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TWENTY-EIGHTH SESSION

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2196th PLENARY MEETING

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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Sikivou (Fiji), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 78

Supplementary estimates for the financial year 1973

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/9435)

AGENDA ITEM 81

Joint Inspection Unit:

- (a) Reports of the Joint Inspection Unit;
- (b) Report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/9356)

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Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary organs of the General Assembly:

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REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/9181/ADD.2)

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AGENDA ITEM 80

Administrative and budgetary co-ordination of the United Nations with the specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency: report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/9426)

AGENDA ITEM 109

Financing of the United Nations Emergency Force established pursuant to Security Council resolution 340 (1973): report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/9428)

- 1. Mr. GARRIDO (Philippines), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: I have the honour to submit to the General Assembly for approval the following reports of the Fifth Committee.
- 2. The first is on agenda item 78 [A/9435]. In paragraph 13 of the report, the Fifth Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of two draft resolutions. Draft resolution A provides for an increase in the budget appropriations for the financial year 1973, which amount to \$225,920,420, by the amount of \$7,899,954, bringing the total revised appropriation for 1973 to \$233,820,374. Draft resolution B provides for a revised estimate of income for 1973 in the amount of \$38,032,052.
- 3. The second report I am presenting to the General Assembly relates to agenda item 81 on the Joint Inspection Unit [A/9356]. The recommendation of the Fifth Committee is contained in paragraph 6 (a), (b) and (c).
- 4. The third report in this presentation concerns agenda item 82 [A/9427]. The recommendation of the Fifth Committee is contained in paragraph 7 (a) and (b), which recommends to the General Assembly the approval of the calendar of conferences and meetings for 1974 and the endorsement of the observations and recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions on the matter.
- 5. The fourth report in this presentation for the consideration of the General Assembly concerns agenda item 85 (a) to (f), regarding appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary organs of the General Assembly.
- 6. Agenda item 85 (a) deals with the election held to fill a vacancy in the membership of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions. The recommendation of the Fifth Committee is contained in paragraph 5 of the Committee's report [A/9181/Add.2].
- 7. Agenda item 85 (b) concerns elections held to fill three vacancies in the membership of the Committee on Contributions. The recommendation of the Fifth Committee is to be found in paragraph 5 of its report [A/9182].
- 8. Agenda item 85 (c) concerns the election held to fill a vacancy in the membership of the Board of Auditors. The

- recommendation of the Fifth Committee is contained in paragraph 5 of the Committee's report [A/9183].
- 9. Agenda item 85 (d) concerns appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of the Investments Committee. The recommendation of the Fifth Committee is contained in paragraph 5 of its report [A/9184] and proposes the confirmation of the appointments by the Secretary-General of members of the Investments Committee. In its report the Fifth Committee also recommends that the General Assembly should take note of the arrangements proposed by the Secretary-General in paragraph 3 of his note [A/9104].
- 10. Agenda item 85 (e) concerns appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of the United Nations Administrative Tribunal. The recommendation of the Fifth Committee is contained in paragraph 5 of document A/9185.
- 11. Agenda item 85 (f) concerns elections of three members and three alternate members to the United Nations Staff Pension Committee to serve for a period of three years, beginning 1 January 1974. The draft resolution incorporating the results of the elections is contained in paragraph 8 of document A/9186.
- 12. The fifth report I am submitting to the General Assembly is that on agenda item 88. The Committee's report is to be found in document A/9386, which contains Part I of the report, and document A/9386/Add.1, which contains Part II of the report. The recommendations of the Fifth Committee are contained in paragraph 23 of document A/9386. The draft resolution recommended for adoption by the General Assembly consists of three parts.
- 13. The General Assembly should also take note of paragraph 22 of document A/9386, containing a decision of the Fifth Committee which "requests the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Board to include in its future reports information about the nationality of members and alternate members of the Board". Attention is also drawn to paragraph 24 wherein
 - "The Fifth Committee . . . recommends to the General Assembly that it should endorse the observations and conclusions contained in paragraphs 42, 43 and 47 of the report of the Advisory Committee (A/9274), referring to audit arrangements, to the composition of the Committee of Actuaries, and to the rate of contributions to the Fund and provisions for their refund."
- 14. With regard to agenda item 80, the Fifth Committee recommends, in paragraph 3 of its report [A/9426] that the General Assembly should defer until its twenty-ninth session consideration of the item entitled "Administrative and budgetary co-ordination of the United Nations with the specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency".
- 15. The last report which I have the honour to submit for the consideration and approval of the General Assembly is that on agenda item 109, relating to the financing of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East [A/9428]. The Fifth Committee has had extensive discussions on this very important item. As Rapporteur, I have confined myself to the deliberations that took place solely to

the financial aspects of the United Nations Emergency Force, avoiding the inevitable political issues that on various occasions entered the discussions.

