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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.

SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIFTH MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 8 April 1974, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Talib EL-SHIBIB (Iraq).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Austria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Costa Rica, France, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Mauritania, Peru, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1765/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/11248).

The meeting was called to order at 4.05 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT: Before proceeding with the business before us today, I should like to take this opportunity to express in the name of the Security Council the appreciation we all feel for the valuable services rendered by Ambassador Anwar Sani of Indonesia during his presidency in the month of March. Although no formal meetings of the Council were held in March, that fact might be ascribed to the skilfully impartial and genial manner in which he conducted our informal consultations and carried out the other aspects of his task as President of the Security Council. All the members of the Council, I am sure, and I especially, feel indebted to him for his valuable contribution to our work.

Tribute to the memory of Mr. Georges Pompidou, President of the French Republic

2. The PRESIDENT: May I, on behalf of the Council, convey to the Permanent Representative of France, Ambassador de Guiringaud, our sincere condolences on the tragic and untimely death of President Pompidou of France. His sudden death not only has left France bereft of its leader but also has deprived the world of an outstanding statesman at a difficult and critical moment of transition when the whole world is engaged in a quest for a new and more equitable basis of international relations. My own country, Iraq, had opened a new and propitious chapter in its relations with France under President Pompidou's great predecessor, General de Gaulle. The few years of Mr. Pompidou's presidency witnessed the expansion and the consolidation of our bilateral relations. His wise

leadership will be deeply missed. Our heartfelt sympathies go to the people and the Government of France and to the late President's family. May I on this occasion request all members to observe a minute's silence.

The representatives, standing, observed a minute's silence.

Expression of welcome to Mr. Ivor Richard, representative of the United Kingdom

3. The PRESIDENT: Today we have amongst us for the first time the newly appointed representative of the United Kingdom to the Security Council, Ambassador Ivor Richard. I should like to congratulate him on his appointment to this important post, to welcome him to our midst, and to assure him that all members of the Council look forward to the same friendly co-operation that we enjoyed with his predecessors.

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/11248)

4. The PRESIDENT: The Council has received a draft resolution [S/11253] elaborated in the course of intensive consultations among all the members of the Council who agreed that the text should be put to the vote following explanations of vote before the vote. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote.

5. Mr. CHUANG Yen (China) (*translation from Chinese*): Mr. President, allow me first of all, in the name of the Chinese delegation, to express deep condolences on the untimely passing away of the late President Georges Pompidou, and our solicitous sympathy to Ambassador de Guiringaud and his colleagues in the French delegation.

6. The Middle East question has long been a question of concern to the people of the world. To date it has remained unsolved. The development of events has enabled people to see ever more clearly that the root cause of the Middle East question lies in the aggression on the part of Israeli Zionism and the super-Powers' increasingly fierce contention for hegemony in that area. To make it possible to achieve a genuine settlement of the Middle East question, Israel must withdraw from the Arab territories it has occupied; the

Palestinian people must regain their national rights, and the super-Powers must cease to practise hegemony and power politics in the Middle East. Failing all this, the Arab and Palestinian peoples will never stop their struggle, the justice-upholding countries and peoples in the world will never cease their support for the just struggle of the Arab and Palestinian peoples, and there can never be any "just and durable peace" in the Middle East.

7. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the Arab and Palestinian peoples in their just struggle to recover their lost territories and regain their national rights. Last year, the Arab countries and peoples won new political and military victories in their war against Israeli aggression. They have become increasingly aware through actual struggle that unity is a powerful weapon to defeat the enemy and win victory. The road of the struggle may be tortuous, but the future is definitely bright. We are deeply convinced that, no matter how hard the enemy puts up a struggle and makes trouble, the great Arab and Palestinian peoples, upholding unity and persevering in struggle, will certainly surmount numerous difficulties, foil all enemy schemes and plots and win final victory in their just cause.

8. With regard to the question of dispatching the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), we have always been opposed to it in principle. It was only out of consideration of the desire of the victims of the aggression that the Chinese delegation refrained from casting a veto on the text of resolution 340 (1973) adopted by the Security Council on 25 October 1973. Basing ourselves on this position, we will not participate in the voting on the draft resolution for prolonging the mandate of UNEF.

9. Mr. FAKIH (Kenya): May I begin by paying a tribute to the memory of a great Frenchman and a great European. It was with shock that we learned of the passing away of the President of France, Mr. George Pompidou. He believed in France and he was not the one to allow his great and ancient country to be treated like a flag following the wind. He was indeed a great and courageous personality and his passing away is a loss to both France and the international community.

10. Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you on your assumption of the Presidency of the Council. Your country, like mine, belongs to the group of non-aligned countries and the Group of 77. Many, therefore, are the forums where our two delegations co-operate. It is, therefore, with pleasure that we see you in the Chair and my delegation will not be found wanting in extending the fullest co-operation to you in the discharge of your onerous duties.

11. We have in our midst a new Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, Mr. Ivor Richard. My delegation is happy to see him here and we look forward to working harmoniously with him to vindicate the principles of the Charter.

12. When, on 25 October last year, Mr. Odero-Jowi submitted a draft resolution on behalf of the non-aligned members of the Security Council—which is now resolution 340 (1973)—calling for the creation of UNEF, the United

Nations was embarking on a historic journey. We supported the creation of the Force then and we are second to none in supporting it now. We are glad that in his report the Secretary-General expresses the same view [see S/11248, para. 68]. The reason for our support is plain. Our bitter experience is that, unless the parties to the conflict are separated by a neutral force like the United Nations, the mere calling for a cease-fire would, in many cases, have no appreciable positive end.

13. Resolution 340 (1973) *inter alia* called for the return of forces to positions occupied by them on 22 October 1973. It is worth while reminding ourselves that the force that advanced beyond the line of the 22nd has now even gone behind the 1967 line. In other words, the Security Council resolution, unlike many others, has not been a dead letter. It has been implemented, and the image of this principal organ of the United Nations has been improved.

14. I may also recall here that paragraph of the terms of reference of the Force as contained in the report of the Secretary-General of 27 October 1973 [see S/11052/Rev.1, para. 2], states that UNEF will supervise the withdrawal of forces to the line of 22 October 1973. Obviously that paragraph is now obsolete.

15. Paragraph (b) of the terms of reference of the Force states: "The Force will use its best efforts to prevent a recurrence of the fighting". That paragraph is very much alive and should be enough to cover the current needs of the Force. Therefore we do not see the need at the moment to draft new terms of reference. If in future no withdrawal of occupying forces has been effected and the role of the Force takes on a new colouring, then perhaps that will be the time to take action.

16. Peace keeping has a price. Thirty million dollars every six months is a great deal of money, but no price is too high to pay to save human lives and to create the necessary atmosphere in which peace negotiations can take place. Every penny that can be saved should be saved, and we have noted that 139 cadets from Peru have left the Force. We also note in paragraph 70 of the current report that it is the intention of the Secretary-General to reduce the Force when the situation allows. We should, however, not move too far too fast. It is within the bounds of possibility that a separation of forces could take place on another front and UNEF could then be needed there.

17. While on the question of finances, it is essential to point out that the countries that have co-operated by offering contingents to the United Nations should not in any way be made to suffer. They should all be treated equally. My delegation is in favour of the following approach. Firstly, a ceiling should be set for the amount that all countries that have sent contingents can claim for reimbursement. Secondly, a portion of the expenses could be paid now to the countries that have sent contingents, rather than waiting until after the General Assembly has met in September. Adjustments could then be made, after a decision had been made by the General Assembly.

18. Inasmuch as all contingents of UNEF are soldiers of peace of the United Nations and receive instructions from

the United Nations, the parties to the dispute in the Middle East have a duty to treat them equally. This is a fundamental point, and we hope that no differentiation will be shown in the way the contingents are treated by the parties in the area. We again note with approval that the Secretary-General in paragraphs 10 and 71 of his report, assures us that he is giving close attention to this problem.

19. It would be idle to pretend that the Force, which was created in such haste, has not had its share of hard times and difficulties. There have been, for example, a number of unexpected expenses; countries contributing troops still have to be paid; there are more troops from some countries than others, and so on. However, compared to the outlook for peace in the area, these problems are indeed minor.

20. I cannot end my short intervention without paying a tribute to the Governments that have contributed their forces, to the Secretary-General and his staff for their energy and devotion to the peace-keeping and peace-seeking efforts, and to the personnel of UNEF who have paid the ultimate sacrifice in giving their lives while on this mission of peace. Our condolences go to their families and their Governments.

21. With those remarks, my delegation wishes to state that it will vote in favour of the draft that we have before us.

22. The PRESIDENT: Since no other representatives wish to explain their votes before the vote, I shall now put the draft resolution [S/11253] which is before the Council to the vote.

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.

23. Mr. PEREZ DE CUELLAR (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, although you have very eloquently expressed the condolences of the Council to the representative of France on the death of President Pompidou, I must here express the condolences of Peru—which indeed have already been expressed by President Velasco Alvarado to President Poher—on the loss of such an outstanding statesman who was at the same time a brilliant exponent of the highest qualities of the French spirit.

