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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.

1833rd MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 24 July 1975, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Eugenio PLAJA (Italy).

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

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1833/Rev.1)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the Middle East:
Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Emergency Force (S/11758)

The meeting was called to order at 6 p.m.

Expression of welcome to the representative of the United States of America

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before the Security Council proceeds to its agenda, I should like personally and on behalf of Council members to express our warmest welcome to our new colleague on the Council, the representative of the United States, Mr. Moynihan, who has in fact already made an important contribution to the work of the Council in the course of the unofficial meetings that have taken place in the past few days. The very late hour at which we held our last meeting, the first in which he officially participated, made it impossible for me to welcome him formally. The Council is gratified to count among its members Mr. Moynihan, a university professor of established prestige whose vast diplomatic experience will doubtless be of great benefit to our work.

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/11758)

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the terms of the relevant Articles of the Charter and the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the representatives of Egypt

and Israel have asked to participate in the Council's debate of the matter of which it is seized. In accordance with the usual practice of the Council and with the provisions of article 37 of the provisional rules of procedure, I intend, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representatives of Egypt and Israel to participate in the debate, without the right to vote.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Abdel Meguid (Egypt) and Mr. Doron (Israel) took places at the Council table.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): It will be recalled that at its 1832nd meeting, held on 21 July 1975, the Security Council approved the text of an appeal addressed to the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt [*see S/11771*]. In accordance with my intention indicated at the end of that meeting, I immediately transmitted that appeal to President Anwar El-Sadat through the representative of Egypt to the United Nations.

4. Yesterday I received the Egyptian reply, the text of which was signed by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt [*ibid.*]. On behalf of the Council I should like to express my appreciation to the Government of Egypt for that positive response.

5. Furthermore, may I draw the attention of members of the Council to the draft resolution contained in document S/11774/Rev.1. During consultations among the members of the Council, an agreement was reached on this draft resolution. It was also agreed among the members that this draft should immediately be put before the Council for approval, and that representatives wishing to speak would do so after the vote.

6. I shall therefore now put to the vote the draft resolution S/11774/Rev.1 before the Council.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

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

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

7. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before calling on the first representative, I call on the Secretary-General, who wishes to make a brief statement.

8. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I should like to express my gratification at the decision just taken by the Security Council. The extension of the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) is of great importance, not only from the point of view of maintaining quiet in that critical area but also because I believe that its continued functioning should facilitate the negotiating process.

9. I should like to express my gratitude to you, Mr. President, for your tireless and dedicated work, and also to all the members of the Council for the efforts which they have made to achieve this result. I know that this has not been easy, and it shows once again the Council's importance and its capacity for dealing with such serious situations.

10. I shall, of course, immediately give the necessary instructions for the Council's decision to be carried out.

11. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to speak in explanation of vote after the vote. I call first on the representative of Egypt.

12. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt): Sir, I should like first of all to congratulate you upon your assumption of the post of President of the Security Council. Your exceptional qualities and skills are well known to us here within the United Nations, as well as beyond. They have been invaluable to the Council's work during the last few days. My delegation takes added pleasure in welcoming you as the representative of a friendly country with which Egypt enjoys the most cordial relations, to the furtherance of which you have personally contributed so much. I should also like to express our appreciation and thanks to your Deputy, Mr. Cavaglieri. May I also acknowledge the declaration of appreciation you made just now as President of the Council concerning the favourable reply of my Government to the appeal that was addressed to President Anwar El-Sadat. I should like to thank you, as well as the members of the Council, for your efforts and concern.

13. Three months have now elapsed since I spoke before the Council [*1821st meeting*] to present Egypt's position as it had been stated by President Sadat on 29 March 1975—namely, that Egypt would accept the extension of the mandate of UNEF for a period of three months in order to allow more time for the process of achieving a peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem. I told the Council that our objective then was twofold: on the one hand, to avoid placing the international community before a sudden crisis and, on the other hand, to remain faithful to our duty of not permitting an illegal and long-protracted occupation of our territory, an occupation which persists, against the will of the Council and indeed of the international community. I drew the Council's attention to the fact that time was running out and that Israel must assume

the responsibility for the failure of the then ongoing peace efforts.

14. What has developed since we last came before the Council three months ago is a clear vindication of our view. It is clear that the situation has remained as explosive as ever before. It is clear also that the deadlock in the efforts towards achieving a just and lasting peace has been caused by the persistently negative Israeli attitude. For our part, we have been for peace throughout all the past peace efforts. To that end, we declared our readiness immediately to implement resolution 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973, in all its parts. Egypt spared no effort in reaching the Disengagement Agreement with Israel which was signed on 18 January 1974 [*see S/11198*]. Furthermore, Egypt has given its whole-hearted co-operation to the efforts undertaken by the United States of America for the achievement of a second disengagement agreement, a fact which was duly recognized by the Secretary of State and the President of the United States at the time and by the United States information media, which then criticized Israeli inflexibility and short-sightedness. And no wonder, since Israel's position has all along been one of satiating and procrastination. As a result, it has been overwhelmingly held responsible for the breakdown of the peace efforts in March this year.

15. Despite that negative Israeli attitude, Egypt has remained forthcoming and faithful to its commitment to peace. That was amply manifested in its decision to reopen the Suez Canal on 5 June this year, a decision which has been acclaimed by the international community as a concrete contribution to peace in the area and to the welfare and prosperity of all nations. Egypt has also embarked on an ambitious programme of reconstruction of the cities in the Suez Canal zone, a fact which has enabled 600,000 citizens of that area who had been forced to evacuate their homes and abandon their property destroyed by Israeli shelling of their cities to return and rebuild their homes. Along with that reconstruction programme, Egypt is also engaged in developing the whole area of the Suez Canal by the creation of new industries, the laying of oil pipelines and the establishment of custom-free zones as new centres of transit and world trade. All those major decisions have clearly been practical steps designed to stimulate and enhance the process of peace. No other proof is needed of Egypt's commitment to peace.

16. Nevertheless, and once again by contrast, Israel has resorted to its traditional delaying tactics, sometimes issuing endless ambiguous and contradictory statements and at other times seeking still more so-called clarifications and, finally, bidding for more time for arriving at a decision—or perhaps they were afraid of peace. There can be no better evidence of these Israeli delaying tactics than the statement made by evidence of these Israeli delaying tactics than the statement made by Prime Minister Rabin on 10 July,

just a few weeks ago, during his visit to Bonn. Commenting on the efforts by Secretary of State Kissinger towards the conclusion of a second disengagement agreement, Prime Minister Rabin said:

“I doubt whether such an agreement will be achieved. We are prepared to take tangible risks, including troop withdrawal, the loss of territory, the oil fields at Abu Rhodeis. All we get in exchange is words written on a piece of paper.”

That the Israeli Prime Minister considers the obligation to return usurped Arab territory as giving away, and a loss of, Israel's own territory, and that the return of Egyptian oil fields represents a giving up of Israeli resources, should not go unnoticed. What is even more astonishing in such a statement is that the Israeli Prime Minister refers to the outcome of a binding peace agreement as a mere scrap of paper. He seems to have forgotten that what he considers a scrap of paper is in reality the end result of all peaceful efforts, and the final settlement which will embody the international obligations binding upon all parties.

17. The statement of the Prime Minister of Israel I have just quoted is an indication of Israel's twisted and lopsided vision of peace. It is that concept which is delaying the peace efforts.

18. But that was not all. A few days later, on 13 July, upon his return from the Federal Republic of Germany, there was the following culmination of Mr. Rabin's series of negative statements. He declared: “The negotiations could continue for a long time. It may take two days; it may take half a year”. The message to the whole world was clear: that Israel was in no hurry to negotiate, nor was it prepared to contribute to the search for peace in the Middle East.

19. In the light of such an attitude on the part of Israel and its leaders, it was inevitable that Egypt would reassess its position with regard to the renewal of the mandate of UNEF. As indicated in the letter dated 14 July 1975 addressed to the Secretary-General by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt [see S/11757] it was then our opinion that

“In these circumstances, an extension of the mandate of the Force by the Security Council would defeat the very purposes the Council envisaged in establishing the Force, since the quiet is being transformed into stagnation and, consequently, the perpetuation of the occupation.”

The letter also emphasized that

“While Egypt does not consent to further renew the mandate of UNEF, she is not against the proper use of the Force. Egypt objects to the use of the Force and its presence by Israel as a means to maintain the state of ‘no war, no peace’ and the

perpetuation of the occupation of Egyptian territory in defiance of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and accepted norms of international law.”

20. Egypt's position with regard to the nature and presence of UNEF in its territory was already stated before the Council when the Force was established in October 1973 [1750th meeting] and again when its mandate was renewed in April this year [1821st meeting]. This position was also explicitly stated in the letter that I, as representative of Egypt, addressed to the Secretary-General on 27 October 1973 [S/11055]. In accepting resolution 340 (1973), which established the Force, and in giving its consent and extending its co-operation in this respect, Egypt has consistently underlined the temporary nature of the Force and its function as a first step—and I stress the words “first step”—in the implementation of the decisions of the Security Council. The fact that the Force is a peace-keeping force whose presence in the Middle East cannot become a substitute for the achievement of a permanent peace in the area is a reality which was confirmed by many delegations in the Council during the debate on the renewal of the mandate of UNEF last April. The Force cannot be turned into a shield to prolong or protract an illegal occupation.

