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President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR
 (Federal Republic of Germany).

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly (*continued*):*

- (a) Appointment of the members of the Credentials Committee;
- (b) Report of the Credentials Committee

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning the General Assembly will first consider the second report of the Credentials Committee [A/35/484/Add.1].

2. Since no one wishes to speak on the report, I invite members to turn their attention to the draft resolution recommended by the Committee in paragraph 9. The Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/4 B).

* Resumed from the 35th meeting.

AGENDA ITEM 10**Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization**

3. The PRESIDENT: It has been customary for the Assembly merely to take note of the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/35/1], which was referred to on several occasions in the course of this session. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly wishes to follow that practice.

It was so decided (decision 35/433).

AGENDA ITEM 11**Report of the Security Council**

4. The PRESIDENT: The report of the Security Council covers the period from 16 June 1979 to 15 June 1980 [A/35/2]. May I consider that the General Assembly takes note of the report of the Security Council?

It was so decided (decision 35/434).

AGENDA ITEM 13**Report of the International Court of Justice**

5. The PRESIDENT: The report of the International Court of Justice covers the period from 1 August 1979 to 31 July 1980 [A/35/4].

6. If 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 35/435).

AGENDA ITEM 16**Elections to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other elections (concluded):***

(f) Election of the Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme.

7. The PRESIDENT: In his note [A/35/753] the Secretary-General informs the Assembly that he wishes to nominate Mr. Mostafa Kamal Tolba to be Executive Director of UNEP for a further term of four years beginning on 1 January 1981.

8. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to elect Mr. Tolba as Executive Director of UNEP for a four-year term beginning on 1 January 1981, as recommended by the Secretary-General?

It was so decided (decision 35/319).

9. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the Assembly, I congratulate Mr. Tolba and wish him continued success in his important work.

AGENDA ITEM 17**Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other appointments (continued):***

(j) Confirmation of the appointment of the Executive Director of the United Nations Special Fund for Landlocked Developing Countries

10. The PRESIDENT: In his note relating to the confirmation of the appointment of the Executive Director of the United Nations Special Fund for Landlocked Developing Countries [A/35/745], the Secretary-General states that he is not submitting an appointment for confirmation by the General Assembly.

11. May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of document A/35/745?

It was so decided (decision 35/320).

AGENDA ITEM 51**Peaceful settlement of disputes between States: report of the Secretary-General**

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/35/737)

AGENDA ITEM 103**Consideration of the draft articles on most-favoured-nation clauses: report of the Secretary-General**

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/35/729)

AGENDA ITEM 104**Review of the multilateral treaty-making process: report of the Secretary-General**

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/35/730)

AGENDA ITEM 106**Report of the International Law Commission on the work of its thirty-second session**

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/35/731)

AGENDA ITEM 108**Report of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization**

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/35/732)

AGENDA ITEM 109**Report of the Committee on Relations with the Host Country**

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/35/733)

* Resumed from the 84th meeting.

* Resumed from 89th meeting.

AGENDA ITEM 110

Registration and publication of treaties and international agreements pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/35/734)

AGENDA ITEM 111

Consolidation and progressive development of the principles and norms of international economic law relating in particular to the legal aspects of the new international economic order: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/35/735)

AGENDA ITEM 112

Resolutions adopted by the United Nations Conference on the Representation of States in Their Relations with International Organizations:

- (a) **Resolution relating to the observer status of national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity and/or by the League of Arab States;**
- (b) **Resolution relating to the application of the Convention in future activities of international organizations**

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/35/736)

AGENDA ITEM 114

Consideration of effective measures to enhance the protection, security and safety of diplomatic and consular missions and representatives

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/35/670)

12. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the reports of the Sixth Committee on agenda items 51, 103, 104, 106, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112 and 114.

13. I invite the Rapporteur of the Sixth Committee, Mr. Wolfgang Hampe, of the German Democratic Republic, to introduce the 10 reports in a single intervention.

14. Mr. HAMPE (German Democratic Republic), Rapporteur of the Sixth Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the reports of the Sixth Committee on its consideration of agenda items 51, 103, 104, 106, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112 and 114. I have previously had the opportunity to introduce to the General Assembly the reports of the Sixth Committee on agenda items 29, 102, 105 and 107 [81st meeting]. Thus the Assembly has now received the reports pertaining to all 14 items which it allocated to the Sixth Committee for consideration at the beginning of this session. In introducing the reports which are being taken up today, I shall follow the numerical order which has been assigned to them.

15. I shall therefore first refer to agenda item 51 on peaceful settlement of disputes between States. The report of the Sixth Committee on its consideration of that item is contained in document A/35/737.

Following a discussion of the item, and after having received the report of the Working Group on the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes which it established under this item and item 108, the Sixth Committee adopted by consensus the draft resolution set out in paragraph 10 of its report. It is my hope that the General Assembly will similarly adopt this draft resolution by consensus.

16. With respect to agenda item 103 on consideration of the draft articles on most-favoured-nation clauses, I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to the report of the Sixth Committee on this item [A/35/729]. The Committee adopted by consensus the draft resolution which is to be found in paragraph 8 of the report on this item. May I here again express the hope that the draft resolution recommended by the Committee will be adopted by the General Assembly by consensus.

17. In paragraph 8 of its report on agenda item 104 on the review of the multilateral treaty-making process, [A/35/730], the Sixth Committee recommends that the General Assembly should adopt a draft resolution which was adopted by the Committee without a vote.

18. I now invite the Assembly's attention to item 106 of the agenda on the report of the International Law Commission on the work of its thirty-second session. Following discussion of the item, the Sixth Committee adopted by consensus the draft resolution contained in paragraph 8 of its report [A/35/731]. Allow me to express the hope that the General Assembly will similarly adopt this draft resolution by consensus.

