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President: Mr. Adam MALIK (Indonesia).

AGENDA ITEM 25

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

1. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has before it document A/8561 containing a unanimous recommendation of the Security Council concerning the admission of the United Arab Emirates to membership in the United Nations. In this connexion, a draft resolution submitted by several countries has been circulated in document A/L.649.

2. I call on the representative of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, who wishes to speak in explanation of his vote.

3. Mr. DHALEE (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen): For the fourth time during this session of the General Assembly my delegation finds itself obliged to vote against the request for admission to the United Nations of yet another so-called independent and sovereign entity. My delegation is casting its negative vote for the same reasons that motivated it to vote against the admission of Bahrain, Qatar [1934th meeting] and Oman [1957th meeting].

4. It is the earnest conviction of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen that the declaration of the so-called independence of the United Arab Emirates is a great farce. Whether it is called the United Arab Emirates or the Trucial States, or by any other name, the undeniable fact is that it is still under British colonial domination. For one thing, the inalienable right of the people to dispense with its British-appointed rulers has not been established; its wish to unite with the rest of the people of the Arabian Gulf in a popular and viable state has been undermined; and its right to utilize its natural resources in the most appropriate way has been totally curtailed. As a result, the British colonial hegemony of the whole Arab Gulf area is legalized by fake declarations of independence.

5. As if to underline the package deal concocted by the United Kingdom, Iran and the British-appointed rulers of

the Arabian Gulf, the American quarterly review, *Foreign Affairs*, pointed out the following:

"Hopes of a package deal have been dashed, and the Shah seems adamant in his determination to take possession of these islands"—that is, Abu Musa and the Tunbs—"wily-nilly. The Iranians point out that it will be easier for him to do so before the British leave than afterwards, for Britain—as a final act of penitence for the 'sins' of the Raj perhaps?—can easily bear the Arab odium that may be involved in handing them to Iran."¹

6. The Iranian Government did exactly that on 30 November last and the rulers of the so-called United Arab Emirates and their patrons reacted passively in complete apathy and utter connivance. This selling out of part of the territory of the Arabian Gulf is therefore one of the notable achievements of the new so-called United Arab Emirates.

7. How can my Government vote for the admission of such an entity, disregarding the wishes and interests of the people of the Arabian Gulf? We cannot, after all, condone the selling out of an integral part of the soil of the Arabian Gulf and extend the courtesy of voting for the admission of the Trucial States to the United Nations.

8. May I make it clear once more that by voting against the admission of those flimsy entities we are only voting for the people of the Arabian Gulf, who are waging an heroic armed struggle against both the British colonialists and their agents.

9. My delegation requests a recorded vote on the draft resolution now before us.

10. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/L.649 concerning the admission of the United Arab Emirates to membership in the United Nations.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Chad, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar,

* Resumed from the 1957th meeting.

¹ David Holden, "The Persian Gulf: After the British Raj", *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 49, No. 4 (July 1971), p. 733.

Malawi, Malaysia, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Netherlands, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaïre, Zambia.

Against: People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

The draft resolution was adopted by 93 votes to 1 (resolution 2794 (XXVI)).²

11. The PRESIDENT: I declare the United Arab Emirates admitted to membership in the United Nations.

The delegation of the United Arab Emirates was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.

12. The PRESIDENT: As President of the General Assembly, I take pleasure in welcoming the United Arab Emirates to membership in the United Nations. I am sure that it will make a valuable contribution to the work of the Organization.

13. In view of the limited time before us, it has been suggested that, with the exception of Kuwait, only the chairmen of the regional groups should take the floor, beginning with the representative of the Arab States. Other representatives too, I am sure, would like to congratulate the new Member. With their permission I should like, on behalf of the General Assembly, to extend to the Government and people of the new Member State our sincere congratulations on this great occasion and our best wishes for their happiness and prosperity.

14. I call on Mr. Gaghman of Yemen to address the General Assembly on behalf of the Arab States.

15. Mr. GEGHMAN (Yemen): In these trying times, through which the United Nations and the world at large are passing, it is indeed comforting to find a moment to welcome amongst us a new Member to this family of nations. On behalf of the Arab States, I wish to express the warmest welcome to the United Arab Emirates and to assure it of our great optimism and hope that it will contribute greatly to the work of the United Nations.