24. I wish to offer you, Mr. President, with affection, the co-operation of my delegation in your tasks in presiding over the Council. You are daily giving proof of your zeal and skill in that work.

25. Finally, I should like to extend a welcome to the new representative of the United Kingdom, Mr. Richard. I am convinced that he will bring to the Council all his skill, experience and intelligence and worthily represent the great tradition of British diplomacy.

26. The Peruvian delegation had perforce to vote in favour of the draft resolution that has just been adopted, since through our direct participation in UNEF in the past few months we have become convinced that the work being

done has been decisive for the preservation of calm in the sector where UNEF operated and that the renewal of the mandate for another six months is indispensable.

27. Obviously my Government is ready with the same enthusiasm to continue to contribute to this new effort, convinced that we are thus fulfilling our duty as a Member of the United Nations and that we shall furthermore be contributing to the noble efforts to achieve the ultimate goal, namely, peace.

28. My delegation has been happy to endorse the appreciation expressed to the Secretary-General for his great efforts to achieve the full implementation of the resolutions. We also wish to commend the excellent work of UNEF, whose efficient Commander, General Siilasvuo, is with us today. We wish also to express our satisfaction at the important report of the Secretary-General on the functioning of the Force, a number of whose paragraphs have been noted in the resolution that the Council has just adopted.

29. However, my delegation must express some concern about the problem of reimbursement and we hope that it will very speedily be solved, since this doubtless is a problem that touches the developing countries more closely, because their contribution to UNEF represents a greater economic effort. However, in the spirit of co-operation with the Secretary-General that we have always displayed, I should like to express the hope on behalf of the developing countries whose contingents form part of UNEF that a uniform top reimbursement figure will be set without distinction as to nationality and in accordance with the principles of equality set forth in the Charter.

30. Mr. EL HASSEN (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, since this is the first time I have spoken in an official meeting of the Security Council my first remarks will naturally be to address to you my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency for this month. This is indeed a difficult month, because to preside over the Council while the important sixth special session of the General Assembly is meeting is certainly no sinecure. But we have the greatest confidence in your qualities as a diplomat and in your recognized competence fully to discharge that responsibility.

31. I should like also to express the thanks and gratitude of my delegation to our colleague and friend Ambassador Anwar Sani, for the outstanding manner in which he conducted the work of the Council during the past month. Finally, I wish to extend a welcome to our colleague Ambassador Richard, who has just been appointed as representative of the United Kingdom.

32. These expressions of gratitude and pleasure would have been felt the more keenly if they were not, unfortunately, accompanied by the grief which is now being experienced by the French people and Government. The tragic death of President Pompidou is not only a loss for France; it is a loss for the entire international community, which has seen and appreciated the important contribution made by the French Head of State to the quest for peace, understanding and entente among peoples. Furthermore, the name of President Pompidou, who was closely as-

¹ See resolution 346 (1974).

sociated with the work of General de Gaulle, was one that meant a great deal to many of us Africans—it evoked memories of resistance against Nazi occupation and, therefore, it evoked memories of the struggle for national dignity and independence, as well as of words and ideas which had a particular significance in Africa. But the name of President Pompidou also recalled the vast undertaking of decolonization in Africa by the French Republic, which enabled many African countries to take charge of their own destiny and to make their way in the concert of nations. But the name of Georges Pompidou is today more than ever reminiscent of the trusting and friendly relations that have been established between the French Republic and all the Arab and African countries. It is for all these reasons, therefore, that on behalf of my country I pay a tribute to the memory of President Pompidou and extend to the French delegation our deepest sympathy.

33. I should like now to explain briefly why my delegation supported the draft resolution contained in document S/11253. It has seemed to us that the terms of reference of the Emergency Force as set forth in resolution 340 (1973) and as described in the Secretary-General's report of 27 October 1973 is still very topical. The situation in the Middle East remains unstable and potentially dangerous, according to the words used by the Secretary-General. The cease-fire which now obtains between Egypt and the Zionist occupation authorities remains precarious. The least incident could upset this apparent state of calm and lead to an inevitable resumption of hostilities. Such an incident cannot be ruled out so long as the territories of Egypt and Syria and the territory of Jordan continue to be under military occupation, so long as the Palestinian people remain expelled from their homeland, affronted in their dignity and denied their rights. Such an incident cannot be ruled out so long as Israel continues its implacable policy of destruction and colonization by force, flying in the teeth of all international standards and rights and all the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

34. The tension is mounting dangerously in the occupied Syrian territory of Golan, and Mrs. Meir declared on 28 March that Israel would not withdraw from that territory. Along with that escalation, the Tel Aviv authorities are committing the gravest desecration of the holy places of Islam in Jerusalem; excavations are being undertaken which can lead to the collapse and destruction of numerous mosques, even though respect for the sacred character of those places has been repeatedly affirmed by the General Assembly and the Security Council. The mandate of the Force was defined last October in dramatic circumstances, and it is no less important and no less significant today. It is a question today of supervising a cease-fire which can be jeopardized at any moment and which can lead to a resumption of hostilities.

35. It is not part of my intention to minimize the distance that has been covered by the Egyptians, thanks to the numerous initiatives undertaken in and outside the Security Council. But we believe that until a global and definitive solution is found for that region and until a durable peace is established there, the Force must continue on an emergency footing and carry out its activities within the framework of the terms of reference already determined by the Council.

36. It is in view of all these considerations that my delegation favoured the extension of the mandate on the terms already decided by the Council and reaffirmed today in the resolution that we have just adopted.

37. Similarly in supporting this resolution, we felt that the discharge of the mandate entrusted to the Force should be in compliance with certain principles, two of the most important of which are mentioned by the Secretary-General in paragraph 71 of his current report and the urgency of which are stressed in the text adopted.

38. In the first place, the Emergency Force must be regarded not as belonging to any particular country but rather as an integrated military unit carrying out an international mission. No restriction or discrimination should be imposed on its freedom of movement, because of the need for concerted action in maintaining the cease-fire. This fundamental question is under review and we trust that it will soon be satisfactorily resolved.

39. Secondly, these contingents, and particularly their Governments, must be treated on a footing of equality, setting aside all considerations of the standards of living in the countries of origin. Wherever they are from, these soldiers are all carrying out the same duties; they are subject to the same conditions; and they incur the same dangers. It is regrettable, therefore, that some among them receive preferential treatment. We are convinced that the Secretary-General will find an appropriate solution within the framework of the consultations he is now carrying out the Governments concerned. It is all the more necessary since equality among all Member States is a fundamental principle of the Organization.

40. I would not wish to conclude this brief statement of explanation of vote, however, without paying a deserved tribute to the Secretary-General for the seriousness and the dedication with which he is carrying out the decisions of the Security Council and discharging a task whose complexity and many ramifications we are all aware of. Our thanks also go to the countries that have made important contributions to the quest for peace in the Middle East by sending contingents to the region.

41. Mr. NJINE (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like first of all to associate myself with you and preceding speakers in expressing condolences to the Permanent Representative of France on the sudden death of President Georges Pompidou. When that loss became known, my Government sent a telegram of condolences to the French Government and to the late President Georges Pompidou's family, and our Head of State went to the funeral of the great statesman in Paris in order to stress the deep sorrow felt by the Cameroonian people at this loss.

42. I should also like to extend my delegation's welcome to the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, Ambassador Richard, and to assure him of the constant co-operation of my delegation as he carries out his responsible duties.

43. Mr. President, it is an agreeable duty to congratulate you on your assumption of the high post of President of

the Security Council for this month. Knowing your outstanding qualifications as a diplomat and also your long experience in the affairs of our Organization, I am convinced that the Council under your presidency will live up to the hopes placed in it by the peoples of the world. I can assure you that you will receive from my delegation all necessary co-operation to ensure the efficient conduct of our business. I should also like to address to your predecessor, Ambassador Anwar Sani of Indonesia, the appreciation and gratitude of my delegation at the effective and honourable way in which he carried out the functions of President of the Council for the month of March.

44. Finally, my delegation would also like to address its sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the invaluable contribution he has made to the search for peace in the Middle East.

45. The memory of the particularly dangerous and indeed fatal confrontation in the Middle East when UNEF was constituted on 25 October 1973 is still alive in our mind. The violence, the horrors, the damage and the destruction that characterize all wars seemed more than ever to have profoundly afflicted that region of the world for an extremely long period of time. The task of UNEF in this political context and in the light of the territory where the fighting was taking place seemed even more complex than expected. In point of fact, the members of that Force had to assume peace-keeping and humanitarian tasks with very small means and in particularly dangerous conditions.

46. If today we weigh the scope of the problems already solved there I think we can affirm with the Secretary-General that the establishment of UNEF was a step that is worthy of inscription in the annals of the United Nations.

