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President: Mr. Indalecio LIEVANO (Colombia).

AGENDA ITEM 25

**Admission of new Members to the United Nations
*(concluded)****

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Security Council has recommended the admission of the Commonwealth of Dominica to membership in the United Nations in document A/33/442. In this connexion, a draft resolution has been submitted in document A/33/L.34 and Add.1. May I take it that the General Assembly accepts the recommendation of the Security Council and adopts the draft resolution by acclamation?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 33/107).

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I declare Dominica admitted to membership in the United Nations.

The delegation of Dominica was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly has just approved the admission of Dominica to the United Nations. The membership of the United Nations has thus reached 151, a fact which confirms its universality and, also, the continuation of the decolonization process initiated at the end of the Second World War and promoted by our Organization.

4. It is a happy coincidence that it has fallen to a President from a Latin American nation to welcome Dominica to our Organization, since that beautiful Caribbean island belongs to our own region.

5. Dominica, that island of 780 square kilometres and 75,000 inhabitants, has always fired our imagination because it was discovered, on 3 November 1493, by

* Resumed from the 1st meeting.

Christopher Columbus himself, on his second expedition to the new lands of the Americas.

6. Dominica has now achieved full independence, after a bloodless struggle, thanks to the liberal atmosphere which now prevails throughout almost all the world and the intelligent policy of a Power whose rule at one time extended to every corner of the earth.

7. On behalf of the General Assembly I welcome Dominica to our Organization and, at the same time, pledge to it the full co-operation of the United Nations in promoting the well-being of its people.

8. Various representatives have expressed the wish to speak on this occasion, and I call first on the representative of El Salvador, who will speak on behalf of the States of Latin America.

9. Mr. URQUIA (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): When the Security Council adopted resolution 442 (1978) recommending to the General Assembly that the Commonwealth of Dominica be admitted to membership in our Organization, I had the honour, in my capacity as Chairman of the group of Latin American States, to make a statement expressing the pleasure of the representatives of the States of Latin America and the Caribbean at the adoption of that earlier resolution recommending the admission of this island of the Antilles as a Member of the United Nations.

10. Now that Dominica has become a Member of the United Nations as a result of the resolution just adopted unanimously by the General Assembly, I wish to speak again as the representative of our regional Group in order to congratulate the people and the Government of Dominica on their admission, after formal acceptance of the obligations contained in the Charter, to membership in this world Organization.

11. Dominica is a country which, after having first been a Spanish possession and then a French possession, became a British colony or dependent Territory and remained so until 1956 when, according to the statement made in the Security Council by Mr. Richard, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, it joined the Federation of the West Indies. When that Federation was dissolved, it became an Associated State of the United Kingdom.

12. The population of the island is for the most part descended from its ancient people, the Caribs, as well as from other sources. The Catholic faith and the English language predominate, but French is also generally spoken as a second language in the form known as *patois*.

13. The predominance of the Catholic religion can be traced back to the days of the island's discovery and conquest. The island, which was given the name of Dominica by Columbus, was the first land on which he set foot on his second voyage, just as the island of Guanahani, which he called San Salvador—today Watling Island, in the archipelago of the Bahamas—was the first he reached on his first voyage, on 12 October 1492, the voyage for which he was given the well-deserved name of "Discoverer". As is

known, Columbus' voyages were undertaken in the service of the Catholic monarchs of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, and he was under special instructions to propagate the faith which they and he professed.

14. Giving the names of Sal Salvador and Dominica to those islands was not the only way in which the celebrated Genoese navigator manifested his devotion and his adherence to the royal instructions he had received. There were many other instances but I shall not go into them because that would unnecessarily prolong my statement.

15. I share the view of those who believe that Christopher Columbus was a genuinely religious man. The fact that his name in Latin, *Christophorus Columbus*, means "the dove that bears Christ" made him feel that he was destined by Providence to propagate the Catholic faith to distant lands which it was his ambition to reach by sailing westwards. Those lands, in his thinking, were none other than Cipango—today Japan—and Cathay—today China—where another notable Italian navigator, Marco Polo, had lived for many years and which are described in his famous book as the most brilliant, rich and fabulous known at that time. Another revealing fact is that the largest of the three ships which Columbus was given by the Spanish monarchs, for his first expedition, was called *La Gallega*, and Columbus rechristened it with a religious name the *Santa Maria*. It was slightly larger than *La Niña* and *La Pinta*, but, like the other two, it was still small and not strong. It served as the flagship and Columbus of course sailed on it.

16. It is therefore not surprising that, upon reaching an enchanting island of the group known today as the Windward Islands in the Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean Sea, which, as I said, occurred during his second voyage, Columbus gave it the name of Dominica, both because it happened to be a Sunday and because his father was called Domenico, and, above all, because those names, which are in fact but one name, in Latin mean Lord, an equivalent of the name San Salvador, which had been given a year earlier to the island of Guanahani. This does not mean, however, that it was not also Columbus' desire, as was natural, to please his protectors and sponsors, Ferdinand and Isabella.

17. Columbus died believing that he had realized his dream and ambition: to reach the East Indies—Asia—by sailing, not east from Europe as his predecessors had done, but westwards, which is what he did. He did not understand—in fact he never knew—that by that route Europe and the East Indies were separated by an immense land and island mass which was later to be known as the West Indies and, still later, as America.

18. Another Italian, Amerigo Vespucci, was concerned in the enterprise. He made four trips to places which his friend Columbus had not visited. It was Amerigo Vespucci who revealed to Europe that what was involved was a third continent, different from Europe and the East Indies or Asia, and according to prestigious historians it was for that reason that this hemisphere was given his name in the feminine form, America. That is why we call our part of the world today, very rightly, the Americas, meaning North America, Central America and South America, including the Caribbean which some call insular America.

19. It is regrettable that the distinguished founders of this powerful northern federation in which we find ourselves today did not choose a different name for this part of the world, because the expression “the United States of America” is not really correct. “America” is not the appropriate name either although “America” and “American” are continually used to refer to this country and its nationals, even by distinguished foreigners of great culture such as André Malraux, to take but one example.

20. Because of the geographical error of Columbus, the natives of our countries of Latin America and the Caribbean were called Indians, and the name “West Indies” covered the whole area. Charles V called the laws which were to apply there the “Laws of the Indies”, and the law of colonial times was known as “Indian Law”. These are anomalies of history which have been perpetuated throughout the ages. It would appear that the inhabitants of this part of the world when it was discovered, conquered and colonized by the Europeans were the indigenous inhabitants. There were some among them like the Mayans in Mexico and in part of Central America, and the Incas in Peru who, as is known, had an admirably advanced culture. The inhabitants of Latin America and the Caribbean and their descendants intermarried in certain regions with Europeans and they were the foundation of what the great Mexican José Vasconcelos called “the cosmic race”.

21. It is a very curious fact that Ferdinand and Isabella, influenced by Columbus’ persistent belief that he had reached the East Indies—that is, Asia—by travelling to the west, gave him in triplicate a kind of passport directed to the monarchs that he might visit in his first voyage. That document stated:

“Ferdinand and Isabella, the king and the queen of Castille, Aragón and León, to the Great King:”—for they believed one of them to be the Great Khan of Cathay, or China—“We have learned with satisfaction of the great esteem and affection that you and your subjects have for us and our nation. We also know that you wish to have news of us and that is why we are sending you our Admiral Christopher Columbus bearing the news that we are enjoying good health and splendid prosperity.”

They signed that document “I the King” and “I the Queen”, in Granada on 30 April 1492. Perhaps that unique document is naive but it does reflect the ideas of the time and shows how far the distinguished navigator had been able to convince his sovereigns.

22. Although Columbus did not achieve his primary purpose, his was a fantastic feat beyond any doubt, because it made obvious that the world was round, a thesis that was seriously rejected by distinguished geographers and astronomers of the time, who stubbornly clung to the belief that the earth was flat and not spherical. Furthermore it was truly heroic to embark on such a trip across the ocean in the precarious conditions prevailing at the time.

23. The discovery of Guanahaní, or San Salvador, and Dominica and other places in our hemisphere—in other words, the discovery of America—proved to the old world that the modest but persevering Genoese navigator was right, at least fundamentally right in his thinking.

24. One may say that his feat is comparable to that of the North American astronauts who, for the first time, set foot on the moon on 20 July 1969. It could be compared to the courage, fortitude and heroism of Neil Armstrong and his companions. But it must be recognized that the feat of Columbus, and his men was perhaps even more heroic because they undertook this adventure in three fragile vessels which could have sunk at any time without any help other than that provided by Providence alone whereas the astronauts, benefiting from the marvels of modern technology, were in constant communication with experts who from the earth kept a close watch day and night on their expedition and gave them the necessary observations and indications. With the rudimentary knowledge of the fifteenth century, what help, what guidance, what consolation could the courageous crewmen of the ships of Columbus expect from Spain at that time?

25. With the admission of Dominica to membership in the United Nations, thanks to the determination of its people and the goodwill of the United Kingdom, one step forward has been taken towards the decolonization of American territory and towards universality for our Organization, which, because that is its vocation, we now call the world Organization.

26. The Latin American group is pleased, through me, to bid welcome to the representatives of that most beautiful island in the Caribbean which has today become a member of the international community. As it was my pleasure to say in the Security Council, the representatives of Latin America who have sponsored the draft resolution on the admission of Dominica are prepared to welcome them with open arms into our regional group.

27. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of Iraq, who will speak on behalf of the group of Asian States.

Mr. de Piniés (Spain), Vice-President, took the Chair.

28. Mr. AL-ATIYYAH (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation is happy to welcome, on its own behalf and on behalf of the group of Asian States, the admission of the Commonwealth of Dominica to membership in the United Nations. In conveying our sincere congratulations to Dominica, which has just acceded to independence and liberty, it is our fervent hope that we shall see it making its contribution alongside the rest of the third world in the consolidation of peace, security and progress in the world.

29. The admission of the Commonwealth of Dominica into the United Nations has permitted our Organization to make even further progress towards its goal of universality, as provided in the Charter of the United Nations. Similarly, its admission permits us to register one more success in the elimination of imperialism. In our happiness at seeing Dominica become a Member of our Organization, we should give thought to the struggles of other peoples in Africa and Asia and strengthen them since they are aimed at bringing about independence and liberty.

30. The admission of the Commonwealth of Dominica to membership in the United Nations makes our Organization

more universal, and to this new Member we wish to convey our best wishes and congratulations, in the hope that the new Member will co-operate with the other Members in the service of peace and humanity with a view to fighting successfully towards the elimination of imperialism and repression throughout the world.

31. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of Romania, who will speak on behalf of the group of Eastern European States.

32. Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): The proclamation of independence is a great event in the history of a country, and admission to membership in the United Nations is recognition of the international standing of a new State.

33. Now Dominica has been admitted to membership in the United Nations, and I am particularly pleased, as Chairman for the present month of the group of Eastern European States, to welcome this solemn event and to wish the people of Dominica every success in free and independent development and economic and social prosperity. Every new country that becomes independent gives us pleasure because we see that the sacred right of each people to determine its political status and to develop without restraints in freedom, equality and dignity has been recognized. Every new accession to independence is one more step towards the final elimination of the outmoded and corrupt system of colonial domination.