- 16. I am happy to report to the General Assembly that the Fifth Committee finally came to a consensus on the recommendation that it should forward to the General Assembly, and that recommendation, which reproduces the 37-Power draft resolution regarding the financing of the United Nations Emergency Force, appears in paragraph 44 of the report.
- 17. I should also like to draw the Assembly's attention to paragraph 42, which contains a decision of the Fifth Committee regarding the "reimbursement made to Governments for extra and extraordinary expenses" and requests the Secretary-General to report on this matter at the twenty-ninth session.
- 18. These are the reports of the Fifth Committee which I am presenting this afternoon and I hope that they will meet the general approval and endorsement of the General Assembly.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Fifth Committee.

- 19. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will first consider the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 78 entitled "Supplementary estimates for the financial year 1973" [A/9435].
- 20. We shall now take a decision on the draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 13 of the report.
- 21. Draft resolution A deals with the budget appropriations for the financial year 1973.

Draft resolution A was adopted by 94 votes to 9, with 4 abstentions (resolution 3094 A (XXVIII)).

22. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution B relates to the income estimates for the financial year 1973. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts draft resolution B?

Draft resolution B was adopted (resolution 3094 B (XXVIII)).

- 23. The PRESIDENT: We turn next to the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 81, on the Joint Inspection Unit [A/9356].
- 24. We shall now take a decision on the recommendations of the Fifth Committee in paragraph 6 of the report. May I take it that the General Assembly approves, without objection, the recommendations contained in subparagraphs (a), (b) and (c)?

The recommendations contained in paragraph 6 (a), (b) and (c) were approved.

25. The PRESIDENT: I invite members to turn next to the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 82 on the pattern of conferences [A/9427].

26. The recommendation of the Fifth Committee appears in paragraph 7 of the report. May I take it that the General Assembly approves the recommendation without objection?

The recommendation was adopted.

- 27. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will turn next to the reports of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 85 (a), (b), (c), (d), (e) and (f) regarding appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary organs of the General Assembly.
- 28. We turn first to the draft resolution concerning the vacancy in the membership of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions. That draft resolution appears in paragraph 5 of document A/9181/Add.2. If I hear no objection I shall take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee.

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3052 C (XXVIII)).

29. The PRESIDENT: We turn next to the recommendation of the Fifth Committee in paragraph 5 of document A/9182, concerning the vacancies in the membership of the Committee on Contributions. If there is no objection I shall take it that the General Assembly approves the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee.

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3095 (XXVIII)).

30. The PRESIDENT: The next draft resolution deals with a vacancy in the membership of the Board of Auditors. That draft resolution appears in paragraph 5 of the Fifth Committee's report in document A/9183. May I take it that the Assembly adopts the draft resolution?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3096 (XXVIII)).

31. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the report of the Fifth Committee relating to the confirmation of the appointments made by the Secretary-General to fill vacancies in the membership of the Investments Committee. The draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee is contained in paragraph 5 of document A/9184. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts that draft resolution.

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3097 (XXVIII)).

32. The PRESIDENT: I also invite the attention of the Assembly to the recommendation of the Fifth Committee in paragraph 6 of document A/9184. I take it that the General Assembly approves the Committee's recommendation.

The recommendation was adopted.

33. The PRESIDENT: We shall now consider the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee which relates to the vacancies in the United Nations Administrative Tribunal. It appears in paragraph 5 of document

A/9185. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that draft resolution?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3098 (XXVIII)).

34. The PRESIDENT: Finally, we turn to the recommendation of the Fifth Committee concerning the vacancies in the membership of the United Nations Staff Pension Committee. The draft resolution is contained in paragraph 8 of document A/9186. If I hear no objection, I shall consider that the Assembly adopts that draft resolution.

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3099 (XXVIII)).