47. My delegation wishes to take this opportunity warmly to congratulate the Governments which agreed to place contingents at the disposal of the Organization and also the Commander and the men of UNEF, the UNTSO observers and the representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross for the devotion which they have all shown to the cause of peace and the United Nations.

48. My delegation has very carefully examined the important report of the Secretary-General [S/11248]. The Government of the United Republic of Cameroon, which has always advocated the scrupulous implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), heard with great interest of the disengagement of forces that took place on the Egyptian-Israeli frontier after the signing of the agreement on 18 January 1974. The fact that the disengagement took place without incident and with the full co-operation of the parties directly concerned seems to be a good omen for the continuing negotiations towards the establishment of a just and stable peace in the region.

49. It is true that there are still large obstacles on the path to peace. Nevertheless, my delegation hopes that the efforts of multilateral diplomacy and the current mediation of certain Powers will make it possible to establish conditions favourable to negotiations on other military fronts and on the substance of the Middle East question, so that an era of peace, justice and prosperity for all the peoples of the

region may once and for all replace the present situation of war or armed peace.

50. During the past six months, the Emergency Force has been competently carrying out the tasks assigned to it by the Security Council under resolution 340 (1973). The Force has at all times had the confidence of the Council and the parties directly concerned and has been able in large measure to function as an integrated military unit—conditions which the Secretary-General's report of 27 October 1973 laid down for the effective deployment of the Force. We must also note with gratification that the financial estimates for the functioning of the Emergency Force have been adhered to, without the efficiency of the mission having been affected thereby.

51. My delegation is convinced that that fortunate experience of UNEF in the region, doubtless a result of the fact that we have jettisoned certain old concepts in the matter, will serve to enrich the experience of the Security Council in the field of the organization of peace-keeping operations.

52. The resort to contingents of different geographical regions seems to us one of the factors of efficiency of the Emergency Force that should be borne in mind in future. The unofficial and periodic consultations between the Secretary-General and the Security Council have allowed a number of misunderstandings to be dissipated and such consultations should be encouraged in the future.

53. My delegation places its trust in the Secretary-General in the search for an equitable and urgent solution to the problem of the reimbursement of the expenses to those countries that have placed contingents at the disposal of UNEF, particularly in the light of the concern quite justly expressed by a number of countries. My delegation also hopes that the Secretary-General will do all in his power to ensure that the States concerned respect the principle of the freedom of movement in the region of the contingents of all countries, without any restriction. Any discrimination in this field would be most regrettable and could be a disservice to the interests of the United Nations.

54. Despite the positive accomplishments of the United Nations in the Middle East, we cannot disguise the fact that the situation is still tense and a source of concern in certain areas. The reports received from the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization Observers are not too reassuring; therefore, the presence of UNEF is still necessary in the region in order to facilitate contacts between the parties and to carry out a number of different peace-keeping missions.

55. That is why the extension of the mandate of UNEF, as defined in resolution 340 (1973), was fully supported by my Government.

56. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, first of all I should like to associate myself fully with everything that you said in expressing the Council's deep sympathy to our colleague the representative of France, Ambassador de Guiringaud, and to the French delegation in the Council in connexion with the death of President Pompidou.

57. For our part, we in the Soviet Mission to the United Nations and in the Soviet delegation in the Security Council have already had an opportunity to express our heartfelt condolences at an informal meeting of Council members. I should like now to read out a message from the Soviet leaders, Mr. Brezhnev, Mr. Podgorny and Mr. Kosygin, to Mr. Alain Poher, Acting President of the French Republic, and to Mr. Pierre Messmer, the Premier of the French Republic:

"With deep sorrow we have learned of the untimely death of the President of the French Republic, Georges Pompidou. In this sad hour please accept our sincere condolences.

"The Soviet Union had the greatest respect for President Pompidou, a distinguished French statesman who did much to carry on the traditional friendship between the Soviet Union and France.

"During the years of Mr. Pompidou's Presidency, Soviet-French relations were further strengthened and were marked by the adoption by the two countries of fundamental documents which achieved wide international recognition. We highly appreciate the results achieved in co-operation between the USSR and France during these years in furthering the process of détente in Europe and throughout the world and the development of co-operation among States on the basis of equal rights.

"The Soviet Union will continue to pursue a consistent policy of friendship and comprehensive co-operation with France in keeping with the vital interests of the peoples of both countries—a policy which reaffirms the principle of peaceful coexistence in relations between States with different social systems."

58. Those leaders also sent the following cable to Mrs. Claude Pompidou, widow of the French President:

"We grieve with you at the untimely death of your husband, Georges Pompidou, President of the French Republic.

"We shall always remember our friendly meetings with President Pompidou, who played a major role in the development and strengthening of relations based on concord and co-operation between the Soviet Union and France.

"Please accept our heartfelt condolences at the grievous loss which has thus afflicted you and your family."

59. On behalf of the Soviet delegation, I should like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the high responsibilities of President of the Security Council and to wish you success in your work. In the very first days of your presidency you have already been called upon to play an active part, and we have noted with great satisfaction that you have most ably discharged your duties. We sincerely wish you further success.

60. We also recall with great satisfaction our joint work with your predecessor, Mr. Anwar Sani, to whom we express our warm appreciation.

61. It is a matter of satisfaction to us also to congratulate our colleague, the representative of the United Kingdom, Ambassador Richard, who is taking part today for the first time in an official meeting of the Council. For our part, we shall make every effort to co-operate in the strengthening of peace and security.

62. I cannot fail, in concluding my introductory remarks, to express our sincere condolences to our colleague in the Council, the representative of Peru, and to the Permanent Mission of Finland on the deaths in the line of duty of a number of their soldiers attached to UNEF in the Middle East. We express our sincere sympathy at these losses incurred in international service in United Nations peace-keeping operations. We have also just learned that the Indonesian and Panamanian contingents have suffered losses and that some members of the Austrian contingent have been wounded, so we would also like to express our sympathy at those losses and our sincere hopes for the speedy recovery of the Austrian officers and men who have been wounded.

63. We should like to express our appreciation to the commanding officers and personnel of the Polish contingent, which has been entrusted with the responsibility for mine clearance, one of the most dangerous tasks of the Emergency Force at this time. We should like to wish our friends, the Polish officers and men, every success in carrying out that work, so that there may be no further loss of life from mines.

64. The Security Council is considering an important question, namely, an extension of the stay of UNEF in the Middle East. Members of the Council have before them the special report of the Secretary-General. They have also had before them a draft resolution on this matter prepared through the joint efforts of the non-permanent members of the Council. We note these efforts with appreciation.

65. Last October, at a delicate moment, when it was being decided whether the war in the Middle East would continue or the Security Council would be able to take steps to bring about a cease-fire, the group of non-permanent members of the Council, and particularly the representatives of the non-aligned countries, rendered signal service to the Council and to the general cause of strengthening peace in the Middle East. On their initiative, on their proposal and in accordance with the resolution drafted by them and adopted by the Council, the Emergency Force was established. In the present instance, before today's meeting, it was again the non-permanent members of the Council who worked hardest to prepare an appropriate draft resolution, and their efforts have been crowned with success, since the draft has been adopted almost unanimously, with only two members not participating. I will not conceal from members that my delegation would have preferred a stronger draft resolution, but since an overwhelming majority in the Council agreed with this draft my delegation did not find it possible to oppose it.

66. We have carefully studied the report of the Secretary-General. It reflects all the most important aspects of the organization and activities of the Emergency Force, which can justly be called the first genuine international armed

force of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace in a dangerous area. The makeshift "United Nations forces" of the remote past cannot provide an example for the establishment of truly international United Nations forces to carry out the noble task of peace keeping.

67. There is every reason to acknowledge that the Secretary-General and the Commander of the Emergency Force have done a great deal of very difficult work and have achieved positive results. The Security Council has every reason to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, and to the Commander of UNEF in the Middle East, General Siilasvuo.

68. The question of UNEF's stay in the Middle East is closely bound up with the development of the general situation in the region. The efforts of the Security Council and of countries concerned to see a just and lasting peace established in the Middle East have been successful in creating the prerequisites for a peaceful settlement of the acute and dangerous Middle East problem, which resulted from Israel's aggression against neighbouring Arab States. It therefore continues to be of particular importance that resolution 242 (1967) and the subsequent resolutions 338 (1973), 339 (1973) and 340 (1973), adopted by the Council in October last, should be complied with. The implementation of these resolutions is an essential prerequisite for the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

69. Regarding the problem of a Middle East settlement, The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, said the following in his address at the meeting of Soviet-Cuban friendship, held in Havana on 29 January 1974:

"Peace as we understand it means the restoration of the lawful and inalienable rights of the Arab peoples, which have been flouted by the Israeli aggressor; it means a constructive and lasting solution to the Middle East crisis. This is what the Soviet Union has firmly and consistently advocated.

