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SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 2 November 1973, at 9.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Peter JANKOWITSCH (Austria).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Austria, China, France, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Panama, Peru, Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Yugoslavia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1754)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. The situation in the Middle East:
 - (a) Letter dated 7 October 1973 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11010);
 - (b) Progress reports of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Emergency Force (S/11056 and Add.1 and Add.1/Corr.1)

The meeting was called to order at 9.55 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT: As President of the Council my first duty at this meeting is a very pleasant one, namely, to express, on behalf of every member of the Security Council, I am sure, our deep appreciation to Sir Laurence McIntyre, who conducted our business as President of the Security Council during the month of October. We all know that it was a heavy month. The Council was, and still is, faced with an international crisis of major proportions. Inevitably, this was reflected in the debates in this chamber, and we were thus very fortunate to have as President a diplomat who maintained not only his own equanimity but also the equanimity of the Council.

2. I wish to reiterate, on behalf of the Council, our feelings of gratitude to Sir Laurence McIntyre, whose wisdom, unflinching courtesy and patience helped us to get through a very difficult month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East:

(a) Letter dated 7 October 1973 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/11010);

(b) Progress reports of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Emergency Force (S/11056 and Add.1 and Add.1/Corr.1)

3. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken at the 1743rd meeting, I propose now, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representatives of Egypt, Israel and the Syrian Arab Republic to take their places at the Council table in order to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. A. E. Abdel-Meguid (Egypt), Mr. Y. Tekoah (Israel) and Mr. N. Al-Jazzar (Syrian Arab Republic) took places at the Council table.

4. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with further decisions taken at previous meetings, I propose also, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representatives of Nigeria, Saudi Arabia and Zambia to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. I shall ask them to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, on the understanding that they will be called upon to be seated at the Council table when it is their turn to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. J. Baroody (Saudi Arabia) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

5. The PRESIDENT: With regard to our consideration of the item on the agenda, I am authorized to make the following statement:

“United Nations Emergency Force (Security Council resolution 340 (1973) of 25 October 1973): implementation—second phase

“1. The members of the Security Council met for informal consultations on the morning of 1 November 1973 and heard a report from the Secretary-General on the progress so far made in the implementation of Security Council resolution 340 (1973).

“2. After a lengthy and detailed exchange of views it was agreed that in regard to the next stage of implementation of resolution 340 (1973):

“(a) The Secretary-General will immediately consult, to begin with, Ghana (from the African regional group), Indonesia and Nepal (from the Asian region group), Panama and Peru (from the Latin American regional

group), and Poland (from the Eastern European regional group) and Canada (from the Western European and other States group), the latter two with particular responsibility for logistic support, with a view to dispatching contingents to the Middle East pursuant to Security Council resolution 340 (1973). The Secretary-General will dispatch troops to the area from these countries as soon as the necessary consultations have been completed. The Council members agreed that at least three African countries are expected to send contingents to the Middle East. The present decision of the Council is intended to bring about a better geographical distribution of the United Nations Emergency Force.

“(b) The Secretary-General will regularly report to the Council on the results of his efforts undertaken pursuant to subparagraph (a) so that the question of balanced geographical distribution in the Force can be reviewed.

“3. The above-mentioned agreement was reached by members of the Council with the exception of the People's Republic of China which dissociates itself from it.”

6. As I hear no objection, I assume that the Council agrees.

7. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): In our statement at the 1750th meeting of the Security Council, of 25 October, the Chinese delegation pointed out the following.

8. The dispatch of the so-called United Nations Emergency Force will turn sovereign Arab States in the Middle East into an area under international control with infinite evil consequences in its wake and will pave the way for further international intervention in the Middle East with the super-Powers as the behind-the-scenes bosses. The fierce contention between the two super-Powers on the question of the composition of the so-called Emergency Force during the informal consultations in the past two days once again testifies to the correctness of the aforesaid judgement of the Chinese delegation.

9. It is now clear to all that what both of them are concerned about is merely the right of their respective military presence and that if they are not able to send in their own forces directly, they try by all means to squeeze in the forces which they can influence so as to exercise indirect control. All pretexts are sheer hypocrisy. A super-Power which styles itself the friend and benefactor of the Arab countries, while completely disregarding the sovereignty of the Arab countries, has contended so hard on the composition of the dispatch of the Emergency Force. Does this not suffice to show its true intention?

10. Consequently, the Chinese delegation, as a matter of course, cannot be a party to the agreement on the composition of the so-called United Nations Emergency Force.

11. Mr. ODERO-JOWI (Kenya): My delegation, like those of the other non-aligned members of the Council, has accepted the consensus read out to the Council by you,

Mr. President, in a spirit of compromise and in the absence of anything better. We are conscious of the fact that the formula we have just adopted is not the best in terms of equity of representation of the geographic membership of the Organization, the sovereign equality of the States Members of the United Nations and the universality of the purposes and principles of the Charter.

12. On the other hand, we want results and we want to implement practical measures which will help vindicate the Council's powers and carry out its functions in relation to the situation in the Middle East generally and in particular in relation to the current cease-fire, which we want to establish in the Middle East.

13. Thus, taking into account the exigencies and the requirements of the Charter, the imperatives of peace and international security and the disposition of the members of the Council, we have accepted the formula just adopted by the Council in order to set in motion the second phase of the implementation of Security Council 340 (1973).

14. It is the hope of the non-aligned members of the Council that, in implementing the subsequent phase or phases of this exercise, due regard will be paid to the need to involve as many Members of the Organization, through their groups, as possible in a manner that will ensure effectiveness while respecting the rights of all Members of the Organization.