34. The admission to membership in the United Nations of Dominica is particularly important and significant as we try to bring about the full universality of our Organization. This is the hundredth State that has become a Member since the founding of the United Nations. The principle of the universality of the United Nations reflects the right of all States, great and small, to participate in the search for and adoption of solutions of the major problems confronting the contemporary world, and that principle has now been reconfirmed and strengthened. On this happy occasion, it may be appropriate to reaffirm our faith in our Organization as an indispensable instrument in bringing about co-operation among all States in the world, and we wish to reaffirm our attachment to its noble purposes and principles.

35. We extend a warm welcome to the delegation of Dominica and we pledge it our full support and co-operation.

36. As the representative of Romania, I am pleased to associate in these warm congratulations the people of Romania who cherish feelings of friendship and solidarity with young States which have embarked on their free and independent development and whose ranks have now grown with the admission to membership in the United Nations of Dominica.

37. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of Norway, who will speak on behalf of the group of Western European and other States.

38. Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway): I have the honour and pleasure on behalf of the group of Western European and

other States of welcoming the Commonwealth of Dominica as the one hundred and fifty-first Member of the United Nations. The admission of the Commonwealth of Dominica follows the successful conclusion of another chapter in the decolonization process in which the United Nations has played an important role, in co-operation with the former administering Power. It represents another step in the direction of making the United Nations a truly universal Organization of independent and sovereign States.

39. When Dominica achieved independence on 3 November this year, it acceded to a new and important stage in its long history. It is a logical extension of this development that the new State of Dominica has also applied for and been accepted to membership in our world Organization. We take this opportunity to express to the Government and people of Dominica our warm wishes for further prosperity and well-being.

40. We look forward to working with the Commonwealth of Dominica in fulfilling the principles and purposes of the United Nations.

41. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of Mauritania, who will speak on behalf of the group of Arab States.

42. Mr. TAYA (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): It is a particular pleasure for me, on behalf of the Arab group of States, to welcome Dominica to membership in the United Nations. The admission of all new States is cause for satisfaction and pride for all Members of our Organization and in particular for the former colonial countries. The admission of Dominica to the international family is proof that our Organization is becoming increasingly universal.

43. It is our hope that, immediately following the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, this universality will be swiftly realized and that our Organization will see its membership increase every day with the admission of new members through the liberation of all countries in Africa, in Asia and throughout the world which are still under the colonial yoke.

44. Once again, on behalf of the Arab group we should like to welcome the Commonwealth of Dominica to the United Nations.

45. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of the United States of America, the host country.

46. Mr. PETREE (United States of America): As the host Government, the United States is pleased to welcome the Commonwealth of Dominica as the one hundred and fifty-first Member of the United Nations. We extend our congratulations to the representatives of Dominica and welcome them to the important work of the United Nations. We assure them of the full co-operation of the United States in this endeavour and extend to them the warm greetings of the American people.

47. My Government was pleased to send a delegation of leading Americans to Dominica's independence celebrations

on 3 November. We noted with appreciation Prime Minister Patrick R. John's reading from our own Declaration of Independence during his inaugural address. We are confident that the dedication of the people of Dominica to the United Nations goals of peace and freedom and the welfare of mankind will facilitate our joint task.

48. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

49. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): The United Kingdom delegation is delighted to welcome the Commonwealth of Dominica as a Member of the United Nations. I am particularly pleased that Dominica, the one hundredth new Member to be admitted since the original foundation of this Organization, should be a member of the Commonwealth; the seventh in the Caribbean region and the second Commonwealth member to be admitted this year.

50. My country's long-standing relationship with the people of Dominica has been very close. I believe that it has been beneficial to both parties. We look forward to maintaining friendly ties with the Commonwealth of Dominica as it takes its place among the independent nations of the world.

51. I am pleased that Mr. Arlington Riviere is able to be here today to represent the Government of the Commonwealth of Dominica. I am sure that he will be able to report to his Government on the warmth and enthusiasm with which his country's admission to the United Nations has been greeted.

52. I am confident that the Commonwealth of Dominica will rise to the task of fulfilling the duties entailed in membership in this Organization and that Dominica has a valuable role to play here. I offer to the Government and to the people of the Commonwealth of Dominica the sincere congratulations of my delegation and my Government on their accession to membership in the United Nations.

53. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of Canada.

54. Mr. BARTON (Canada): The delegation of Canada, as a sponsor of the resolution before the Assembly, wishes to extend its warmest congratulations to the Commonwealth of Dominica on this occasion and heartily welcomes it as the one hundred and fifty-first Member of the United Nations.

55. This occasion is of particular interest to us because of our long-standing and traditional ties with the Commonwealth Caribbean, ties which have given us a special relationship with Dominica. These Commonwealth ties have given us a shared history, long-standing contacts in many spheres of activity and thus a better understanding of each other. In recent years these bonds have been strengthened by the movement of peoples between our two States and by our dedication to assisting the Government of Dominica to develop its economy. We have watched with pleasure as Dominica has achieved independence and, as it now moves to take its place in the community of nations, we look forward to enjoying, at the international level, the close and

friendly relations which have existed between our two countries.

56. It is therefore with great pleasure that my delegation welcomes the Commonwealth of Dominica as a Member of the United Nations.

57. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of the Congo who will speak on behalf of the group of African States.

58. Mr. GANGA-MBALA (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the group of African States I should like to extend congratulations from this rostrum to the Commonwealth of Dominica on its admission to our Organization.

59. As everyone knows, the African countries welcome each newcomer with great satisfaction. We hope that this new admission will greatly contribute to the defence of peace and the fundamental freedoms spoken of in the Charter of the United Nations.

60. We hope that the people of Dominica will find a welcome here, and we are sure that they can count on the co-operation of the African group in the noble mission which each of our States undertakes upon admission to the United Nations.

61. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of the Dominican Republic.

62. Mr. ESQUEA GUERRERO (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of the Dominican Republic would like to take this opportunity to greet and to welcome to this Organization the new State of Dominica.

63. Nevertheless, the delegation of the Dominican Republic would like to take this opportunity to stress that the name of this new country gives rise to confusion with our own, causing possible misunderstandings for the communications media, the system of identification and international tourism.

64. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now take pleasure in inviting the Permanent Secretary to the Prime Minister of Dominica, Mr. Arlington Riviere, to address the General Assembly.

65. Mr. RIVIERE (Dominica): The Prime Minister, Colonel the Honourable Patrick R. John, and the Government and people of the Commonwealth of Dominica extend compliments to all States Members of this United Nations General Assembly herein assembled and have the honour to express their deepest appreciation of the decision taken here today: a decision to accept the Commonwealth of Dominica, the world's newest nation, into membership in this prestigious and august body; a decision, the profound nature of which will have far-reaching implications for the development of our third-world nation.

66. The Prime Minister has asked me to offer his sincerest apologies for his absence here today at a time when a major step in the political advance of the Commonwealth of

Dominica which his Government proudly leads, is taking place. Emergency domestic affairs associated with a scheduled meeting with the House of Assembly on Thursday, 21 December, demands the presence of all his Ministers and himself. He has asked me to state, however, that at the appropriate time he will himself seek to address the General Assembly. Meanwhile he has charged me, the Ambassador-designate of Dominica to the United States, with the responsibility of representing his Government on this important occasion. I am indeed honoured to be afforded this unique opportunity to be associated with this historic moment in the political, cultural and socio-economic development of my country.

67. The Commonwealth of Dominica, as the General Assembly must be aware, is situated in the sunny tropical Caribbean between the French islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique. Having been discovered and then occupied by Spain—albeit for a short period—France and Great Britain, its people have been exposed to the effect of these several cultures. This interreaction of cultures coupled with the stout character inherited from the indigenous natives, the fierce and warlike Carib Indians, resulted in the evolution of a people with a varied attitudinal expression and a fierce determination to be the artificers of their own fortunes, utilizing several avenues. One such medium of expression is the United Nations, through which the Commonwealth of Dominica expects, along with its colleagues, to make a vital contribution to international affairs as a third-world nation.

68. Our having been just accepted as a Member fulfils this ambition. This day Monday, 18 December 1978, must hereafter be recognized as one of the important milestones in the annals of the historical, political and socio-economic development of the Commonwealth of Dominica, the world's newest nation, the one hundred and fifty-first Member of the United Nations.

69. It is most appropriate and fitting—indeed the fundamental principle of gratitude demands—that heartfelt thanks be offered to those who made this realization possible. It is with a mixed sense of pride and humility, therefore, that the Commonwealth of Dominica extends to you, Mr. President, and the other distinguished representatives, its warm and sincere thanks for having accepted it into the United Nations. In particular, special thanks go to the Security Council for having recommended our acceptance to the General Assembly. That act surely reflected its confidence in our ability to fulfil the requirements of membership in this Organization.

70. Secondly, our lasting appreciation goes to the United Kingdom for performing the traditional role of moving resolutions of membership. Having had us under its tutelage for quite some time now and more recently over the past 11 years when we managed our own internal affairs, that country, more than any other, must be aware of our readiness to accept this responsibility. To all other delegations which have subscribed to the resolution, in particular the sponsors of the resolution, Dominica records grateful appreciation.

71. Our warmest thanks are offered to you, Mr. President and to the other group representatives for the expressions of welcome to the Commonwealth of Dominica. The

spontaneity with which their sentiments were expressed is to me gratifying. I thank them.

72. During our future deliberations they will find that we share similar problems and aspirations. Together we will find the solutions. We will co-operate to the fullest possible extent towards the achievement of these ends. The Commonwealth of Dominica will, I assure the General Assembly, strive to be equal to the faith so conclusively expressed in it and, in so doing, will subscribe to the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

73. I wish here to reiterate my earlier statement that at an appropriate time the Prime Minister will address the General Assembly in greater detail on policy matters of most profound international concern. However, at this important stage I would be failing in my duty were I not to give my assurance to you, Mr. President, and representatives of this General Assembly that the Commonwealth of Dominica stands committed to upholding the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter as clearly enunciated in Articles I and 2.

74. As a Member of the United Nations our people are determined to work with other Members—and here I take the privilege to quote from the United Nations Charter:

“... to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

“to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

“... ”

“to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom”.

75. In order to accomplish these objectives the people of the Commonwealth of Dominica are further determined—and again I resort to the United Nations Charter:

“... to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and

“to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and

“to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

“to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples”.

76. In the realization of these resolutions success is assured because of the application of a combined effort.

77. I fervently pray that the Almighty God will shower generously upon us his divine guidance. May the United Nations progress from strength to strength.

78. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): As the representative of Dominica must appreciate, I am pleased to be presiding over the Assembly at this meeting, at which he has addressed us for the first time as the representative of a new Member State. I congratulate him whole-heartedly, and wish Dominica a prosperous life as an independent country.

AGENDA ITEM 62

Operational activities for development (concluded):*

(i) Confirmation of the appointment of the Executive Director of the United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries

79. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now invite representatives to turn to a note by the Secretary-General relating to the confirmation of the appointment of the Executive Director of the United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries [A/33/513]. In his note, the Secretary-General states that he is not submitting an appointment for confirmation by the General Assembly. May I consider that the General Assembly takes note of the information contained in this note?