"The troop-disengagement agreement reached between Egypt and Israel at the Geneva peace conference began its work is a positive step, but it is only a partial measure of a purely military nature and so far affects only one of the Arab countries that took part in the hostilities. Matters cannot, of course, be permitted to rest there. The Geneva conference must carry out its principal mission, which is to achieve a fundamental political settlement and establish lasting peace in the Middle East. However, that objective can be attained only if Israeli troops are withdrawn from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967 and if the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine are respected. The decisions of the United Nations on the Middle East must be carried out completely, in all their parts and as soon as possible. The Soviet Union has made and will continue to make an active contribution to this important matter."

70. The question of UNEF's stay in the Middle East is part of the broader question of the need to achieve a just and

lasting peace in that explosive region, and we fully associate ourselves with the statement in the Secretary-General's report to the effect that "the disengagement of Egyptian and Israeli forces is only a first step... towards the settlement of the Middle East problem" [S/11248, para. 68]. This view is reflected in the resolution just adopted by the Security Council on the matter.

71. The questions raised in the last report of the Secretary-General concerning various aspects of the activities of UNEF are not in principle new to members of the Security Council. It is quite appropriate to recall in that connexion that the broad complex of questions connected with UNEF has been considered repeatedly and in detail by members of the Council in the course of their informal consultative meetings.

72. First of all, it should be noted that that discussion has already had positive results. Systematic supervision by the Council of the activities of UNEF and close contact and co-operation between members of the Council, the Secretary-General and the Secretariat are greatly helping matters. Consultations between members of the Council and the Secretary-General must continue in future on a regular basis. We also note with satisfaction that the Secretary-General is submitting periodic progress reports to the Council on the activities of UNEF. A number of members of the Council have, however, expressed the hope that in future those reports will be more detailed and will cover all matters relating to UNEF's activities which are of interest to members of the Council.

73. One of the important questions before the Council is what UNEF's strength should be in the light of its real needs, its deployment and the effectiveness with which it is being used. In this connexion, it should be noted that the original guideline strength of UNEF, which was set at about 7,000 was established, as the course of subsequent events has shown, without taking sufficiently into account the specific tasks of UNEF and the situation in the field, although it must be said in all fairness that it was not easy at that time to obtain accurate figures.

74. There was less justification for raising the question of a further increase in UNEF's strength. However, we must give credit to the members of the Security Council for not automatically accepting that proposal. As a result of their serious approach to the matter and the detailed exchange of views which was jointly conducted with the Secretary-General, it has proved possible not only to avoid increasing the strength of UNEF but, on the contrary, to make do with *de facto* strength of less than 7,000, which is now given officially in the Secretary-General's report as 6,788. As the report shows, more effective and rational use is now being made of UNEF, which is something the Council can only welcome. My delegation notes with satisfaction the statement by the Secretary-General in his report that he firmly intends not to increase UNEF's strength and, moreover, to "keep under constant review the required strength of the Force with a view to making reductions and economies" [*ibid.*, para. 70]. This provision of the report has now been reflected in the resolution adopted by the Council. Thus, it can be flatly stated that this idea has twice received recognition.

75. In this connexion, we must express the wish that the situation which arose during the discussion on the establishment of UNEF should also be taken into account. I am referring to the fact that when UNEF was established it was assumed that the optimal size of each national contingent would be no more than 600 to 700 men. The Secretariat and the Commander of UNEF should look at this matter, too, in the light of the consensus reached at that time.

76. Another matter of undoubted interest to the members of the Council is the cost of maintaining UNEF. Objectively speaking, there is no reason to agree that when considering the extension of UNEF's stay in the Middle East for a further period of six months we must also discuss increasing the expenditure on maintenance of the Force above the \$30 million approved by the General Assembly for a six-month period. The only conclusion that can be drawn from this approach is that there is an over-expenditure at a given time, or over this whole period. During the first four months of UNEF's existence, as we are all aware, the Force was substantially under strength. Only in the last two months has its strength approached the 7,000 level, but it has still not reached that level. Under the circumstances, even if there are some unforeseen expenditures, one would have expected the actual expenditure over the first six months to be considerably below \$30 million. The Council should direct its attention to this fact.

77. The Council has considered and endorsed the Secretary-General's view that UNEF's operations should be carried on at the least possible cost and with the greatest possible savings. The Council is entitled to expect that this will be done and that appropriations for UNEF will not exceed the level established by the General Assembly. The Secretariat and the Commander at UNEF must take this matter seriously and sit down, pencil in hand as it were, total up what it really costs to maintain UNEF and take urgent steps to effect the greatest possible economies.

78. One of the fundamental principles governing the establishment and functioning of UNEF is one which is accepted in the United Nations system and has been reaffirmed by the Security Council, namely the principle of equitable geographical representation in the establishment of United Nations emergency forces. That principle, as we are aware, was specially endorsed by the Council with due regard for the specific conditions under which the United Nations troops have to operate. The strictest compliance with this principle is therefore an important criterion of whether UNEF is a truly international United Nations armed force performing United Nations peace-keeping functions. There is, however, irrefutable evidence that the principle is being violated in regard to the deployment, movement and utilization of UNEF. That fact has already been noted by earlier speakers. The Secretary-General's report states frankly: "One of the problems still outstanding relates to restrictions on the freedom of movement of personnel of certain contingents." [*ibid.*, para. 10]

79. Members of the Council are well aware of what is behind this rather general statement in the report. What this actually means is that the contingents of two African countries, Ghana and Senegal, the contingent of one Asian country, Indonesia, and the contingent of one Eastern

European country, Poland, are being subjected to intolerable discrimination by the Israeli Government, contrary to the decision of the Council, for the sole reason that the Governments of those four States do not have diplomatic relations with Israel.

80. It must be particularly stressed in this connexion that this unlawful policy and practice on the part of Israel is greatly restricting and consequently paralysing the activities of UNEF, reducing the effectiveness with which it is being utilized, and making it necessary to increase its strength in officers and men beyond the point that would be necessary in normal circumstances in order for the Force to carry out its mission.

81. The UNEF command, as can be seen from earlier reports of the Secretary-General, has been obliged to denote as "reserves" the contingents which are going unused because of Israel's position—as if this part of UNEF was actually being held in reserve, when the real reason why it cannot be effectively used lies in the restrictions on its movement being applied by the Government of Israel. Thus, Israel bears direct responsibility for the unnecessary and unjustified increase in the strength of UNEF and, consequently, for the increased cost of maintaining the Force. Obviously, the possibility of presenting the bill to Israel for the extra costs should be considered.

82. Even more important is the fact that the illegal restrictions and discrimination with regard to a certain part of UNEF personnel is completely illogical and has no foundation in international law. The composition of UNEF was determined by a decision of the Security Council which was directed specifically against any attempt by Israel to discriminate against particular African, Asian or Eastern European contingents. Thus, it is the duty and the obligation of members of the Council to require that Israel bow to the decisions of the Council and abandon this unlawful practice.

83. This is reflected in the resolution adopted by the Council, which notes the particular urgency of the problem dealt with in paragraph 71 of the Secretary-General's report, and the paragraph does indeed deal with this most important and pressing problem. The report rightly notes that the question of freedom of movement for contingents in UNEF's area of operations is a problem calling for urgent solution, and the Council must help the Secretary-General to solve as speedily as possible this problem which has arisen from the actions and the position taken by Israel.

84. The following logical question quite naturally arises in this connexion: Israel, as we know, was forced to agree, first of all, to a cease-fire and, secondly, the signing of an agreement on the disengagement of its troops and the Egyptian troops against which it had been fighting. It also gave its assent to the establishment of a disengagement zone. Why then, under these circumstances, does Israel continue its policy of enmity and hatred vis-à-vis other States which have not been at war with it but merely do not have diplomatic relations with it because of its aggression against the Arab States?

85. There is not and cannot be any justification for this attitude towards the Emergency Force. There must be an

end to restrictive measures and discrimination against all contingents, including those of countries with which Israel has no diplomatic relations. All the contingents comprising UNEF must enjoy equal rights and respect. Since they are part of UNEF, they are international armed forces. They were established by the Security Council in its capacity as the principal organ of the United Nations for halting aggression and maintaining peace. These are United Nations troops, not national troops; they are conducting an international United Nations peace-keeping operation assigned to them by the Council, and they must be treated accordingly. The Council is duty-bound to take its own measures to assist the Secretary-General in solving this problem.

86. Another criterion of unswerving compliance with the principle of equitable geographical distribution is that this principle is applied at every level of UNEF's direction and command. The Council must see to it that the principle is fully applied, first of all, in relation to the Secretariat department in charge of UNEF affairs and, secondly, in regard to proper representation in headquarters and brigade staff, of UNEF, as well as in the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO).

87. Lastly, the third aspect of the principle of equitable geographical representation, as approved by the Council, is its application to the reimbursement of costs incurred by countries in connexion with the service of their contingents in UNEF. This important question was dealt with by previous speakers and will obviously be raised by subsequent speakers as well. The report contains a number of positive statements about the need to establish a standard reimbursement and a ceiling for such reimbursement. We understand this to mean that all UNEF contingents should be placed on an equal footing as regards the reimbursement of costs, irrespective of nationality, race, colour and political or religious beliefs.