15. Mr. ANWAR SANI (Indonesia): Mr. President, allow me very briefly to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month of November. I should like to assure you of my delegation's full co-operation in the execution of your difficult task. My delegation would also like to express its special appreciation to the outgoing President, Ambassador Sir Laurence McIntyre, who led out deliberations with brilliant efficiency through the very difficult month of October.

16. My delegation would like to thank the Council for the honour of being included among the countries which the Secretary-General will consult with a view to dispatching contingents for the United Nations Emergency Force. We have conveyed our readiness to participate in UNEF if requested and not objected to by the parties concerned. If these conditions are fulfilled, Indonesia will consider it an honour to be able to contribute a contingent for UNEF. We shall be ready to dispatch our contingent to the Middle East within a week after necessary consultations are completed.

17. We have been associated with similar United Nations activities before, and we hope to be able to contribute positively to the effective functioning of UNEF.

18. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I shall not go at any length into congratulations. I have already addressed them to you during our consultations, and in view of the urgency of the problem before us, I shall proceed immediately to some comments which I should like to make.

19. The French delegation is gratified that, after a lengthy exchange of views, the Council has reached agreement on a

text that can facilitate the work of the Secretary-General and encourage him to continue his efforts to set up the United Nations Emergency Force.

20. I understand that the text we have approved, on which we have agreed, represents a second phase of the implementation of the Emergency Force and that new consultations will take place, that new contacts will be established, as is mentioned in paragraph 2 (b) of the text we have just approved, with a view to reviewing the question of geographical distribution among the component contingents to the Force.

21. At that time, I hope that room will be provided for other contingents, for Europe of the Nine. A contingent from Europe of the Nine is already part of the Force—the Irish contingent—and several States of Europe of the Nine have offered to participate in the Force, in particular Belgium and Italy.

22. I should simply like to recall this so that when the time comes the offers of these two countries, or one of them at least, may be taken into consideration.

23. Mr. BOYD (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, may I warmly congratulate you on behalf of the delegation of Panama and express to you our fervent hope that under your skilful guidance during the month of November we will make considerable progress in our efforts to give mankind a safer world in which to live. To the outgoing President, Sir Laurence McIntyre, may I express our appreciation for his accomplishments.

24. On behalf of my Government, I have the honour to state that the armed forces of Panama, whose Commander-in-Chief is General of Brigade Omar Torrijos, accepts with great pleasure the task entrusted to it by the Security Council in selecting us to provide contingents for the United Nations Emergency Force for the Middle East, which was created under Council resolution 340 (1973). The contingent to be sent by the Republic of Panama is aware of the very delicate role entrusted to it, and its duties are to fulfil the task of helping to find the stable and lasting peace that all of us desire for that important region of the world.

25. Panama is a peace-loving nation and we are heartfelt believers in just arrangements based on reason and the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and on the tenets of international law. Our armed forces consider it both an honour and a privilege to serve the cause of international understanding and co-operation. The National Guard of Panama, aware of its obligations towards the nation and the international community, will, I am sure, carry out with distinction the commitment that we have assumed on behalf of all Panamanians.

26. May I express the warmest thanks, on behalf of my Government, to all members of the Council and States Members of the Organization, for with this new gesture they have again proved the faith and confidence that they have in the foreign policy of the Panamanian nation.

27. Sir Donald MAITLAND (United Kingdom): Mr. President, may I add my congratulations to you, and

my appreciation for the work of Sir Laurence McIntyre, to those expressed by other representatives.

28. I should like to associate my delegation with the request of the representative of France that in later stages of the implementation of resolution 340 (1973) the offers made by our fellow members of the European Community to participate in the Emergency Force should be taken fully in consideration.

29. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The Security Council has just adopted a decision which represents a definite step forward in the practical implementation of its resolution 340 (1973) on the formation of contingents of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East. In the first place, the Council, under whose guidance this United Nations action in the Middle East is being taken in accordance with the resolution in question, has determined which countries Members of the United Nations are to take part in the second phase of the formation of the United Nations Emergency Force, and secondly, the Council has strengthened and applied in practice the recognized principle, which it had reaffirmed, of equitable geographical distribution in the composition of the Force. In its decision, the Council has also officially reaffirmed the principle that to this end countries should be drawn from every geographical region, without any exception and without any discrimination whatsoever. This is a very important decision of the Council, and it is one which opens up a new page in the work of the Council and in the history of the United Nations.

30. Moreover, the decision has eliminated the artificial barriers against the participation in Emergency Force of the socialist States, as well as the non-aligned countries, including African countries.

31. In addition, the Council's decision provides that the Secretary-General will regularly report to the Council on progress in the formation of the Emergency Force, to enable the Council to keep informed of the situation, since this international measure within the framework of the United Nations is being carried out under the guidance of the Council. Under this provision, the Security Council will also have an opportunity of examining and reviewing the question of the application of equitable geographical distribution of States in the Emergency Force, with a view, naturally, to improving and perfecting it further.

32. On the other hand, these positive aspects of this Council decision do not constitute full implementation of the Charter of the United Nations, of the relevant provisions of resolution 340 (1973) or of the guiding principles for the formation and functioning of the Emergency Force approved by the Council in its resolution 341 (1973). Considerable efforts must still be made by all members of the Council and by the Security Council as a whole to ensure that the execution of such measures by the United Nations conforms strictly with the Charter and with the resolutions on the subject adopted by the Council.