19. Turning now to agenda item 108 on the report of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization, I should like to refer to the relevant report of the Sixth Committee [A/35/732] and to the Committee's recommendation contained in paragraph 15 of that report. The draft resolution which is recommended for adoption was adopted by the Committee, in a recorded vote, by 98 votes to none, with 17 abstentions.

20. With regard to agenda item 109, on the report of the Committee on Relations with the Host Country, the Sixth Committee recommends that the General Assembly should adopt the draft resolution contained in paragraph 8 of its report [A/35/733]. The Committee adopted the draft resolution by consensus, and it is my hope that the Assembly will similarly adopt it.

21. In paragraph 5 of its report on item 110, on registration and publication of treaties and international agreements pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations the Sixth Committee recommends that the General Assembly adopt a draft decision.

22. On agenda item 111, on consolidation and progressive development of the principles and norms of international economic law relating in particular to the legal aspects of the new international economic order, the Assembly's attention is drawn to the report of the Sixth Committee on that item [A/35/735]. In paragraph 10 of that report, the Committee recommends to the Assembly a draft resolution which it adopted by a recorded vote of 92 votes to 6, with 16 abstentions.

23. In the course of the session the Sixth Committee also considered item 112, on resolutions adopted by the United Nations Conference on the Representation of States in Their Relations with International Organizations. By a recorded vote of 70 votes to 10, with 29 abstentions, the Committee adopted the draft resolution entitled "Observer status of national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity and/or by the League of Arab States", which is to be found in paragraph 9 of the report of the Committee [A/35/736].

24. Finally, on agenda item 114, on consideration of effective measures to enhance the protection, security and safety of diplomatic and consular missions and representatives, the Assembly's attention is drawn to the relevant report of the Sixth Committee [A/35/670]. The Committee adopted by consensus the draft resolution, the text of which is to be found in paragraph 9 of its report. Here again, allow me to express the hope that the General Assembly will similarly adopt this draft resolution by consensus.

25. I wish to take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks and profound appreciation to the members of the Sixth Committee and to the members of the secretariat of the Committee for their co-operation with me as well as for the advice which they have given me. That advice and co-operation were of great help to me in the discharge of my tasks.

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

26. The PRESIDENT: The reports of the Sixth Committee not having been discussed, statements will be limited to explanations of vote. The positions of delegations regarding the various recommendations of the Sixth Committee have been made clear in the Committee and are reflected in the relevant official records.

27. May I remind members on this occasion that under decision 34/401 the General assembly agreed that when the same draft resolution is considered in a Main Committee and in the plenary meeting, a delegation should, as far as possible, explain its vote only once, that is, either in the committee or in the plenary meeting, unless that delegation's vote in the plenary meeting is different from its vote in the Committee. May I also remind members that, in accordance with that decision, explanations of vote should not exceed 10 minutes and should be made by representatives from their seats.

28. We shall now consider the report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 51 [A/35/737].

29. The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Committee in paragraph 10 of its report. The Committee, as members will recall, adopted that draft resolution by consensus. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/160).

30. The PRESIDENT: Next, we turn to the report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 103 [A/35/729].

31. The Assembly will now take a decision on the recommendation of the Committee in paragraph 8 of its report. The Committee adopted the draft resolu-

tion by consensus. May I assume that the Assembly also wishes to adopt it by consensus?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/161).

32. The PRESIDENT: The next report of the Sixth Committee is on agenda item 104 [A/35/730].

33. I now invite the Assembly to take a decision on the recommendation of the Committee in paragraph 8 of its report. The Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/162).

34. The PRESIDENT: Next, we shall consider the report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 106 [A/35/731].

35. The Assembly will now take a decision on the recommendation of the Sixth Committee in paragraph 8 of its report. The Sixth Committee adopted that draft resolution by consensus. May I consider that the Assembly wishes similarly to adopt it?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/163).

36. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 108 [A/35/732].

37. The Assembly will now take a decision on the recommendation of the Committee contained in paragraph 15 of its report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/35/766. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Kampuchea, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi,¹ Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, 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, 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, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

¹ The delegation of Malawi subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as an abstention.

Abstaining: Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, France, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Israel, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The draft resolution was adopted by 125 votes to none, with 13 abstentions (resolution 35/164).²

38. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who wishes to make a statement in explanation of the vote after the vote.

39. Mr. ORDZHONIKIDZE (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation could not support the draft resolution recommended in document A/35/732. The position of principle of the Soviet Union in respect of the activities of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization takes into account the fact that the mandate of that Committee, which was agreed on during long consultations held in the past, is a guarantee of the Committee's existence. The addition of new elements would disrupt the balance that had been achieved as a result of the compromises arrived at. This would have serious negative implications for the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

40. The Soviet delegation abstained in the vote on that draft resolution in view of the unacceptability of the formulation of operative paragraph 3 (a) where it is proposed that the Special Committee accord priority to its work on the proposals regarding the maintenance of international peace and security, including proposals relating to the functioning of the Security Council, as well as of operative paragraph 2 (b) concerning recommendations to the General Assembly.

41. The Soviet delegation must express its great disappointment in connexion with the fact that the sponsors of the resolution were not willing during this session to hold appropriate consultations among all the interested delegations and decided to work for its adoption at any cost, even though that could have a serious impact on that Committee's future work.

42. In those circumstances the Soviet delegation had to participate in the vote on it and abstained.

43. The PRESIDENT: We shall now turn to the report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 109 [A/35/733].

44. The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Committee in paragraph 8 of its report. The Sixth Committee adopted that draft resolution by consensus. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/165).

45. The PRESIDENT: Next, we shall consider the report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 110 [A/35/734].

46. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt the draft decision recommended in paragraph 5 of that report?

The draft decision was adopted (decision 34/436).

47. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 111 [A/35/735].

48. The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended in paragraph 10 of that report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution appears in document A/35/767. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, 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, Zimbabwe.