88. What the report says on this score is too general, however, and should be made more precise. In view of the importance attached to the matter, particularly by those Members of the United Nations whose contingents are in UNEF for the first time, it is essential that this important question, which could give rise to serious complications, this question of unequal reimbursement, should be dealt with positively in the near future in accordance with the principle of full equality and justice. However, the Council is obviously entitled to appeal to Member States, for their part, not to make excessive demands in this regard.

89. In view of what I have said and in view of the fact that the questions raised by the Soviet delegation were taken into account in the Council's resolution, my delegation did not oppose Council approval of an extension of UNEF's mandate in the Middle East for a limited additional period of six months. We bear in mind the fact, however, that the resolution particularly notes the importance of a proper solution to the urgent problems referred to in paragraph 71 of the Secretary-General's report, and particularly the importance of an urgent solution to the important question of freedom of movement for all UNEF contingents in their operational area.

90. We also note with satisfaction that the resolution takes particular note of the Secretary-General's intention to keep under constant review the required strength of the Force with a view to making reductions and economies. Thus, the resolution duly reflects problems which, as many members of the Council have repeatedly pointed out in the course of informal consultations, call urgently for a solution.

91. Mr. SALAZAR (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, my delegation wishes to associate itself with your comments when you spoke on behalf of the Council and offered condolences to the representative of France on the untimely death of President Pompidou. The international community as a whole was deeply shaken by the loss of the great French leader, and my Government has addressed its sympathy to the Government of France for the mourning of the French people.

92. Mr. President, we congratulate you on assuming the presidency of the Council for this month. We are familiar with your experience and your tact in the carrying out of diplomatic tasks, and you have given ample proof of the experience you possess in the consultations that have taken place for the preparation of the resolution that we have just adopted. I trust that you will be very successful in your term of office and I assure you of the co-operation of my delegation to that end.

93. I also wish to extend a welcome to the new representative of the United Kingdom in the Security Council and I trust that he will be fully successful in the fulfilment of his duties.

94. My delegation would like to give some of the reasons why we have supported the resolution that has just been adopted. We are fully conscious of the fact that UNEF has played a decisive—and I would say, indispensable—role since its establishment. Costa Rica was not a member of the Security Council when, last October, by a decision of this body UNEF was set up. However, we know that the initiative came from a group of countries that were not permanent members of the Council and that the decision adopted later by the Council was an effective guarantee of the resolutions which were subsequently adopted on a cease-fire, which led later to complementary measures that may ensure the re-establishment of peace in the Middle East.

95. My delegation is a successor to the delegation of Panama, which earlier represented Latin America on the Council, and as such we intend to exert the same efforts to ensure the fulfilment of the duties and tasks incumbent upon the Council. Therefore, as a successor to Panama, we were very happy to vote in favour of the draft resolution that has just been adopted.

96. Furthermore, my delegation was very gratified to read the report that served as the basis for that resolution. The Secretary-General's report very clearly indicates the concern and the dedication of the Secretary-General in ensuring effective implementation of the measures that this Council decided upon in regard to the re-establishment of peace in the Middle East. I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Secretary-General on the

excellent report he has furnished to us and the very wise and timely measures he has proposed in it.

97. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria): In the past week a great statesman and great European, President Georges Pompidou of France, has died. Last Saturday an impressive gathering of world leaders, the United Nations being represented by our Secretary-General, gathered in Paris to pay a tribute to his memory and to mourn with the French people. Allow me now to extend the most heartfelt condolences of my delegation to Ambassador de Guiringaud on this sad occasion. President Pompidou was held in high esteem in Austria, and the visit he paid to Vienna in his capacity as Prime Minister of France is not forgotten. Nor shall we forget his distinguished contribution in securing for Austria a new constructive relationship with the European Community. Expressing a widely held feeling, the Federal Chancellor of Austria, Bruno Kreisky, said that the Austrian people had lost in him a great friend.

98. I should like to extend to you, Mr. President, the warmest congratulations of my delegation upon your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are pleased to see the able and talented representative of Iraq, Ambassador El-Shibib, in the Chair, and we pledge to him our full support in the fulfilment of his duties.

99. Let me also take this opportunity to thank our President for the previous month, Ambassador Anwar Sani of Indonesia, for the services he once again rendered to this Council with so much circumspection and dedication. These services match the admirable records of leadership he has already established on previous occasions: during his Presidency in January 1973 and as Chairman of the Security Council to Zambia in February 1973.

100. A warm word of welcome is due to our new colleague, the representative of the United Kingdom, Ambassador Richard. Mr. Richard brings to this Council the rich experience he has acquired in the political life of his country, both in Her Majesty's Government and in the House of Commons. There could hardly be a better qualification for serving the Council than the distinction and fascination membership in the mother of parliaments confers. His presence among us is a matter of great satisfaction, therefore, and augurs well for the future work of the Council. My delegation and I personally look forward with great pleasure to co-operating with him.

101. The Security Council is meeting today to extend the mandate of UNEF in the Middle East. The establishment of a new United Nations Emergency Force by the Council on 25 October 1973 was an act of truly historic dimensions. It is not necessary here in this chamber to recall in detail the anxious hours of the world crisis that erupted in October 1973. The records of the Council speak persuasively of the drama and tension of the hours and days immediately preceding and immediately following the voting of the cease-fire resolution on 22 October and thereafter. In the course of these events the establishment, practically overnight, of a new United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East was in more than one sense a turning point and represented a first and essential step on the way to peace.

The timely response of the Council to a crisis whose dimensions might well have spread beyond the region immediately affected has a deep significance. It shows in the first place the indispensable role of the United Nations in any peace effort in the Middle East.

102. A permanent settlement in the Middle East, as we know, depends on the interplay of a great many factors. It is an area of particular sensitivity. Large and small Powers, Powers inside and outside the region alike, are involved. It demands constant vigilance, effort and goodwill on all sides. Efforts for peace-making in the Middle East, however, require a peace-making machinery and only a world organization like the United Nations can provide these services.

103. Apart from the significant impact that the establishment of UNEF had on a world crisis, this fact also holds promise for the future of the Organization itself. The creation of UNEF on a basis of consent much larger than any previous occasion shows the constructive potential of the United Nations and its ability to respond decisively and swiftly in an hour of crisis. By its nature and functioning UNEF is without doubt one of the finest examples of the creativity of the process of international co-operation. Born as a unique instrument of peace keeping in another earlier crisis, out of the initiative of a great Canadian statesman who later received the Nobel Peace Prize, it was developed and used by the Organization and its great servants. Now the United Nations emergency machinery has already reached a high level of perfection. Thus, despite all the tremendous difficulties of the moment, the Force was able to come into operation and to perform within the shortest possible time.

104. In reviewing six months of UNEF experience, we can safely say that the Force has fulfilled our expectations. The Force quickly became an indispensable instrument in controlling a highly dangerous situation. Later on it provided the basis for supplementary efforts to obtain the separation and disengagement of opposing forces. A most important assignment has been given to the Force in carrying out and supervising Israeli-Egyptian agreements on separation and disengagement of troops, and its presence will be of over-riding importance for continued efforts in this sector. Its presence and its good services will be further required to allow the continuation of the efforts for building a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

105. In the establishment and activities of the Force, a great tribute must be paid to the Secretary-General, his close associates and staff at Headquarters and in the field, and in particular to the Force Commander, General Ensio Siilasvuo, who is among us this afternoon. At this point I also deem it appropriate to pay a very special and deeply felt tribute to those soldiers on the Force who have died in the course of action for peace and to those who were wounded in the performance of their duties. I think that the international community as a whole and the Security Council in particular owe an expression of highest praise to the courage and dedication of the officers and men of the United Nations battalion now serving under such difficult conditions.

106. Almost six months have now elapsed since war broke out again in the Middle East. For a period much too long a great danger to world peace and security had arisen. It was in this situation that the Council was called upon to take action, to prevent a further deterioration of the situation and to put an end to bloodshed and destruction. Since that time the road to peace has been reopened, not least as a result of the Security Council resolution mentioned here before. A peace conference convened by the United States and the Soviet Union and presided over by the Secretary-General of the United Nations began its work in Geneva in December 1973. Both the Soviet Union and the United States have firmly committed themselves to the continuation of peace efforts in the Middle East. Progress has been achieved on many fronts. We have been heartened by the developments on the Egyptian-Israeli sector and we place great hope in the negotiations now beginning on a similar agreement on disengagement and separation of forces on the Israeli-Syrian sector.

107. But there are still great and manifold reasons for concern. Much more must be done in order to prevent recurrence of fighting and to bring about a fundamental change in the situation. Among the contributions that the United Nations can make to this end is the continued existence and service of UNEF together with the other United Nations instruments for peace keeping, UNTSO in particular, and a guaranteeing of its proper functioning.