33. Accordingly, the Soviet delegation considers it essential to state in this connexion that its position of principle

with regard to these kinds of United Nations measures and on the question of United Nations peace-keeping operations, including the financing of these operations, has been explained on many occasions and is well known. At this time, we again reaffirm this position in connexion with the adoption of this resolution by the Council.

34. Special attention must also be drawn to the fact that the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East, including the new contingents of this Force, for the formation of which the Council today took practical steps, should be dispatched to the area as soon as possible. In this connexion, it is essential to emphasize most particularly that the United Nations Force should immediately take the necessary steps to ensure that the troops of the parties are withdrawn to the positions which they occupied at 1650 hours GMT on 22 October 1973. That is the most important task of the United Nations Force.

35. In this connexion, the Soviet delegation considers it necessary to draw attention to the urgent decision adopted by the Council as a matter of paramount importance on 27 October this year, at a consultative meeting of members of the Council. The substance of the decision is that, in accordance with Council resolution 340 (1973), the Secretary-General should give urgent and immediate orders to the Commander of the United Nations Force in the Middle East to propose to Israel that it should withdraw its troops to the positions which they occupied at 1650 hours GMT on 22 October 1973. As we all know, the Secretary-General dispatched that directive immediately, that very day, in pursuance of the Security Council decision in question, which was adopted unanimously, since not only did no member of the Security Council voice any objection, but not one of them expressed any contrary opinion, in any form whatsoever. The Council is entitled to know what the results of that measure have been and how its decision and those orders by the Secretary-General to the Commander of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East have been carried out. I believe that the Council is entitled to expect a report on this important matter.

36. As for the criticism levelled by one member of the Council against the decision adopted by the Security Council today, it comes as no surprise to anyone. He used the hackneyed, out-worn, notorious two-Power formula, and in doing so he naturally concentrated his attacks against one Power, as is his wont. This has become a habit of his, and, as we have already pointed out, it has become second nature to him. But he is wide of the mark. The resolution which the Council has just adopted is not a resolution of two great Powers or one. We all know this, and so does the critic. Accordingly, in speaking against this resolution he is speaking against the position of the majority of the members of the Council, representing the non-aligned countries in the Security Council and constituting the majority. This is their collective opinion and proposal on this question, which takes into account the desires of the victims of aggression and is designed to protect the victims of aggression and implement the Security Council resolution on the complete evacuation of the territories seized by the aggressor from the countries subjected to aggressive attack. This critic cannot find words to censure aggression and the aggressor. His only business here is to

slander and attack one Power under the notorious two-Power formula. I therefore believe that the sponsors of this proposal and those who supported the proposal will duly take into account the fact that the efforts of this critic and of those whom he represents are directed towards ensuring that there should be no peace in the Middle East and that the United Nations should take no part in strengthening peace and defending justice in the interests of the victims of aggression. This will surprise no one, and everyone will understand that such a position is beneficial and useful to the aggressor and those who support him, not to the majority of the members of the Council, not to those non-aligned countries which submitted the proposal that has now been adopted by the overwhelming majority of the Council, with the exception of one of its members, who prefers to do nothing to ensure that the aggressor ceases his bloody business in the Middle East and ceases to aggravate the international situation and create tension which threatens the security not only of the Arab peoples victimized by aggression, but of the peoples of the world.

37. Mr. PEREZ de CUELLAR (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Peru is very gratified at the step forward that the Council has taken in implementation of its resolution 340 (1973). We trust that that step will help pave the way to lasting peace in the Middle East.

38. The Government of Peru is gratified at the opportunity given it in the decision we have just approved of fulfilling one of the obligations imposed upon us by the Charter. The armed forces of Peru will place at the disposal of the United Nations Emergency Force their long-standing tradition of probity and their efforts, as well as their technical experience, and will, I am sure, be equal to the delicate task awaiting them.

39. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): My delegation is deeply gratified that the Council has reached agreement on important steps to be taken in the implementation of Security Council resolution 340 (1973). In the lengthy consultations that led to this result, my delegation has held firmly to the view that our first responsibility has been to create an effective United Nations Emergency Force. Of course, my Government fully believes in a broadly based geographical representation in the peace-keeping force. But I am confident that no member would disagree that it must be consistent with the overriding importance of having an effective force.

40. We must remember that we now enter the phase of practical operations. We are dispatching the forces of several nations into lines which only a few days ago were battlefields. Three armies have fought in harsh conflict in that area. The lines are tenuous and uncertain in many places. The situation remains tense and dangerous. The unforeseen can easily happen. It is critically important that we have an integrated, harmonious and impartial force which can efficiently carry out its duties. To do less is to betray the trust of those countries which have generously offered their young men for this delicate and dangerous task. We wish them well in their mission.

41. Our plan is perhaps less than perfect. We shall in the days ahead be trying to improve it. For the present, we can

take satisfaction that this Council has worked tirelessly and constructively to fulfil in this instance one of its highest responsibilities under the Charter—that of peace keeping. We can only hope that our efforts will make possible a further success: the creation of a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

42. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): Mr. President, let me first of all welcome you to the presidential chair and thank you and other members of the Council for the kind words addressed to me.

43. My delegation is glad to join in agreement tonight on this fourth step in the process of setting up a United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East beginning, as we did, with our adoption of resolution 340 (1973), following it with our authorization to the Secretary-General of 25 October to take interim measures to establish the beginnings of the Emergency Force on the ground in the Middle East and following that with our approval of the Secretary-General's report [S/11052/Rev.1] setting forth the mandate of the Force.