21. Because of Israel's misuse of the presence of the Force, Egypt has decided once again to come before the Council and ask it to face up to its collective responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. In its letter addressed to the Secretary-General by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Egypt invited the Security Council to deal with the situation in conformity with its prerogatives under the Charter of the United Nations.

22. The Security Council was clearly conscious of its responsibility under the Charter when it decided to address an appeal on 21 July to President Sadat. This appeal reflected the concern of the Council over “the gravity of the situation in the Middle East” by emphasizing “the importance of achieving further progress towards a just and lasting peace and preventing a stalemate” in the area. In response to that appeal, and as an additional gesture of peace and goodwill, the Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt informed the Council on 23 July that it “accepts the further extension of the mandate of the Force for three more months, that is, until 24 October 1975.” Because of the extreme importance and relevance of Egypt's communication, I shall read it out to the Council:

[The speaker read out the text contained in paragraph 3 of document S/11771.]

23. The underlying message contained in this reply reflects Egypt's basic position with regard to the future. I repeat: the underlying message contained in this reply reflects Egypt's basic position with regard to the

future. Egypt is ready to give peace efforts every possible chance, but under no circumstances will Egypt allow the perpetuation of Israel's occupation of the territories occupied since June 1967. Likewise, it will never permit a stalemate in the efforts aiming at achieving a just and lasting peace.

24. The dangerous situation which prevails in the Middle East today as a result of Israel's intransigence and procrastination has been emphasized in the latest report of the Secretary-General on UNEF. In paragraph 26 of his report, the Secretary-General observes:

"Pending the conclusion of an over-all settlement, the situation in the Middle East as a whole continues to be fundamentally unstable. The possibility of maintaining the present quiet will depend on the further progress of the search for a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem, as called for by the Security Council."

25. Moreover, the gravity of the Middle East situation prompted the appeal addressed by the Council to President Sadat. In that appeal the Council, "taking account of the gravity of the situation in the Middle East", explicitly states that it "follows the situation very closely and emphasizes the importance of achieving further progress towards a just and lasting peace and preventing a stalemate in the Middle East".

26. In the light of this dangerous situation, Egypt firmly believes that immediate concrete steps must be taken in the process of peace. For its part, Egypt has undertaken several initiatives and adopted many constructive measures all aimed at paving the way to achieving progress towards peace and creating an atmosphere conducive to this end. It remains now for Israel to take similar steps in that direction. But, given its traditional policy of defiance, of procrastination, it also remains the responsibility of the Security Council to call Israel to order, to demand and see to it that the Council decisions are indeed respected and implemented.

27. Without a change in the Israeli attitude the deadlock in the peace efforts will remain, and the threat to international peace and security will continue unabated. Israel must seize this opportunity if it is earnest in its desire for peace. It must express this desire not by word but by deed. In so doing, Israel faces a very grave responsibility, for it is only through a fundamental change in its attitude that Israel can live in peace. It is now up to Israel to prove its desire and its willingness to live and let live in peace, but it remains the primary responsibility of the Security Council under its prerogatives to call a defiant and recalcitrant member to task.

28. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Israel.

29. Mr. DORON (Israel): Mr. President, may I first of all add the sincere congratulations and best wishes

of my delegation to those extended to you by previous speakers since your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council.

30. I should also like to take this opportunity to express the appreciation of my Government to UNEF, its Commander, Lieutenant-General Ensio Siilasvuo, and its personnel, as well as to the Secretary-General, for the praiseworthy devotion to its duties displayed by the Force.

31. Now that a resolution to extend again the mandate of UNEF has been adopted by the Security Council, may I be permitted to say that what should have been a perfectly simple and straightforward matter has been gratuitously complicated and nearly thrown out of gear and that quite unnecessary trouble has been caused to everybody concerned.

32. It should be recalled that already in the month of April of this year Egypt had violated the spirit of the Disengagement Agreement when it restricted its agreement to an extension of the mandate of UNEF by stipulating three months only. Egypt has now done the same again. Egypt has engaged in irresponsible manoeuvres in respect of the UNEF mandate which have adversely affected the credibility of the United Nations concerning its ability to preserve tranquillity in the area.

33. Yet, in spite of these facts, and instead of expressing criticism or at least concern in respect of Egypt's attitude and actions, the resolution just adopted by the Security Council takes into account the letter of 14 July from the Egyptian Foreign Minister which was the cause of all the present trouble and, furthermore, expresses its "satisfaction" with the subsequent Egyptian reply of 23 July to the Council's appeal, a reply which, whilst most grudgingly agreeing to a limited extension, adds fuel to the controversy sparked by that letter.

34. However, the resolution chooses to ignore completely the letter of 16 July [S/11759] addressed by me to the President of the Council in which I invited his attention to an important and relevant statement made by the Prime Minister of Israel on that day. As indicated by the President at the last meeting of the Council [1832nd meeting], that letter was one of the documents before the Council concerning the matter under discussion, but no mention of it is made in the resolution. Surely this is as blatant an example of deliberate one-sidedness as can be imagined.

35. Furthermore, whilst on the subject of imbalance, the resolution, which has the Council express its satisfaction with the Egyptian reply to its appeal, does not give vent to any such feelings in respect of the immediate and positive reply given by Israel to the Secretary-General early on 16 July, before the letter of the Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs had become known and without the necessity of directing

any dramatic appeals to us, stating that we favoured an extension of the mandate of UNEF for another six months.

36. In view of the obvious and crass one-sidedness of that text, which deliberately distorts the facts and ignores the constructive attitude of Israel, I have been instructed to voice the strongest protest of my Government against the resolution adopted by the Council this afternoon.

37. Let me now recall that already on 8 April 1975 the position of Israel concerning the extension of the mandate of UNEF was stated in a letter of that date addressed by the then representative of my country, Mr. Tekoah, to the Secretary-General, which reads as follows:

“UNEF is an integral part of the Egyptian-Israeli Disengagement Agreement of 18 January 1974, which assigns to the Force specific tasks of supervision of the implementation of the Agreement's provisions. Consequently, UNEF must be maintained throughout the maintenance of the Agreement. Renewal of the mandate for a period of three months only is thus contrary to the spirit of the Agreement. Extension of the mandate for such a brief duration creates tension. Israel favours, therefore, renewal of the mandate for a period of no less than six months. UNEF was established by the Security Council and the extension of the UNEF mandate is under its authority. The Security Council cannot agree that one side should unilaterally limit the duration of the mandate or demand the right to dismiss the Force altogether whenever it so desires”.

38. I should like to stress again that an international organ, such as the Security Council, which is charged with the maintenance of international peace and security, must not accept dictates made by means of unilateral pronouncements, the object of which is to create tension in the area.

39. The periodic extension of the UNEF mandate should not be left to the whims of one of the parties to the Disengagement Agreement which, apparently, feels free to use the occasion of the renewal of the mandate as an opportunity for promoting extraneous and ulterior objectives. The representative of that party then comes before the Council and makes his usual baseless and totally uncalled-for diatribes and allegations against Israel, all of which I emphatically and categorically reject.

40. I could go into those allegations at some length and show them up in detail for what they are but, as I do not wish to prolong this debate, I shall confine myself to a few observations in this respect.

41. We must not forget that it is Egypt which, ever since the establishment of Israel, has systematically committed breaches of international law. It proclaimed

a blockade against Israel and engaged in belligerent and aggressive actions, contrary to its international obligations and the Charter of the United Nations. We must also remember that Security Council resolution 338 (1973) was adopted after Israel had successfully repulsed the Egyptian aggression of October 1973. Egypt unleashed that war in open defiance of United Nations resolutions and Egypt is now trying to evade its obligations under the fundamental provision of resolution 338 (1973) contained in paragraph 3 of that resolution, which reads:

“Decides that, immediately and concurrently with the cease-fire, negotiations shall start between the parties concerned under appropriate auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East.”

42. As is well known, Israel has accepted resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Israel rejects all threats aimed at undermining those resolutions. Israel will continue to observe its international obligations on a basis of reciprocity. I would stress once more that Israel considers the continuation of the existence of UNEF and of its proper employment an integral part of the Disengagement Agreement. Israel will continue to strive towards understanding and peace in our region and will in any future settlement insist on its right to have firm foundations ensured for peace-keeping arrangements on a basis of strictest reciprocity.

43. In conclusion, let me emphasize again that the objective that Israel has at heart is to make progress towards the attainment of peace in the region. Nothing should be done that interferes, or is likely to interfere, with that goal.

44. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The Middle East question is a focus of current international issues. The essence of the Middle East question lies in Israeli Zionist aggression and the contention between the two super-Powers for hegemony versus the struggle of the Arab and Palestinian peoples against aggression and hegemonism. In the October 1973 war the Arab and Palestinian peoples greatly deflated the aggressive arrogance of Israeli zionism. The Arab and Palestinian peoples, constantly strengthening their unity and carrying out intensified struggles against zionism and hegemonism, have won the ever-widening support of the third world and all the justice-upholding countries and peoples throughout the world.