108. The clear, concise and comprehensive report which the Secretary-General has submitted, and for which we should like to express our appreciation, points to the elements necessary for the continued and satisfactory performance of UNEF. We fully share and endorse the findings and observations contained in the Secretary-General's report. My country, which was among the first to participate in the operation, would like to express its continued readiness to the best of its ability and resources to co-operate in this endeavour. It is therefore deeply interested in all questions affecting the Force. Needless to say, we fully support the Secretary-General in carrying out his responsibilities. In particular, we express the hope that appropriate solutions to the urgent problems still facing the Force can soon be found. This applies also to the solution of the financial question involved. But we are equally confident that a satisfactory solution can be found. In particular, we hope that the financing of the operations can be adequately secured. While nobody will underestimate the financial burden that has been called for and the burden on each and every Member, we still feel that the total amount necessary for the financing of the Force is rather small in comparison to the cost of a single day of war in the Middle East. Keeping this obvious consideration in mind and remembering the true proportions, it should be easy to find the amounts needed to ensure orderly financial arrangements.

109. In conclusion, I should like to express the sincere hope that efforts on the road to peace in the Middle East will progress at a pace that will make UNEF a commitment limited in time. However, I should like to express full confidence in the role and functioning of the Force and in the successful accomplishment of its mission.

110. In a study on "Peace-keeping by United Nations Forces" published by Princeton Studies in World Politics a few years ago, two distinguished Australian scholars, Arthur Lee Burns and Nina Heathcot, addressed themselves to the question whether military force in United Nations hands is an effective instrument for the preservation of peace. I think that the experience with UNEF in the Middle East provides a conclusive and positive answer to that question.

111. Mr. SMIRNOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translation from Russian*): My delegation wishes to express its sincere condolences to the French delegation in the Security Council on the occasion of the untimely death of an outstanding statesman, the President of France, Georges Pompidou. The late President was widely known in the Byelorussian SSR, and the people of Minsk, the capital, welcomed him warmly in January of last year when he met Comrade Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in Zaslavl. That meeting, as you know, promoted the further development and strengthening of Soviet-French relations and reaffirmed the principle of peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems, the cause of détente, and the strengthening of peace in Europe and throughout the world.

112. Mr. President, my delegation would also like to congratulate you, as other delegations have done, and express our sincere satisfaction that we are working under your presidency this month. We do not doubt that your diplomatic experience will help the Council to solve the problems before it.

113. We should also like to extend a welcome to the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations, who is taking part in a meeting of the Council for the first time. We are confident that, working with Mr. Richard, we will help to strengthen peace and security.

114. Concerning the resolution on UNEF just adopted by the Council, we share the general opinion expressed by the Secretary-General in his report [S/11248, para. 64] that the establishment of UNEF in the Middle East and its operation during the period under review is "a milestone in the history of the United Nations".

115. Emergency Force was in fact established on the basis of a Council resolution in complete compliance with the Charter. Its mandate and national composition were determined by the decisions of the Council. Operational direction of the Force's activities has been exercised by the Council through the Secretary-General. The procedure for financing the Force was determined by the General Assembly.

116. It is our firm conviction that these fundamental differences from past United Nations operations explain the success as achieved by UNEF in maintaining peace in the Middle East and its competence and authority. There have been times when decisions regarding peace-keeping operations were taken in violation of the Charter, when armed forces could be used by the Secretary-General in a manner not in conformity with the intentions of the Council, when

representatives of whole groups of countries and regions were excluded from participation in or even direct knowledge of the conduct of such operations, which at that time were regarded as the business of one group of countries only. As the report rightly notes: "That units from so many different regions and with such different backgrounds could work harmoniously and efficiently for the common cause of peace is highly encouraging for the future". [*ibid.*, para. 67]

117. Another important positive factor in the establishment and functioning of UNEF has been the close attention paid by the Secretary-General to the views and wishes stated by members of the Council in informal consultations and the adoption of practical joint measures with the Commander of the Force, General Siilasvuo, to eliminate the shortcomings noted.

118. Another distinguishing feature of UNEF is the fact that the Council's decision to establish the Force has won wide international recognition, as expressed in the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 3101 (XXVIII) concerning the participation of all States Members of the United Nations in the financing of the Force.

119. We now have every reason to say that the establishment of UNEF and its successful operation in the Middle East have been helped by the general easing of the international atmosphere which can be observed as a result of the active and consistent pursuit by the Soviet State of a programme of peace. Détente created conditions for a start in solving the Middle East problem and for the successful operation of UNEF in the region.

120. At the same time, as can be seen from the Secretary-General's report, there are serious difficulties and problems regarding the formation and functioning of UNEF, and their nature is perfectly clear. On the whole, they result from blatant and inexcusable violations of the Charter and the decisions of the Security Council. Our delegation is greatly concerned at the unjustified delay in considering the question of unlawful "restrictions", as they are referred to in the report although in fact they represent discrimination practised by Israel against certain contingents of United Nations troops. What this means in practice is that up to now Israel has prevented UNEF from properly carrying out the important peace-keeping task in the region entrusted to it by the Council. As a result, certain contingents are under-utilized while the strength of others is being unduly increased, leading to additional expense.

121. We regret that the Secretary-General has confined himself in his report to pointing out this shameful fact and has not informed the members of the Council of how matters stand with regard to the consideration of this question. We feel that the Council should adopt an appropriate decision condemning such practices by Israel with regard to UNEF. To put it mildly, this irregular situation needs to be remedied.

122. The report does not give a single example of co-operation by the Israeli authorities in such matters as providing the Force with the necessary quarters or encampments. On the contrary, everyone is well aware of the

obstacles put in the way of the Force in the discharge of its functions.

123. As we consider extending UNEF's mandate, the problem of financing the Force becomes particularly acute. Our delegation is greatly concerned at the fact that there is as yet no clear-cut and readily comprehensible system for calculating the cost of maintaining the Emergency Force, so that, as we see from the Secretary-General's report, the cost is determined on the basis not of estimates approved by the General Assembly but of accounts rendered. That being the case, it is of course very difficult to foresee what expenditures may arise. Full endorsement should therefore be given to the Secretary-General's statement in paragraph 70 of his report that he will keep under constant review the necessity of making economies when the situation allows. We believe that there has been unnecessary delay in devising standards for expenditure and setting an upper limit for reimbursement and that an effort must be made to do this as soon as possible. We hope that the Secretary-General will take all necessary steps to institute a reasonable system of economizing so as to avoid additional expenditures for this type of United Nations activity in the current financial year, which, as we already know, will be full of major events with serious financial implications for the United Nations.

124. With those reservations, the Byelorussian SSR supported the draft resolution extending UNEF's mandate for a further six months. We continue to believe that the Security Council should, until the end of the entire operation, continue to maintain tireless supervision over all aspects of the activities of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East.

125. Mr. JOEWONO (Indonesia): It was with profound sorrow and regret that my delegation learned of the untimely passing of President Pompidou. France, and the world have lost in him an eminent statesman. Indonesia joins France in mourning its President.

126. Allow me now, Mr. President, to avail myself of this opportunity to repeat, in this formal meeting, the congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the current month and to pledge to you our co-operation as you discharge of your difficult duties. It gives me great pleasure to see the Chair occupied by such a distinguished, able and experienced diplomat and representative of a non-aligned nation with which Indonesia has always maintained close and friendly relations.

127. My delegation would also like to take this opportunity to extend a cordial welcome to the new Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, Ambassador Richard, and to assure him of our friendly and close co-operation.

128. My delegation would like to express its great appreciation to the Secretary-General for the comprehensive report which he has submitted to the Council. We should like to draw the special attention of the Council to paragraphs 71 and 10 of that report. As stated in paragraph 71:

"In connexion with the strength and composition of the Force, two problems have arisen which require urgent solution. One concerns the rate of reimbursements to contributing Governments for the costs incurred as a result of supplying troops to the United Nations. The other relates to the freedom of movement of all contingents in the operational area. The Security Council may be assured that I am giving close attention to both problems and shall continue to exert every effort to solve them in a satisfactory way."

129. My delegation entirely agrees with the Secretary-General that these problems of reimbursement and the freedom of movement of all contingents in the operational area require solution. In both cases, any form of discrimination should be avoided, as all contingents are part of one and the same UNEF.

130. With regard to the problem of reimbursement, it is the considered view of my delegation that any discriminatory treatment should be avoided, as any form of discrimination would give rise to political reactions, not only in the countries concerned but also in the United Nations itself. We are confident that the Secretary-General will be able to produce a formula for reimbursement which will avoid such reactions; my delegation would like to express the hope that it will be possible for him to start very soon the process of reimbursing the countries contributing contingents to UNEF—if necessary partially, until the availability of funds makes full reimbursement possible.

131. With regard to the discriminatory treatment of certain contingents of UNEF by one of the parties, my delegation fully agrees with the view that such discrimination cannot be accepted by this Council: all contingents are part of UNEF; they are not there as an instrument of policy of their respective countries.