It was so decided (decision 33/317).

AGENDA ITEM 66

United Nations University (concluded):*

(a) Report of the Council of the United Nations University;
(b) Report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/33/463)

80. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly will now consider the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 66 [A/33/463]. We shall now take a decision on the two draft resolutions recommended by the Committee in paragraph 10 of its report.

81. Draft resolution I is entitled "United Nations University". The Second Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 33/108).

82. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft resolution II is entitled "Establishment of a University for Peace". The Second Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 33/109).

AGENDA ITEM 68

Human settlements:

(a) Report of the Commission on Human Settlements;
(b) Reports of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/33/405)

83. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): With regard to this item the report of the Fifth Committee concerning the United Nations Habitat and Human Settlements Foundation will be before the Assembly later.¹ Since no representative wishes to speak at this stage, the Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolutions recommended by the Second Committee in paragraph 13 of its report [A/33/405].

84. Draft resolution I is entitled "Living conditions of the Palestinian people". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

Against: Israel, United States of America

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Portugal, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay

Draft resolution I was adopted by 109 votes to 2, with 24 abstentions (resolution 33/110).²

¹ Subsequently distributed as document A/33/536. See the 91st meeting.

² The delegation of Swaziland subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution. The delegation of France subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as an abstention.

* Resumed from the 85th meeting.

85. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft resolution II is entitled "International co-operation in the field of human settlements". The Second Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 33/111).

86. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Mexico, who wishes to explain his vote.

87. Mr. NAVARRETE (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As it did in the Second Committee, the delegation of Mexico voted in favour of draft resolution I, entitled "Living conditions of the Palestinian people", which has just been adopted. We wish to reaffirm the statement we made on 28 November last in the Second Committee.³

AGENDA ITEM 54

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East:

- (a) Report of the Commissioner-General;
- (b) Report of the Working Group on the Financing of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East;
- (c) Report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine;
- (d) Reports of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
(A/33/374)

AGENDA ITEM 55

Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
(A/33/439)

AGENDA ITEM 56

Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
(A/33/451)

AGENDA ITEM 57

Question of the composition of the relevant organs of the United Nations

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
(A/33/510)

AGENDA ITEM 77

Questions relating to information:

- (a) Co-operation and assistance in the application and improvement of national information and mass communication systems for social progress and development;
- (b) Freedom of information:
 - (i) Draft Declaration on Freedom of Information;
 - (ii) Draft Convention on Freedom of Information;
- (c) United Nations public information policies and activities: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
(A/33/511)

AGENDA ITEM 126

Establishment of an agency or a department of the United Nations for undertaking, co-ordinating and disseminating the results of research into unidentified flying objects and related phenomena

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
(A/33/512)

88. Mr. MUBAREZ (Yemen), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee: For the last time, it is my privilege as Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly to present the reports of that Committee. Those included in the agenda for this plenary meeting relate to six of the 11 items allocated to the Special Political Committee. Three of those items were deferred until the end of the Committee's work in order to allow as much time as possible for consultations among interested delegations.

89. The first report which I now present to the General Assembly relates to agenda item 54 concerning UNRWA [A/33/374]. In considering agenda item 54, the Special Political Committee was assisted by the Commissioner-General of UNRWA, Mr. Thomas McElhiney. The Committee devoted 11 meetings to the consideration of this problem, hearing over 50 statements in its debate. Six draft resolutions were submitted to the Committee, all of which were adopted. They appear as draft resolutions A to F in paragraph 21 of the Committee's report, and I commend them to the General Assembly for adoption.

90. The second item, item 55, relating to the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population in the Occupied Territories, could not be considered until late in the session, when the Committee devoted seven meetings to the question, following the introduction by the representative of Sri Lanka of the report of the Special Committee on Israeli Practices. Some 40 delegations took part in the debate, and the Committee received three draft resolutions on the item. The three draft resolutions were all recommended to the General Assembly, and can be found as draft resolutions A, B and C in paragraph 15 of the Committee's report [A/33/439], which I have the honour to present for adoption by the General Assembly.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Second Committee*, 49th meeting, para. 23, and *ibid.*, *Second Committee, Sessional Fascicle*, corrigendum.

91. The third item on today's agenda from the Special Political Committee is item 56 [A/33/451], entitled "Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects". This item was also not taken up until late in the session, and the Committee devoted four meetings to its consideration. Thirty-four delegations took part in the debate, and only one draft resolution was submitted to the Committee, which was adopted by a roll-call vote. The text of the draft resolution which the Committee recommends to the General Assembly for adoption appears in paragraph 6 of the Committee's report.

92. Item 57, concerning the question of the composition of the relevant organs of the United Nations, was considered by the Committee at three meetings in November and once again at the Committee's last meeting on 8 December. Extensive consultations were held by the Chairman of the Special Political Committee with members of the contact group established in accordance with General Assembly decision 32/427 of last year and with the Chairmen of the various regional groups of States. As the Committee's report [A/33/510] indicates, it proved impossible to reach a consensus on this item, and the Committee rejected a motion to extend the mandate of the contact group. Accordingly, the Committee adopted by vote the draft resolution submitted by the group of Asian States, as amended by the African group. The text of the draft resolution recommended for adoption by the General Assembly appears in paragraph 14 of the report.

93. Item 77, which the General Assembly allocated to the Special Political Committee for the first time at this session, comprises three separate subitems which had formerly been dealt with by the Third and Fifth Committees. The Special Political Committee was unable to begin its consideration of these issues until 29 November, and thereafter it considered them in the course of five meetings, hearing over 40 statements during the debate, as well as the introduction of reports by the Assistant Director-General of UNESCO and by the Under-Secretary-General for Public Information. Following the debate and intensive consultations among interested delegations, the Committee was able to adopt by consensus the three draft resolutions and the draft decision which appear in paragraphs 19 and 20 of the report of the Special Political Committee [A/33/511], which I commend to the General Assembly for its adoption.

94. The last report of the Special Political Committee, to be found in document A/33/512, relates to agenda item 126, the question submitted by Grenada concerning unidentified flying objects and related phenomena. Following the presentation made before the Committee by the delegation of Grenada at two meetings held on 27 November, extensive consultations were held which resulted in the Committee's adoption by consensus of the draft decision contained in paragraph 9 of the report. I commend this draft decision to the General Assembly for adoption by consensus.

Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Special Political Committee.

95. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will now consider the report of the

Special Political Committee on agenda item 54 [A/33/374].

96. I shall now call on those representatives wishing to speak in explanation of their votes before the vote.

97. Mr. RAMATI (Israel): My delegation feels that delegations to the Assembly session might, even at this late stage, wish to re-examine some of the texts before they cast their votes, and I refer particularly to draft resolutions A, C, E and F in paragraph 21 of the report of the Special Political Committee.

98. With regard to draft resolution A, entitled "Assistance to Palestine refugees", my delegation will abstain in the vote because this draft resolution could be read in a way which would give an incorrect interpretation of General Assembly resolution 194 (III). Moreover, after the adoption of resolution 194 (III) in 1948, Arab actions in the wake of the 1948-1949 war led to a massive migration of Jews from Arab countries to Israel, which exceeded in number that of Arab refugees from Israel. The problem of these Arab and Jewish refugees, which arises from a *de facto* exchange of population, can be solved realistically and equitably only by negotiations, as called for by Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Since negotiations based on these Security Council resolutions are in progress, General Assembly recommendations could impede rather than facilitate agreement.

99. With regard to draft resolution C my delegation will also abstain in the vote because of its political implications. Israel favours every necessary assistance for the education of refugee children, but it feels that this good purpose should not be subverted into yet one more act of political hostility. My Government is more interested than some others in good education for Arab refugees and makes considerable financial allocations to provide education for refugee students in all the areas administered by Israel. Israel has expanded vocational training centres in Judaea, Samaria and Gaza from two in 1967 to 24 by 1976. It is of great importance for the future stability of our region that the refugees should be integrated into a compatible society as productive and normal citizens. The role of education in this process is self-evident. As an example of my Government's positive interest in higher education for the Arab population, including the refugee population, my delegation wishes to refer to the three Arab universities mentioned in the draft resolution before us. Those universities did not exist when the Jordanian Government was in control of Judaea and Samaria. A fourth institution of university standard for Islamic studies has recently been opened and is now awaiting recognition by competent Islamic authorities. My Government hopes that affluent countries will be encouraged to assist higher education not only for Palestine refugees but also for other refugees in many societies whose need is no less.

100. With regard to draft resolution E, my delegation feels that this draft resolution defies elementary reason. Is it really the desire of Governments that Israel should force refugees out of decent housing and back into primitive shelters? Is it really the wish of Governments represented here that Israel should plant refugee shelters and refugee families on roads that have been cut through previously

inaccessible jungles of airless shelters? My delegation understands why certain Governments would like the Gaza Strip to revert to conditions of lawlessness and bloodshed. Those Governments have been unhappy to see tranquility and prosperity replace terrorism there. The more terrorism, the more those Governments are pleased. But is it truly the intention of the majority of Member States that Israel should by its own deeds coerce refugees to form once again an infrastructure for terrorism? It is said that votes on draft resolutions do not always reflect the true positions of States Members of our Organization. We simply cannot believe that the Governments supporting the draft resolution now before us—except for a small group of extremists—really want it implemented.

101. My delegation will also vote against draft resolution F. The matter under consideration should be dealt with in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967). Negotiations are in progress in accordance with that resolution and also Security Council resolution 338 (1973). Indeed, initial agreement has been reached on the creation of a continuing committee to decide by agreement on the modalities of admission of persons displaced from the West Bank and Gaza in 1967, together with necessary measures to prevent disruption and disorder. My Government, which has already made possible the return of 50,000 persons displaced in 1967, approaches these negotiations with all goodwill. The draft resolution before us could therefore hardly be more ill-timed or inappropriate. An attempt by the General Assembly to prescribe solutions to problems which are the subject of negotiations between the parties concerned would not be a helpful move and would not serve any good purpose. Operative paragraph 1 should be carefully studied by those voting on this draft resolution. It would constitute a new and dangerous precedent contrary to international law and the United Nations Charter and would be inconsistent with the sovereign rights of States. It seeks to encourage attitudes and positions which are neither correct nor responsible and are prejudicial to good norms of international life. Furthermore, the demands formulated in it are contrary to the basic requirements of Israel's security and to practical possibilities and are therefore unrealistic. For all those reasons, my delegation will vote against this draft resolution.

102. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I should like to explain my vote. As is known, I very rarely sponsor draft resolutions, including those dealing with Palestinian or any other refugees—and, incidentally, I am not a sponsor of those draft resolutions.

103. However, I know how much the Palestinian people suffered not only from 1947 and 1948 and thereafter but also during the period of the British Mandate to the point where, finally, although they were the Mandatory Power, the British authorities had to throw the whole question of Palestine into the lap of the United Nations, since they had been bankrupted by the Second World War. And who was not bankrupted by that war? Only the defeated countries, Japan and West Germany, were not bankrupted. So, in fairness to our British friends, I should say that the whole world became bankrupt, fiscally and financially. I say this so that my good British colleagues do not think I am using slanderous terms against them.