- 35. The PRESIDENT: We shall now take up the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 88, concerning the report of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Board. The Fifth Committee's report is contained in documents A/9386 and Add.1.
- 36. We shall first take up part I of the report of the Fifth Committee in document A/9386. I invite members to turn their attention to the decision of the Fifth Committee in paragraph 22 of that report. I now put that decision to the vote.

The decision of the Fifth Committee was endorsed by 106 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.

37. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragaph 23 of its report in document A/9386.

The draft resolution was adopted by 103 votes to 10 with 1 abstention (resolution 3100 (XXVIII)).

38. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the recommendation of the Fifth Committee in paragraph 24 of its report in document A/9386. May I take it that the General Assembly approves that recommendation?

The recommendation was adopted.

39. The PRESIDENT: We shall now consider part II of the report of the Fifth Committee contained in document A/9386/Add.1. The recommendation of the Fifth Committee appears in paragraph 5 of the report. May I take it that the General Assembly approves that recommendation without objection?

The recommendation was adopted.

40. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 80, entitled "Administrative and budgetary co-ordination of the United Nations with the specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency". The report is contained in document A/9426. The recommendation of the Fifth Committee appears in paragraph 3 of the report. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that recommendation?

The recommendation was adopted.

- 41. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now consider the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 109, entitled "Financing of the United Nations Emergency Force established pursuant to Security Council resolution 340 (1973)". The report is contained in document A/9428.
- 42. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the voting.
- 43. Mr. KELANI (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from French): The Fifth Committee recommends, in paragraph 44 of its report the adoption of a draft resolution on the financing of the United Nations Emergency Force established pursuant to Security Council resolution 340 (1973). That draft resolution considers expenses incurred by the Emergency Force as expenses of the Organization to be defrayed by Members of the United Nations.
- 44. My delegation will vote against this draft resolution for reasons of principle. We have in mind the principle of the distinction between aggressors and victims of aggression, a principle which is ignored by the draft. Recognized international practice compels the aggressor to pay the expenses resulting from his acts. Thus it is not reasonable to ask my country to defray the costs of an aggression of which it is the victim. During the war of last October, Syria suffered heavy losses because of Israeli aggression, losses both in the economic realm and in that of civilian installations and public services. What is more, Syria has had to provide the necessities of daily life for more than 24,000 Syrians recently driven from their villages by the aggressor. All those losses have only made heavier the burden that my country already had to bear because of the Israeli aggression of 1967 and because of the six years of occupation of one of the richest parts of the country and because of the exile from their homes of more than 120,000 inhabitants.
- 45. The report of the Secretary-General on the financing of the United Nations Emergency Force established pursuant to Security Council resolution 340 (1973) [A/9285] makes reference to General Assembly resolution 1874 (S-IV) of 27 June 1963, which in turn mentions a certain number of principles that constitute a line of conduct for any future action in respect of the financing of peace-keeping operations. I should like to refer to the principle contained in paragraph 1 (e), which reads:

"Where circumstances warrant, the General Assembly should give special consideration to the situation of any Member States which are victims of, and those which are otherwise involved in, the events or actions leading to a peace-keeping operation".

- 46. In keeping with that principle, my delegation firmly believes that Member States which are such victims should be exempt from all financial responsibility resulting from peace-keeping operations and that the victims and the aggressors should not be placed on the same footing. Otherwise the principle has no significance in the context of the draft resolution which relates particularly to the question of financing.
- 47. Mr. PATRÍCIO (Portugal): With reference to the vote that we are about to take on document A/9428, my delegation wishes to state that we will abstain. However, that does

not signify that the Portuguese Government does not favour the emergence of peace in the troubled region of the Middle East, which has been intermittently in the grip of war over the past 25 years. Indeed, speaking in the Fifth Committee on 19 November this year, I had occasion to make specific mention of the resolution adopted by the Security Council which was designed to provide a satisfactory solution to that conflict. I added:

"We must congratulate those responsible for the initiatives from which this result has followed and which at long last appear to take everyone along the road of positive results."

We reiterate those sentiments today from this rostrum and express our happiness at seeing peace on the way to being restored in the Middle East.