132. My delegation would like to underline the view of the Secretary-General as stated in paragraph 10 of his report:

"One of the problems still outstanding relates to restrictions on the freedom of movement of personnel of certain contingents. I have consistently taken the position that UNEF must function as an 'integrated and efficient military unit', that its contingents serve on an equal basis under the command of the Force Commander and that no differentiation can be made regarding the United Nations status of the various contingents."

Discrimination against certain contingents by one party would certainly influence the efficiency of UNEF. My delegation sincerely hopes that the Secretary-General will be able to eliminate such discriminatory treatment in order to achieve the maximum efficiency and economy in the functioning of UNEF.

133. In conclusion, my delegation would like to express its sincere hope that UNEF will not go the way of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus in that the periodic extension of its mandate will become a regular feature of the meetings of the Council. We hope that negotiations will make continued progress towards solution of the Middle East problem.

134. It was in view of those considerations that my delegation voted in favour of the resolution extending the mandate of UNEF for a further period of six months.

135. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): Before speaking to the subject of today's meeting, I would like to extend my most heartfelt condolences to our colleague, Ambassador de Guiringaud on the death of President Pompidou. President Pompidou's death is a tragic loss not only to France but to Europe and to the world. His courage and his vision will be much missed by all who love peace, including those of us who labour within the United Nations family.

136. I also welcome the new Ambassador of the United Kingdom, Mr. Richard, who brings with him an impressive background in foreign policy, as well as a distinguished reputation as an outstanding intellect. My delegation and I look forward to working closely with him and his delegation to further the objectives of the United Nations and to enhance the historic friendship between the British and American peoples.

137. The United States welcomes the extension of UNEF and its mandate for another six months. This resolution assures the continued operation of UNEF under its original mandate as approved by Security Council resolution 340 (1973). In paragraphs 68 and 69 of his most recent report on UNEF, the Secretary-General supported and recommended the reaffirmation of the mandate. The United States shall continue to extend its full support to the efforts of the Force to implement its mandate and the relevant Council resolutions.

138. We are pleased that the performance of the United Nations and the Emergency Force has added new lustre to the United Nations as an Organization vital to the promotion of international peace. The Force has played an indispensable role in re-establishing peace in the Middle East. It has made possible the implementation of the cease-fire ordered by the Council in October 1973 and the subsequent Egyptian-Israeli agreement on disengagement of forces. Indeed, it is difficult to exaggerate the constructive part played by the Force in these important first steps towards achieving the just and durable peace envisaged in resolutions 338 (1973) and 242 (1967).

139. On this occasion, therefore, it gives me particular pleasure to extend our highest appreciation and commendation to the Secretary-General and his Headquarters staff, to the Commander of UNEF, Lieutenant-General Ensio Siilasvuo, to the civilian staff, to the UNTSO observers in the field, and particularly to the UNEF troops, all of whom risk paying and some of whom have paid the ultimate price to preserve world peace. The United Nations and the world community owe these brave men a debt of gratitude which only our best efforts to bring peace to the Middle East can repay.

140. The United States will continue to encourage a negotiating process looking toward a permanent and equitable settlement of the Middle East dispute. In this connexion we believe that paragraph 68 of the Secretary-General's report on UNEF usefully emphasizes that "the continued

operation of UNEF is essential not only for the maintenance of the present quiet in the Egypt-Israel sector but also to assist, if required, in further efforts for the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East."

141. We would like to take this opportunity to commend the efforts of the Secretary-General, as described in part V of his report, to deal with the complex problems of maintaining a peace-keeping force in the Middle East in accordance with the mandate approved by the Security Council. We believe that the contribution of UNEF to peace in the Middle East far outweighs any difficulties caused by differences of opinion regarding questions of financing and operation.

142. The United States fully supports the Secretary-General's efforts to solve these problems on an equitable and practical basis and without impairing the efficiency of the United Nations Emergency Force.

143. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): Mr. President, let me first join you and my other colleagues in expressing my sincere condolences to the representative of France over the sad and untimely death of President Pompidou. Addressing the Australian House of Representatives a few days ago, my Prime Minister spoke with deep feeling of President Pompidou's contribution to world peace and world statesmanship and the grievous loss suffered by the people of France and Europe and the world as a whole.

144. Mr. President, let me again welcome you to the presidency of this Council and congratulate you on the conscientiousness and perseverance you have already shown in your first two days of the conduct of the Council's work.

145. In his absence, I should like also to salute my long-time friend and colleague Ambassador Anwar Sani of Indonesia for the customary skill he showed during March, his month of office as President.

146. Allow me also to welcome to the Council the new representative of the United Kingdom, Ambassador Richard, and to express my full confidence that we shall continue to enjoy with him the co-operation we had with his distinguished predecessor.

147. My delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution in document S/11253 for the obvious reason that we regard the continued presence of UNEF in the Middle East as indispensable not only to the continuation of the quiet at present prevailing in its area of operation but, equally importantly, to the creation of an atmosphere in which a successful and final solution to the problems of the Middle East can come about.

148. We have welcomed and studied and are grateful for the Secretary-General's report on UNEF, as we have also welcomed his progress reports issued regularly since the inauguration of the Force. The Secretary-General and his staff and the Force Commander, Lieutenant-General Ensio Siilasvuo, and the officers and men of the contingents, as well as the civilian staff, are to be congratulated and warmly thanked on the exemplary manner in which they

have carried out their tasks under conditions not free from difficulties.

149. As a firm and long-standing supporter of United Nations peace-keeping efforts and a regular contributor in the past and present to its peace-keeping and peace-observation operations, Australia appreciates the strains, including the financial ones, involved in maintaining a force of the size of UNEF. It is gratifying, therefore, to note that the Secretary-General does not expect that any increase in the Force will be necessary and that he will keep under constant review the strength of the Force with a view to making reductions and economies as the situation allows. I have no doubt that the Secretary-General will welcome any measure of assistance Governments may be able to give in easing the burden on the United Nations. I might mention that my own Government was happy to be able to make a contribution by airlifting, at its own expense, one of the contingents of the Force and by helping to equip another.

150. It is scarcely surprising that UNEF continues to face problems, but the Secretary-General has made it plain that he is fully aware of them and we fully endorse the efforts he is making to solve them.

151. We share the Secretary-General's view, as expressed in his report, that the establishment of UNEF is a milestone in the history of the United Nations—a milestone reached, I believe, above all through the essential community of purpose that existed among members of this Council. It is a good augury for the future work of this Organization and the Security Council in particular in the maintenance of international peace and security.

152. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): First I should like to join those delegations which have today offered their condolences to the representative of France on the occasion of the death of President Pompidou. May I say as a representative of a country with the very closest ties with France, that I assure my French colleague that the sorrow of his people is shared by mine. We salute President Pompidou as a statesman of vision and distinction and a man of very great courage.

153. Next I should like to thank all those who have been so kind as to welcome me on this the first occasion that I have had the opportunity of taking part in a meeting of the Security Council. People have said some very kind things about me this afternoon, which have been totally undeserved, and I thank them for it. As members know, I am not a professional diplomat; I am a professional politician, so the experience that I bring to these debates is perhaps slightly different from that of many sitting around this table. I was asked yesterday by a journalist what my first impressions of the United Nations were, and I am bound to say the only answer I could think of giving was, "Well, it is very different from the House of Commons". I am hoping that I may be able to contribute something to the deliberations of this Council as a representative of a Government whose Foreign Secretary opened his first major statement of our new Government's foreign policy since taking office

"by recommitting the Government to the purposes of the United Nations and to supporting it as the principal

international organization dedicated to the promotion of human rights, the rule of law and the peaceful settlement of disputes”.

It is in the spirit of these words that I have come here and it is in the spirit of these words that I hope to be able to work with you and my other colleagues to achieve at least some part of the aims for which the United Nations was set up.

154. Mr. President, it is a particular pleasure too, and an honour for me as well, that you are presiding over this the first meeting of the Security Council that I have attended. I do not think that I will be revealing any great diplomatic secrets if I say that I am now hopeful that diplomatic relations between our two countries will shortly be restored after a break which I believe both our countries have come to regret. We recall, Mr. President, with pleasure the period when you were your country's Ambassador in London and I congratulate you and assure you of my delegation's full co-operation.

155. At the same time may I, finally, take this opportunity of congratulating your predecessor, the representative of Indonesia. I had little opportunity to see him in action as President, but may I say that word of his skill and his wisdom has travelled far and I look forward to co-operating closely with him in this Council.

156. Turning to the agenda before us this afternoon, my delegation is very glad indeed to support the draft resolution which the Council has just adopted extending the mandate of the Emergency Force for a further period of six months. While we have no desire to see an emergency force of this nature become permanent, we believe that at this time it is performing an invaluable service and making an important and specific contribution to the efforts being made to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. I join willingly with earlier speakers in commending the Force Commander and all the other officers and men serving in the Force. This type of operation is a difficult and at times a worrying task for the soldiers who actually have to do the job. Anyone who has seen an army in these circumstances will I think confirm it. But the speed with which the operation was mounted, with the assistance of my Government among others, and the subsequent manner in which the operation has proceeded, make the whole episode one of the success stories of the United Nations.