44. We have taken a little time to reach agreement on the fourth step, but by agreeing on this further measure, this further consensus, tonight, we have, I think, kept up the momentum which all of us agree it is essential to maintain towards establishment of this Force in the Middle East in the quickest possible time and at the necessary strength. I think we can all take satisfaction from the fact that we have moved forward to this point. It will not be the last point. There will be further steps to be taken, but my delegation is happy that we have been able to take the process as far as we have tonight.

45. Mr. MOJSOV (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, during our informal consultations I have already had the opportunity to congratulate you and to express my deep appreciation to Sir Laurence McIntyre, our President for the month of October, so I shall not repeat what I said on that occasion.

46. I am speaking to express the satisfaction of my delegation with the decision just adopted by the Council. During our consultations we and other non-aligned members of the Council expressed concern regarding implementation of resolutions 338 (1973), 339 (1973) and 340 (1973), which call not only for a cease-fire but also for a return to the lines of 22 October. We were also concerned that there should be speedy action, as envisaged in resolution 340 (1973), to dispatch the United Nations forces to the area as soon as possible. We then tried in the consultations to remove all artificial barriers and obstacles in the way of the composition of the United Nations Emergency Force which, according to resolution 340 (1973) and the report of the Secretary-General, was to be established on the principle of equitable geographical distribution. No conditions were laid down for the composition of the Force other than those contained in resolution 340 (1973) excluding the permanent members of the Security Council.

47. I am particularly glad that some of those artificial barriers and obstacles have been removed by adoption of this decision. I express my hope that there will be some

success in the elimination also of our second concern—that is, that the Secretary-General, who is now authorized by our decision, will take the measures necessary to speed up the dispatching of the United Nations Emergency Force to the area, to complete the composition of the forces and then report to us about further measures for the final composition of the Force.

48. I cannot end my intervention this evening without expressing my hope that this will be just the first step towards the final goal put forward in the resolutions the Council has adopted in the last 10 days: not only the establishment of the cease-fire but the establishment of the cease-fire on the lines of 22 October; not only the supervision of such a cease-fire on the lines of 22 October, but a step towards a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. I express my hope that with the decision we have taken this evening that final goal will be achieved.

49. Mr. SEN (India): Mr. President, I did not particularly wish to speak tonight because, as I have said before and say now, the greatest need is to take action. However, since most of the members of the Council have spoken, and since we have taken a decision, I think we can relax and perhaps make a few comments.

50. My first comment, of course, is to offer you, Mr. President, our congratulations and our good wishes for your presidency during the month of November.

51. Secondly, I should like also to offer our thanks and appreciation to Sir Laurence McIntyre for his tireless devotion to our work last month.

52. My third comment would be one of apology. I apologize most sincerely to all members of the Council, to all members of the various delegations represented around this table and many others besides, to the public and to the press, for the incredible hardships and difficulties we have imposed on them. Sometimes without food, without drink, without sleep, we have worked, but I should like to think that all this has been worth while. But in trying to achieve the kind of decision we adopted today, our main purpose was not to worry about comforts, not to worry about compliments and apologies, but to strengthen the hands of the Secretary-General to establish a Force which could easily be sent to the Middle East for the task we have already entrusted to him in resolution 340 (1973), 339 (1973) and 338 (1973).

53. We all realize that this is the second phase of our task. Our greatest ambition, if you want to put it that way, is not only that should peace prevail in the Middle East but that it should be brought about on principles of justice and equity, on principles of fair play and practical sense, on principles of the equality of the nations in the area. We hope that this particular measure that we have adopted today will help attain all these various objectives.

54. As far as the geographical distribution of the Force is concerned, as has been pointed out by Sir Laurence McIntyre and by the representative of Yugoslavia, we are proceeding very slowly but very surely, and I am quite sure that, given goodwill on all sides, we shall succeed in making

UNEF a really practical, effective international force. In this, of course there are many hesitations, many difficulties, many reservations, but none the less the fact that the great Powers are for a change co-operating in a way which we consider healthy is to be welcomed. Whether or not the Soviet Union did co-operate in some other peace-keeping operations is, to my mind, irrelevant. The fact is that on this specific problem it is prepared to co-operate with the United States and many others to establish this Force. So we should not do anything that would come in the way of this co-operation. This is an important point. So let us not be slaves to our past but look forward to the future, and any reasonable, fair solution which could be brought about by our efforts should be welcome not only to the non-aligned countries but, I believe, to all Members of the United Nations.

55. Moreover, I should say that, in the practical application in the field of the United Nations Force and machinery, the Secretary-General has enough discretion to arrange the disposition of men and matériel in such a way that many of the difficulties which arose in 48 hours of continuous discussion will be eliminated. I am sure that, with military help and military advice, the Secretary-General will avoid such complications as may arise because of the long history of the Middle East and the various attitudes of the countries and States in relation to that problem.

56. Lastly, I hope that gradually the African countries, which are, after all, the nearest neighbours of Egypt and Israel, will contribute in large measure to the success of this Force.

57. Mr. ODERO-JOWI (Kenya): On instructions from my Government I should like to put on the record of the Council the following statement issued from State House in Mombasa by the President of Kenya, His Excellency Mzee Jomo Kenyatta:

“Occupation of land by force of arms is not only against the United Nations Charter, but also against the national principles of Kenya. Therefore, as long as Israel continues to occupy Arab land taken by force of arms, Kenya has decided not to maintain diplomatic relations with Israel. We believe that this action will accelerate the implementation of the Security Council resolutions.”

58. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): Just now Mr. Malik once again attempted to use his worn-out language to distort the principled position taken by the Chinese delegation and to sow discord in the relations between China and the non-aligned countries. This is completely futile. Numerous countries of the third world, including the many non-aligned countries, can see very clearly how the Soviet Union and the other super-Power have utilized the temporary difficulties of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, selling out their interests and vehemently contending for spheres of influence. The recent ugly performance of contention between the two on the question of the composition of UNEF is a fact known to all. Your vicious intentions are very clear. These facts cannot be covered up by any means.

59. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): I could not fail to take note of a comment made by one member of the Council who spoke at today's meeting to the effect that the cease-fire line is, allegedly, difficult to determine. It may not be easy, but it is essential to determine this line, and that is the task of the United Nations Emergency Force.

60. References to the difficulty of determining the cease-fire line benefit only the aggressor. They cover up his unwillingness to implement the Council's decision, and when one or another member of the Council advances such a proposition, this is not directed towards the implementation of the Council resolution on a cease-fire and on the withdrawal of the troops of both parties to the line existing at the moment of the cease-fire. As we all know from the press, there was recently a case where an official, a colonel in the United Nations Force in the Middle East, made a statement to the effect that the task of the troops in the area was to entrench themselves on the lines where they were situated, and not to think of the cease-fire lines prevailing on 22 October. According to today's report in *The New York Times*, this officer was dismissed by the Secretary-General for making such a statement. The Secretary-General acted quite rightly, since that kind of statement by an official representative of the United Nations not only undermines the decision of the Security Council, but helps the aggressor to cover up his unwillingness to implement the Council resolution. In this connexion, it will suffice to draw attention to the speed with which Golda Meir, the Prime Minister of Israel, made the most of this unfortunate or, perhaps, deliberate statement—it is hard to say which—by a colonel in the United Nations Force. According to a UPI report, she said: “We cannot withdraw to a line when even a spokesman from the United Nations in Cairo said the other day he does not know where it [*the line*] is.”¹ That shows who benefits from such a statement by an official representative of the United Nations. Such statements are even greater benefit to the aggressor and Mrs. Golda Meir when they are made in the Council by a member of the Council who voted for the Council's resolution on the cease-fire and on the compulsory withdrawal of the aggressor's troops to the 22 October line.

61. The Soviet delegation cannot but draw attention to this fact and remind the Council once again that, in addition to the decisions adopted by the Council on the cease-fire and on the withdrawal of the aggressor's troops to the 22 October line, the Council, at the proposal of the Soviet delegation, reaffirmed its decision on the matter on 27 October and instructed the Secretary-General to send an urgent cable to the Commander of the United Nations Force in the Middle East, directing him to request from the Israeli side that it should withdraw the Israeli troops to the 22 October line, in accordance with the Council's decisions and in implementation of those decisions.

62. The Soviet delegation considered it advisable to bring this fact to the special attention of the Security Council.

¹ Quoted in English by the speaker.

63. As for the reply of that critic who is such a poor marksman, it is so hackneyed that the delegation of the Soviet Union does not consider it necessary to take any notice of it. We repeat, this has become a habit of his, it has become second nature, and no explanations can be of any help to this critic.

64. The PRESIDENT: As no other member of the Council wishes to speak at this point, I shall call on the Secretary-General, who wishes to make a statement.

65. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I appreciate the agreement reached by the Council on the second phase of the United Nations Emergency Force. I shall immediately take the necessary steps to implement it.

66. It will be recalled that in its informal meeting of Saturday, 27 October, before the adoption of the resolution of the Council approving the report of the Secretary-General on the setting up of UNEF, the members of the Council requested me to instruct the interim Force Commander immediately to request the commander of the Israel armed forces to return his troops to positions occupied by them at 1650 hours GMT on 22 October 1973. The following is the text of the cable I immediately dispatched to the Force Commander:

"Security Council in informal meeting on 27 October, in accordance with its resolution 340 (1973), requested me to instruct Commander immediately to request commander of Israel armed forces to return his troops to positions occupied by them at 1650 hours GMT on 22 October 1973.

"In subsequent discussion, Council made it clear that authority to do so was already given through adoption of resolutions 338 (1973), 339 (1973) and 340 (1973)."

67. My report on the establishment of UNEF, which includes the terms of reference of the Force, was cabled to the Force Commander immediately it became available on 26 October, and the revised version and the Security Council resolution approving it was transmitted to the Commander on 27 October. I have kept the Council informed of the initial measures taken to deploy the Force and to undertake the urgent tasks required of it, especially in relation to the Suez area.

68. The Force Commander, having taken these first measures to establish and deploy the Force and having had extensive consultations with the Egyptian military authorities, flew to Tel Aviv to meet with General Dayan on 29 and 30 October. The purpose of these meetings was to hold preliminary talks concerning the terms of reference of the Force and the best method of implementing them. In a meeting on the morning of 30 October, the Force Commander informed General Dayan that, pursuant to Security Council resolution 340 (1973) he had been instructed to request that Israeli armed forces return to positions occupied by them at 1650 hours GMT on 22 October. General Dayan could not give an official reply, but undertook to see the Prime Minister on the afternoon of 30 October to convey the Force Commander's request. It was understood that the official answer to this request, which in

my understanding relates both to the Egyptian and Syrian fronts, would be forthcoming shortly. Since that time the Force Commander has continued to make efforts to ensure that the official reaction of Israel to his request is received as soon as possible.

69. I was informed by General Siilasvuo on 2 November, that is today, that General Dayan's reply was not expected before the Prime Minister's return from Washington.

70. The PRESIDENT: If no other member of the Council wishes to speak at this stage, I shall call on the representative of Israel.