Against: Belgium, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Luxembourg, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey.

The draft resolution was adopted by 119 votes to 6, with 16 abstentions (resolution 35/166).³

49. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 112 [A/35/736].

50. I call on the representative of Jamaica who wishes to speak in explanation of vote before the vote.

51. Mr. FRANCIS (Jamaica): When the draft resolution contained in the report was submitted in the Sixth

² The delegations of Angola, Equatorial Guinea and Liberia subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution; and the delegation of Afghanistan subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as an abstention.

³ The delegations of Equatorial Guinea, Liberia and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

Committee my delegation abstained on exclusively technical grounds. Now, as far as operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution is concerned, I am in a position to say that, on the appropriate occasions, Jamaica is ready to accord the liberation movements concerned the privileges and immunities referred to in that paragraph. We are therefore ready to support the draft resolution and shall vote accordingly.

52. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee in paragraph 9 of its report. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, China, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Burma, Central African Republic, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Fiji, Finland, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Samoa, Spain, Sweden, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela.

The draft resolution was adopted by 97 votes to 10, with 29 abstentions (resolution 35/167).⁴

53. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Israel in explanation of vote after the vote.

54. Mr. ROSENNE (Israel): Since my delegation did not take part in the rushed debate in the Sixth Committee, we now wish to explain our negative vote briefly.

55. We regret that the sponsors rejected the earnest request made by the representatives of Belgium and Argentina to allow more time for a study of this matter. When the draft resolution was introduced, the representative of the United Arab Emirates made it quite

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

clear that what he was talking about was an organization going under the name of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and that any other national liberation movements which might come within the scope of the draft resolution would be incidental to his main purpose. I shall therefore adopt the same approach.

56. The sponsor made a great effort to establish the untenable proposition that the said organization has all the characteristics of an independent State and therefore has all the standing in law of an independent State. He gave a misleading account of a working paper—the number of which he omitted to mention—submitted a few years ago by the Secretary-General to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, in which reference is made to the capacity of certain semi-independent or non-independent territories to participate in international treaties. That is document A/Conf.62/L.13⁵ and I think he referred especially to footnote 10.

57. I do not intend now to deal in detail with all his points, many of which consisted of categorical assertions of matters as non-controversial when in fact they are highly controversial. An instance of that is seen in his observations regarding certain decisions of the Security Council and his interpretations of some of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council.

58. The interpretations he gave are not generally accepted. My delegation associates itself in general with the statements made in the Sixth Committee against the draft resolution,⁶ so that to save time I need not repeat all those remarks. I wish to give some additional reasons for our negative vote.

59. The suggestion that the 1975 Convention was drawn up before there had been general recognition of certain national liberation movements is incorrect. I refer to the exact terms of resolution 3247 (XXIX) regarding the participation as observers in the United Nations Conference on the Representation of States in their Relations with International Organizations of certain national liberation movements. According to paragraph 5 of the Final Act of the Conference,⁷ seven movements accepted that invitation and were represented at the Conference, including the one mentioned by that representative.

60. When the representative of Israel signed the Final Act of the 1975 Conference, he added the following: "The Government of the State of Israel declares that its signature of the Final Act in no way constitutes acceptance of draft resolution A/Conf.67/L.2 and Add.1, that is, the resolution to which the first paragraph of the resolution before us refers—"and that it does not regard itself as being in any way bound thereby." Our representative explained his position fully during the discussion which took place at the 13th plenary meeting of the Conference, which can

⁵ See *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. VI, (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.V.2).

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Sixth Committee, 74th and 75th meetings; and ibid., Sixth Committee, Sessional Fascicle, corrigendum.*

⁷ See *Official Records of the United Nations Conference on the Representation of States in their Relations with International Organizations*, vol. II (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.V.12).

be found on pages 59 and 60 of volume I of the official records of that Conference.

61. That resolution merely asked the General Assembly to examine the question of regulating the status and the facilities, privileges and immunities necessary for the performance of their tasks by certain national liberation movements, of which that recognized by the League of Arab States is the most dangerous to the maintenance of international peace and co-operation, to take the language of the fourth preambular paragraph of the draft resolution just adopted.

62. I wish to say that in the parlous state in which diplomatic status finds itself today—and I would recall that several of our own Missions have been intended victims of assassin attacks mounted by that so-called national liberation movement—the Sixth Committee and the General Assembly have better and more important things to do than to find new ways and means of pampering that terrorist organization which is now seeking a quasi-diplomatic status without the usual guarantees for that status, in order to facilitate the performance of its nefarious activities.

63. To the best of my recollection the General Assembly has not yet found it timely to make any examination of the matter on which it is now asked to take a decision. We take particular exception to the fourth preambular paragraph, where it is said that the draft resolution will, among other things, help to strengthen international peace and co-operation. Just how far removed that is from reality can be seen from the simple fact that before the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea could be persuaded to accord observer status to certain of those movements, and one of them in particular, the President of the Conference, whose demise the other day we mourn, "had been solemnly assured that the presence of the national liberation movements would not be used to divert the attention of the Conference from its fundamental work."⁸

64. I wonder if the proposal now before the Conference on the Law of the Sea, with which the sponsors of the draft resolution before us are associated, that national liberation movements should be entitled to become contracting parties to the new convention on the Law of the Sea, is consistent with that solemn undertaking given to the President of a major international conference who was known for his sympathies towards national liberation movements.

65. Far from helping to strengthen international peace and co-operation, the national liberation movement closest to the sponsor of the draft resolution has consistently shown itself to be an obstacle—a major obstacle—to international peace and security. We only have to look at the debates that have just taken place in the General Assembly itself to verify what I have said.

66. These and other reasons, including those mentioned in our statement in the Sixth Committee on 26 November 1979,⁹ explain our negative vote.

⁸ See *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. I, 40th plenary meeting, para. 60. (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.V.3).

⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Sixth Committee*, 52nd meeting, paras. 23 and 24; and *ibid.*, *Sixth Committee, Sessional Fascicle*, corrigendum.

67. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on the representative of Kuwait, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

68. First, I call on the representative of Israel on a point of order.

69. Mr. ROSENNE (Israel): I was under the impression that when the work of this session was organized it was decided that rights of reply would be exercised at the end of the day. Now I would not have mentioned this at this point had not the same question occurred at the last meeting of the Sixth Committee, which also had a number of items on its agenda. One representative wanted to reply in the course of the discussion on a particular agenda item, but the Chairman ruled, in accordance with the earlier decision of the General Assembly, that rights of reply would have to be exercised at the end of the day.

70. The PRESIDENT: In connexion with the intervention by the representative of Israel, the Assembly will be aware of the fact that rights of reply will be exercised after each item if several items are discussed in one meeting and it was, incidentally, so decided last week when the representative of Israel asked to be allowed to exercise the right of reply. I now call on the representative of Kuwait.

71. Mr. IMAM (Kuwait): As Chairman of the group of Arab States, I should like to say the following. The Israeli representative had the audacity to describe the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] as a terrorist organization while explaining his vote on the draft resolution in question.

72. Israel should be the last country in the world to call other people terrorists. Its record speaks for itself. Newspapers and world news media in the West and elsewhere abound with reports about Israel's acts of terrorism in the occupied Arab territories. It is universally recognized that in the West Bank and Gaza the occupier engages in brutality, abuse and torture as a regular practice.

73. The imprisonment of Arabs involves horrors far beyond the mere punishment of serving time. Torture is now a systematic measure adopted in prisons in the occupied territories: electric shocks, boiling water, inhuman beatings to all parts of the body, hanging by the legs and hands, the pulling out of finger-nails and toe-nails and exposing prisoners to the bites of bulldogs. Collective punishment is now common practice. A recent case occurred in Halhoul from 15 to 30 March 1979. For 16 days a total curfew was imposed on the entire town in response to a bus-stoning incident. If one shot is fired from an Arab house, a whole Arab street is demolished by the Israeli authorities. The harassment of Palestinian educational institutions is constant. Friction occurs because universities and high schools are places of intellectual freedom, not because the Israeli authorities allow it, but because such institutions are its natural abode.

74. Only a few days ago, 13 students, including girls, were killed or wounded in one university in the West Bank alone. I am sure members recall how Israel connived at maiming and killing mayors in the West Bank simply because they refused to co-operate in perpetuating the Israeli occupation. If something more

recent is needed, *The New York Times* of 8 December 1980 reports the following:

“The Israeli military government in the occupied West Bank has started a new crackdown on foreign journalists in an effort to prevent them from reporting firsthand on clashes between Arab demonstrators and Israeli soldiers. The Israelis have arrested and charged one American reporter and have confiscated the film and notes of others.”

75. It can thus be seen that Israeli terrorism now extends to foreign news reporters as well. There is no doubt that the PLO is universally accepted as the sole legitimate Palestinian voice. The PLO continues to gain influence all over the world. Israel relies mainly on its own military strength to accomplish what its political and diplomatic efforts have failed to do, namely, crush the organization that speaks for the Palestinians. Israel's efforts, however, are bound to fail both here and elsewhere. The Palestinian people will live, and the PLO will continue to speak for them.

76. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Israel in exercise of his right of reply.

77. Mr. ROSENNE (Israel): More powerful voices than mine have castigated that so-called organization as a terrorist organization. As for the rest of the rambling statement we have just heard, the question of the Middle East is among the matters on the agenda of the General Assembly, and I need not make any further statement on that.

78. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 114 [A/35/670].

79. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in explanation of vote before the vote.

80. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): For very obvious reasons, the Turkish delegation has lent its full support to the inclusion of this item in the agenda. The Assembly will no doubt understand that it is impossible for a representative of Turkey to remain silent when this question comes up for discussion, since Turkish missions, diplomats and consular officials, as well as members of their families, have on frequent occasions suffered inhuman and callous brutality.

81. From our viewpoint, this immensely important question should be dealt with on a strictly legal and humanitarian level, and its examination should not be motivated by political or ideological considerations.

82. The Turkish delegation welcomes the fact that all the practical measures recommended by the Sixth Committee in paragraph 9 of its report, which derive from just such an impartial and objective examination, enjoy the broadest possible consensus.

83. In recent years, alarming acts of increasing gravity have more and more frequently been perpetrated against the security of missions and diplomatic and consular representatives. The situation has deteriorated to a dangerous extent, and missions and diplomatic and consular representatives are seen to be running greater risks than ever before. As a result, no country, community or region can consider itself safe from this senseless wave of violence. This wave of terrorism not only infringes the most sacred indi-

vidual rights, it also seriously jeopardizes the smooth functioning of international relations as well as respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

84. Accordingly, all States would benefit from the search for, establishment and maintenance of measures and appropriate guarantees for the protection of diplomats and consular agents in order to ensure the smooth conduct of international relations.

85. Responsibility for the protection and security of diplomatic and consular missions lies primarily with the host country or with the State to which representatives are accredited. That State must take the necessary measures to discharge this obligation in accordance with international law. Of course, diplomatic and consular representatives must respect the laws and regulations of the State to which they are accredited or of the host country and refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of that country. Nevertheless, according to customary rules of international law, that have been recognized for centuries, that obligation of the State to which they are accredited, or of the host country, to respect the immunity and privileges of diplomatic agents and consular representatives, as well as the latter's right to enjoy them under existing law, is an obligation that is absolute and unconditional. In our opinion, the draft resolution simply reiterates this basic truth.

86. The operative part of the draft resolution submitted to us contains measures designed to prevent and combat the worsening and intensification of attacks against the safety of diplomats and consular representatives.