157. I also join earlier speakers in congratulating the Secretary-General and his staff, both for the part they have played in the running of the Force and also for the very clear and concise report which we have before us this afternoon. I am sure that the report has made the deliberations and the decisions of this Council that much the easier. It is clear from that report that the operation has gone remarkably smoothly considering the difficulties that have had to be overcome.

158. We, like other delegations, note the problems to which the Secretary-General draws attention in his concluding observations. We share his concern expressed in the report but we are confident that he will be able to resolve these problems in a way which is satisfactory. We also note what he has to say about ensuring that the functions of the

Force are carried on as economically as possible without impairing its efficiency. We welcome this. We hope, too, that he will constantly keep in mind the possibility of reductions and economies. If I may just sound one very brief word of warning, though, the financial position must never be allowed, never be permitted, to lessen the effectiveness of the Force in carrying out the mandate that has been given to it. Further decisions may need to be taken at the next session of the General Assembly with effect to the financing of the operation, but in an operation of this sort the overriding consideration must be to see that the Force is functioning efficiently and well.

159. Meanwhile, I should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm on behalf of the new British Government our support for Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), in the drafting of the first of which an earlier British Labour Government played a very important part. We believe that those resolutions still remain the inescapable and fundamental basis on which any lasting peace in the Middle East will be constructed.

160. I should also like to pay a sincere tribute to the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger, for the efforts he personally has made to promote a settlement. The fact that the situation in the Middle East is measurably improved since the Force was established last October is in no small part due to his efforts.

161. Finally, with regard to my Government's attitude towards the Force itself, I should like to refer to what my predecessor, Sir Donald Maitland, said before this Council when the Force was established. We draw clear distinction between the present Emergency Force and any more permanent peace-keeping force that may later be set up to guarantee a general settlement in accordance with resolution 242 (1967). As regards the latter, the United Kingdom remains willing to participate in such a United Nations peace-keeping force in the Middle East if we are requested. We do not put ourselves forward but we do stand ready to play any role that would be constructive either in peace keeping or in the negotiations themselves.

162. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I was very moved by the words in which you spoke of the memory of President Pompidou and the remarkable development of Franco-Iraqi relations in the five years during which he was at the helm in France. I thank you for your statement.

163. I wish also to thank all my colleagues who, after you, mentioned the great sorrow that has afflicted my country and referred to the person and the work of the late President, as well as to the relations that he enjoyed with their respective countries. They did so in very moving terms which I shall remember and which I shall, of course, transmit to my Government.

164. I am extremely grateful to all members of this Council for having been good enough to observe a minute of silence in tribute to President Georges Pompidou. My Government and the French people as a whole will be appreciative of that gesture of sympathy coming from the highest body of the United Nations. Apart from the person

of the late President, it is France that was being honoured in a moment of difficulties. I thank you, Mr. President, for your initiative and all members of the Council. May I take this opportunity to express my appreciation to all the delegations, to the Secretary-General and to the members of the Secretariat who in these last few days have sent to my delegation very many indications of their sympathy.

165. Before turning to the item on our agenda for today's meeting, I should like also, Mr. President, to join those who have congratulated you on your accession to the Presidency of the Security Council. And I, too, should like to express the appreciation of my delegation to your predecessor, Ambassador Anwar Sani of Indonesia.

166. Finally, now that we are holding our first official meeting since his arrival in New York, may I tender an extremely cordial welcome to our new colleague, Ambassador Richard of the United Kingdom.

167. The report that the Secretary-General has submitted to the Council on the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East is fully approved by my delegation. It stresses the fact that, despite the difficulties encountered since its inception, the Emergency Force, under the distinguished and effective leadership of General Siilasvuo, has been able to fulfil the terms of the mandate entrusted to it, thus justifying the hopes that the international community had placed in the United Nations intervention in the region.

168. First of all, my delegation has noted with satisfaction that the strength originally planned of approximately 7,000 men did not have to be increased. This had a direct influence on the budgetary aspect of the Force. From this point of view serious concern is expressed, and it is to be desired that during the next session of the General Assembly the Secretariat should be able to submit all useful information regarding expenditures made and those projected. For the time being the Security Council can only limit itself to recommending as strict a management of the Force's budget as possible.

169. Two delicate and important questions have also been mentioned in paragraph 71 of the report: that of the reimbursement of contributing Governments for the costs incurred, and that of the freedom of movement of all contingents in the operational area. I share the views expressed by a number of my colleagues on these points, and particularly by Mr. Malik. With regard to the reimbursement to contributing Governments of the costs incurred, a formula should be devised and applied that will do away with the present disparities and that will be acceptable to all. Concerning the freedom of movement of all contingents without exception, it is obvious that any hindrance in this matter is contrary to the Charter, as well as to the resolutions adopted by the Council.

170. With regard to the mandate of the Emergency Force, my delegation shares the view expressed by the Secretary-General himself in paragraph 69 of the report. The terms of this mandate as defined in his report of 27 October 1973, seem to cover the present situation quite adequately and therefore, we believe, call for no specific modifications. The

same will not be the case when a peace agreement has been arrived at between the parties. Then the role of the Force will be that of guaranteeing not only the cease-fire but peace. I recall here that in our view this peace-keeping force should also include contingents supplied by the permanent members of the Security Council.

171. I should like to stress the interest that the Council has in receiving periodic reports, as complete as possible, as has been the case thus far.

172. It is for the reasons I have mentioned that my delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution that was submitted to us today.

173. The PRESIDENT: I have no further speakers on my list. Therefore, I wish to take the floor to make a statement in my capacity as the representative of IRAQ regarding our non-participation in the vote that has taken place in the Council this afternoon.

174. Our position on the situation in the Middle East, resulting from Israel's aggression against Syria, Egypt and Jordan and the continued occupation of their territories, and the denial to the peoples of Palestine of their rights of self-determination, is well known. We have repeatedly asserted our firm belief that the primary duty of the United Nations, and particularly the Security Council, is to uphold the principles of the Charter with regard to this situation, as to all other situations. We firmly believe that the aggressor should in no way be rewarded or appeased, that the occupation of the territories of sovereign States Members of the United Nations should not be tolerated, and that the dispossession of the people of Palestine of their birthright should be ended.

175. With regard to the present situation, we have dissociated ourselves from the pertinent Council resolutions by which the present role of the United Nations is defined. However, despite our reservations, we do recognize our responsibilities as a Member of the United Nations and particularly our position on the Security Council. We have therefore fully fulfilled our financial obligations towards the financing of UNEF.

176. Despite these reservations, I feel in duty bound to make some comments on the report of the Secretary-General and the proceedings that have taken place this afternoon in the Council. Two important features have been highlighted in that report. The first one is the disparity in the rate of reimbursement paid to the Governments contributing contingents to UNEF. If we are not going to mince words, this is clearly a question of discrimination, which practice the United Nations could not possibly uphold or continue. We cannot see the United Nations putting a higher price on one man's services, or his life for that matter, than on those of another, who is rendering exactly the same services, carrying out the same task, and in the process putting his life in danger. We are gratified that the Secretary-General has taken note of this important issue and that he is pursuing his efforts to find an appropriate solution.

177. The other question, which is equally important and of an equally serious nature, is that of the limitation on the

freedom of movement of certain contingents of UNEF. To put the matter more clearly, Israel has been discriminating against four contingents of UNEF under the pretext that the countries furnishing those contingents have no diplomatic relations with Israel. The countries that have broken off diplomatic relations with Israel did not choose to do so in response to a whim. It was an action due to Israel's continued defiance of the will of the United Nations and to its continued occupation and colonization of Arab territories, and therefore it was a just and justifiable measure. And if Israel's defiance of the United Nations and its policy of colonization and occupation continue, the time may not be very far off when we shall see Israel having relations only with a few States other than South Africa, with which it has recently raised its diplomatic representation to that of Ambassador.

178. We feel that these issues are of importance not only to this particular case but to all future operations of the United Nations in the field of peace keeping. If practices of

discrimination are allowed to continue, then the future participation of Governments in the formation of United Nations peace-keeping forces will be in jeopardy and the whole principle of equitable geographical distribution and composition will be in danger.

179. My delegation is pleased that the Secretary-General in his report has highlighted the urgency of these issues and that he is pursuing them. We are also pleased to note that the resolution just adopted notes these urgent problems and notes the efforts of the Secretary-General in pursuing them. We have also taken note of the statements made here which emphasize the urgency and importance of resolving these issues. Notwithstanding the position we take on this issue, my delegation takes great pleasure in expressing its appreciation for the diligent efforts and the important work of the Secretary-General and his aids.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.

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