104. I happened to participate in 1947 in the meetings at Lake Success. I worked very hard together with Faris El-Khouri of Syria—a former Prime Minister of Syria and before that, during the days of the Ottoman Empire, the deputy of Syria in Istanbul—pleading with Mr. Warren Austin, the Permanent Representative of the United States in the United Nations, to take up the matter of Palestine with his Government in order to submit it to the Trusteeship Council for a little while so that, perhaps, with further efforts we might find a satisfactory formula.

105. The Arabs always have had sympathy for the Jews because of what they suffered, even before Hitler, because our Jews were really Arabs; they were Semitic. The others were the Khazar Jews who had been converted to Judaism in the eighth century and whose ancestors had never laid eyes on the land of Palestine. We are not delving into the history of the question, but I have to touch upon it so that my colleagues here can understand how the refugee problem came to be created.

106. Mr. Warren Austin was a most reasonable man and said he would take the matter up with his Government. Faris El-Khouri was not speaking just for Syria and I was not speaking only for Saudi Arabia; we were speaking on behalf of all the Arab peoples. Mind you, not "people" but "peoples". There are various differences in the culture of the Arab peoples, but we have a common denominator of culture that makes us say "people" when, in fact, there are "peoples".

107. What happened was that Mr. Austin was rebuffed. He told us gently and confidentially that Mr. Truman, the President of the United States was intent on the partitioning of Palestine, Mr. Truman who was 6,000 or 7,000 miles away from Palestine knew the politics of his own country very well. He went against the advice of his own State Department, saying of them, "Who are these striped-pants boys to give advice to the President of the United States?" He told them to take the matter up again. "Tell me," he asked, "how many Americans of Arab or Palestinian origin do I have in my constituency?" It was on this basis that he wanted partition so that he might get votes. This is why I have since then called this democracy by subscription and contribution.

108. Our Soviet friends were represented by Mr. Gromyko who, incidentally is a good friend of mine although he is a Communist and I represent a monarchy. Years later I reminded him of this. I went to see him and asked why he wanted to precipitate a vote. I suggested we put the question of Palestine before the Trusteeship Council until we could come to a satisfactory solution that would serve the interests of both the Jews and the Palestinians.

109. Parenthetically, I should say that many of those Palestinians had been Jews and they had converted to Christianity in the Roman days when Jesus emerged. Then they became disenchanted with Byzantium when Palestine was ruled from Byzantium. It so happened that Islam emerged on the scene about 14 centuries ago and many of them finally became Moslems. But originally many of them were Semitic Jews, not like those Khazar Jews of Eastern and Central Europe.

110. Mr. Gromyko, for reasons of his own, wanted the vote on partition to be taken immediately. Thus, the Palestinian people were the victims of both the Americans and, to a lesser extent, the Soviets. They were the dominant Powers in 1947. They had many clients, which later caused my good friend Vyshinsky to refer to the solidarity vote as the mechanical vote.

111. Why all this preface? Because it touches on the question of the refugees. We are dealing here with the Palestinian refugees. The representative of Israel, who they tell me is about 45 years old or so, must have been a boy at the time and he must have been indoctrinated from then on by his Government. He speaks, not of Palestinian refugees, but of Arab refugees so as to confuse the matter. He talks about terrorism in 1948. That was the terrorism that was perpetrated by the Zionists in Deir Yasin. They also bombed and destroyed the King David Hotel, killed Lord Moyne, and even massacred Count Bernadotte. The British sent commissions and advised the Government of the United Kingdom to go slowly.

112. And this gentleman from Israel refers to the Arab refugees in order to confuse the issue. The Palestinians were an Arab entity. They happened to have the common denominator of the Arab culture, leaving aside religion, since some of them were Christians, some of them were Sephardic Jews, and the majority happened to be Moslems. As I have already said, many of those Moslems had been Sephardic Jews.

Mr. Urquía (El Salvador), Vice-President, took the Chair.

113. This extraneous element was treated badly in Europe, for whatever reason. I leave aside Hitler because they were badly treated even before Hitler, in the Dreyfus affair. Dreyfus was a Jew who was sent to Devil's Island in the Caribbean and who, thanks to Emile Zola—who wrote a series of articles in the French press at the turn of the last century, one of which became so famous that its title is still cited, namely, *J'accuse*—was finally liberated. I will not go into the treatment of Jews in the Middle Ages nor later, after the Dreyfus affair.

114. But those Jews had a Central and Eastern European Khazar ideology. Khazars were monotheistic peoples and lived near the Caspian Sea. Very many of them were converted to Judaism because they did not want to become Christians and come under the thumb of Byzantium, which was very strong then, and because the Moslems did not have any missionaries. So they thought it would be *à la mode* to belong to a monotheistic religion, and that is how they became Jews. They used religion as the Christians had done during the Middle Ages and the Moslems during the Caliphate later on as a motivation for a political end. Both the Christians and the Moslems in the area failed miserably because nationalism superseded religion, and it is a people's culture and economic interests that determine their nationality. Hence the French Jews—many of whom I knew during the 1920s—are as French as any Frenchman. The British Jews—many of whom I knew as friends—were as English as any Englishman. But the Khazars came and told them, "Being Jews, you are a people apart; you are a chosen people". And here we are fighting time and again against discrimination. Was God practising discrimination in creating the Jews?

115. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Excuse me, Sir, I have been informed that you have been speaking for more than 10 minutes. I am of course always delighted to listen to your statements because they are always eloquent and teach us in the United Nations a good deal, but we are pressed for time and are now involved in explanations of vote. So I would appreciate it if you could come to the end of your statement. I would appreciate it very much, Sir.

116. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I just want to tell you, Sir, that I apologize; nobody warned me that the rule was 10 minutes, but I do not want any privileges. I know the rules. I appreciate your graciousness towards me.

117. To continue: in other words, those refugees who figure in draft resolutions A, B, C, D, E and F are the victims of those Khazars who have the audacity to come here and tell us that it is the refugees who are the terrorists.

118. Today we voted for the admission of Dominica as a Member of the United Nations. What is the population of that country, 75,000? There were 3 million Palestinians who had their own entity before the Khazars came from what is called the north-eastern tier of Asia and perpetrated so many atrocities in the Holy Land, the land of Jesus Christ, the land of peace, whose people welcomed tourists. The Palestinians were a very peaceful people until those Khazars came and created the problem with the help of the British and others later on.

119. Those refugees are the responsibility of the United Nations, which made them refugees by acting on a false premise, that of partition. It is the duty of the United Nations to look after the refugees. We non-Palestinian Arabs are doing a lot. This is why I have explained my vote, and I exhort everybody to support these draft resolutions unanimously, if possible, or at least by a large majority.

120. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will now proceed to take a decision on the six draft resolutions recommended by the Special Political Committee in paragraph 21 of its report [A/33/374].

121. Draft resolution A is entitled "Assistance to Palestine refugees". In the Committee, it was adopted by 108 votes to none, with 1 abstention. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic

Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

Against: None

Abstaining: El Salvador, Israel

Draft resolution A was adopted by 136 votes to none, with 2 abstentions (resolution 33/112 A).

122. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft resolution B is entitled "Assistance to persons displaced as a result of the June 1967 hostilities". The Special Political Committee adopted that draft resolution by consensus. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution B by consensus?

Draft resolution B was adopted (resolution 33/112 B).

123. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft resolution C is entitled "Offers by Member States of grants and scholarships for higher education, including vocational training, for the Palestine refugees". In the Committee, draft resolution C was adopted by a vote of 111 to none, with 2 abstentions. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan,

Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

Against: None

Abstaining: United States of America, Israel

Draft resolution C was adopted by 136 votes to none, with 2 abstentions (resolution 33/112 C).

124. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Draft resolution D is entitled "Working Group on the Financing of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East". The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/33/493. The Special Political Committee adopted draft resolution D by consensus. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft resolution D?

Draft resolution D was adopted (resolution 33/112 D).

125. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now vote on draft resolution E, entitled "Palestine refugees in the Gaza Strip". In the Committee it was adopted by a vote of 109 to 1, with 2 abstentions. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

Against: Israel

Abstaining: Canada, El Salvador, Guatemala, United States of America

Draft resolution E was adopted by 136 votes to 1, with 4 abstentions (resolution 33/112 E).

126. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Finally we come to draft resolution F, entitled "Population and refugees displaced since 1967". In the Committee draft resolution F was adopted by a vote of 95 to 4, with 18 abstentions. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

Against: Australia, Canada, Israel, United States of America

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Mongolia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Swaziland, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Draft resolution F was adopted by 115 votes to 4, with 22 abstentions (resolution 33/112 F).⁴

127. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes after the vote.

128. Miss MUCK (Austria): The Austrian delegation has, as in previous years, given full approval to the resolution concerning assistance to the Palestinian refugees, as Austria

⁴ The delegation of Mongolia subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

has always been concerned about the tragic situation of the Palestinian refugees and displaced persons ever since the origin of that problem.

129. The Austrian delegation, however, wants to point out that the approval of paragraph 3 of resolution 33/112 A should by no means be interpreted as a reservation concerning the hospitality which Austria is at present granting to UNRWA. As is known to the States Members of the United Nations, Austria, motivated by her sincere desire that UNRWA may fulfil its important task without interruption and with the greatest efficiency, has offered facilities in Vienna to serve as part of the UNRWA headquarters. The office facilities and services which have been offered to UNRWA, and which were taken over last summer by that organization, will be available to it as long as needed. We are satisfied that the removal of a portion of the UNRWA headquarters office and staff could take place without difficulties. Austria hopes that it has thus given additional support to the benefit of the Palestinian people and will continue to act accordingly in the future.

130. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): UNRWA was created in 1950, two years after the Palestinian catastrophe. Its role, as envisaged by the United Nations, was to help the Palestinians to keep body and soul together pending their repatriation to their homeland in Palestine in accordance with resolution 194 (III), adopted on 11 December 1948 by the General Assembly, which asserted and has continued to assert every year for the past three decades the inalienable right of the Palestinian refugees to repatriation, as a first choice, or to compensation for those who may not wish to exercise that inalienable right.

131. This should be the fundamental framework for and core of what the General Assembly should regard as the real and final solution to the problem of the Palestinian refugees. The Assembly is morally and legally bound to do so, because anything else is a mere palliative so long as the plight of the Palestinian refugees, who number 1,750,000 human beings, is inhumanely prolonged.

132. When we read of the targeted budget of \$140 million or so—which is rarely subscribed in full—let us judge it against the loss of uncounted tens of billions of dollars suffered by the Palestinians in lost earnings, property, land, assets and the opportunities for gainful employment which every country affords to its people.

133. Under the present budget the share of a Palestinian refugee is no more than 21 cents a day. Would you believe that? Yet it is a simple question of mathematics. It might not be out of order for the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights in the United Nations to make some calculations as to the disastrous and cumulative losses incurred by the Palestinian refugees over the past three decades. The study should not be confined to income from properties confiscated by the Israelis, but should cover the comprehensive loss of national income for 30 years.