45. At present, the Zionists have found themselves in great isolation. The general situation is increasingly favourable to the just cause of the Arab and Palestinian peoples. However, the Israeli Zionists are still adamantly clinging to their policy of aggression and expansion, and the two super-Powers are engaged in ever more intense rivalry in the Middle East.

46. While talking about détente every day and propagating their devotion to a settlement of the Middle East question, the two super-Powers in fact have each been doing their utmost to push out and overpower the other so as to expand their own power and influence. To tell the plain truth, their purpose is to try to maintain the state of "no war, no peace" in the Middle East, because that is most advantageous to them in their contention for spheres of influence, oil resources and important strategic points in the Middle East. That super-Power which styles itself the "natural ally" of the Arab peoples is even more insidious in its intentions. While stepping up its flirtation with Israel, it is doing its utmost to bully and blackmail Arab countries and is even trying to disintegrate and undermine the unity of Arab countries and by hook or by crook to bring the just struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples into the orbit of its contention for hegemony. However, its true behaviour of giving sham support while actually attempting to control others has increasingly been brought to light.

47. The Chinese Government and people have always deeply sympathized with and firmly supported the Arab and Palestinian peoples in their just struggle to recover their lost territories, regain their national rights and oppose hegemonism, and we resolutely oppose and condemn the Israeli aggressors and their supporters. We have always held that to achieve a fundamental solution of the Middle East question, Israel must withdraw from all the Arab territories it has occupied, the Palestinian people must regain their national rights, and super-Power meddling and contention in the Middle East must be stopped. In the absence of the foregoing, there can be no settlement of the Middle East question, still less the so-called "establishment of just and durable peace". In the Middle East, it is the 100 million and more daily awakening Arab people who are really powerful. The ultimate solution of the Middle East question can be achieved only by relying on the close unity and unremitting struggle of the Arab and Palestinian peoples with the support of the world people. Despite the difficulties and twists and turns they may yet encounter on their road of advance, the courageous Palestinian and other Arab peoples will certainly further thwart the various schemes of zionism and hegemonism and win final victory in their struggle for national liberation.

48. In view of the consistent stand China has held on the question of UNEF, the Chinese delegation did not participate in the voting on the draft resolution.

49. Mr. AL-SHAIKHLI (Iraq): Mr. President, permit me to express once more my delegation's satisfaction at seeing you presiding over the Council's meetings this month. We are sure that your well known diplomatic experience, skills and dedication will be a great asset to our deliberations. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to thank you for the kind words which you addressed to me at our

last meeting. I wish also to assure you of my delegation's fullest co-operation and support.

50. When the Security Council voted on the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) last May, my delegation, in explaining the reason for its non-participation in the voting, stated the following:

"The continued extension of the mandate of the United Nations forces in the area since 1967 has unfortunately enabled the Zionists not only to consolidate their annexation and colonization of the territories occupied and coveted by the Israeli imperialists, but also to persist in depriving the peoples of those territories of their legitimate rights. While the United Nations forces continue in their tasks of observation of the cease-fire and disengagement, no parallel action is being taken by the United Nations to ensure that the aggressor desists from implementing his illegal actions and policies in the occupied territories. In our view, such United Nations action is imperative, for the Zionist policies in the occupied territories are as dangerous and as disruptive as a breakdown of the cease-fire."
[1822nd meeting, para. 36.]

51. My delegation's views on this question have not changed. On the contrary, recent actions, statements and facts have amply confirmed the fears which my Government has regarding the issue. Iraq has always maintained that the presence of the United Nations forces in the area has been abused by the aggressor, which has taken advantage of the cease-fire arrangements and launched a feverish and large-scale programme of annexation and colonization of the occupied territories.

52. Now one of the parties directly affected by the Zionist policy of expansionism—namely, Egypt—has formally brought the situation before the Council, requesting it to take the proper and necessary action. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt, in his letter of 14 July [S/11757] addressed to the Secretary-General and distributed to the members of the Council, referred to the fact that

"Israel has profited from the relative prevailing 'quiet' to further its occupation rather than to assist the efforts aiming at achieving a lasting peace."

53. The Zionists' persistence in their policies of expansion and colonization is clear beyond a shadow of any doubt. The problem does not concern only Egypt and the occupation of Egyptian territory: it affects directly and most profoundly the whole question of Palestine and the fate of the Palestinian people.

54. The spokesmen of Zionism have repeatedly proclaimed that, even if there were political settlements and a final peace in the area, the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip, Sharm El-Sheikh and parts of Sinai,

much of the Jordan valley and, above all, Arab Jerusalem would remain within Israel.

55. According to reports in [*the Christian Science Monitor* of 3 June 1974, *Yediot Akharonot* of 23 July 1974 and *Ma'ariv* of 16 February 1973, Mr. Rabin had spoken of a long-term need to transfer the population of the Gaza Strip and the Palestinian refugees on the West Bank to Jordan.

56. The Zionist aggressor is now seeking a long extension of the mandate of the Force over a period of several years in order to enable it to consolidate its occupation of the Arab territories and to have enough time to create new "facts". The Zionists continue to establish their colonies and settlements in those lands, and are trying to obliterate the Arab presence from the area and change its Arab character. The most blatant example, of course, is the Holy City and the recently planned industrial zone between Jerusalem and Jericho.

57. We believe that the Council's mere extension of the mandate of UNEF without a parallel insistence that the aggressor withdraw completely and unconditionally from the occupied Arab lands and relinquish the fruits of his expansionist policies and designs can only be interpreted as a *de facto* recognition of that occupation and will lead to the solidification by the Zionists of their occupation.

58. Furthermore, we believe that the Council should take careful note of these facts and act promptly and effectively upon the Egyptian complaint. All the necessary measures must be taken by the Council to prevent the Zionist aggressor from taking further actions to consolidate his illegal possession and occupation of the Arab territories. This state of affairs constitutes a threat to the peace and security not only of the area but of the world as a whole.

59. It is because of those undisputed facts that my country reaffirms its policy of firm and full support for the active struggle of the Arab people, including the Palestinian people, to recover their occupied land and usurped homes in any manner or form. For those reasons, my delegation chose not to participate in the voting on and the adoption of the draft resolution.

60. Mr. MOYNIHAN (United States of America): I should like first, Mr. President, to express my gratitude for your warm words of welcome to me and to state the sense of honour which I feel to have begun my service on the Security Council under your presidency. I should like particularly to express admiration and gratitude for your extraordinary leadership and that of your Deputy, which has brought us through delicate and important consultations to this agreement today on the extension of the UNEF mandate.

61. There is no need for me to underline the importance my Government attaches to the continued

operation of this Force. We consider UNEF to be essential not only on the ground in the Middle East, but also for what it contributes to the atmosphere in which further negotiations are proceeding.

62. I should like also to express the admiration of the United States for those who serve in UNEF and those who lead it.

63. We are pleased to note in the latest report by the Secretary-General that the area of UNEF has remained quiet and there have been no significant violations of the agreements by either party. That is a tribute to the desire of the parties concerned—Israel and Egypt—to persevere in their search for peace, and to those who are responsible for the maintenance and functioning of the Force: the Secretary-General and his staff.

64. The action of the Council today enables us to continue our efforts on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) towards the just and lasting peace in the Middle East to which we are all committed.

65. It remains to be noted that the finest leadership and the most selfless willingness to serve, important as these are, require at the same time positive attitudes on the part of the parties in seeking peace. My Government wishes to express its appreciation to President Sadat and Prime Minister Rabin for the affirmative actions which have made possible the renewal of the mandate of UNEF, a Force which serves the mutual interests of both sides.

66. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): First I should like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the responsible post of President of the Security Council. I should like also to express my admiration of the ability you showed in conducting the informal consultations that preceded this meeting. We should like to make specific mention, too, of Mr. Cavaglieri, your Deputy, who has done very useful work. I would also express our gratitude to your predecessor, the representative of Iraq, Mr. Al-Shaikhly, who very ably directed the Council's work during the month of June.

67. I should like to congratulate our new colleague, the representative of the United States of America, Mr. Moynihan, on his appointment to this post and to welcome him to the Council table.

68. The Security Council has met today not to hold a routine discussion of the question of the extension of the mandate of UNEF in the Egypt-Israel sector. The tense situation in the Middle East has been caused primarily by Israel's attempts, under various pretexts, to perpetuate its occupation of the Arab territory it seized in 1967. While asserting its own right to an independent existence and development, Israel at the same time stubbornly disregards the lawful rights of

Arab States and peoples. That is the root cause of the periodic crises in the Middle East. The explosive situation cannot and will not be eliminated by mere palliatives. What is required—and the Soviet Union has consistently advocated this—is a solution to the cardinal question of a just and firm peace in that area, on the basis of the full implementation of the well-known decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

69. A genuine political settlement in the Middle East can be achieved only on the basis of the liberation of all the Arab territories seized by Israel in 1967 and of guaranteeing the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to establish its own State, as well as of guaranteeing the right of all the States of the Middle East to an independent existence and development.

70. Having in mind the achievement of those objectives, the Soviet Union favours the early resumption of and serious preparation for the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, with the participation on an equal footing, and together with other interested parties, of the representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). At that forum all questions can be solved, including those concerning a definitive and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem as well as those concerning individual measures within the framework of a general settlement to ensure a firm and just peace in the area.

