predecessor, Ambassador von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany, conducted the proceedings of the Council last month.

90. May I also congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. My delegation is confident that under your able guidance, the Council will be able to deliberate successfully on the issues which are likely to come up in the next few days.

91. The decision just taken by the Security Council to renew the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force may appear to be a routine one but, in the opinion of my delegation, it is fraught with considerable significance. It implies renewal and continuation of confidence in the United Nations peace-keeping mechanisms which my delegation feels is important at a time when there is a widespread tendency to downgrade and question the efficacy of these mechanisms. But at the same time, the continuation of the mandate should not make us oblivious to the urgent need to convene the Geneva Conference, with a view to negotiating an equitable and durable peace settlement in the Middle East on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and other resolutions of the United Nations recognizing the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians.

92. There is often a tendency to look upon the induction of peace-keeping forces as a substitute for the more difficult and complex task of working out a peaceful settlement. This has been manifest in most cases wherever peace-keeping forces have been introduced. My delegation, therefore, sincerely hopes that the extension of the mandate will in no way lead to the slackening of efforts towards working out a permanent settlement in the Middle East, but that it will help to create the right political atmosphere, conducive to the holding of peace negotiations in the near future. Any delay in working out a settlement in the Middle East is likely to breed greater tension and frustration in the area and create a very dangerous situation which, in my delegation's opinion, will pose a very serious threat to international peace and security.

93. The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers inscribed on the list. I shall therefore take this opportunity to make a statement in my capacity as the representative of INDIA.

94. We are glad to note from the Secretary-General's report that the United Nations Emergency Force of some 4,000 military personnel has continued to supervise the cease-fire and has assisted in the implementation of the Agreement between Egypt and Israel of 4 September [S/11818/Add.1] and the Protocol of 22 September 1975 [S/11818/Add.5]. It is important that UNEF should continue to receive the full co-operation of the parties concerned in carrying out the functions entrusted to it, and we are therefore happy to note that that has in fact been the case.

95. The Council has now decided to extend the mandate for another year, and, according to the Secretary-General, the cost of maintaining the Force for 12 more months would be of the order of \$73 million. Now, apart from the financial burden on the United Nations, it is a matter for regret that, despite intensive efforts made during the last year, the negotiating process towards a peace settlement has not even commenced. That is no doubt an indication of the complexity of the problem, but perhaps it is a reflection also of the imponderable historic forces at work and the unpredictable human reactions. Even so, it is necessary to remind the parties concerned that the international community cannot be expected to continue indefinitely to provide the Force and bear the expenditure. We therefore expect the parties concerned to make sincere and determined efforts to negotiate a peace settlement which is not only just and durable but is also based on a profound understanding of practical problems and mutual concerns. Until then, the international community must expect the parties scrupulously to maintain the cease-fire.

96. We continue to nourish the hope that the present renewal of the mandate will enable the parties to redouble their efforts to reach a comprehensive peace settlement during the coming year. We are opposed to any tendency to regard the renewal of the mandate as a routine and procedural exercise. Such renewals cannot be a substitute for permanent peace. However, no peace settlement can last unless it recognizes the fundamental realities of the conflict situation in the Middle East, a situation which has been characterized by aggression, occupation and injustice, a situation which has been further complicated by the displacement of Palestinians from their homeland. The recognition and restoration of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people therefore remain an essential precondition for a just and lasting peace settlement. Equally, we recognize the right of all States in the area to exist within boundaries that are universally recognized.

97. Lastly, there is no doubt that, in terms of the Council resolutions, Israel is required to withdraw from Arab territories occupied since 5 June 1967. We hope that the present initiative in the direction of reconvening the Geneva Peace Conference will bear fruit shortly. We would encourage the two Co-Chairmen of the Conference to give single-minded attention to its reconvening and bring to bear their beneficent and weighty influence on the parties

concerned in the direction of a negotiated peace settlement in conformity with the Council resolutions.

98. Before concluding, my delegation wishes to place on record its tribute to the Force Commander and the officers and troops serving in the Emergency Force and we express our appreciation to those countries which have provided them. My country has some experience in United Nations peace-keeping operations and we recognize the difficult nature of the duties performed by UNEF. We congratulate

the various contingents for the efficiency and devotion with which they have been performing their functions. We wish also to express our thanks and appreciation to the Secretary-General and his hard-working staff for their commendable supporting role as well as to Lieutenant-General Siilasvuo, the Chief Co-ordinator of United Nations Peace-keeping Missions in the Middle East.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.