134. I think the figures would be astronomical even by present-day standards. The difference between a proposed \$140 million agency allocation and the tens of billions of dollars which the Palestinians have been unlawfully deprived of can only be judged by the colossal sacrifices and

sufferings—invisible sometimes though they may be—of the Palestinian people.

135. The representative of Israel has referred to a transfer of population, talking about what he calls "a Jewish refugee problem". My delegation strongly objects to this parallel. The Jews who emigrated to Palestine from the Arab countries concerned did so voluntarily or at the behest of the Jewish Agency. I declare here before the General Assembly that the very same Arab States are willing to take back every Arab of the Judaic faith who may wish to be repatriated to his indigenous and ancestral homeland—to whichever country he wishes. Is Israel willing to accord the same treatment to the indigenous Palestinian population of Palestine? There is no such thing as Jewish refugees. The Jewish people can go back tomorrow if they wish to; and the Arab States have declared so in no uncertain terms.

136. Even in Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which the Palestinian leadership has rejected because in it the Palestinians are treated as refugees, what exactly is said about the refugees? The resolution talks about an equitable solution to the problem of the Palestinian refugees. What is "equitable" in anybody's comprehension? Is it equitable to deny somebody repatriation to his home, to his house, to his farm, to his homeland? Equity cannot be expressed in terms of dollars and cents. It concerns the sense of belonging, the sense of identification and the inalienable right to repatriation to one's homeland. So that even within Council resolution 242 (1967), an equitable solution to the problem would be interpreted as according the Palestinians the inalienable right to go back to their country, if they so choose.

137. I wish to emphasize here that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) did not in any way invalidate General Assembly resolution 194 (III) which mandates the repatriation of the Palestinian refugees. The best proof of this is that we supported that resolution long before the Security Council adopted resolution 242 (1967) and continued to do so long after the adoption of the latter 11 years ago.

138. The representative of Israel has talked about education. I think that, if Jordan is proud of anything, of any contribution it may have made to the Palestinians' cause, it is in the field of education where every Palestinian is entitled to education, where there is almost universal education and where there has been an upsurge of education to the point which is almost unequalled throughout the world.

139. The universities that the representative of Israel has referred to existed as colleges long before Israel was created in 1948. The Al-Nagah College at Nablus was called "college" because in those days—we are talking about 30 or 40 years ago—we could not afford to make them universities; but they existed all the same. Many of the Arab leaders throughout the Arab world, including Arab North Africa, received and obtained their education in that college. The Bir Zeit University also antedates the creation of Israel. And the third, of course, is Bethlehem, which was a college, but which is now being expanded into a university.

140. But let the representative of Israel reply to what I am going to say to him, namely, that the Israeli occupation authorities have expelled the President of the Bir Zeit University. They have also . . .

141. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Israel on a point of order.

142. Mr. RAMATI (Israel): The representative of Jordan has now asked me to reply to him. I understood that the debate was over and that this was meant to be an explanation of vote.

143. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): I will be very brief. I was about to finish.

144. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of Jordan was explaining his vote and, as he has just told us, he will be very brief in the remainder of his statement. So I ask him to continue speaking.

145. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): Not only has the President of the Bir Zeit University been expelled, but many professors as well. The General Assembly knows how the students at those universities are being treated. This is something that everybody knows from simply watching television and reading the newspapers.

146. The final point is in reply to what the representative of Israel has told our General Assembly regarding the demolition of the shelters of the refugees in the Gaza Strip. This reminds me of history, of the year 1936, when the British military authorities demolished a whole quarter in the Arab city of Jaffa. They destroyed that section of the town on grounds of security. The Palestinians—the inhabitants—went to the Supreme Court. There was a British Chief Justice who was a man of considerable integrity. I remember him and the judgement he gave, when he admonished his own Government and said that it had been cowardly in explaining why it had demolished that town. It had demolished it for security reasons, not because it wanted to carry out new town planning for the area.

147. It is the same thing with our refugees in the Gaza Strip. Those refugees do not belong there. They want to go back to their towns and villages throughout Palestine. Therefore, they are satisfied to remain in those shelters for the time being. This is part of the price which a refugee has to pay in order to be accorded the inalienable right to repatriation.

148. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now proceed to consider the report of the Special Political Committee on agenda item 55 [A/33/439].

149.: I shall now call upon representatives wishing to speak in explanation of their votes before the vote.

150. Mr. RAMATI (Israel): Israel will vote against draft resolution A in paragraph 15 of the report because it makes assertive recommendations on a legal question. The General Assembly is a political body which cannot assume the role of an international court.

151. The fourth Geneva Convention⁵ applies to national territories under occupation in time of war. That is not the situation in our area. The question of the status of the territories to which the draft resolution refers is awaiting final disposition by negotiation and agreement. Some of those areas were never recognized as part of the territory of any independent State. Furthermore, the Armistice Agreements signed by Israel and all its Arab neighbours in 1949 specifically deny the status of political or territorial boundary to all armistice lines in the area in question which were delineated without prejudice to rights, claims and positions of either party in the final peace settlement.

152. It is likewise relevant and significant to note that the position of Arab Governments in this matter is ambiguous, since none of them has considered appointing Protecting Powers.

153. In consequence of all these factors, it cannot be stated that Israel is an occupying Power within the terms of the fourth Geneva Convention. However, for humanitarian reasons, the Israel Government is in fact guided by the humanitarian provisions of the Convention in its treatment of the civilian population and, in several important respects, it even goes beyond the requirements of the Convention.

154. Regarding draft resolution B, in view of Israel's position concerning the fourth Geneva Convention, which I have just explained, and also since final territorial dispositions are still to be made by negotiation and agreement in the areas referred to in this draft resolution, my Government cannot accept the assertion that Israeli settlements should be disallowed in them. In addition, Judaea, Samaria and Gaza were integral parts of the territory mandated by the League of Nations to Britain to establish therein a Jewish national home, and Jewish settlements existed in them until they were invaded by neighbouring States in 1948 in defiance of the United Nations and its Charter. In those areas the question of foreign sovereignty does not arise. Furthermore, morally and historically Jews cannot be excluded from any part of their own homeland.

155. No less important than all these considerations is the security aspect guiding the establishment of settlements. The settlements are intended to help to create a situation of interdependent security and a measure of security depth in areas from which vital regions of Israel can be put in mortal danger.

156. Israel's settlements have not displaced any local residents, and they have been established largely in desert areas, which their inhabitants are developing to the benefit of all who live in the vicinity.

157. Draft resolution C is a glaring example of the vicious campaign of slander to which Israel is exposed in the United Nations. The Special Committee to investigate what are called Israeli practices affecting human rights in Judaea, Samaria and Gaza, was designed from the start as a tool with which to wage political warfare against Israel. The latest report of that Committee [A/33/35] avoided listing easily refutable allegations. In fact it relegated human rights

to a secondary position. It concentrated instead on an attempt to establish some sort of connexion between the humanitarian element mentioned in the Committee's mandate and the political declarations the Committee decided to make in its report. Those declarations have become the main part of the report, and their purpose is to support extreme Arab positions. Those positions found expression in the debate in the Special Political Committee. They call explicitly for the dismantling of Israel. My Government indignantly rejects the false and unfounded accusations contained in this draft resolution. Operative paragraph 5 (g) is particularly slanderous. The International Committee of the Red Cross, which has every facility to talk with detainees privately, has not substantiated these crude allegations. Other sections of operative paragraph 5 are equally devoid of truth and are utterly ridiculous. The only purpose of operative paragraph 10 is to continue to flood the United Nations with reports deliberately hostile to Israel. It would be much more constructive to discontinue the piling up of these abusive resolutions and instead to support the peace negotiations which are aimed at, among other things, establishing self-government in Judaea, Samaria and Gaza, so that the inhabitants will be able to demonstrate their own ability to protect and advance human rights.

158. Mr. SARCEÑO MORGAN (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As it did in the Special Political Committee, when that Committee was considering the item entitled "Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories", my delegation will abstain in the vote on draft resolutions A and B and will vote against draft resolution C, all of which appear in document A/33/439, because we consider that whatever decision may be taken by the Assembly, even with the best of intentions, it may make more difficult the negotiations on the Middle East conflict being held by the parties directly affected and concerned.

159. Over the years international law has recognized negotiation as one of the most effective means of solving international conflicts. Consequently, the international community has adopted that procedure as a civilized means of settling disputes, with positive results.

160. The Government of Guatemala, in accordance with its fervent and traditional pursuit of peace and in compliance with rules of international law, believes that the negotiations will result in a just and fair settlement acceptable to the parties.

161. Mr. EL-CHOUFI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic will vote in favour of the draft resolutions submitted by the Special Political Committee to the General Assembly, namely, draft resolutions A, B and C concerning Israeli practices in the occupied Arab territories. Contrary to the allegations of the Zionist representative, we believe that the General Assembly and the United Nations in general have the right to discuss and pass judgement on the inhuman Israeli practices to which the population of the occupied territories is subjected.

162. In this connexion, we have received consistent information during the past several weeks which points to

⁵ Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.

the escalation of violent Israeli practices, including the demolition of dwellings which has taken place in the villages of Kafr Qallil and Silwad as well as the imposition of the curfew in more than one area. Students have been arrested, in particular the students of the University of Bir Zeit.

163. For these reasons, we feel that the Secretary-General of the United Nations should be requested to provide the General Assembly with all the information available to him concerning those Israeli activities which are directed against the civilian population of those areas.

164. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): In explaining my vote I wish to emphasize the following points. The occupied territories are not—and I repeat are not—a no-man's land. In 1950 there was juridical and complete unity between the East and West Banks of the River Jordan, pending a final solution. That was specifically stated in the Act of Unity adopted concerning the two banks of the River Jordan. The Jordan army and the other contingents from the neighbouring Arab armies did not enter Palestine to destroy Israel, as the representative of Israel has claimed. They went there for a humanitarian rescue operation to stave off the massacre of the remnants of the population. They never crossed into the territory allocated to Israel under General Assembly resolution 181 (II).

165. The representative of Israel has also said that nobody recognized the unity of the two banks of the River Jordan. I should like to remind him that the entire United Nations admitted Jordan as it then existed, a united Jordan, to membership in the United Nations in 1955. That was recognition *in toto*. But assuming, for the sake of argument, that that unity has been abrogated—although internationally and juridically it has not; the United Nations has not adopted any resolution abrogating that unity—whatever the Arabs agreed to among themselves is their own business. The only legal alternative, assuming that unity has been abrogated, is the implementation of resolution 181 (II), under which a Palestinian Arab State would have been established which would have been far larger than the occupied West Bank. That resolution, tragically, was not implemented either by the United Nations or by the departing and disintegrating Mandatory Power, the United Kingdom, in 1947.

166. It is therefore misleading to state that the occupied territories are not juridically occupied territories. They are and will continue to be so until a final solution to the problem of Palestine, which goes far beyond that of the West Bank, is carried out in letter as well as in spirit.