16. It is a particular pleasure for me, personally, that the man who comes here today to represent the new State is Mr. Adnan Pachachi. He is well known to many of us and has made a very constructive contribution to the work of the United Nations during the many years that he was here with us. Thus, to Mr. Adnan Pachachi I wish to extend a welcome on his return. And to the new State, the United

Arab Emirates, I wish to extend a most hearty welcome and to wish its people peace, prosperity and greater unity.

17. The PRESIDENT: I call on Mr. Mwaanga of Zambia to speak on behalf of the African States.

18. Mr. MWAANGA (Zambia): On behalf of the African States I should like to extend a warm welcome to the United Arab Emirates as the one hundred and thirty-second Member of the United Nations. The admission of a new Member is always an occasion for rejoicing and it is therefore a source of great satisfaction to see the delegation of the United Arab Emirates seated in this General Assembly hall.

19. I also extend a personal word of welcome to Mr. Adnan Pachachi, who has come to represent this new State. I knew him personally for a number of years when he served in a different capacity and I had the opportunity to co-operate with him on several occasions.

20. The African countries have always believed in the principle of universality, and the step which the General Assembly has just taken is undoubtedly in keeping with this important principle. The history and culture which the new Member brings with it will enrich the international order which we are trying to build. Time and again small countries have amply demonstrated that they are more than capable of acting as custodians of the conscience of the international community. It is with this in mind that we express our confidence that the United Arab Emirates will make a worthy contribution to the work of the United Nations in its never-ending search for world peace.

21. We wish the Government and people of the United Arab Emirates peace and prosperity.

22. The PRESIDENT: I call on Mr. Ghorra of Lebanon to speak on behalf of the Asian States.

23. Mr. GHORRA (Lebanon): On behalf of the Asian States as well as of the Lebanese delegation, I wish to extend a warm welcome to our sister State, the United Arab Emirates. I am equally pleased to welcome its delegation, headed by Mr. Adnan Pachachi, Minister of State, who has established for himself an outstanding reputation as a statesman here at the United Nations and in international circles.

24. The entry of the United Arab Emirates further enhances the principle of universal representation of the United Nations. This year the continent of Asia has been fortunate in having an additional five of its States join the family of the United Nations. With these additions, and with the participation of the People's Republic of China, our continent will certainly increase its contribution to the promotion of the purposes and principles of the Charter and to the service of peace and progress in the world.

25. The Emirates which now constitute the United Arab Emirates have played through their history an important role in developing fruitful personal and trade relations between Asia and the rest of the world. The United Arab Emirates now enters an era in which it can play an important role in promoting international understanding

² The delegations of Egypt, Mauritius, Morocco, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Panama and Rwanda subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution. The delegations of Peru and Ceylon subsequently indicated that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution (see below, paras. 30 and 56, respectively).

and co-operation and in applying its vast resources for the cultural and material progress of its people. I wish, therefore, to extend to the Government and people of the United Arab Emirates the congratulations of the Asian States on their accession to complete independence and admission to the United Nations and our sincere wishes for their prosperity and progress.

26. The PRESIDENT: I call on Mr. Szarka of Hungary to speak on behalf of the Eastern European States.

27. Mr. SZARKA (Hungary): On behalf of the delegations of Bulgaria, the Byelorussian SSR, Czechoslovakia, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Ukrainian SSR, and the USSR, and of my own, I wish to extend our sincere welcome to the Government and people of the United Arab Emirates on the admission of that State to the United Nations. The addition of this young, independent State, which has recently achieved its independence, to the membership of the United Nations is a further step towards the complete universality of our Organization. We express our conviction that it will not be long until all States willing and able to work for the realization of the purposes and principles of the Charter will be able to join our ranks.