- 48. The Portuguese delegation is, however, opposed to the "horse trading"—and I quote here the expression used by one of the sponsors of the draft resolution in explaining matters before the Fifth Committee—which preceded the introduction, through a compromise agreement, of the proposals to be approved on this occasion by the General Assembly, including the arrangement for the apportionment of the costs of financing the United Nations Emergency Force for the Middle East, as a result of which Portugal has been included among the 23 richest and most developed countries in the world, so as to be forced to pay more than would be its equitable share, in the teeth of all statistical evidence to the contrary drawn from economic realities.
- 49. And, because this invidious and discriminatory treatment of Portugal is unabashedly justified by the sponsors by linking it to the policies of my Government in the overseas half of the Portuguese nation—policies, which, it must here be stressed, have nothing to do with the Middle East conflict—and, because, furthermore, it is intended to act as a censure and a sanction against the Portuguese nation, my delegation feels that it is in duty bound to abstain in the voting on the draft resolution embodying those proposals. To do anything less would be tantamount to condoning an offence and an outrage to our rights. We could have voted against it, but we will refrain from so doing because, in the final analysis, it is intended to be a resolution for peace.
- 50. Here, I might pause briefly in order to make a very few pertinent observations regarding the manner in which the discussion and the voting on this important item has been carried on.
- 51. Once again, the attitude of supine and inexplicable docility with which the mature and more responsible delegations bowed to the exorbitant and inflated demands of a certain group of countries, whose lack of coherence and sobriety in reasoning is well known and whose voice is less than commensurate with the weight they exert in the matter of financing even the regular budget of the United Nations, has demonstrated to the world at large, the insipid nature of the discussions in the General Assembly and its subsidiary bodies and, above all, has exposed the chasm that separates reality from the artificial situations represented by the tabu-

lation of mechanical votes that are the general rule in the forums of the United Nations today.

- 52. This, in the view of objective critics, bodes ill for the future of orderly and meaningful conduct of international affairs, and imperils the constructive evolution of multi-lateral diplomacy, upon which the world is coming to depend increasingly, but which must thus suffer irreparable damage. For, beyond the petty interests of the moment, enthusiastically defended by some of the delegations in the heat of the passions generated by their favourite political stances, lies the entire fabric of international relations itself; and this fabric is now placed on the firing line, because of the thoughtless attitude of those upon whom experience and wisdom confer grave responsibilities, but who, not from any dedication to principle, but either from sheer indifference or from momentary political expendiency, are permitting the setting up of the double standard based on discrimination.
- 53. It is somewhat dismal that in the long run it will not be because of the impetuosity of the ebullient and the less experienced that the system of international relations will have come to grief in this respect. It is thus a strange reflection of the true state of affairs in the United Nations that some of its Members, while striving to find a compromise solution agreeable to a wide majority in this matter of financing the Emergency Force to resolve one conflict, were in fact, through their horse-trading, seeking to accentuate elements of other disputes in other regions of the world.
- 54. In these circumstances, the Portuguese delegation wishes to make it clear beyond any doubt that Portugal does not consider itself bound, for all practical purposes, by the decisions approved by the General Assembly here today, and, furthermore, the Portuguese Government reserves the right not to contribute financially to the costs of the United Nations Emergency Force of 1973.
- 55. We cannot admit the application of a double standard, such as is evidenced by this discriminatory treatment that it is sought to have applied to Portugal, and would like to emphasize, once again, that it is not within the competence of the General Assembly to approve sanctions in any form against a Member State, as it is sought, by implication, through the draft resolution before the General Assembly.
- 56. The PRESIDENT: I invite members to turn their attention first to the decision of the Fifth Committee in paragraph 42 of its report [A/9428]. May I take it that the General Assembly endorses that decision?

The decision was endorsed.

57. Mr. CZARKOWSKI (Poland): With regard to paragraph 42 of document A/9428, I should like to state for the record that, while taking note of the decision on the financing of the United Nations Emergency Force, established pursuant to Security Council resolution 340 (1973), my Government wishes to reserve its right duly to submit to the Secretary-General reimbursement claims arising out of extra and extraordinary costs incurred by Poland in connexion with the sending of our military units to the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East, including the initial transportation costs of our contingent and its equipment from Poland.

¹ This statement was made at the 1603rd meeting of the Fifth Committee, the official records of which are published in summary form.

58. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 44 of its report [A/9428]. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire.

Against: Albania, Libyan Arab Republic, Syrian Arab Republic.

Abstaining: Portugal.

The draft resolution was adopted by 108 votes to 3, with 1 abstention (resolution 3101 (XXVIII)).