71. Further delays in achieving a cardinal settlement can only still further complicate the situation in the Middle East. In this connexion we must emphasize that the question of the presence of UNEF in the Middle East is an inseparable part of the broader question concerning the need to achieve a just and firm peace in the Middle East.

72. The Soviet delegation considers that the disengagement of troops in the Middle East, including the Egypt-Israeli sector, can only be a step towards a comprehensive political settlement of the Middle East problem. It would be a dangerous mistake to attempt to utilize such a disengagement as a pretext for freezing the situation existing at present in the Middle East, for continuing the occupation by Israeli troops of the Arab territories they seized in 1967 and for ignoring the lawful national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to create its own State.

73. The further prolongation of the presence of UNEF should be utilized for active efforts aimed at the earliest achievement of a comprehensive political settlement in the Middle East. The Soviet delegation would like to emphasize most resolutely that the United Nations troops should in no case be utilized as a means for perpetuating Israel's occupation of Egyptian territory. This is our position with respect to the draft resolution which was submitted to the Security Council for its consideration.

74. The Soviet delegation has carefully studied the report of the Secretary-General on UNEF which was submitted to the Security Council. The Soviet delegation would like first of all to draw attention to paragraph 26 of that report, which contains a warning to the effect that

“Pending the conclusion of an over-all settlement, the situation in the Middle East as a whole continues to be fundamentally unstable. The possibility of maintaining the present quiet will depend on the further progress of the search for a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem, as called for by the Security Council.”

We agree with this evaluation.

75. It is clear, in paragraph 12 of the Secretary-General's report, that, despite the decisions of the Council, Israel is stubbornly continuing its discrimination against the majority of the contingents of UNEF and limiting their freedom of movement on Egyptian territory controlled by Israel. By these arbitrary actions Israel is not only demonstrating its contempt for the well-known decisions of the Security Council but also defying the Council. The continuing discrimination by Israel against a number of UNEF contingents is one further proof that the entire practical policy of Israel is based on the fact that it considers itself absolute master of the Arab territories it has seized and entitled to decide which contingents it wishes to admit to foreign territory and which contingents it does not wish to admit. This is still another proof of the stubborn refusal of the Israeli Government to heed the will of the peoples of the world as expressed in the decisions of the United Nations and to move towards a just political settlement of the Middle East problem on the basis of the lofty principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations.

76. The Soviet delegation notes with gratification the assurance contained in the Secretary-General's report to the effect that the expenditures for maintaining UNEF will not exceed the authorized appropriations. The Soviet delegation once again draws the attention of the United Nations Secretariat and the UNEF Command to the need for strict implementation of the well-known decisions of the Security Council calling for maximum economies in maintaining UNEF.

77. As regards the usual anti-Soviet inventions of the Chinese representative, Mr. Huang Hua, we consider it beneath our dignity to reply to them. But the unworthy role that delegation has assumed reminds us of the time when in the royal court there was a jester, and this jester amused people by telling all kinds of fairy tales. The Security Council has now acquired such a jester in the form of the representative of China.

[The speaker continued in English.]

78. And last but not least, in labelling other countries, without any distinction as to their actual policy, as super-Powers, China for sure achieved one result. It has won a unique label, that of the "super-duper-Power".

79. Mr. del CASTILLO (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, my delegation wishes to express to you our happiness at seeing you preside over the Security Council during this month of July, and we wish to congratulate you, because your wise guidance has allowed this important body to arrive at a decision on the subject before it. Your wise and skilful hand on the helm has led us to the draft resolution which we have just adopted, thanks to your valuable initiative of appealing to President Anwar El-Sadat of Egypt to review his position on this particular case. May I express our appreciation to Mr. Cavaglieri of the delegation of Italy, who with special skill directed the work of the Council during the first days of this month.

80. My delegation would like to echo the congratulations addressed to the representative of Iraq, Mr. Al-Shaikhly, who with outstanding skill presided over our meetings during the month of June. That was a period when the Council, under his wise leadership, had to deal with matters of singular importance in relation to the maintenance of international peace.

81. I should also like to join other members of the Council in offering a formal welcome to Mr. Moynihan, representative of the United States, whom we wish much success. We know his high intellectual ability and his background, as well as the positive activities he carried out during the consultations that took place prior to this meeting.

82. The Council has now pronounced itself upon the extension of the mandate of UNEF for an additional three months. This clearly demonstrates that the assiduous and efficient activities of the guardians of peace working under the banner of the United Nations have been a determining factor in maintaining harmony in the area of dispute and conflict—so much so that the presence of the Force must be considered one of the determining elements in the achievement of a lasting and durable peace in the Middle East. Equally important is the will of the parties and the objective effort to be expended by the international community, since we are carefully and concernedly watching developments in that important area of the world. This is a situation which, for reasons I need not elaborate now, tends to perpetuate itself and thus seriously jeopardizes the possibility of a peaceful and stable settlement.

83. However, my delegation considers it timely to point out that we believe that the constant renewal of the mandate cannot but be dangerous, because its systematic extension could become a routine practice, which would be most inadvisable since the presence

of UNEF must not be understood as being a substitute for the will to negotiate and reach a compromise which should guide the peoples involved in the present situation. They must continue their deliberations and achieve an agreement that will guarantee lasting peace in the region.

84. Three objective elements led my delegation to support the resolution the Council has just adopted. The first was that the precarious situation in the Middle East called for calm analysis and renewed effort on the part of the Council, since obviously the conflict goes beyond the immediate interests of the parties concerned and, like a dangerous shadow, looms over the peace of the entire world. Furthermore, we consider that the presence of the Force has manifestly contributed to the maintenance of the atmosphere of calm necessary for negotiations to continue—negotiations that will, we trust, lead to a satisfactory and lasting solution. The third element I have mentioned is the fact that we have found that although the road travelled has been arduous and slow and much remains to be done, both the Government of Egypt and the Government of Israel have shown their willingness to compromise and to make an effort even to the point of sacrifice. We believe they should both be supported by every kind of guarantee so that their efforts will ultimately bear fruit in the form of a permanent peace.

85. Despite the fact that UNEF is the indispensable basis of a climate conducive to agreement, it is obvious that only the will of Egypt and Israel can dictate an active and permanent solution; we therefore address to them an appeal that they carefully consider paragraph 1 of the draft resolution we have just adopted, which refers to Council resolution 338 (1973), because that paragraph, apart from giving legal and moral support to the extension of the mandate of the Force, lays down the framework within which this effort to achieve peace can be successful. I trust that the Governments of Israel and Egypt will accept our encouragement and also heed our fervent appeal to bring their talks to a successful conclusion as soon as possible. My delegation awaits that day with optimism.

86. My delegation wishes to express to the Secretary-General our admiration and appreciation, for we understand full well that the efforts he has made have also to a large extent been a determining factor in creating and maintaining the atmosphere of harmony called for by the delicate negotiations taking place. All this becomes evident in the very complete report he has submitted to the Council, which, apart from indicating and defining the exact situation in the region, makes a very wise and realistic appeal that cannot fall on deaf ears since it is an appeal to that concern for peace that is the highest duty of this body.

87. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to express its appreciation to Lieutenant-General Ensio Siilasvuo, Commander of UNEF, and the contingents of the

different countries composing the Force, for without their efficiency and dedication we could not have achieved the success we have achieved thus far along the road to peace.

88. Mr. SAITO (Japan): Mr. President, I should like to begin by extending my warm congratulations to you upon your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We look forward with much satisfaction to working under your wise guidance during the remainder of July, and we pledge to you our full support and co-operation. I wish also to express the appreciation of my delegation for the effective leadership given us by Mr. Cavaglieri during our informal consultations.

89. My delegation wishes also to express its great appreciation for the skill and able leadership displayed by our colleague Mr. Al-Shaikhly of Iraq during his presidency last month.

90. I wish to take this opportunity also to extend a warm welcome to our new colleague, Mr. Moynihan of the United States.

91. The Council has just adopted, almost at the eleventh hour, a draft resolution extending the mandate of UNEF. My delegation welcomes the Council's decision because we agree with the comment of the Secretary-General—as expressed in paragraph 27 of his report of 16 July that the continued presence of UNEF is essential not only to maintain quiet in the Egyptian-Israeli sector but also to provide an atmosphere conducive to further efforts towards the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and to assist, if required, in such further efforts.

92. Indeed, since the Council's last extensive debate on this important issue, in February, we can congratulate ourselves on events, such as the reopening of the Suez Canal, which were demonstrations of goodwill by the parties concerned and have greatly contributed to the maintenance of calm in the area.

93. My delegation is, however, compelled to bring to the Council's attention its concern over the fact that for more than a year there has been little meaningful progress towards a just and lasting peace in the area. The extension of the mandate of UNEF is only one of the components required for achieving the overall settlement in the Middle East for which the Council has been working. A continuous effort is still needed to follow up our action of today and achieve the results we all hope for.

94. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General, to the Commander of the Force, Lieutenant-General Ensio Siilasvuo, and to all UNEF personnel for the efforts they have made to fulfil the responsibility which rests upon them. The members of the Force can take satisfaction from the Secretary-General's state-

ment that they have performed their difficult and important duties with exemplary devotion and efficiency.