28. With the independence and membership in the United Nations of the United Arab Emirates a further step has been taken in the emancipation of the peoples of the Arab East, a region of peoples with an ancient culture and a rich heritage. While welcoming the delegation of the United Arab Emirates, the delegations on whose behalf I have the honour to speak express their readiness to co-operate with it towards strengthening peace and security all over the world in the spirit of the noble ideals of our Charter.

29. The PRESIDENT: I call on Mr. Molina of Costa Rica to speak on behalf of the Latin American States.

30. Mr. MOLINA (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, the Peruvian delegation has asked me to state that it was unable to be present when the vote was taken on the admission of the United Arab Emirates to our Organization as a new Member State. Had that delegation been present it would have been pleased to cast its vote in favour.

31. The entry into our Organization of new Members which accept the obligations of the United Nations Charter and undertake solemnly to comply with those obligations confirms mankind's desire to live in peace, to ensure respect for human dignity and to see that we fight actively to secure in future a better life for the people on our planet than they have today.

32. The presence of a new nation or group of nations thus reaffirms the fight against colonialism, against discrimination in all its forms and against under-development, as well as the struggle for human rights, the application of the right of peoples to self-determination, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the achievement of general and complete disarmament. In the last analysis it expresses the universal desire of man to make effective progress, to obtain better living conditions.

33. Therefore, on behalf of the Latin American group, I offer our welcome to the representatives of the United

Arab Emirates as new colleagues in the United Nations, and I express our conviction that their presence here will contribute not only to the attainment of the objectives that I have just stated but will also help us to continue to make progress in the attainment of the principle of universality for our Organization.

34. The PRESIDENT: I call on Mr. Patrício of Portugal to speak on behalf of the Western European and other States.

35. Mr. PARTRICIO (Portugal): On behalf of the Western European and other States, it gives me great pleasure to welcome to this Assembly today the newest Member of the United Nations, the United Emirates, whose application for membership, unanimously endorsed by the Security Council yesterday, is recommended to the General Assembly in document A/8561. In doing so, I wish to offer the constituent member States of that union—Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharja, Umm al Quaiwain, Ajman and Fujaira—our felicitations on their emergence into full sovereign status with the termination of the special treaties that have linked them in close collaboration with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland since 1820. The fact that all of them have decided to combine their will and their resources and to constitute this Union of Emirates should be a matter of good augury for the region of the Persian Gulf, so rich in traditions, to which they belong.

36. We wish the Government of the United Arab Emirates and also the Governments of each one of them all the success and prosperity they deserve in the years ahead. In particular we offer our greetings of welcome today to their delegation.

37. The fact that the peoples of these States are famed for their great and legendary industry and accomplishments in trade, in difficult circumstances, dating from the fifteenth century, is of special significance to us. Their once legendary splendour in pearl-fishing, which became a byword among the nations of the world down the centuries, entitles them to pride of place in the community of nations. The spurt towards accelerated progress and advancement provided for them by the spurt of oil production in more recent times should be an encouragement for the future of their nation. We all trust that they will be able to achieve to the full the promise of their early years and to make a fruitful and constructive contribution, with their ancient wisdom, to the activities of this Organization.

38. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Kuwait.

39. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): Mr. President I am very grateful to you indeed for allowing me this opportunity to convey my congratulations to the United Arab Emirates despite the limited time available. The special relations between the Emirates and Kuwait necessitate my brief intervention.

40. Kuwait rejoices today as we see the United Arab Emirates seated in our midst. The historic ties between the Kuwaitis and the people of the Gulf go back to the eighteenth century. Side by side, the Kuwaitis and the people of the Gulf crossed the Arabian Sea to the shores of

India and the eastern coast of Africa. The two peoples co-operated, in harmony, on the surface of the Indian Ocean and at the bottom of the Arabian Gulf. They dived for pearls, when pearls were the only source of income. Together, they revolted against the scarcity of their lands and discovered new areas, through pain and fortitude, in their unparalleled adventure and sacrifices in trading with India and Africa.