87. Acts of violence against diplomatic and consular missions and representatives are strongly condemned.

88. The operative part of the draft resolution stresses the obligation of States, by reason of international law, to take urgent measures to prevent such acts and to punish severely the authors and those who encourage, instigate, organize or incite them.

89. Operative paragraphs 7 and 8 are of paramount importance for those paragraphs make it incumbent upon States to report, in each specific case, on the implementation of protective measures already taken, on proceedings undertaken to bring the offenders to justice and on the final outcome of those proceedings. Those same operative paragraphs recognize that the responsibility of each State for such infractions committed on its territory goes beyond simple security precautions and that the State is obliged to bring the criminals to justice and to take effective action to prevent any repetition of such acts.

90. In operative paragraph 8, the Secretary-General is requested to circulate to all States the reports received by him, unless requested otherwise by the reporting State. The implementation of that operative paragraph will, in our opinion, make it possible to judge the effectiveness of measures taken by States to deal with offenses committed on their territory against the security and safety of missions and their personnel.

91. In adopting the draft resolution, the United Nations will be recognizing the imperative need to prevent and to curb acts of violence against diplomats

and consular representatives. Furthermore, by its decision, the General Assembly will be expressing its desire not to remain a passive witness to acts of violence against missions and diplomatic and consular representatives, and it will be solemnly expressing its firm determination to preserve a common heritage of human civilization by developing and enriching diplomatic and consular law through the formulation of new rules of procedure.

92. The Turkish delegation hopes that all States will resolutely combine their action in accordance with the letter and spirit of this text, in order to put an end to terrorist activities launched against diplomatic and consular missions and representatives. We consider that to be the indispensable condition for the rapid success of the struggle against that aspect of international crime.

93. If the States of the world, overcoming their conflicts, divergences of interests and feelings of sympathy or antipathy, can achieve unity on this point, then perhaps we may hope that the 15 innocent members of our diplomatic service who died for Turkey, victims of the bullets of savage terrorists acting in pursuance of the most senseless causes, may test in peace, assured that their martyrdom will at least have served to contribute to mobilizing and uniting the international community.

94. Mrs. AHMADI (Iran) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation expressed its reservations and explained its position on the draft resolution submitted under agenda item 114 in the Sixth Committee.¹⁰ We request that our position be adequately reflected in the record of the plenary meeting.

95. The PRESIDENT: I am sure that the verbatim record will reflect the statement of the representative of Iran.

96. The General Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee in paragraph 9 of its report.

97. Members will recall that the Sixth Committee adopted that draft resolution by consensus. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/168).

AGENDA ITEM 24

Question of Palestine: report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (*continued*)*

98. The PRESIDENT: I should like to remind representatives that at the 89th plenary meeting, on 10 December, five draft resolutions, A/35/L.38 to A/35/L.42, were introduced.

99. In connexion with draft resolution A/35/L.38, an amendment was also proposed at the 89th meeting by the Rapporteur of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People.

100. M. GAUCI (Malta): Intensive negotiations have been going on over the weekend on the text of draft resolution A/35/L.38. We have succeeded in making progress concerning operative paragraph 1, to the extent that the sponsors of the draft resolution have graciously agreed to incorporate in the initial text a revised version of that paragraph on the basis of the amendment suggested by my delegation in document A/35/L.45.

101. Thus, there will be no need for a separate vote on that amendment as the sponsors have graciously consented to revise their text which is contained in A/35/L.38/Rev.1.

102. The text of operative paragraph 1 will thus read as follows:

*“Expresses its grave concern that no just solution to the problem of Palestine has been achieved and that this problem therefore continues to aggravate the Middle East conflict, of which it is the core, and to endanger international peace and security, and that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 does not provide for the future and for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, the attainment of which is a *conditio sine qua non* for a just solution of the question of Palestine”.*

103. There have been additional consultations regarding operative paragraphs 12 and 13 of the initial draft resolution. Those consultations have not yet been concluded. Therefore, for the moment, the only change that is contemplated in the draft resolution is the one that I have just read out. I would propose that we might vote on the other draft resolutions and come back to this one at the end of this morning's meeting. Certain delegations are waiting for instructions and they need some more time before the negotiations that are going on can be concluded.

104. Therefore, for the moment, the amendment proposed by Malta should not be put to the vote, as the sponsors of the draft resolution have agreed to a revision of the initial text in accordance with the paragraph that I have just read out.

105. The PRESIDENT: I take it that the Assembly wishes to follow the recommendation of the representative of Malta not to vote on draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1 at this juncture but to return to it later this morning.

106. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote on any or all five draft resolutions. Since I have a long list of representatives who wish to explain their votes either before or after the vote, I wish once again to remind members that the Assembly decided last year, in decision 34/401, that explanations of vote would be limited to 10 minutes and that delegates should make them from their seats. I have an electronic device that counts the minutes and I shall have to interrupt any representative who speaks for longer than 10 minutes.

107. Mr. de PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I do not think that there are any arguments that have not already been expressed in the Assembly in connexion with the question of Palestine. The injustice and the historical tragedy suffered by the

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Thirty-fifth Session, Sixth Committee, 61st meeting, para. 47, and *ibid.*, Sixth Committee, Sessional Fascicle, corrigendum.

* Resumed from the 89th meeting.

Palestinian people—despite the repeated recommendations of the Assembly which reflect the feelings of the overwhelming majority of the international community that the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians should be recognized, including their right to a homeland—are driving that people to despair and a lack of confidence in international organizations.

108. There are many items on the agenda of the Assembly which refer to that tragedy and, as the Secretary-General has stated in his report on the work of the Organization, the main aspects of the Middle East problem are interdependent and inseparable [see A/35/1, sect. IV]. Therefore, it is necessary to make constant and determined efforts to arrive at a just solution through negotiations in which all the parties concerned would participate, including the PLO.

109. Draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1—regardless of the amendment just introduced by the delegation of Malta—and draft resolutions A/35/L.40 and Add.1, A/35/L.41 and Add.1 and A/35/L.42/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1 deal with various aspects of the reality of the Palestinian problem and in particular the reaffirmation of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of its own homeland. Draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1 contains a recommendation to the Security Council requesting that it take effective measures, and in this respect, we should like to express a reservation because from 1 January next year Spain will be a member of the Security Council and we do not want to prejudge our position in that body or what that body might decide. Apart from that reservation, we shall vote in favour of the four draft resolutions.

110. With respect to draft resolution A/35/L.39 and Add.1, we naturally understand it as referring only to the rights of the Palestinian people and not in any way as affecting agreements that other parties in the area may have reached. With this reservation, we shall also vote in favour of that draft resolution.

111. Mr. LEROTHOLI (Lesotho): My delegation regards the whole of draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1 as an important measure to advance the solution of the Middle East problem, particularly the central issue of retrieving the rights of the Palestinian people from permanent internment. However, we have reservations concerning certain proposals therein, which we consider fundamentally prejudicial to the Middle East problem as a whole.

112. First, the draft resolution does not reaffirm the most important resolutions of the Security Council through which that organ of the United Nations succeeded in stabilizing the situation and in facilitating the restoration of peace in the Middle East during two difficult periods of historical conflict in that region, namely resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

113. In fact operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution seeks to question the effectiveness of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), on the grounds that it does not provide an adequate basis for a just solution of the question of Palestine. As far as my delegation is concerned, the amendment proposed by the representative of Malta provides us with no better perspective and it is certainly even more confused.

114. My delegation is unable to accept the view advanced in the draft resolution. On the contrary, my delegation views Security Council resolution 242 (1967) as a fundamental premise on which circumstances conducive to peace in the region must be based in that it lays down basic principles affecting all the elements of the Middle East problem, including the Palestinian question. That resolution addresses the Palestinian problem in three specific instances. First, in the second preambular paragraph the Security Council emphasizes “the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war” and there is no doubt that the territory at issue includes Palestinian land. As there can be no nation without land, the resolution provides for the most important prerequisite for a just solution of the Palestinian problem by precluding a permanent Israeli alienation of Palestinian land as a result of the Arab-Israeli war then and forever, in order to secure a realistic basis for the nationhood of the Palestinian people.

115. Secondly, resolution 242 (1967) in its paragraph 2 (b) prescribes the necessity “for achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem”. The nationals of Arab States then at war with Israel did not become refugees in any sense; only the Palestinian people fled their territory to linger in interminable refugee status. A just settlement of their situation can be achieved only by their unhindered return to their original land as well as the unfettered exercise of their inalienable rights to self-determination and the status of full nationhood with completely independent sovereignty. The resolution therefore seeks to redress their intolerable situation and to safeguard their fundamental interests. It rests with the world community to assist the Palestinian people to devise a sound political programme for pursuing a course of action that will enable them to attain those noble objectives, for the satisfactory solution of which resolution 242 (1967) has laid down the most profound and fundamental principles.

116. Thirdly, paragraph 3 of that resolution places all consequential Middle East problems within the ambit of the United Nations. That includes the question of Palestine. If this issue is being treated outside the framework of the United Nations today, it is not because resolution 242 (1967) fails to provide an appropriate forum in which it could be dealt with properly; it is owing to the wilful intention of those concerned to ignore and overlook that framework laid down in the resolution. It is not owing to any deficiencies or inadequacies in resolution 242 (1967).

117. That provision of a United Nations framework is the legitimate basis of draft resolution A/35/L.39 and Add.1, now before the General Assembly, by which the Assembly would seek to reject any attempts to discuss the Palestinian problem without the due participation of the PLO, acting on behalf of its people. Resolution 242 (1967) is the foundation on which the world community may build a solid defence of the rights of the Palestinian people.

118. For these reasons, the assault being mounted against Security Council resolution 242 (1967) in operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1, even if well intentioned, is unwarranted, unwise and misguided. If that assault is eventually permitted to succeed, it will demolish the sole authentic

foundation for peace in that turbulent region of the world, with catastrophic consequences. My delegation does not support this dangerously retrogressive posture.

119. We urge the sponsors of the draft resolution to ponder very carefully what it is they have set out to commit the world to, lest all mankind, including future generations of Palestinians, turn to point an accusing finger at them for eternity.

120. Another element of draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1 which my delegation is unable to accept is operative paragraph 8, which seeks the unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the Arab lands occupied after the various wars. Lesotho firmly adheres to the principle of the withdrawal by Israel from all Arab lands occupied as a result of the Middle East wars, but that matter must also be the subject of a formal settlement in the terms of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), with all parties taking part on an equal footing to resolve those issues that constitute forces underlying the generation of tension in the area. There is no easy way.

121. My delegation appeals to all parties to seek to adhere to the provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) in pursuit of a just settlement of the whole problem. The surest gateway thereto is the elusive regional peace treaty to be drawn up by, and with the solemn commitment of, all the combatants themselves, on an equal footing. Anything else would be either a superficial palliative or an indulgence in self-delusion, which we must all seek to avoid.

122. My delegation is otherwise able to go along with the proposals in draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1 and will therefore vote for it. Similarly we shall support the other draft resolutions on the subject as we fully subscribe to their objectives.

123. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of Egypt would like to register its position on draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1 in very clear terms before the vote is taken. That position can be summarized as follows.

124. First, Egypt strongly and constantly supports all efforts aimed at the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. In line with that clear and consistent policy, Egypt has always striven and will continue to strive sincerely, faithfully and from conviction and without counting the cost to enable the Palestinian people to regain its legitimate rights, including the inalienable right to self-determination, without outside interference. We have confirmed our unchanging position of principle on all occasions and Egypt considers that divergences of opinion or disagreement as to the choice of ways and means should not affect the possibility of uniting all sincere efforts and making every sacrifice with a view to the attainment of that noble and desired goal.