71. Mr. TEKOAH (Israel): Mr. President, I should like to offer you my delegation's felicitations on the assumption of your high office and to wish you success in guiding the deliberations of the Security Council.

72. When Egypt and Syria launched their aggression on 6 October, the Security Council took no action to stop their renewed bloodshed. When, on the initiative of the United States, the Council was convened in the evening of 8 October, after almost three days of sanguinary fighting, it took no decision to call for an end to the hostilities. The Council remained silent when Israeli towns and hamlets were bombarded by deadly missiles. It appeared unconcerned when innocent Jewish villagers were being strafed and murdered by Syrian aircraft. When Egyptian and Syrian military forces, joined by the armies of eight other Arab States, continued to kill and to deal one blow after another to peace, to world security, to the Charter of the United Nations, the Council remained passive and seemed uninterested.

73. It was only after two weeks, when Israel had decisively repelled the Arab armies and thwarted their destructive designs, that the supporters and accomplices of Arab aggression in the Security Council sprang to action. It was only on 21 October, when the forces of aggression were on the verge of collapse, that there was suddenly dynamism and agility in the Council to save them, if necessary by a cease-fire. This has continued ever since.

74. Israel did not start the war; Israel did not want the war; it accepted the cease-fire resolution 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973. The efforts to save the aggressor, to assist him, to comfort him, did not stop, however. It was not enough that Israel's counter-thrust in self-defence against Egypt and Syria cease. The Security Council was called into special meetings to deliver the defeated Egyptian forces from encirclement. Then a campaign was mounted, and the Security Council was once more activated to supply those forces with provisions. To crown this solicitude for the fate of those who have made mockery of the United Nations and spread death and devastation in the area, a special emergency force was quickly brought into being at the frantic behest of Egypt and Syria.

75. Never in history has there been such a spectacle of concern for those who have displayed no concern whatever for the world, its hopes and prayers. Never have humanitarian values been so sacrilegiously invoked in the service of those who have trampled all humanitarian principles into

dust. With all its failings and one-sided attitudes, never before has the United Nations been used to give such solace and protection to the aggressor, to the violator of the Charter, to the transgressor of law and morality.

76. Today, an urgent night meeting has been convened to discuss the organizational aspects of the Emergency Force, questions of logistics and composition and notions such as geographical representation. At the same time, a vital humanitarian problem created by the Yom Kippur aggression remains unresolved. Even as we sit here to consider questions which could have been attended to by the Secretary-General, young men are lingering on in prisoner-of-war camps, their families torn between hope and anguish, their captors making mockery of elementary precepts of humanity and of the obligations emanating from the Geneva Convention.

77. We have repeatedly drawn the Security Council's attention to this inhumane conduct. On 29 October, I dispatched to the Secretary-General a second letter in five days on this grave problem.

[The speaker read out the text of the letter contained in document S/11060.]

78. Egypt and especially Syria have defied repeated requests by the International Committee of the Red Cross. They have turned a deaf ear to appeals by Governments and international organizations. Here in the United Nations, they have responded only with vituperation and calumny and tried to confuse and to conceal their guilt by the usual outbursts of fabricated allegations and irrelevant claims. No falsehoods regarding Israel's observance of humanitarian rules, no distortions of Israeli attitudes, no baseless and absurd accusations such as those contained in the Syrian and Egyptian letters circulated today can veil the stark, incontrovertible fact of Syria's and Egypt's violations of their obligations in respect of prisoners of war.

79. As long as Syria and Egypt do not fulfil their humanitarian duties towards military prisoners who are in their power, as long as Syria and Egypt do not abide by their international undertakings regarding prisoners of war, they will remain stigmatized in the eyes of civilized mankind. This is the problem which requires the most urgent attention. Is the shedding of blood on the battlefield not tragic enough? Can Governments be permitted to repudiate their obligations towards unarmed, defenceless prisoners of war? Can disregard for the wounded be tolerated? Can any pretext be accepted for such behaviour? Can mankind allow that law and morality be discarded and replaced by cynical propaganda, by borrowed slogans, by partisan views, by one-sided formulations which bring havoc to basic values, subvert rights and ignore the real problems? What import should be attached to another discussion in the Security Council, to another decision on the technicalities of supervising the cease-fire, if fundamental, elementary humanitarian rules and obligations continue to be violated?

80. Right now, it is this problem, the problem of prisoners of war, that is the central issue. Its swift solution in accordance with the Geneva Convention is a crucial test for the future.

81. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Egypt.

82. Mr. ABDEL-MEGUID (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is with special pleasure that I tender to you my most sincere congratulations on your assuming the onerous burden of the presidency of the Security Council. I am convinced that you will fulfil your duties with all the skill, tact and ability that we know you possess and that we appreciate. I can assure you that, in turn, you may count on us fully.

83. Our thanks are addressed also to the representative of Australia, Sir Laurence McIntyre, who, during his presidency last month, worked indefatigably to discharge his duties during a very serious period in international affairs. He successfully conducted the business of the Council, and for this we are grateful.

84. My delegation believes that this is no longer the time for words, but for action, and we await this action on the part of Israel. An obligation rests on Israel in accordance with Security Council resolution 340 (1973). The representative of Israel, instead of launching into a diatribe against Egypt and Syria, drawing on his well-known vocabulary of insults and distortion, would have been better advised to state that his country is going to carry out its international commitments.

85. In resolution 340 (1973) the Council demands "that immediate and complete cease-fire be observed and that the parties return to the positions occupied by them at 1650 hours GMT on 22 October 1973".