167. The representative of Israel has just stated that Israel has every right to continue to colonize the occupied territories. If it does have that right, why does the representative of Israel not say that that is its ultimate aim, to obtain and carry out a total annexation of the occupied territories? Why does he not present us with this fact? Every Palestinian knows it in his heart of hearts because he sees it with his own eyes; he does not have to rely on reports. Almost one third of the West Bank has already been sequestered and confiscated from its lawful owners. Where will the Palestinians live if this colonization continues?

168. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now vote on the three draft resolutions recommended by the Special Political Committee in paragraph 15 of its report [A/33/439] and grouped under the title "Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories". We shall vote first on draft resolution A. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

Against: Israel

Abstaining: Guatemala

Draft resolution A was adopted by 140 votes to 1 with 1 abstention (resolution 33/113 A).

169. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now take a vote on draft resolution B. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal

Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

Against: Israel

Abstaining: Guatemala

Draft resolution B was adopted by 139 votes to 1, with 1 abstention (resolution 33/113 B).

170. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now take a decision on draft resolution C. The Fifth Committee's report on the administrative and financial implications of this draft resolution appears in document A/33/520. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

Against: Guatemala, Israel, United States of America

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Mexico, Netherlands, New

Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Samoa, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay, Venezuela

Draft resolution C was adopted by 97 votes to 3, with 38 abstentions (resolution 33/113 C).

171. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will now consider the report of the Special Political Committee on agenda item 56 [A/33/451].

172. I shall now call on representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote.

173. Mr. CERGA (Albania): The Albanian delegation has already had occasion to state its position in the Special Political Committee during that Committee's consideration of agenda item 56 concerning the comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects. On this occasion, the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania wishes to reaffirm the position of its Government, namely, that the draft resolution contained in paragraph 6 of document A/33/451 does not reflect the main menace to peace and security in the world: that brought about by the warmongering policies of the super-Powers and other imperialist Powers. Furthermore, the draft resolution contains ideas and formulations which do not serve the cause of peace and international security.

174. We feel that the attempt being made to present as positive and helpful the role played up to now by the United Nations forces is deceitful and fraught with dangers. Therefore, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has been and is against the creation or stationing of such forces in various regions of the world.

175. For several reasons, some of which I have just stated, the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will vote against the draft resolution.

176. Mr. LOZINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation will vote against the draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly concerning the question of United Nations peace-keeping operations, because it is incompatible with the fundamental principles of the Charter.

177. In that draft no account is taken of the key role of the Security Council in the practical establishment and daily management of the peace-keeping operations or of measures taken for the preparation of such operations. Nor can we accept this way of approaching the financing of United Nations peace-keeping operations since provision is made for only one method of apportioning expenditures.

178. The delegation of the Soviet Union is deeply concerned at attempts made to impose by means of a vote a position which is unilateral and contrary to the United Nations Charter in respect of peace-keeping operations.

179. As experience has shown, particularly in respect of the United Nations Operation in the Congo, this is a field of

United Nations activity which is of vital importance for the destiny of the States Members of the United Nations and for the Organization itself. That is why the only acceptable and effective method for considering questions relating to United Nations peace-keeping operations is that whereby decisions are worked out by negotiation in strict compliance with the United Nations Charter. Recognition of this can be seen, particularly, in the fact that the work of the 33-member Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations on the comprehensive review of the whole question of United Nations peace-keeping operations has been carried out on the basis of the principle of consensus. It is obvious that any decision on United Nations peace-keeping operations which is contrary to the United Nations Charter—despite the number of votes that may be cast in its favour—remains illegal, null and void.

180. The adoption of the draft resolution now before us would risk creating further difficulties for the Special Committee and of rendering null and void the progress already made in elaborating the principles governing peace-keeping operations by that Committee. Any attempts to make use of resolutions of this kind when it comes to practical considerations of establishing, financing and carrying out peace-keeping operations can only render far more difficult the decisions of the Committee and hamper the work of the Security Council.

181. To prevent such a deplorable turn of events, the delegation of the Soviet Union appealed to the sponsors of the draft resolution and to a number of other delegations, declaring its readiness to accept a compromise solution whereby the draft resolution would not be put to the vote in the plenary Assembly, but would be transmitted with all relevant information directly to the Special Committee for that Committee to take into account in its work. However, the sponsors of the draft resolution preferred to bring it before the plenary Assembly, thus indicating their lack of willingness to seek a compromise solution on the subject.

182. In these circumstances, all responsibility for possible complications in the consideration of United Nations peace-keeping operations and for the blocking of ways to further progress in drafting guidelines for such peace-keeping operations will fall to those who have preferred to thwart persistent and constructive efforts at reaching a consensus by unilaterally imposing their own anti-Charter conceptions and views.

183. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): While my delegation supports the draft resolution laboriously prepared with the co-operation of representatives of various regional groups, I wish to be honest with my colleagues and my inner self by reiterating our understanding and interpretation of the draft resolution on a comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects.

184. We would commend the efforts to fight brushfires which have been made in various parts of the world to bring about a cessation of hostilities, fighting and destruction. At the same time, my delegation feels that the draft resolution, if it stands by itself, may give a false impression of peace and security. We have been living with these kinds of peace-keeping efforts for the past 30 years, but they have not brought us one iota nearer either to peace or to justice, let alone to a cessation of fundamental conflicts.

185. I wish to emphasize therefore that the draft resolution is no substitute for efforts by the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations to establish principles and guidelines for the United Nations peace-keeping operations.

186. Secondly, the draft resolution is in no way a substitute for the pursuit of the peace-making process through immediate action on the part of the Security Council. This is an operation for fighting brushfires, and we commend the United Nations soldiers and officers for having done their duty in so exemplary a manner. But we do feel that this is no substitute for the peaceful settlement of disputes as envisaged in the United Nations Charter.

187. Thirdly, peace-keeping operations ought to be directed towards the evacuation and replacement of the armed forces of any aggressor, with a view to denying it the opportunity of reaping the fruits of its aggression.

188. Fourthly, United Nations peace-keeping operations should lead to immediate action by the Security Council. I know that we are all accustomed to saying that occupying forces should withdraw “forthwith” and “immediately”—which makes me allergic to those two words, because “forthwith” and “immediately” may mean in 10 years. Therefore, we do not believe that peace-keeping operations should be a substitute for effective and immediate action by the Security Council and, if need be, the application of the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, which empowers the Security Council, as the highest executive organ of the United Nations, to see to it that there is no aggression.

189. Nevertheless, we still support the draft resolution as a contribution to peace-keeping in areas around the world.

190. Mr. HACHEME (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): The use made of United Nations peace-keeping forces here and there throughout the world is prejudicial to international peace and security, which we wish to maintain. International imperialism bears the full responsibility in this respect.

191. The delegation of the People's Republic of Benin believes that by adopting this draft resolution we would be getting ahead of the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, whose report we are still awaiting. In keeping with my country's well-known attitude towards peace-keeping operations, the delegation of the People's Republic of Benin will not participate in the voting on the draft resolution in document A/33/451, on the comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects.

192. Mr. EL-CHOULI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation will abstain in the vote on the draft resolution under discussion which has been submitted by the Special Political Committee to the General Assembly. We believe that a draft resolution of such importance should be acceptable by all Member States in view of its special significance for international peace.

193. The other reason for our having reservations on this draft resolution is that its operative paragraph 2 provides for the responsibility of all Member States, in accordance

with the Charter, to share equitably the financial burdens of such operations. We believe that the Charter of the United Nations was formulated in order to protect countries from becoming the victims of aggression. Consequently, there should be a basic distinction between the aggressor and the victim of aggression. In view of the fact that my country, like other Arab countries, is a victim of continued Israeli aggression, we cannot accept the principle of equal participation in the costs of future United Nations peace-keeping operations.

194. Mr. AL-ELFI (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation will abstain in the vote on the draft resolution concerning the comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects for the following reasons.

195. First, we attach great importance to United Nations peace-keeping operations on condition that they are carried out in conformity with the basic principles of the United Nations Charter.

196. Secondly, we feel that the subject under discussion is very important and requires further consideration and review. Such a task has already been entrusted to the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, made up of 33 members, established by the General Assembly in its resolution 2006 (XIX). There is no doubt that insisting on putting this draft resolution to the vote impedes the work and the task of the Special Committee. Moreover, the discussion of this question now would create further complications and affect the agreement reached within that Committee.

197. Thirdly, the draft resolution in some of its terminology is ambiguous and, consequently, we have some doubts about the real intentions behind the insistence on its being put to the vote. Moreover, the fact that divergent views are held on this draft resolution would make its implementation very difficult.

198. Fourthly, we in principle do not accept the assumption of any responsibility for the financial costs of such operations. We believe that the aggressor should bear the financial burden arising out of his aggression. The aggressor should not be rewarded for his aggression; such a course is rejected by the United Nations Charter as well as by international law and custom.

199. Fifthly, we also in principle believe that the United Nations should intensify its efforts to put an end to the aggression and occupation of which some countries are the victims and also eliminate the consequences of such aggression and occupation on the basis of the principle of the non-use of force in international relations and the application of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter. The United Nations should concentrate on that aspect instead of setting its seal on faits accomplis.

200. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We shall now vote on the draft resolution recommended for adoption by the Special Political Committee in paragraph 6 of its report [A/33/451]. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Empire, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

Against: Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Abstaining: Algeria, Angola, Congo, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Iraq, Madagascar, Malawi, Morocco, Mozambique, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Sao Tome and Principe, Syrian Arab Republic, Yemen

The draft resolution was adopted by 106 votes to 11, with 19 abstentions (resolution 33/114).

201. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on those representatives wishing to explain their vote after the voting.

202. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia) (*interpretation from French*): At the time when the Special Political Committee had reached the end of its consideration of agenda item 56, a comprehensive review of peace-keeping operations, we voted against the draft resolution then contained in document A/SPC/33/L.19.

203. In so doing, my delegation wished to convey its total disagreement with the way in which the draft resolution had been introduced in the Committee, namely without taking due account of the point of view of an important group of countries which includes a permanent member of the Security Council. My delegation regrets that such a vital question as that of maintaining peace was used to promote the political interests and manoeuvres of a specific group of countries. My country has always been fully involved here in the United Nations in all discussions on peace-keeping and would have preferred the present resolution to receive the consent of all Members of the Assembly, as is proper in such a case, and be adopted by consensus.

204. That has not happened, and my delegation very much regrets it. Furthermore, my delegation would like to

emphasize that the draft resolution as presented here was the outcome of an initial proposal which, quite obviously, represented an ill-disguised desire to circumvent the United Nations Charter and particularly to impede the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations in determining and working out guiding principles.

205. Having thus expressed our lack of satisfaction in the Committee, my delegation, in view of certain positive aspects which can be detected in the final wording of the draft resolution and aware at the same time of the need for such a draft resolution to be adopted by consensus, chose here in the plenary meeting to abstain in the vote.

206. Mr. MUBAREZ (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation wishes to explain its vote on the draft resolution entitled "Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects". While it contains several positive points, we were not able to support it in its present form for the following reasons.