41. In February 1968 the Dubai agreement, which had the effect of establishing a federation of nine Emirates, was signed. Kuwait demonstrated unmatched patience in its endeavours to assist the Emirates to lay down the foundation of the federation. The Foreign Minister of Kuwait went to the Gulf Emirates many times to co-operate with the rulers of the Gulf in order to bring about a solid basis for a strong federation. Fortunately, the United Arab Emirates federation was recently born, and my Government was one of the first States that recognized it and pledged its support to it. The United Arab Emirates is a small State in population, but it has all the values the United Nations embodies. It is a peace-loving State, with an abundance of goodwill and dedication to the purposes and principles of the United Nations enshrined in its Charter.

42. If the Kuwaitis of yesterday shared with the people of the Gulf the fortitude of the past, we today share with them the progress of the present and the aspirations of the future. On behalf of the Government of Kuwait and its people, I extend my warmest felicitations to the President of the United Arab Emirates and the rulers of the six sheikhdoms and the people of the Gulf. I am sure that the presence of this small State will enhance the voice of justice, peace and progress.

43. Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America): It is my privilege to speak as representative of the host country in extending a very warm welcome to the United Arab Emirates upon its assumption of membership in the United Nations.

44. The United States, which has enjoyed cordial and friendly relations for many years with the Governments of the component members of the union, welcomes their presence in this hall and in our Organization as the one hundred thirty-second Member of the United Nations. We congratulate the rulers of the Emirates of Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharja, Umm al Quaiwain, Ajman and Fujaira, on the wise manner in which they and the Government of the United Kingdom terminated their former treaty relationship in a spirit of mutual co-operation.

45. May the spirit of co-operation which resulted in the promulgation of their joint Constitution be a good omen for their future in the United Nations. In extending our welcome to the representatives of the United Arab Emirates, we ask them to convey our hearty congratulations and best wishes to the Government and peoples whom they represent.

46. The PRESIDENT: I now take pleasure in inviting the Minister of State of the United Arab Emirates, Mr. Adnan Pachachi, to address the General Assembly.

47. Mr. PACHACHI (United Arab Emirates): I am deeply conscious of the great honour and privilege of expressing to

the assembled representatives of the nations of the world the gratitude of the people and Government of the United Arab Emirates on the admission of their young State to membership in the United Nations. I am sure the historic significance of this moment will not be lost on those who have been closely following the course of recent Arab history. The United Arab Emirates is the last part but one of the Arab nation to emerge from foreign tutelage to sovereign and independent statehood. All our people throughout the Arab world—with that single exception to which I shall refer presently—are now free to manage their own affairs and contribute their share in your collective endeavour to maintain world peace and promote economic and social progress. We assure you all of our full co-operation in your efforts to translate into living reality the lofty purposes and principles of the Charter, which we have solemnly undertaken to respect and observe.

48. I said at the beginning of my statement that the United Arab Emirates is the last area but one in the Arab world to regain its freedom from foreign rule. The exception to which I refer is, of course, Palestine and I take this opportunity to declare on behalf of the new Member State our support for the struggle of the people of Palestine to restore their rights in their ancestral homeland. As an integral part of the Arab nation, the United Arab Emirates fully identifies itself with the other Arab countries in upholding the right of the people of Palestine to self-determination. We also support all the efforts to secure the withdrawal of Israel's forces from the Arab lands occupied in the aftermath of Israel's aggression of June 1967.

49. In taking this stand we share with the overwhelming majority of the Members of this Organization the unshakable conviction, clearly manifested in the last few days, that under the Charter no territorial annexation through military conquest can be allowed and no interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign States can be accepted, whatever the cause or provocation. If we permit these two fundamental principles of the Charter to be repeatedly flouted with impunity, then the whole international order which the Charter has envisaged and which this Organization has striven over the years to establish will disintegrate into a state of lawlessness, in which the weak and small countries, like the one in whose name I now speak, will be the main sufferers.

50. As we enter this new life of independent statehood, we are not unaware of the great challenges awaiting us. A small country which for centuries has lived in the shadow of poverty and isolation has now assumed responsibility for its own destiny and is determined to play its part in the world and provide for its people, long deprived and neglected, those basic necessities of life which are the inalienable right of every human being. Endowed with rich resources and a small population, the country which I have the honour to speak for is generously sharing its bounty with the other Arab people and has opened its gates for thousands of our fellow Arabs and many other nationalities. Together, we are endeavouring to create a society free of the scourge of poverty and want, a society in which fundamental human rights are guaranteed and respected and all basic human needs are satisfied.