95. Mr. SUNDBERG (Sweden): First of all, Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council and on the outstanding skill and great patience and energy with which you have guided us to the important decision that we have just taken. In our congratulations I should like also to include Mr. Cavaglieri, who presided over the initial phase of the consultations with great diplomatic skill and determination. Our thanks are also due to Mr. Al-Shaikhly of Iraq for the excellent manner in which he presided over the Council during our busy month of June.

96. Mr. President, my delegation would like to join you in very warmly welcoming Mr. Moynihan of the United States to the Council.

97. Three months ago, when the Security Council adopted resolution 368 (1975) [*1821st meeting*], the Swedish delegation voiced the hope that at the end of that three-month period, which has now just elapsed, it would be possible to register more substantial progress than had been achieved in the three earlier periods of six months. During these last three months there has been a resumption of talks. The process is naturally an arduous one. No further agreement has yet been reached. It seems, however, in view of present information, that guarded optimism may be justified.

98. In whatever way one might regard the progress of the last three months, the presence of the Force in the area has not been in vain. As can be seen in the Secretary-General's latest report, which as always gives us an excellent background for our work, the situation in the UNEF area of operation has, in spite of underlying tensions, remained quiet, a fact for which the Force should be given credit in no small measure. In this context it gives me great pleasure to convey my Government's deep appreciation to the Secretary-General, to his staff and to the Force Commander for their efforts in the cause of peace.

99. My delegation is in complete agreement with the Secretary-General's view that the continued presence of UNEF is essential not only to maintain quiet in the Egypt-Israel sector but also to provide an atmosphere conducive to further efforts towards the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and to assist, if required, in such further efforts. In this context we again emphasize how vitally important it is, in the interest of efficiency as well as for reasons of principle, that the Force should be able to function as one integrated unit within the total area of operation.

100. It was with appreciation that my delegation took note of the reply of the Egyptian Government to the appeal that the President, on behalf of the Council,

addressed to the President of Egypt. Without the consent of the parties concerned, the peace-keeping force in the Sinai could not have been maintained.

101. My delegation has voted in favour of the resolution just adopted. We did so in the firm belief that the new three-month extension of the mandate of UNEF would facilitate the ongoing negotiations. This prolongation must, however, be fully utilized by the parties. It must not be considered a matter of routine. The presence of UNEF must not be allowed to have the effect of causing the quiet now prevailing in the area to degenerate into stagnation. The chief justification for the continued presence of UNEF is, in fact, to serve as a means of helping further negotiations by providing time and ensuring calm in the area. The negotiations must now be pressed with resumed energy and resolution.

102. Mr. OYONO (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. My delegation knows and acknowledges your outstanding qualities. We are sure that you will lead our discussions successfully and we wish to assure you of our support and co-operation.

103. I should like also to congratulate your eminent predecessor, the representative of Iraq, Mr. Al-Shaikhly, on the authority, tact and competence with which he presided over the work of the Council during the month of June.

104. I should also like to take this opportunity to offer a warm and cordial welcome to our new colleague, Mr. Moynihan, the representative of the United States.

105. In giving an affirmative reply to the appeal that the Security Council addressed to him on 21 July and accepting a new extension of the mandate of UNEF, the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, together with the Egyptian people, expects in return for this new act of good will that the Council will draw up a series of urgent and constructive measures likely to give decisive impetus to the over-all negotiations called for in resolution 338 (1973) and will, to begin with, make UNEF play its true role of peace-maker as laid down in resolution 340 (1973).

106. With such a procedure in mind, my delegation continues to believe that resolution 242 (1967) contains the reasonable elements that are likely to hasten the achievement of a just and stable peace, which is the sole way of ensuring the territorial inviolability and independence of all States of the Middle East.

107. The inadmissibility of acquiring territory by war in this context of necessity implies that Israel must without delay withdraw from the Arab territories it has occupied for eight years. This in itself would

create a propitious atmosphere for negotiations which would be serious and fruitful. It would be illusory to seek peace in that region if this condition, which we consider to be one of priority, is not given the thorough and comprehensive attention it deserves by the Israeli Government. We regard as inalienable and imprescriptible the rights of the Palestinian people recognized by the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world, and those rights must henceforth be confirmed in practice in the light of the relevant proposals made by the Chairman of the PLO during the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

108. Never have the forces favourable to a negotiated solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict appeared as clearly and strongly as they do at present. We must grasp this moment, for such an opportunity may not present itself again. All States concerned must seize this occasion to limit their divergencies and even solve their problems once and for all through negotiations carried out in an atmosphere of good faith and mutual concessions. This is the earnest hope of my delegation—a hope which led us to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

109. In conclusion, I should like once again to express the sincere appreciation of my delegation to the Secretary-General for his unflagging contribution to the search for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and for his outstanding report on the activities of UNEF which, for all of us, has served as a source of invaluable inspiration in our recent consultations.

110. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): Mr. President, it is with a mixture of pleasure and regret that I address my opening remarks to you: pleasure at seeing you occupying the chair, and regret that, because of your impending departure for home, this in all likelihood is the last occasion that the members of the Council will be able to benefit from the exercise of your many skills. I might say that those skills have been particularly evident in recent days, as you have worked assiduously and with dedication to effect a satisfactory outcome to our several deliberations concerning aspects of the Middle East situation. You can take great satisfaction at this outstanding contribution which crowns your period of service at the United Nations.

111. My delegation would also like to recall the sterling services rendered to the work of the Council during the month of June by your predecessor, Mr. Al-Shaikhly of Iraq. Our deepest gratitude goes to him for the able, effective and constructive manner in which he presided over and guided our deliberations.

112. May I also take this opportunity to welcome formally to the Council, and to the United Nations, the new representative of the United States of America, Mr. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. His achievements are a matter of public record. Mr. Moynihan comes to us at

a time when the global society, of which the Organization is an integral part, is engaged in the critical task of establishing ordered and equitable relations between its constituent parts. We look forward to a fruitful co-operative association with him, and to his constructive contributions to those efforts.

113. It is also with a mixture of pleasure and regret that my delegation approaches the substance of the matter which brought us here today. For we are eminently pleased that the Security Council, by taking the timely initiative in issuing an appeal to the President of Egypt, has responded in a manner befitting the gravity of the situation. By so doing, the Council has reasserted its active role in the search for a solution to the problems of the Middle East.

114. We applaud the many actions taken by the Government of Egypt, such as the reopening of the Suez Canal, actions which demonstrate a sincere desire to create conditions which would facilitate the processes leading to peace. In particular, we highly appreciate the positive response which President Sadat gave to the appeal you made on 21 July on behalf of the members of the Council. That a further opportunity has thus been given to explore the capabilities of the negotiating process to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East owes much to President Sadat's sagacity, patience and commitment to peace, and to the implacable faith of the Egyptian people in the justice of their cause.

115. But patience cannot be invested with the quality of timelessness. There is thus an imperative need for a major impetus to be given to the negotiating process. Above all, there is a clear requirement for resolute efforts—and, indeed, courageous decisions—which will serve to induce those who have made an investment in procrastination and in maintaining the *status quo* to shed the mantle of intransigence and inflexibility.

116. Speaking in the Council on 17 April 1975, on the last occasion when the mandate of UNEF was extended, I said:

“When the Force was established, it was thought of as being an instrument which would contribute to the efforts to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. It was never contemplated, however, that the Force should assume a quasi-permanent character so that its presence could be used as an excuse to perpetuate a no-peace, no-war situation which can only be to the advantage of the occupying Power.”

[*Ibid.*, para. 93.]

117. While we acknowledge that many genuine efforts have been made since April to use the period constructively, it is nevertheless the sad fact that such efforts have not led to the results some of us had

hoped for, and it is in this context that my delegation places the letter of 14 July from the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Egypt addressed to the Secretary-General.

118. The draft resolution which has just been adopted provides yet another opportunity for the Council and the international community to work towards the objective of peace in the Middle East. My delegation, along with the other non-aligned members of the Council, was actively associated in the processes of consultation which led to its production. The resolution is simple in its language and self-explanatory in its terms. In large measure, it meets the requirements of the situation with which we are faced. My delegation is, however, conscious of the resolution's limitations; for given the prolonged occupation of Egyptian territory by Israel, and having regard to the purposes for which UNEF was established, additional positive action might have been appropriate.

119. Be that as it may, the resolution, *inter alia*, extends the mandate of UNEF for a further period of three months. But the Council and the international community must recognize the special circumstances surrounding the extension, which indicate that the renewal of the mandate is not a matter of automatic acquiescence. It is thus my delegation's hope that the opportunity for constructive action and statesmanlike conduct which this further period provides will not be squandered.

120. The Government of Guyana has stated on many occasions—and it can bear repeating here—that the critical elements for durable peace in the Middle East are: the complete and urgent withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied since the June 1967 war; the establishment of a national home for the dispossessed Palestinian people and full recognition of their legitimate rights; and the right of all States in the area to exist within secure and recognized boundaries.

121. The mere repetition of those elements, however, has not led and will not lead to their implementation. What is called for is a commitment by Israel to what is legally and morally expected of it, a commitment that must be matched by urgent action.