- 59. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.
- 60. Mr. CARRANCO (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of Mexico wishes to place on record a detailed explanation of the vote it has just cast on the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee. In this explanation the delegation of Mexico gives detailed reasons supporting its position, which is very well known, on the problem of financing the United Nations Emergency Force.
- 61. Since we wish to contribute to saving the little time still available to the Assembly, we shall be satisfied if the text of that explanation, which we have just turned over to the Secretariat, is included in the record of this meeting.
- 62. Mr. RAE (Canada): The adoption of the draft resolution—sponsored *inter alia* by my delegation—on the financing of the United Nations Emergency Force established pursuant to Security Council resolution 340 (1973) should facilitate the task of the Secretary-General and enable the United Nations to carry out its responsibilities with regard to the financing of the Force.
- 63. My delegation considers as matters of paramount importance the concept of collective responsibility and the

concept that assessments against Member States for financing future peace-keeping operations authorized by the Security Council should be apportioned in accordance with the regular scale. However, the delicate compromise solution achieved in this case was arrived at only after a process of lengthy consultations and patient negotiations. The sponsors made a determined effort to avoid political issues and to present a draft resolution which would command the widest possible support. In apportioning the expenses of the Force, the sponsors took into account for the first time the special responsibilities of the permanent members of the Security Council in matters of peace and security.

- 64. The Canadian delegation does not consider the practice which has been followed in this case to be a precedent for the financing of future peace-keeping operations, and our support and sponsorship of the draft resolution was extended without prejudice to any position my delegation might adopt in the future.
- 65. Finally, the Secretary-General has made an urgent appeal to all Member States for advance payments. My delegation wishes to announce that the Canadian Government will advance \$500,000 as a partial payment of Canada's assessment towards the expenses of the Force.
- 66. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt): My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution on the assumption that the points of view we had stressed while debating this item in the Fifth Committee were substantially endorsed and acknowledged by the majority of the membership. Those points of view were along these lines. First, it is logically and morally incomprehensible to assess all the parties directly involved in the issue equally and in the same category, irrespective of the fact that the vital economic amenities of Egypt, Syria and Jordan have suffered tremendously as a result of Israeli aggression. We would have wished that special consideration be given to those three countries in assessing their contributions. Secondly, it is curious that Israel, under the draft resolution, is classified with the developing countries, whereas it appears in the other relevant United Nations documents in the appropriate economic category, namely, as a developed country. This fact is supported by the per capita income as well as by the gross national product of Israel. Similarly, my delegation would have anticipated that, because of those considerations, Israel would be assessed as a developed country.
- . 67. However, we voted in favour of the draft resolution because we are very keen to see all the means of establishing peace in the Middle East enhanced. While doing so, Egypt reserves its right to approach the competent authorities of the United Nations in order to rectify the shortcomings of this resolution.
- 68. Mr. HARAN (Israel): The vote just taken, as a result of which the proposals submitted to the Assembly by the Fifth Committee have been approved by an overwhelming majority, is the best and clearest endorsement of the points of view which we have expounded in the Fifth Committee, be it with respect to the definition of Israel as a developing country, with respect to the question of burden-sharing, or with respect to the question of who bears the responsibility for the fact that this Force is needed.

69. However, in view of the fact that only a few minutes ago an attempt was made from this rostrum again to rewrite history, I must add to the submissions which we have already made to the Fifth Committee, where we have quoted from the reports of 6 October of the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization concerning the outbreak of hostilities and the question of who were the aggressors. For it is clear that it was not Israel that started the fighting; it was not Israel that committed the aggression: it was Syria, and it was Egypt. In the Fifth Committee we have already quoted from statements of authoritative Arab leaders. However, only yesterday the President of the Syrian Arab Republic, President Al-Assad, as quoted from Damascus Radio, said:

"The starting of the war and its timing were according to an Arab decision and as a result of the free Arab will, which placed the initiative in the hands of the Arabs and achieved the element of surprise".

That by itself would be sufficient to prove who was the aggressor and who was the victim.