125. As regards draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1, I wish to say that we shall abstain when it is put to the vote because it contains negative references which, in Egypt's view, are counter to the efforts needed to attain our common objective. We are thinking in particular of the reference to General Assembly resolution 34/65 B.

126. Secondly, reference is made to two paragraphs of the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian people, which contain insinuations which we cannot accept. The delegation of Egypt registered its strong opposition to those two paragraphs during the discussion of the report in the Committee. We also registered our strong opposition of principle to the attempts of those who try to raise highly controversial matters in the work of the Committee in a manner that cannot serve the cause of the Palestinian people in any way.

127. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): With regard to this item the delegation of Ecuador wishes to reaffirm its respect for the principles which have guided its foreign policy and its previous statements, in particular, rejection of any acquisition of territory by force, defence of the right to self-determination of peoples and support for the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian People to independence and national sovereignty, as well as for the right of Israel to an existence recognized by all States.

128. Our delegation, together with other Latin American delegations, has supported language to that effect which over the years has found its way into General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. Thanks to this Latin American initiative which at one stage was on the point of achieving a lasting settlement of the problem, resolution 242 (1967) was supported as a viable alternative for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which urged the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from the territories occupied in the conflict and the termination of all situations of belligerency, as well as respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and its right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force.

129. Resolution 242 (1967) is of such importance to the case of the rights of the Palestinian people that it must be brought up to date; that is why, in addition to that resolution, our delegation has supported the various resolutions listed in the first preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1.

130. Therefore, although we agree with the general wording of the draft resolution, which we shall vote in favour of, we do not agree with operative paragraph 1, even reformulated, and, should that paragraph be put to a separate vote, we shall abstain.

131. With regard to the subject-matter of draft resolution A/35/L.39 and Add.1, we believe it to fall within the internal jurisdiction of States, which freely and in full sovereignty enter into international commitments; these should be applauded and respected when they are moved by considerations of peace, when they are supported by the public opinion of their sovereign peoples and when their objective and immediate result is the withdrawal of foreign occupation forces and the return of territories to their legitimate owners. Only the return of territories, as has begun to happen in the case of Egypt, as a first step, can contribute to the re-establishment of international law and guarantee peaceful coexistence and lasting harmony among the countries of the region. For these reasons, which

are of direct significance for our country, we shall abstain in the vote on this draft resolution.

132. With regard to draft resolutions A/35/L.40 and Add.1 and A/35/L.41 and Add.1, which we support, we hope that the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People will continue its work in an objective manner towards achieving implementation of the recommendations of the General Assembly and contribute through its reports to the work of the Assembly and the Security Council; we also hope that the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights set up to support the actions required for a settlement of the problems of the Palestinian people will carry out its task.

133. With regard to draft resolution A/35/L.42/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1, the delegation of Ecuador will support it because of the historic and sacred significance of Jerusalem for Christian countries and also for the peoples of the other two great monotheistic religions of the world—Judaism and Islam. As my country has always done since the adoption of the historic General Assembly resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948—which, of course, should be mentioned in this draft resolution—we shall continue to support the need to protect the Holy Places and to ensure free access to them under United Nations supervision. The so-called “basic law” unilaterally enacted by Israel affects this status of universal significance that the Holy City of Jerusalem has for Christian peoples. Obviously, that measure has not contributed to the search for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. That is why Ecuador, in keeping with its policy not to recognize the acquisition of territory by force, decided in full sovereignty and without outside pressure to transfer its diplomatic mission from Jerusalem to Tel Aviv in July this year, as soon as it learned of the enactment of the basic law relating to Jerusalem and weeks before the Security Council adopted resolution 478 (1980).

134. The delegation of Ecuador hopes for the return of Palestinian citizens to their homes, the restitution of their properties, the withdrawal of the forces of occupation—because any occupation by force is a negation of international law and civilized behaviour—the nullifying and adjusting of grants and distribution of territory made without consulting the people of Palestine and the search for a definitive settlement with the full participation of the Palestinian people and recognition of their inalienable rights. Of course, all the States of the area, including the PLC must participate on an equal footing in any negotiation or agreement, in keeping with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

135. Mr. KAMANDA wa KAMANDA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): The Republic of Zaire has always supported the search for a just solution of the problem of Palestine, based on the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to return to their homeland and the right to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty in Palestine, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law.

136. The Republic of Zaire, which considers inadmissible the acquisition of territory by force and which defends the international status of the Holy City of Jerusalem, believes that the Palestinian people has the same rights as the people of Israel, that is, to have a homeland and to live in peace within secure and internationally recognized boundaries.

137. Draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1 contains very positive elements and also negative aspects, contradictions and ambiguities. We believe that recalling and reaffirming General Assembly resolution 181 (II) is a particularly positive element, because the Republic of Zaire considers that the problem of Palestine should also be viewed in terms of pursuing the implementation of that resolution, the creation of Israel constituting the beginning of that implementation.

138. Furthermore, we believe that the failure to recall the principles contained in Security Council resolution 242 (1967) is a negative aspect, because we continue to believe that that resolution adopted on 22 November 1967 remains an important basis for a just and comprehensive solution of the question of Palestine and, provides an approach that is complementary to the one contained in resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947.

139. Security Council resolution 242 (1967) contains certain essential principles for a comprehensive settlement of the problem before us. If General Assembly resolution 181 (II), appropriately referred to today, had been respected by everyone we should undoubtedly not have had to have resolution 242 (1967). The fact that the latter resolution exists attests to the existence of problems concerning respect for resolution 181 (II) and its acceptance by all.

140. Hence the wording of operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1 poses certain difficulties for us, in that it departs from that concept and can only compound the extreme complexity of the problem and further complicate the search for a just and lasting solution to the problem of Palestine.