122. I wish to take this opportunity to express my delegation's thanks and gratitude to the Secretary-General and his staff for their tireless and devoted efforts in the cause of peace in the Middle East. The Secretary-General's report is a most valuable document and attests to the care and dedication which he and his officers give to this question. I do not intend to comment extensively on the report, but I should like to make one observation.

123. In paragraph 24 of the report the Secretary-General states that “high-level meetings among those concerned, including the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, were held

recently. I am not in a position, at this stage, to inform the Security Council of the results of these efforts". That the Secretary-General is unable so to inform the Security Council is, in my delegation's view, unfortunate, more particularly since the Geneva Conference is held under the auspices of the United Nations and the Secretary-General is specifically requested to keep the Council informed of developments in relation to it. Resolution 344 (1973) is relevant in this regard. It is my delegation's hope, therefore, that appropriate modalities can be found to remove that disability from the Secretary-General, and indeed from the Council itself.

124. Finally, I wish to pay a tribute to the men who comprise the Force, for, by their actions, they continue to serve as messengers of peace.

125. Mr. KANE (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like to express my delegation's satisfaction at seeing you presiding over the Security Council this month. That satisfaction is all the more justified because you have assumed these lofty responsibilities at a time when there are developments in the Middle East seriously threatening international peace and security. Once again your great qualities as a statesman and a diplomat, as well as the wisdom you have always demonstrated, have made it possible to overcome the difficulties facing the Council.

126. We have met here once again to consider a problem whose gravity is obvious to everyone and whose repercussions could at any moment have incalculable consequences for the international balance. In its resolution 340 (1973), the Security Council, by deciding to set up under its authority a United Nations emergency force, whose initial mandate was for six months, had the aim of using that period to reach a just and lasting settlement of the conflict in the Middle East. Since that date two years have elapsed, during which the Force's mandate has been renewed more than five times. It should be remembered that the mandate given the Force at that time was to maintain quiet and contribute if possible to the efforts to establish a just and lasting peace in the region. Hence, because of the very role and objectives given the Force, which were to avoid at any cost stagnation and the perpetuation of Israel's occupation of Egyptian territory, the Force should not and could not constitute a zone of permanent demarcation between Israel and Egypt.

127. But, despite the praiseworthy efforts made by the people and Government of Egypt to defuse the situation and enable the efforts undertaken in the region to achieve a solution to the conflict, Israel has continued to display intransigence and to use delaying tactics. It is therefore easy to understand the legitimate reasons behind the Egyptian Government's refusal to renew the Force's mandate for a further period.

128. I cannot fail to take this opportunity to express to the Egyptian delegation my delegation's thanks and congratulations for its positive contribution to the Security Council's work, a contribution which is a credit to the people and Government of Egypt. In agreeing to renew the mandate of UNEF, the Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt has given us a lesson in political courage, moderation and wisdom and, at the same time, has once again confronted the Council with its responsibilities.

129. The Security Council cannot tolerate the renewal of the mandate of UNEF being used as an occasion for Israel to intensify its occupation rather than assisting in the efforts to achieve a just and lasting peace. It is the Security Council's duty to see that its resolutions are respected and, therefore, to ensure that Israel set in motion again the process designed to achieve a solution to the Middle East crisis.

130. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): May I first congratulate you personally, Sir, on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council. I do not know whether the presidency of the Security Council and of the European Economic Community has ever before been held by one country. I suspect not, and I congratulate you on this double achievement. May I say also that the skilful way in which you and your Deputy, Mr. Cavaglieri, have handled our informal consultations during this debate and during the meeting held on 21 July [*1832nd meeting*] demonstrates how fortunate we are that the presidency is in such experienced hands. I should like also to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Al-Shaikhly of Iraq, on the way in which he dealt with discussions during the month of June. Some of them were, as we remember, indeed difficult ones, and he dealt with them skilfully and expeditiously.

131. My delegation was pleased to vote in favour of the draft resolution that the Council has just adopted to renew the mandate of UNEF for a further three months. The continued presence of that Force is, in our view, essential at this time. Indeed, the Secretary-General puts it well in his report when he says that the Force's continued presence is essential not only to maintain quiet but also to provide an atmosphere conducive to further progress.

132. We have made clear at previous meetings of the Council that have been held to extend the mandate our general view on the purposes of the Force. Lest there should be any misunderstanding, however, may I reiterate that we do not consider that the continued presence of UNEF should become a substitute for a proper settlement in the Middle East, nor should its presence be allowed to become a disincentive to negotiations. Quite the contrary. In our view, its purpose is to provide an opportunity, a pause within which effective discussions can be held. But the Force nevertheless remains essential to provide the confidence necessary if negotiations are to go forward.

133. There should therefore be no illusion as to what our attitude is on this point. UNEF is where it is to promote a settlement, not to impede one. It is in this context, therefore, that my Government has welcomed the indications from both the Israeli and the Egyptian Governments that they were prepared to consent to the renewal of the mandate.

134. Moreover, the presence of the Force has in our view never been more necessary than it is at the present time when negotiations are reaching a very important stage. One has only to imagine how much more difficult the situation in the area would now be without UNEF there to appreciate yet again the importance of this United Nations venture.

135. It is therefore a source of great satisfaction to us that despite some difficulties it has proved possible to renew the mandate for this further three months. We appreciate this demonstration by both the parties of their determination to press on with the discussions.

136. The events of the last few days have underlined once again the fragility and the precariousness of the present situation in the Middle East. As I have already pointed out in previous meetings of the Council, this situation will inevitably continue so long as a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East has not been reached. My Government has been following with keen interest the negotiations which have been going on over the past few months and which are still continuing with the assistance of the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger, for a further interim agreement between Egypt and Israel. While we are very fully conscious of the difficulties involved, we hope and indeed urge that these negotiations should now be pressed on with the greatest energy and speed. My Government therefore calls upon the parties, and indeed all who are concerned, to redouble their efforts to ensure that those negotiations are brought to an early and successful conclusion. A successful outcome to those negotiations not only would be of great value in itself but would represent a very valuable step on the road to the just and lasting settlement in the Middle East as a whole which we all seek, a settlement which would be based upon the full implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

137. Finally, I should like once again to congratulate the Secretary-General, General Siilasvuo and all the members of UNEF for the way in which they have continued to conduct themselves in carrying out their tasks in sometimes difficult circumstances during the last three months. That the Secretary-General can report that the situation in the area has remained quiet during the last three months in perhaps a tribute to their work. Their contribution to the progress of the negotiations is something in which we in the Council should all take pride.

138. Mr. TCHERNOUCHTENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from*

Russian): Mr. President, allow me, on behalf of my delegation, to congratulate you, the representative of Italy, on assuming the high post of President of the Security Council. I should also like to congratulate Mr. Cavaglieri, who carried out the functions of President of the Council during a number of meetings. Furthermore, we should like to express our gratitude and warm feelings to the representative of Iraq, Mr. Al-Shaikhly, who presided over the Council in June.

139. In connexion with the decision taken today by the Security Council calling for a renewal of the mandate of UNEF for another three-month period—for which our delegation and others voted—we should like to state the following. First of all, we must say that this resolution quite rightly notes that a tense situation still prevails in the Middle East and that there is no progress towards a just and lasting peace. At the same time, we view the extension of the mandate of UNEF as a step towards creating an atmosphere in which it will be possible to achieve a political settlement in the Middle East and to ensure a just and lasting peace.

140. The Byelorussian delegation has already stated, and we wish again to emphasize, that the United Nations troops should not be used as a pretext for perpetuating Israel's occupation of Arab territories or for freezing the existing situation there. The extension of the presence of UNEF should not and cannot be substituted for a solution to the Middle East problem.

141. To achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, the well-known decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly on the Middle East must be implemented. A solution to this acute international problem is possible only through prompt withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967 and the guaranteeing of the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to set up its own State, and also through reliable guarantees of the existence of all States and peoples of this area.

142. A solution to the entire problem of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, as well as the attainment of results within the framework of a general settlement, should be found by means of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, which has been especially convened for this. Our delegation favours the resumption of the work of that Conference with the participation of the PLO on an equal footing with other participants. There must be serious efforts undertaken towards an early resumption of the work of the Conference.

143. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR shares the view expressed concerning the fact that the renewal of the mandate of UNEF for another three-month period, in other words, until 24 October, provides yet

another opportunity to those who are responsible for delaying a settlement of the Middle East problem to change their position so that a solution and a political settlement of the problem will become possible. As we see it, this is the purport of the decision adopted today by the Council.

144. Furthermore, we must point out that Israel is fully and entirely responsible for the fact that agreement on a general political settlement has not yet been reached.

145. With regard to the report of the Secretary-General, and referring more directly to UNEF operations, our delegation would like to draw attention to the unjustifiable delay in settling the problem of the freedom of movement of the United Nations troops in the Egypt-Israel sector which is mentioned in paragraph 12 of the report. Israel continues to apply discrimination against certain contingents of UNEF and to limit their freedom of movement in the Arab territories occupied by Israeli troops. By these actions the well-known fundamental decisions of the Security Council are being undermined and also Israel is seriously jeopardizing the effectiveness of UNEF operations. An end should be put to such actions.