51. The progress so far achieved has been truly spectacular and has few parallels in modern times. This is especially the

case of Abu Dhabi, which in the short period of five years, under the leadership of Sheik Zayd, has been transformed from a backward tribal society into a vigorous and progressive modern country. While achieving its rapid progress, Abu Dhabi has not forgotten its neighbours and Arab sisters. We have initiated programmes to assist Arab and other developing countries of Asia and Africa which we hope will contribute to their efforts to accelerate their social and economic development. It is recognized, however, that economic and social progress, which remains our first concern, cannot be entirely meaningful without political freedom and the enjoyment of fundamental human rights. That is why the Constitution of the United Arab Emirates, which was promulgated on the day of independence, contains a bill of rights and provides for representative institutions. It is the first time in the lower part of the Gulf that such representative institutions have been established and we are certain that this novel and bold experiment will help to restore to this ancient birthplace of the Arab nation the position of prominence in the Arab world to which it is entitled.

52. Politically, the United Arab Emirates is a new experiment in federalism in the Arab world. Its success, we hope, will herald a new era which will witness the reversal of the disastrous trend towards fragmentation and division of the Arab nation.

53. I cannot end this brief statement without expressing the deep regret felt by the people and the Government of the United Arab Emirates at the action taken by Iran in forcibly occupying some Arab islands in the Gulf. We were looking forward to a relationship of friendship and co-operation with Iran, a neighbour with which the Arab nation has had long historic and deep spiritual and cultural ties. The action of the Iranian Government in using force to settle a territorial dispute arising out of a claim untenable both historically and juridically is not only contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, but is also incompatible with the traditional friendship that has bound together the Arab and Iranian peoples. I am sure the Iranian Government will realize before long that it is far more important to maintain good relations with its neighbours than to take possession of those Arab islands.

54. I think what I have said is an adequate reply to, or comment on, any discordant voice or doubt regarding the viability or the authentic national direction of the policy of the United Arab Emirates and its position in the Arab world.

55. May I, in conclusion, extend my thanks to all the representatives whom have spoken before me in welcoming the new State to membership in the United Nations, especially to those who were kind enough to refer to me personally. And may I assure them and you all that the United Arab Emirates will spare no effort to make its contribution to this Organization and work hand in hand with the rest of the membership of the United Nations.

56. Mr. AMERASINGHE (Ceylon): The delegation of Ceylon regrets very much that, owing to other commitments, it was unable to be present when the vote was taken on the draft resolution in document A/L.649, regarding the admission of the United Arab Emirates to membership in the United Nations. We wish to have it placed on record that we would have supported that draft resolution—as indeed is quite clear from our sponsorship of that text.

57. I should like to take this opportunity to offer our warm felicitations to the new Member and to express our very sincere good wishes to it. Striking a personal note, I wish to say how happy I am to see an old and distinguished friend—old in experience, but not in years—here leading the delegation of the United Arab Emirates.

58. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Iran in exercise of the right of reply.

59. Mr. RAHNEMA (Iran) (*interpretation from French*): I have asked to exercise my delegation's right of reply in regard to the comments that the representative of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen thought it necessary to make on the independence of the United Arab Emirates and its admission to the United Nations. I believe the unanimous vote of this Assembly has provided the most striking rebuttal to his comments. Accordingly, without wishing to take the time of the Assembly, I should merely like to take this opportunity to extend my congratulations to my friend Mr. Pachachi on his return to the United Nations as the representative of a new State. He well knows that I also have many reservations about some of his comments, but I think that when the time comes a reply will be made to him in the appropriate forums. He knows our position and I need not take up the Assembly's time to explain it further.

60. The PRESIDENT: The flag of the United Arab Emirates will be raised at a ceremony which will take place at 12 noon tomorrow opposite the delegates' entrance.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.