86. Is the representative of Israel unaware of his country's isolation from the international community? We have just heard the statement of the representative of Kenya, and in recent days the number of African States that have broken diplomatic relations with Israel has continued to increase. Does that mean nothing to the representative of Israel? If he does not understand, it is because he and his Government are stubbornly arrogant, as they have been for years. And this, in my delegation's view, bodes no good for the future.

87. The United Nations and above all the Security Council are endeavouring to establish a just and lasting peace in the region. It is not Egypt that is raising obstacles, but Israel; and it is Israel that must suffer the consequences of its actions. The international community cannot remain passive in the face of these constant acts of aggression on the part of Israel. The most recent one is described by my delegation in a letter dated 1 November 1973 [S/11068], which mentions the latest violations committed by Israel against the civilian populations of the villages of Goneifa, Fayed, Kebrit, Abu Sultan, Ein Ussim and Serapium. Israeli forces arrested 600 civilians and interned them in a camp at Abu Sultan. They fired at the livestock in that whole area; they destroyed the shopping centres in Fayed and Fanara.

88. As we say in that letter:

"We have informed the Commander of the United Nations Emergency Force in the area and requested the

release and return of the civilians expelled or captured civilians.

"The Israeli forces are still cutting the water supplies from the city of Suez.

"This confirms once more the persistence of Israel in violating its obligations under the fourth Geneva Convention . . ."

89. As far as Egypt is concerned, we are still in favour of a just peace. We have declared our acceptance of resolutions 338 (1973), 339 (1973) and 340 (1973) of the Security Council. My delegation takes note with satisfaction of the constructive action of the Security Council to put an end to the aggression of the Israeli forces against a Member State of the United Nations. Regarding the lamentations that the Council had just heard—and not for the first time—concerning the action decided upon by the Council, they are exactly the same as those of all guilty people after they have heard the verdict of the judge.

90. The PRESIDENT: The next name on my list of speakers is that of the representative of Saudi Arabia, whom I now invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

91. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): Mr. President, I shall not take issue with you for having deferred my turn to speak. The hour is late. You are new in your post here. With all due respect to the country from which you come, I think that you should have followed usual practice. But I do not want to quarrel and dissipate the issue. But remember, Presidents of the Council, that it is not Baroody, but a representative of a State, a sovereign State Member of the United Nations. I inscribed my name after that of the representative of Israel, but I was not called upon until now. Never mind; you are forgiven.

92. Notwithstanding the lengthy consultations which resulted in the decision which you read out, Sir, regarding the selected nationalities of the contingents that will constitute the United Nations Emergency Force, may I, as someone who hails from the Middle East, be frank and tell you that it is most unlikely that UNEF will vacate its posts within six months, a year or possibly several years.

93. Israel is still in-gathering Jews from the Soviet Union and other parts of the world and needs more living space for these immigrants. Only this morning I read dispatches that, notwithstanding the policy of Austria, many Soviet emigrants of the Jewish faith are streaming into Austria on their way to Israel.

94. The nationalities of UNEF are not the crux of the matter and should not have called for such lengthy bargaining between the super-Powers. Israel and the Arab States are poles apart in regard to Jerusalem—I repeat, if not on behalf of the Arab world, on behalf of Saudi Arabia, to Jerusalem—and the restitution of the right of self-determination of the Palestine people. Leave aside, Israeli occupation of territories of three neighbouring Arab States.

95. Furthermore, since Israel's policy is predicated on expansion, the presence of UNEF in the occupied terri-

tories will give Israel an assured opportunity to consolidate its hold over them; and whereas Israel is the client of the United States, or *vice versa*, in the Middle East, there will continue to be turmoil in that region. If you note that the super-Powers shy away from what may lead to military confrontation, the critical situation in the Middle East will be frozen but the dangers will remain.

96. What is the alternative? There is no alternative except to wait until the people of the United States get tired of footing the bill to UNEF and of the massive United States aid to Israel—at their expense, at the expense of the United States taxpayer. Then, and only then, will the leaders of Israel come to their senses and may agree to haul down the flag of Israel and let the Jews in the Middle East live in peace with the Palestinians as brothers under a common flag. Otherwise, the future is indeed grim, as was rightly mentioned by our colleague, Ambassador Huang of China, since the policies of the super-Powers are still based on power politics and spheres of influence and such policies may precipitate another conflict which could plunge the whole world into the abyss of destruction.

97. Now I have some remarks in regard to what Mr. Tekoah said before my colleague from Egypt took the floor to answer him. Mr. Tekoah used harsh words. He said that the Arabs were the violators of the Charter. Remember that the Charter was signed in 1945, two years before the partition of Palestine and three years before Israel was declared a State. What did the Charter indicate in paragraph 2 of Article 1, which we should know by heart at this time. But in order to refresh the memory of every one of us, I shall read out slowly what it states:

"2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;"

I saw with my own eyes the signing of the Charter by 50 States.

98. And what happened? Two years later the self-determination of the indigenous people of Palestine—

99. Mr. President, will you please once and for all stop Mr. Tekoah from interrupting me. He can exercise his right of reply.

100. The right of self-determination of the indigenous people of Palestine in 1947 was cast by the wayside. Leave aside 1919 or 1923 when the indigenous people of Palestine constituted 94 per cent of the population of Palestine. I am now talking of 1945. The indigenous people of Palestine were more than two thirds of the population of Palestine; and sovereignty lies in the people, not in the machinations of the then great Powers, and in particular the United States, in whose lap, indirectly, the United Kingdom threw the question of Palestine. The Charter was violated, not by Mr. Tekoah then, but by the United States which sponsored partition. So let Mr. Tekoah beware when he uses the words "violators of the Charter", attributing the violations to the Arabs.