- 70. Moreover, on 18 November, in the Egyptian daily newspaper Al Ahram, the editor-in-chief, Hassanein Heykal, interviewed Egypt's Minister of War, General Ahmed Ismail Ali, and revealed in detail how Egypt and Syria planned and carried out the attack on Israel on the Day of Atonement, 6 October. Following are some excerpts from that interview—
- 71. The PRESIDENT: I would ask the representative of Israel please to confine his remarks to explaining his vote.
- 72. Mr. HARAN (Israel): Mr. President, I am only explaining our reasons for supporting the draft resolution.
- 73. In the course of this interview, General Ismail Ali enumerated the considerations in accordance with which it had been decided to carry out the offensive along the whole confrontation line. He said:

"All these actions were carried out all the time in complete co-ordination with Syria. A few days before the attack the details of the plan were transmitted to the corps commanders, the division commanders and, later, to the brigade and regimental commanders.

"On September 30, I"—that is, the Egyptian Minister of War—"broadcast, in my capacity as commander-inchief of both fronts, a signal to the Syrians that attack was possible at any time from then onward and the code-name would be 'Badr'. On 2 October I travelled to Syria and we discussed the hour of the opening of the offensive."

- 74. I believe that that is sufficient to show who was responsible for the aggression and who committed aggression.
- 75. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Sudan on a point of order.
- 76. Mr. ELKHATIM (Sudan): I think the representative of Israel should confine his statement to an explanation of his vote on the financing of the United Nations Emergency

Force and not engage in a political show before the General Assembly.

- 77. The PRESIDENT: I have already appealed to the representative of Israel to confine himself to his explanation of vote. We have had similar bouts in the Committees, and I would again appeal to him to confine his explanation of vote to the item under discussion.
- 78. Mr. HARAN (Israel): As in the Committees, here also the Arab representatives, when presented with evidence, have no choice but to try by devious means to prevent representatives of Israel from speaking. Luckily, in this case I had already finished my presentation, and I wish to thank you, Mr. President, for the courtesy you have accorded me.
- 79. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): The Soviet delegation voted in favour of the Fifth Committee's report [A/9428] on the financing of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East and the draft resolution contained in that report. The Soviet delegation is acting on the assumption that the General Assembly is handling the question of the financing of the Emergency Force at the request of the Security Council.
- 80. The Soviet Union has always and at all stages given unfailing support to the Arab States which are victims of aggression in their just struggle against Israeli aggression, for the elimination of the consequences of that aggression, and for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. The Soviet Union was one of the initiators of Security Council resolutions 338 (1973) and 339 (1973), which were designed to bring about a cease-fire, and it supported Security Council resolution 340 (1973), which provides for the establishment of a United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East.
- 81. As we know, the Security Council unanimously adopted a decision to the effect that the financing of these military operations should be carried out in accordance with Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations. Under that Article, all Members of the United Nations are required to bear the abovementioned expenses as apportioned by the General Assembly. The provisions of Article 24, paragraph 1, and of Articles 25 and 49 of the United Nations Charter also indicate with complete clarity that decisions of the Security Council on questions of this type are taken on behalf of all the Members of the United Nations, and that all Members of the United Nations are obliged to join in carrying out the decisions of the Security Council.
- 82. The principle of the collective responsibility of the Members of the United Nations for carrying out decisions of the Security Council adopted in accordance with the Charter is one of the fundamental principles of our Organization, and it must be observed.
- 83. In voting for the draft resolution contained in the report of the Fifth Committee, the Soviet delegation acted in the belief that this draft resolution reflects that principle of the collective responsibility of the States Members of the United Nations for the financing of the Emergency Force. At the same time, the Soviet delegation cannot overlook the

fact that the draft resolution submitted by the Fifth Committee also has weak points, about which we feel bound to express our reservations.

- 84. First, with regard to the financing of the Emergency Force the draft resolution places Israel—the aggressor State, the State which unleased the conflict in the Middle East—on an equal footing with the States which are the victims of Israel's aggression, the States whose territory is illegally occupied to this day by Israeli forces. These provisions of the resolution are incorrect, for they are unjust.
- 85. Secondly, there is in the Fifth Committee's draft resolution an incorrect and, in our view, an unjust approach to the determination of the levels of contributions from the
- various States. States with a very high *per capita* income are placed on practically the same footing and pay at the same rate as States with a national *per capita* income two or three times lower. This is contrary to one of the fundamental principles of the United Nations concerning the assessment of contributions, namely, the principle of capital to pay.
- 86. The Soviet delegation would like to state in conclusion that, in supporting the draft resolution proposed by the Fifth Committee, we assume that its adoption will not create a precedent for the solution of the question of financing peace-keeping operations undertaken by the Security Council.

The meeting rose at 4.30 p.m.