207. First, as my delegation has stated on several previous occasions when expressing the views of the Yemen Arab Republic, our position is based on the rejection of the use of United Nations forces to assist aggression or to prolong the occupation of others' countries by force. The Government of the Yemen Arab Republic has noted with regret that the United Nations forces in the Middle East have not been used to put an end to the continued Israeli aggression against the Arab people of Palestine and the neighbouring Arab countries; nor have they been used to put an end to the Israeli occupation of the Arab territories. These forces have merely been sent to separate the combatants, and it seems that the presence of such forces has become a substitute for the search for a solution to the Middle East problem. For this reason, we believe that the Special Committee should expedite its work for an early completion of agreed guidelines to govern the conduct of the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations before taking any further steps in that direction.

208. Secondly, we have rejected and refused any procedure which would mean that the cost of peace-keeping operations in the Middle East or in any other part of the world would be paid for out of the United Nations budget. This position emanates from our belief that the aggressor should bear the full cost of such operations and should assume full responsibility for his aggressive actions. It is illogical and against the principles of justice that the international community should bear the responsibility on behalf of the aggressor. Such a course of action would encourage the aggressor, and this would be at variance with the spirit and letter of the Charter.

209. For all these considerations, my delegation has abstained in the vote on the draft resolution.

210. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before we proceed to consider the next item, the representative of Norway has asked to be allowed to make a brief statement.

211. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway): In a meeting today that was arranged by the President of the General Assembly

with all the Chairmen of the regional groups, I raised a question of having item 57 postponed until tomorrow. The reason for that is that there are certain proposals swimming around—if I might use that expression—that could form the basis for a consensus on this question and that I think would be an advantage to all groups.

212. I would therefore appeal for a postponement of this question until tomorrow. That would give the regional groups some time to explore the possibilities that are still there.

213. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): As you have heard, the Chairman of the group of Western European and other States is requesting postponement of agenda item 57 until tomorrow afternoon. If there is no objection it will be so decided.

214. Mr. MOHAMMED (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): We understand that the reports of the Special Political Committee on item 57, as well as the report of the Rapporteur, are ready. Since the Committee has adopted the resolution on the item, in the name of the Asian group and according to the wish of other groups, we request that the vote on the draft resolution take place at this meeting, if possible.

215. Mr. SARALTA (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Chad, which followed this question during the month of November, is surprised today to learn that the group of Western European and other States is requesting postponement.

216. We agree completely with the Asian group that we should follow the normal procedure and vote today.

217. Mr. BIKOUTA (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): As Chairman of the African group for the month of December, I wish briefly to state that the decision that has just been taken by a meeting of the Chairmen of regional groups cannot be considered by our group to be final or binding. We have a discipline in our group which we cannot overlook. Since it was not possible to inform the African group of the decision of the Chairmen of the regional groups, I simply wish to recall that agenda item 57 was duly discussed in the Special Political Committee and a decision was taken. Accordingly, we endorse the statements just made by the representatives of Iraq and Chad. We also express our surprise at the request for postponement of agenda item 57. Of course, we would not oppose any decision which would permit the General Assembly to save time. But, unfortunately, we are not at all convinced of the timeliness of such a decision.

218. That is why we are tempted to wonder whether such a decision is the result of error. If so, it is not too late to remedy it, if we wish to avoid a regrettable precedent. In brief, Mr. President, we would like to urge you not to allow such a propitious occasion to pass for us to take a decision on agenda item 57.

219. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway): I am somewhat surprised that other groups are against this very modest request for a mere 24-hour postponement, which was intended to give us a little more time to reach a consensus, since there are some

proposals in the air that offer the possibility of such a consensus.

220. The group of Western European and other States has carefully considered this question and considers it to be one of major importance. We have, over the year when these matters have been discussed in the contact group, sought a consensus that would reflect the characteristics of the regional groupings which underlie so much of the business in the United Nations. We have based our work on three principles which have obtained hitherto, namely, consensus, avoidance of disadvantage to individual regional groups, and the need to respect the principle of regional groupings rather than pure arithmetical considerations.

221. The resolution now before us, however, would simply imply a reduction of chairmanships of the main committees allocated to the group of Western European and other States and to that group alone. We believe that an arithmetical approach alone is not appropriate in determining the distribution of such posts.

222. We have been willing to go along, however, with the proposal which takes care of the African request. As I said earlier, there are elements that, in our opinion, would make a consensus impossible today. Our group feels deep regret that the Chairman of two of the main groups today will not go along with such a postponement, thereby taking away the opportunity we have today for trying to reach a consensus on this extremely important question to all of us.

223. Mr. ONG (Singapore): I support the proposal of the representative of Norway to the effect that, since there is a possibility of arriving at a consensus on this subject, we should allow 24 hours for our regional groups to try to find a consensus, if possible.

224. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I would request representatives to forget for a moment that I am the President of the General Assembly because I would like to say a few words in my capacity as Chairman of the group of Latin American States.

225. What the representative of Singapore has just said seems to me to be very prudent and appropriate. Without taking sides as regards what might be proposed tomorrow by the group of Western European and other States and without knowing exactly what its intention is, I believe that the appeal addressed to all delegations that we postpone the vote until tomorrow with the purpose of carrying out certain negotiations which could eventually lead to a consensus solution of the question of the composition of United Nations organs is an appeal that it would be fitting to heed. Like the representative of Singapore, I do not see that there would be any harm in postponement. On the contrary, if we were to achieve what was not achieved earlier in the relevant committee and if we were to succeed in arriving at a consensus, it would be best for every one of us, because we should strive to maintain a conciliatory spirit among all delegations.

226. I join in the appeal, and I ask whether the Asian and African groups would reconsider and agree to a postponement of the question. Of course, if this should not be

possible and if the representative of Norway were to press his proposal I would have to put his proposal to the vote.

227. Mr. RIOS (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should just like to know just when the Assembly session is scheduled to end. Twenty-four hours has been mentioned; that would mean 7 o'clock tomorrow evening. So I think that first we should clarify this.

228. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall give the representative of Panama a reply that is not quite final. From talks with the President of the General Assembly and with the Secretary-General it has appeared that it will not be possible to conclude the work of the General Assembly tomorrow. Members know that there have been administrative difficulties which have compelled us to postpone and delay meetings and so we shall have to allocate the whole of tomorrow at least to hard work. A delay of 24 hours, from now, has been spoken of, but it need not necessarily mean exactly 24 hours. The item could appear in the agenda for tomorrow afternoon. This is all I can tell the representative of Panama.

229. Mr. BENAVIDES (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation presumes that the appeal you made as Chairman of the Latin American group corresponds to a decision taken by that group.

230. In this connexion, the delegation of Peru was not consulted regarding the postponement of this item. This being so, my delegation would at least wish to request that this meeting be suspended for a few minutes so that it could have talks with other delegations of the Latin American group.

231. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): There is a request for a suspension of the meeting for a few minutes. I would, of course, be very happy to meet with my Latin American colleagues to talk with them. I have not consulted with many delegations; I have the opinions of two or three, but my intervention was on a personal basis; I believe, however, that a good majority of the Latin American delegations, taking a conciliatory attitude, would be inclined to approve what I took the liberty of doing. The representative of Peru has an objection however, and he has every right to object.

232. Mr. RIOS (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, at this stage and with all that remains for us to do, I think that a suspension would really delay our work, and if the delegation of Norway presses its proposal I think that we would need to put it to the vote. I think that each delegation already has an opinion, so we could decide it by a vote.

233. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway): I have made an appeal to the other groups to have this postponed. I have a feeling that the other groups think that there is some devious design behind such a postponement. I can only assure everyone that we have some ideas with which we should like to approach other delegations in order to achieve a consensus. In all honesty I really thought that that was what all groups here were interested in: that we solve this question on the basis of a genuine consensus for the future. If I am mistaken, I can only regret it.

234. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I believe our Norwegian colleague is wrong about one thing: he stated that he does not want to be devious; even if he tried, he could not be devious, he is such an honest man. I am sure that I speak for most of my colleagues when I say that nobody can have any doubt as to the sincerity, devotion and dedication to the United Nations of the representative of Norway, whom I have known for many years.

235. Having said that—and I am not speaking as a member of any group but as a member of the United Nations whose duty and whose allegiance in such matters is to the United Nations rather than to one group or another—I should like to state that this whole question is, strictly and objectively speaking, like a storm in a teacup.

236. As the representative of Norway mentioned, it perhaps should be decided by consensus. If for some reason or other this is not possible, then let me tell representatives here the following. The post of chairman, and even that of president, is a most thankless task. I have been here 33 years. Many people have asked me why I did not become chairman of this or that committee and, when I was elaborating the principle of self-determination, some whispered in my ear "You will be President", hoping to neutralize me by getting rid of me in the Committee as a member of the United Nations proletariat.

237. What I mean to say is that we are giving undue importance to the position of chairman. Although he is usually a capable gentleman, the chairman's power is neutralized. Representatives should not think that I am insinuating that the chairman likes to be in a high place; we need chairmen and presidents. But they have to be altogether careful not to apply their own national policies. Otherwise, they are not fit to be presidents or chairmen. This is why I say it is a storm in a teacup.

238. I think that we have already spent about \$30,000 worth of the time of the meeting, including my own words which form part of the expenses, discussing something on which we should not be so rigid. Therefore, let us heed the good advice of our friend, regardless of his leanings. His solidarity with the West is his, or his Government's, business. I see that the Scandinavian group sometimes votes with the Western countries because of their proximity. If there is "flu" going around, they catch it, not willingly, but because they are all in the same boat with the Western Powers. Once in a while they get rid of the "flu" and abstain in a vote.

239. So, let us follow the very modest request of our colleague from Norway to postpone further discussion this evening, because, I am afraid, it may become fruitless. As our American friends say, let us sleep on the matter until tomorrow, hoping that no one will reopen the debate.

240. Incidentally and parenthetically, Asia, to which I belong, has the biggest population in the world. But we should not go by numbers of population if we want to go by the democratic method of one Member, one vote. The Soviet Union and the Americans exercise power. Their caravan is marching, figuratively speaking. We are like the dogs that bark, but they do what they want. Regardless of that, I say let us sleep on it.

241. I propose that we adjourn discussion of this question until tomorrow, because any continued debate on it will, I am afraid, be fruitless and will cost us money.

242. Mr. PIZA-ESCALANTE (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to make two very brief remarks. The President, as Chairman of the Latin American group has offered the members of the group a chance to understand the situation which led him to propose postponement of the discussion.

243. In the Committee the group as a bloc voted in favour of the draft resolution which we are now considering, and this was after consultations with the Chairman of the group, who enjoys our confidence. Since he is now proposing a recess in order that we may gain information, we have the right to be informed and he has the right to inform us.

244. I should not have a clear conscience if we were to proceed to a vote when new circumstances have arisen which the Chairman of the group believes he should report to the group. Therefore I should like to insist on the desirability of having a brief recess so that he may report to the members of the Latin American group.

245. On the other hand, with the authority which we all have because we voted in favour of the draft resolution, I think that a postponement of 24 hours is not an outrageous postponement if the group of Western European and other States has something to propose or wishes to attempt to arrive at a consensus. In the Committee we tried very hard to arrive at a consensus on a subject which is indeed delicate and which should be solved by consensus. If there is still the possibility of a consensus, then I think the short time requested of us, 24 hours, should be granted.

246. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Saudi Arabia on a point of order.

247. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I should like my proposal—that we should delay taking a decision until tomorrow—to be put to the vote. But first I want my good colleague from Costa Rica to note that if a consensus is not arrived at, as I am sure it will not be, if this is the attitude not only of some of the Latin American group but perhaps also of the Arab group or of the Western group or any other—and this is why I say I am talking independently—then we may put the matter to a vote and resolve the issue. My proposal comes first, which is to postpone this question, not necessarily for 24 hours, but until tomorrow, and see if the groups can come to a consensus in the morning. If they cannot reach a consensus, then the question will be put to the vote.

248. In my own humble opinion, it is not worth all the expenditure and debate because, as I said, it is not worthy of any group to think that if one group or the other does not get what it wants it will try to protract the debate.

249. With all due respect to my colleagues from Latin America, from Asia and from Africa, I ask forthwith that we now postpone this item. If anyone votes against this and the proposal is defeated, of course, I am in the hands of the Assembly.

250. Mr. ALGÅRD (Norway): In order to dispel any confusion I think I should bring to the attention of Members the actual proposal that has been made to us, which is that we should accept the draft resolution adopted by the Special Political Committee as it is with two amendments. According to those amendments, the group of Western European and other States would be allotted one additional vice-presidency, and paragraph 3 of the draft resolution would be deleted. That is the proposal that has been made and which we should like to explore.

251. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to thank the representative of Costa Rica for the suggestions he made and to tell him the following. Actually the idea of a brief suspension of this meeting for the Latin American group to be able to have brief consultations was not the proposal of the President nor of the Chairman of the Latin American group. It was the proposal of the representative of Peru. The representative of Costa Rica was right in saying that, although I was speaking on behalf of the group in making a conciliatory appeal, without saying whether the Latin Americans were in favour or against such a proposal, it would be desirable for the Latin American group to have an emergency meeting to agree on a position.

252. So, on the one hand, we have the original proposal of the representative of Norway, as Chairman of the group of Western European and other States, endorsed by the representatives of Singapore and Saudi Arabia, that we postpone discussion of the item until tomorrow, though not necessarily for 24 hours. I said that the item could appear on the agenda for tomorrow afternoon. And, on the other hand, we have the proposal of the representative of Peru—I do not know whether he is maintaining it—to the effect that, before we take a decision on the matter, the Latin American group should hold a brief meeting to arrive at a joint position.

253. Mr. BENAVIDES (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, I wish to express my gratitude to the representative of Norway for having informed us of the amendments which his group intends to submit so as to allow the Assembly to arrive at a consensus.

254. We are in favour of this delicate problem being solved by consensus, but now that we have been informed of the proposals, we believe that a short time would not be sufficient for due debate and analysis. In these circumstances—and I am speaking on behalf of the delegation of Peru—we are in favour of postponing the discussion until tomorrow.

255. Mr. EL-JEAAAN (Kuwait): If I am following the discussion correctly, I think there was a proposal to adjourn the meeting; as I understand, this proposal would take precedence. My delegation would favour such a proposal because I think with an adjournment we would not be faced with the difficulty of postponing a question. It would simply be a question of adjourning the meeting. Then when we met at the next meeting—either tonight or tomorrow—the first item we would take up would be the item we are now discussing.

256. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We no longer have a proposal by Peru for a suspension of the

meeting for Latin American consultations. The representative of Peru has said that he would prefer to add his vote to those who believe that we should postpone consideration until tomorrow; so, there is no proposal for suspension.

257. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I must thank my colleagues from Peru and Costa Rica for being very reasonable and for saying that they would like to see this question postponed till tomorrow, until they have had an opportunity—so to speak—to sleep on the amendments that were submitted by our colleague from Norway. I do not wish to protract the debate, which has now become not substantive but procedural. Since it is procedural, any procedural proposal has precedence. Therefore, Mr. President, will you kindly forthwith, without giving anyone else the right to speak, find out whether the majority would like—as the representative of Peru and others have mentioned—to consider the item, as you wisely suggested, Sir, tomorrow? If the Members want to stay until 10 o'clock, let them address themselves to other subjects. If they want to adjourn, that is another question altogether. But now, forthwith, may I ask you, Sir, to put my procedural proposal to postpone this item, as you wisely mentioned, not necessarily for 24 hours, but till tomorrow or whenever it is possible to handle this question again?

258. Since this kind of procedural proposal has precedence, may I beg you, Sir, to put it to the vote or to ask whether anyone has any objection—whichever you deem it necessary. If nobody has any objection to what I have suggested and to what our Norwegian colleague has asked of us, it can be ascertained. Then, you will either adjourn the meeting or, if our colleagues are not tired, we can resume this meeting, after we take a vote or if no one has any objection, to deal with other questions.

259. This is all I beg you to do, Sir, because it is costing us money here.

260. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Saudi Arabia, who has given us an explanation that is completely satisfactory to the President. I am most grateful to him.

261. The President now has two choices. We have already had a debate on the procedural issue. We have heard opinions for and against. I do not know whether those who were against have been persuaded to join in a consensus decision to postpone consideration of the question of the composition of the United Nations organs until tomorrow, at the morning or afternoon meeting, but if I hear no objection it will be so decided. It seems to me that there is a consensus.

262. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The proposal of the representative of Norway is very serious. It comes when we are about to vote in the Assembly and my delegation would not wish this to be repeated. We should like you, Mr. President, therefore, to put it to the vote and if the proposal is rejected, we should like the debate to be closed and a vote to be taken on the draft resolution.

263. Mr. MOHAMMED (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): After having listened to the proposal made by the

representative of Norway, we propose that we suspend the meeting for 10 minutes, so as to conduct further consultations.

264. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have before us two proposals: either that we vote on postponement of the item or, as the representative of Iraq has just proposed, that we have a brief recess, to have consultations and then come back and take a decision on the other matter.

265. If there is no objection, we might suspend the meeting for 10 minutes.

266. Mr. RIOS (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am sorry but I must object to suspension of the meeting for 10 minutes, which would in reality be 20 minutes or longer. It seems to me that there is not enough time to consider the matter.

267. You, Mr. President, have said that at 10.30 a.m. tomorrow there is to be a meeting of the Latin American group on important matters. I believe that this is an important matter which the group could consider calmly and undoubtedly come to a decision with greater ease. That is why I object to suspension of this meeting.

268. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Although I do not like to do so, I shall have to apply the rules of procedure. Rule 76 states: "During the discussion of any matter, a representative may move the suspension or the adjournment of the meeting." Nobody has requested adjournment, but suspension has been requested. The rule continues:

"Such motions shall not be debated but shall be immediately put to the vote. The President may limit the time to be allowed to the speaker moving the suspension or adjournment of the meeting."

269. The representative who proposed suspension has already spoken, so I shall immediately put to the vote the proposal to suspend the meeting for 10 minutes.

The proposal was rejected by 80 votes to 30, with 15 abstentions.

270. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly will now vote upon the other procedural motion, on which there has been much insistence. It was first submitted by the representative of Norway, supported by the representatives of Singapore and Saudi Arabia.

271. Several items on this meeting's agenda remain to be discussed, so I think we should proceed to vote upon the procedural motion to postpone until tomorrow the discussion of the question of the composition of the relevant organs of the United Nations. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Belgium, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa

Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Djibouti, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Oman, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia

Against: Algeria, Angola, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Burundi, Congo, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Kenya, Madagascar, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Qatar, Rwanda, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Togo, United Republic of Cameroon, Zaire, Zambia

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Ghana, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kuwait, Mongolia, Nepal, Philippines, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Sudan, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta

The proposal to postpone consideration of agenda item 57 was adopted by 73 votes to 38, with 16 abstentions.

Mr. Barton (Canada), Vice-President, took the Chair.

272. The PRESIDENT: I invite now Members to turn their attention to the report of the Special Political Committee on agenda item 77, concerning questions relating to information [A/33/511]. The Assembly will now take a decision on the recommendations of the Special Political Committee in paragraph 19 of the report.

273. Draft resolution A is entitled "Co-operation and assistance in the application and improvement of national information and mass communication systems for social progress and development". It was adopted by consensus in the Special Political Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts draft resolution A?

Draft resolution A was adopted (resolution 33/115 A).

274. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution B is entitled "International relations in the sphere of information and mass communications". Since this draft was adopted by consensus in the Special Political Committee, may I consider that the General Assembly adopts it?

Draft resolution B was adopted (resolution 33/115 B).

275. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution C is entitled "United Nations public information policies and activities". The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is to be found in document A/33/524. The Special Political Committee adopted draft resolution C by consensus. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts it?

Draft resolution C was adopted (resolution 33/115 C).

276. The PRESIDENT: In operative paragraph 5 of the resolution just adopted, the General Assembly requests the President of the General Assembly to appoint the members of the Committee to Review United Nations Public Information Policies and Activities on the basis of equitable geographical distribution. The President will be consulting on the matter and will report to the Assembly in due course.

277. I now request representatives to turn their attention to the recommendation of the Special Political Committee concerning item 77(b) "Freedom of Information" in paragraph 20 of its report [A/33/511]. That recommendation was also adopted by consensus in the Committee. I take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft recommendation.

The recommendation was adopted (decision 33/425).

278. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Austria, who wishes to speak in explanation of her vote.

279. Mrs. NOWOTNY (Austria): Austria gladly participated in the consensus just achieved on this important item on our agenda. Austria recognizes the fact that the developing countries have only a small share in the news collection and news transmission process and that there is a need to change the situation of dependence of those countries in the field of information and communication and to replace it with relationships of interdependence and co-operation. The correction of certain imbalances, however, cannot be achieved by government control of the news media. Freedom of information and opinion are basic rights which include freedom of the media in all its various dimensions. The enjoyment of those rights presupposes free access to the sources of information as well as a free and uninhibited flow of information, which also includes free distribution of information. These freedoms, protected by the Austrian Constitution, do not allow for any possibility of influencing the media by legal or administrative measures. We would not be able to support any initiative in that direction.

280. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the Special Political Committee on agenda

item 126 [A/33/512]. The draft decision recommended by the Special Political Committee entitled "Establishment of an agency or a department of the United Nations for undertaking, co-ordinating and disseminating the results of research into unidentified flying objects and related phenomena" is to be found in paragraph 9 of its report. The draft decision was adopted by consensus in the Special Political Committee. I take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft decision.

The draft decision was adopted (decision 35/426).

AGENDA ITEM 10

Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization

281. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider agenda item 10, concerning the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization [A/33/1]. It has been customary for the Assembly merely to take note of the annual report of the Secretary-General, which has been referred to on several occasions during the course of this session. Unless I hear any objection, I shall take it that the Assembly wishes to follow this practice.

It was so decided (decision 33/427).

AGENDA ITEM 13

Report of the International Court of Justice

282. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the International Court of Justice covering the period from 1 August 1977 to 31 July 1978 [A/33/4]. As no representative wishes to speak, I propose that the General Assembly take note of the report of the International Court of Justice.

It was so decided (decision 33/428).

The meeting rose at 7.50 p.m.