101. When we, the Arabs, in 1947 requested that no hasty action be taken and that the problem be referred to the International Court of Justice, we were stymied. What was the International Court of Justice for? It was to look into the right of self-determination, as stated in the Covenants of the League of Nations as well as in the Charter of the United Nations. And what did the major Powers do, and more particularly the United States and the United Kingdom? They would not let the case go to the International Court of Justice.

102. And today, this morning, in the General Assembly hall, those who voted "no" against Guinea-Bissau began to talk about international law, and they cast by the wayside the right of self-determination of the people of Guinea-Bissau. Whom do they think they are fooling? The United States supported Portugal, for whose people we have a great deal of sympathy because they themselves are victims of Portuguese colonialism. A Congressman of theirs, a legislator, or whoever it was, said that there were juridical problems—I am paraphrasing—and infractions of international law. Rationalizations.

103. When it suits them, they do not consult the International Court of Justice. And they have sold the indigenous people of Palestine first down the Thames, and then down the Potomac in Washington. Challenge me, my good friend Mr. Bennett. Challenge what I said and go to the records of 1947 when I used to uncover some of the nefarious policies with regard to that question. An Ambassador of yours and an Ambassador of the United Kingdom, in 1949 and later, wanted to see the Foreign Minister, and as usual, the Foreign Minister would ask, on what subject? The Foreign Minister at that time was Prince Faisal, the present King. And then there was the attitude of your representatives in the United Nations towards the United States and the United Kingdom, and twice His Majesty refused to see your representatives.

104. You used all kinds of tricks to stifle the voice of reason and of truth. You voted for Portugal because it gave you bases to trans-ship lethal weapons to Israel, to crush the Arabs in their homeland.

105. Mr. Tekoah referred to the prisoners of war, and I for one sympathize with all prisoners of war, be they Jews or gentiles, because after all they are the people who suffer. Prisoners of war usually return after negotiations by the two parties in the conflict. It could be a month, it could be two months; anyway, ultimately they return. But what about the million or million and a half Palestinian refugees living on seven cents a day, less than the price of a newspaper in New York City or "Jew York". What about those who are in camps, a million of them? They do not count! They are but a handful compared with the prisoners of war!

106. Mr. Tekoah is impertinent, impolite, but I will not say more than that. Mr. Tekoah has lost his nerve.

107. Where is your gavel, Mr. President? Are you that afraid of the international Jewish bankers, that they will throttle Austria? We will lend you some money, if we still

have it, if we do not burn the oil—because there is some to that effect, the Americans tell me.

108. If that man does not behave, somebody must make him behave. As I talk, you see, he mumbles. I know many Jews who are polite. I do not know what happened to him.

109. The PRESIDENT: Order, please.

110. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): Now you spoke, Mr. President. The Sphinx finally spoke. Thank you for asking for order.

111. If Mr. Tekoah's intention is to break the thread of my thought, I can produce other threads to refute his distortions.

112. At one time everybody knew that Israel was the pet of the United Nations. Now, Israel's representative challenges the United Nations and attributes to it so-called injustices. He makes a mockery of the United Nations. But it is by virtue of the United Nations that he is sitting there, by the perfidy of certain Powers that were fishing for votes and others that were under the pressure of the international Zionists, and now he takes issue with the United Nations whenever he considers that the vote is not in favour of the usurping State he represents. Law and morality. He talks of law and morality. By what law and what morality do you wrest a country through Balfour's perfidious Declaration? You have the right to talk about morality when you started terrorism and bloodshed in the Holy Land? I think Mr. Tekoah should go back to the facts of the 1920s and 1930s and then I am sure he would not be loose-tongued about morality.

113. And, God is my witness, we Arabs do not want to hurt the Jews as such. What we are doing here is defending ourselves from an alien element in the body social and the body politic of the Arab world. It is an alien culture. It is an alien way of life. It is not because they are Jews. They could have been Moslems, they could have been Christians, they could have been atheists, they could have been of any religion or political persuasion. For heaven's sake, please note that these Khazars are a foreign element. They played on the sentiment of even our Sephardic Jews and ingathered them there. They discriminate against them. They almost call them "Arab Jews".

114. One last word for the benefit of Mr. Tekoah, for his diatribes against the Arabs. Our Semitic people have been in the region for 6,000 years. These Khazars began to flock into the Middle East in the last 50 years. And the State that was the torch-bearer of democracy at one time, none other than the United States, espoused the cause of the usurper. The United States is hardly 200 years old; we are 6,000 years old, my good friend Mr. Bennett, and if you pursue that policy I, as someone who is descended from an ancient people, can tell you that we have seen many empires, we have seen many imperialists get drunk with power—and where are they now? They tottered, and fell down, and you read about them in history books. You and I, my good friend Mr. Bennett, representative of the United States—and if it were Mr. Scali sitting there I would address him—beware. We are not eternal. You and I may fade out of the picture, for man's life is limited, and I guess you are approaching your sixties. Your successors will get tired of

being bled by those who have permeated your legislature, your government, in order to chastise us. What have we done to you, my good friend Mr. Bennett? What have we done to your country? From a distance of 6,000 miles you come and support those Khazars and make them your agents. Or are you their agents? Have we trespassed against you? Tell us.

115. Ah, the Soviet Union may have interests in the region. The Soviet Union may have qualms about your presence there, but we address you because you were the ones who kept aiding the Zionists, to our detriment. God is great. He will chastise the evil-doers.

The meeting rose at 11.50 p.m.

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