146. Mr. LECOMPT (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all may I offer you the congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of your high post. The representative of France is second to none in rejoicing at seeing the presidency of the Security Council entrusted to a representative of Italy, a country to which we are linked by innumerable ties that date far back in history and that persist and are being multiplied to this day. Our two nations, Latin and Mediterranean, act and react as one in the great currents now flowing through the world. Imbued with the same spirit, both spontaneously and at the will of our leaders, we tackle the problems of the moment and propose solutions that are based on respect and understanding for the concerns of others. That you, Sir, are being entrusted with the presidency of the Council at a moment when Italy is assuming the presidency of the European Economic Community, of which our two countries are founding members, only increases our certainty that the Council, in dealing with a matter of particular delicacy, will be guided competently and authoritatively. We pay a tribute to your alternate, Mr. Cavaglieri, who in your absence presided over difficult consultations with remarkable skill. My delegation wishes to express its appreciation and admiration to him.

147. Our appreciation is also addressed to the representative of Iraq, who had to tackle one of the hardest months the Council has faced since the beginning of the year. He presided over our work with great distinction, and I wish to express to him our appreciation for this.

148. I wish to address to the United States delegation a request that they transmit our best wishes to the

new representative of that country to the Council. We are delighted to enter into a working relationship with Mr. Moynihan, whose lofty principles and whose competence we have already had reason to appreciate.

149. Two years practically to the day have passed since Mr. El-Zayyat, then Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt [*1717th meeting*], brought to a close a very important substantive debate that the Council, in accordance with an initiative of Egypt, had devoted to the question of the Middle East. In his statement he asked us what message we wanted him to take back to his people. Would the Council give his people reason to trust a world founded on order, sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the Members of the Organization? Or would we offer it the proof of a world in which only force and the result of its use were recognized? We know what happened to that appeal. We know too where Egypt turned after having in vain tried again within the United Nations to find a peaceful settlement to the problem based on the implementation of resolution 242 (1967).

150. Two years have elapsed and many events have taken place. Each in turn has achieved a clearer view of the threats flowing from continuation of the *status quo*. Very laudable efforts have been undertaken on all sides, both separately and jointly, in order to tackle the problem and maintain a movement towards the peace to which the peoples and States of the region aspire and which the international community as a whole requires of us. We are, however, constrained to recognize that the gap between the accepted principles of a settlement as defined by the Council and the implementation of those principles has not noticeably diminished. Why then should we be surprised if impatience is growing. How are we do not to note that recourse to the Security Council in order to avoid stagnation still is the most reasonable way for that impatience to translate itself into action? How can we not admit, as the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France recently declared, that time is not the ally of peace?

151. We cannot but regret the fact that the provisions of Security Council resolution 338 (1973) have not thus far been fully implemented. We fervently hope that the negotiations for a peaceful settlement, regardless of the procedure or the stages involved, will progress as rapidly as possible. That is why we understand that Egypt rightly is disturbed over the delays that could interfere with negotiations and therefore delay even longer the evacuation of the territories occupied by Israel.

152. But if the Security Council is to take into account the legitimate desire of the Egyptians to see negotiations progress rapidly, it cannot overlook the efforts that are being made, since they, to all intents and purposes, are directed towards those goals set forth in the provisions of resolution 338 (1973), since their aim is primarily to achieve a new withdrawal in Sinai. A result, albeit partial, would undoubtedly

create an atmosphere conducive to a continuation of the negotiations that could lead to the over-all solution we all desire, a solution that, we repeat, must rest not on the evacuation of the occupied territories alone but on acknowledgement of the right of the Palestinian people to a homeland and on recognition of the right of all the States of the region to live in peace within recognized, secure and guaranteed frontiers.

153. It is on the basis of such an analysis that, while taking note of the position of the Israeli Government on the question the Council is now discussing, we supported the appeal made by the President of the Security Council to the President of Egypt. The latter, aware of the concern expressed by the Council, and giving new evidence of that willingness to seek peace, which is the mainspring of his actions, was wise enough to give a positive reply, thus allowing us to renew the mandate of the Force.

154. In approving this new renewal, my country does not intend to compromise the efforts to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. It is obvious that we do not want to maintain the *status quo*. On the contrary, in the present circumstances we want to avoid the risk that the current momentum for a peace meeting will encounter obstacles with unforeseeable results. We must not allow the time thus gained to be wasted; otherwise, the yet fragile hope we still entertain will yield to bitter disillusionment, to intransigence and even to the threat of a renewal of hostilities. The encouraging indications we have noted in the last few days, which explain our decision, cannot erase from our minds the fact that, as the French Minister of Foreign Affairs stated to the National Assembly on 27 June 1975, the situation in the Middle East is and will remain explosive until the substance of the problem is tackled.

155. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, since we are speaking for the first time since you assumed the presidency of the Council, my delegation wishes to take this opportunity to compliment you on the important role you have assumed in the Council and to pay a tribute to you for the skill and efficiency you have displayed in guiding the deliberations of this highly regarded body. We have noted with great satisfaction your conscientiousness and diligence, and in spite of the difficult and sensitive nature of your responsibilities which do not always allow one to maintain one's good humour, you have always maintained your calm. We have always been touched by your friendliness and warmth. Your outstanding talents as a diplomat have been eloquently displayed in the efficient and effective way you have conducted the negotiations leading to the Council's agreement on the resolution just adopted. I should also like to pay a tribute to your effective deputy for the significant role he played in undertaking the important consultations during your absence. If you will allow me to be rather personal, Sir, I should like to say how sorry I am that after we have established

excellent working relations with you the call of duty requires you to leave New York. You have not only been an able and valued colleague; above all, you have been an honoured friend.

156. I also wish to extend to Mr. Al-Shaikhly of Iraq the appreciation of my delegation for his successful discharge of his duties during the very hectic month of June.

157. Speaking also for the first time since our colleague, the representative of the United States, Mr. Moynihan, has joined us in the Council, I should like to welcome him warmly to our midst and to express my confidence that we shall maintain a warm and friendly working relationship.

158. The Council has taken a decision to extend for the fourth time the mandate of UNEF. While my delegation deems it necessary, under the circumstances, to support this further extension, it has cast its favourable vote with the greatest concern over the possible utilization of the presence of UNEF in the Egyptian territory to maintain the *status quo*.

159. This will be the fourth extension of the mandate of UNEF. Egypt, whose territory is under occupation and, it must be emphasized, on whose territory UNEF is deployed, has been agreeing to that extension, sharing the hope of the Council that the Force would be used to accelerate the march towards a just and lasting peace. Certainly neither Egypt nor the Council could conceivably have accepted the utilization of the Force to serve the expansionist designs of Israel. But there is no doubt that Israel has not approached the role of UNEF in a similar vein, for since the establishment of UNEF, Israel has shown no serious intention of implementing the decisions of the Security Council.

160. Although the word "stagnation" has occasionally been used, either privately or in the Council, to characterize the situation in the area, anybody who follows the Middle East problem, even peripherally, cannot escape seeing the understatement that word carries. In its true meaning, "stagnation" would mean not only lack of progress but also absence of negative activity. It would mean tension which does not mount. Yet this is far from being the case. Nobody can be expected to watch with equanimity his territories being occupied by a foreign country and his rights viciously denied. The longer such inequities continue to be perpetrated the more, naturally, bitterness is heightened. There cannot but exist mounting tension; and provocative utterances hardly help to cool down the inflicted emotions of the aggrieved party.

161. I should like to add my voice to those of our colleagues who have expressed deep appreciation for and satisfaction with the positive response to the Council's appeal given by the Government of Egypt. We pay tribute to President Anwar El-Sadat and the

Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt for their unflinching faith in the efforts of the Security Council and for the Egyptian commitment to peace and justice, as once more demonstrated by this favourable response to the Council's appeal. At the same time, I should like to make it known that we fully share the concern expressed by the Egyptian Government over the role improperly attached to the Force by Israel.

162. We understand Egypt's justifiable indignation at such an abuse of the Force. It must be unequivocally stated that UNEF is not a substitute for peace. UNEF is not a camouflage for maintaining an illusory calm to the satisfaction of the occupying force. The role of UNEF should be, and can only be, an instrument to create conditions conducive to the acceleration of the march towards peace and justice which *ipso facto* presupposes the total withdrawal of Israeli forces from Egyptian territory to the position as it existed prior to the June 1967 war.

163. My delegation's vote for the further extension of the mandate should be viewed in the context only of the positive role that we ascribe to UNEF. It is our hope, therefore, that the next three months will be fully utilized to facilitate a serious and definitive movement towards peace and justice, the goals for which provide the *raison d'être* of UNEF. Under no circumstances should the Council acquiesce in procrastinating tactics on the part of the forces of occupation.

164. The PRESIDENT: I should like, before calling on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply, to address a few words to the Council. Some members have kindly referred to the results which the President was able to obtain in dealing with the delicate question that we have been considering in the past few days. I warmly thank them, but let me add that, if what the President has done has gratifyingly met with some success, this is due primarily to the help and co-operation of all the members of the Council—for which I am very grateful.

165. I should like now to make a short statement in my capacity as representative of ITALY.

166. The Italian delegation has examined with the utmost attention all the elements which were provided to the Council, that is to say, the report of the Secretary-General, the letter addressed on 14 July 1975 by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the Secretary-General, and the letter of the representative of Israel of 16 July 1975 confirming the consent of his Government to the renewal of the mandate of UNEF. I have also followed with special interest the statements of the representatives of Egypt and Israel and of the members of the Council.

167. Some of the members who preceded me in this debate have already underlined the peculiarity of the

circumstances in which the Council found itself this time in renewing the mandate of UNEF. Therefore I shall limit my remarks to summarizing how the Italian delegation has envisaged the situation with which the Council has had to deal.

168. In brief, I would say that the letter addressed by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt to the Secretary-General has put the question of the renewal of the mandate of UNEF in a different form with respect to the past, in view of the fact that the presence of the Force, under its terms of reference in accordance with the Charter, requires the continuing consent of the parties. This situation has placed on the Council the responsibility of finding the most appropriate way of reaching a solution.

169. In so doing, the Council has been working in close contact with the Secretary-General, who is himself particularly involved because of the responsibilities entrusted to him in relation to UNEF. Thanks also to his advice—for which I as President am extremely grateful—the Council was eventually able to take an unusual step to face an unusual situation, by deciding to send an appeal to the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt. The positive response of the Egyptian Government to this appeal has paved the way to today's resolution, and my delegation has welcomed it as a new demonstration of the Egyptian desire to proceed on the road towards peaceful solutions.

170. The peculiar circumstances which I have just mentioned emphasize more than ever some fundamental aspects of the question we are dealing with. The possibility—rather, the danger—that the Force might be withdrawn from the area should lead us once again to ponder both the limitations and the importance of the Force.

171. It must be first of all reaffirmed, even though it has been said repeatedly in the past—and I myself stated it on 17 April in the debate in the Council [1821st meeting]—that UNEF, as well as all other peace-keeping forces, is not a solution in itself. It is certainly not aimed at perpetuating the separation between the parties, nor at covering a stalemate in the search for a solution of the basic problem which necessitated the creation of the Force itself. The limited function of the Force is to provide time and opportunity for negotiations by maintaining an atmosphere that will allow the parties to translate into facts the intentions to progress along the road of peace they continue to express.

172. Needless to say, Italy does whatever it can to encourage these intentions. Both Egypt and Israel can be sure that any constructive contribution from either side will continue to be received by my Government, as in the past, with satisfaction and appreciation.

173. However, the situation which the Council has faced on this occasion underlines how grave and dangerous the situation in the Middle East continues to be. The report of the Secretary-General stresses again that without the presence of the Force peace in the area would run serious risks.

174. These considerations inspired the Italian delegation in the consultations which took place in the past few days, as we have always kept in mind as a firm point the desirability of extending the mandate. For this reason my delegation has cast its vote in favour of the resolution. The recent events profoundly intensify our sense of urgency. The renewal of the mandate offers a new opportunity to all the parties engaged in the search for progress towards peace. All those who can contribute must make a new effort to encourage and help the parties involved to overcome their differences and get over a situation which is basically contrary, first of all, to their own interests. In this framework, Italy follows with the greatest interest and hope the renewed effort of the Government of the United States to obtain progress towards an agreement, as well as all other efforts leading, eventually in the framework of the Geneva Conference, to the negotiation of the basis of a just and lasting peace in the area.

175. I should like to conclude my brief remarks with a tribute to UNEF. The present debate has reminded us how delicate and important their duty is. I would therefore express once again the gratitude of the Italian delegation to the contingents which constitute the Force, as well as to all the countries and individuals that are participating in the operation.

[The speaker continued in French.]

176. Speaking now as PRESIDENT, I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to be allowed to exercise their right of reply. I now give the floor to the representative of Egypt.

177. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt): In spite of the fact that it is rather late and that I had no intention of asking for the floor again, I find myself compelled to do so, for I can hardly be expected to remain silent in the face of such a mockery of the truth as that to which the Council has been subjected by the representative of Israel.

178. It is strange that the draft resolution just adopted by the Council should be described as being "unbalanced". Unbalanced according to what norms, rules or morality? Surely, no one can possibly conceive of equating an aggressor with the victim of aggression. The components of such an unequal equation are doomed to fall apart; it is a non-starter.

179. Israel has criticized the Council's resolution. This is its customary attitude towards the Council and its resolutions, which obviously go against Israel's

policies of perpetuating occupation. This is a balanced resolution because, indeed it has ignored the letter of the Israeli representative. And Israel seems to forget that it is on Egyptian territory illegally occupied by its forces.

180. Israel should be the last Member of the Organization to talk about respect for international law: no other Member has ever been so often condemned by the United Nations for the breach of international law. And just to illustrate the attitude of Israel in trying to gain time, I would put before the Council what an Egyptian official said very recently: "It has taken eight years for the Israelis to withdraw 10 miles in Sinai. At this rate it will take them 50 years to get out of Sinai".

181. We cannot accept that; we will never accept it. By playing with time, I think Israel is playing with fire that is what Israel is doing now.

182. As to the worn-out Israeli argument concerning the mandate of UNEF, is an integral part of resolution 338 (1973) and not of any other agreement. Let that be quite understood. I think I gave ample elaboration of that point at the last meeting of the Council on 17 April. I need not repeat what I said then. I invite the Council to consult the record of the 1821st meeting, where there is an answer to this Israeli allegation. Israel talks about its objective of peace but, as I have said in my statement, we need deeds, not words.

183. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The Soviet representative dared not touch at all on the substance of the Chinese delegation's statement in which we exposed the hegemonic policy being pursued by the Soviet Union in the Middle East. Instead, he attempted to obliterate the facts with a vulgar jest. How can he succeed? In fact, the leaders of a number of Arab countries have exposed these facts on many occasions. This is well known to the world public.

184. The Soviet representative tried also to rid the Soviet Union of the label of a super-Power and has even ingeniously invented the term of a so-called "super-super-Power", which he tried to pin on China. This, of course, is all the more futile.

185. What is a super-Power? It is an imperialist Power that everywhere subjects other countries to aggression, interference, control, subversion and plunder and seeks world hegemony. Is not the Soviet Union of today precisely such a Power? China has not a single soldier or military base abroad. Our policy is to dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere and never seek hegemony. To dig tunnels deep is for defence. Obviously, tunnels, however deep, will never encroach upon another country. To store grain everywhere is to be prepared against war and natural disasters. Never to seek hegemony is one of our fundamental principles.

What we are doing now is exactly in accord with that. China is still a developing country and has not the qualifications for becoming a super-Power. It will not seek to be one even when it becomes strong. We shall educate our future generations to keep this always in mind.

186. As for the Soviet revisionist leading clique, neither today nor tomorrow will it ever abandon its super-Power hegemonic policy of its own accord. But the day will certainly come when the Soviet people will rise to take their destiny into their own hands, thus channeling the Soviet Union back onto the track of socialism. And we have confidence that that will happen.

187. Mr. DORON (Israel): On an occasion such as this, when the Security Council has just extended—albeit for a very limited period—the mandate of UNEF, the representative of Egypt, both in his prepared statement and in his statement in right of reply, embarked on his usual attack against my country and repeated his arguments, which have no basis in law or in fact.

188. To give but one example: the representative of Egypt has just said that UNEF is an integral part of resolution 338 (1973) alone and of no other document whatsoever. We all heard him say that. But I have before me document S/11198 of 18 January 1974, which contains in its annex the Egyptian-Israeli Agreement on Disengagement of Forces in pursuance of the Geneva Peace Conference. When one looks at this document, one sees that UNEF is an absolutely integral part of it. Take UNEF out of this document and very little will remain of it. Yet we are told here that UNEF is not an integral part of anything but resolution 338 (1973). Of course, we accept resolution 338 (1973); we have said that quite often. But, in the same way, it is absolutely clear and cannot be denied—indeed this has been repeated at every Council meeting on this subject—that UNEF is an integral part of document S/11198, containing the text of the Agreement on Disengagement of Forces.

189. Generally speaking, the statements made by the Egyptian representative this evening showed no improvement whatsoever in his attitude in respect of Israel. Here we are in the midst of serious discussions on a new interim agreement between Israel and Egypt, and yet the representative of Egypt speaks as if nothing of the kind had been taking place outside this Council chamber. He says his Government wishes peace. But Israel is consistently referred to as “the enemy” in the Egyptian press, and bellicose threats against Israel are constantly being voiced, coupled with pejorative terms about us. Little wonder then that, in view of such an attitude, my country has to proceed with some circumspection. And the Egyptian representative should be the last one to complain about that.

190. Indeed, nothing the Egyptian representative has said here this evening is likely to induce any change in our position. It is rather despite, and not because of, statements such as the ones made here this evening by the representative of Egypt that my country will persevere in its efforts to achieve a just and lasting peace in our region.

191. Let us hope that in spite of statements made in Egypt relegating a true peace and normal relations with Israel to future generations, the present generation may live to see the coming of peace and a normal life to the Middle East.

192. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics): Just to dispel any misunderstanding, the label that China has won is not “super-super-Power” —although that seems to be the dream of Mr. Huang Hua. What I said was that China is a super-duper-Power—that is, the only power which specializes in cheating. I ask that that be properly reflected in the verbatim record.

The meeting rose at 8.50 p.m.

Notes

¹ See resolution 371 (1975).

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