141. Furthermore, while advocating Israel's full and unconditional withdrawal from all Palestinian and other occupied Arab territories, and while supporting the fundamental principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, the delegation of Zaire considers that operative paragraph 8 of the draft resolution would gain in clarity by being brought more closely into line with the wording of General Assembly resolution 181 (II).

142. We should thus willingly have voted for this draft resolution had operative paragraph 1 been worded differently. Even the amendment proposed by the delegation of Malta does not entirely satisfy us.

143. For all those reasons, the delegation of Zaire will abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1 and on draft resolution A/35/L.39 and Add.1, but will vote in favour of the other draft resolutions.

144. Mr. ZAKI (Maldives): Today we are about to take certain decisions on a subject with which we have grappled for over three decades, that of agenda item 24. The question of Palestine, in the view of my delegation, is not only a source of conflict in the Middle East but also imperils world peace through the continued escalation of tension.

145. My delegation did not speak during the debate on this all-important and vital issue not because our concern and extreme anxiety for the plight of the millions of our brethren of Palestine is any way less than that of those who spoke out for their cause or because of any lack of pain or frustration on our part for those who have suffered such misery, degradation and injustice for over 30 years, but because we sincerely believe that over the past three decades every despicable detail of how, why and by whom such unimaginable atrocities have continued to be forced upon the Palestinian people has been repeatedly placed before the Assembly.

146. In this connexion, my delegation would like to place on record its high commendation of the invaluable work performed by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People for the benefit not only of this world Organization but of all those who may choose to read, hear and learn the truth about how ruthless and selfish human beings can be, even though they profess to be civilized and chivalrous when it comes to the cause of human rights.

147. In the view of my delegation, any decisions we wish to adopt and act upon with regard to the question of Palestine have to be based upon certain fundamental irrevocable facts: first, that the PLO is the one and only authentic representative of the Palestinian people; secondly, that it naturally follows, therefore, that any conference or discussion on the future of either Palestine or the Palestinians themselves cannot in any way be valid without the participation of the PLO; thirdly, that the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people must be respected and restored to them with the least delay, and that these rights should include their right to return to live in their own land and to determine their own future, as provided for every nation, big or small, by the Charter of the United Nations, and in full accord with the principles of international law.

148. Furthermore, my delegation remains convinced that no peaceful solution to the question of Palestine—or, in fact, to the whole problem of the Middle East—can be conceived of without the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Israeli forces from all Palestinian and other Arab lands which they have illegally occupied since 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem.

149. We believe that the much-publicized Camp David accords have clearly proved to be a source of discord and escalation of tension, instead of leading to even a semblance of peace. In our view, partial agreements and treaties can only be, or contribute to, violations of the rights of the Palestinian people, the Charter of the United Nations and the numerous resolutions adopted by the United Nations. Thus there can be no validity to such agreements and treaties in so far as they purport to determine the future of the Palestinian people and their land.

150. My delegation feels that draft resolutions A/35/L.38/Rev.1 to A/35/L.42/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1 cover precisely the points I have mentioned and other essential details; therefore they will receive our full support.

151. Mr. VILLARREAL (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Although my delegation has reserva-

tions as to the drafting of operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1, we will vote in favour of that text in the hope that it may be one more step towards a just settlement of the problem of Palestine.

152. Mr. BLUM (Israel): The Assembly has before it five draft resolutions on the present item. Taken together, they are all designed by their sponsors to impede the peaceful solution of the Arab-Israel conflict and particularly the question of the Palestinian Arabs, one of the many interrelated aspects of the conflict. As such, these draft resolutions are detrimental to the cause of peace. Consequently, they are also detrimental to the cause of the United Nations. They should therefore be rejected.

153. The first four of these texts are based on and take further the one-sided and obstructive resolutions which have been adopted by the Assembly on this item in previous years. Let us look at them briefly one by one.

154. Draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1 does not merely re-endorse the recommendations of the so-called Palestine Committee, recommendations which conform with the declared aim of the terrorist PLO to destroy the State of Israel. In operative paragraph 1, a resolution of the Security Council is assailed. I am referring to Security Council resolution 242 (1967). That landmark resolution has been and remains the only basis for a negotiated settlement of the Arab-Israel conflict. Any repudiation of it or even the slightest tampering with it can only serve the attempts to undermine the current peace process which is based on it, and this is precisely what its sponsors have in mind.

155. Moreover—and as is characteristic of the repeated attempts made in the Assembly to dictate a partisan and impractical approach to the Arab-Israel conflict—draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1 assumes in advance of negotiations on the subject a “right” of the Palestinian Arabs to establish an “independent sovereign State”, that is, a second Palestinian Arab State in addition to the Palestinian Arab State of Jordan. In this way, the sponsors of the draft resolution also seek to hamper the current peace process.

156. Furthermore, draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1 blithely—and, I might add, blindly—goes ahead and requests the Security Council to impose sanctions on Israel. The very suggestion of sanctions in any shape or form is a product of a warped mentality and a twisted approach to the Arab-Israel conflict, which has been responsible for so much misery and suffering over the last three decades and more. Beyond that, there can be no valid grounds for a call to impose sanctions in relation to non-binding resolutions adopted in any United Nations organ. No amount of cosmetic change attempted at this stage can disguise or cover up this fundamental fact.

157. Draft resolution A/35/L.39 and Add.1 rejects out of hand the Camp David framework accords for peace in the Middle East. By clear innuendo, it also rejects the Israel-Egypt peace treaty signed in March 1979. Thus, this draft resolution is another attempt to hamper the progress of the only constructive, practical and ongoing peace process that has emerged with regard to the Arab-Israel conflict for over three

decades. In the process, it conspires to turn the United Nations against its very *raison d'être*, the prevention of war and the promotion of peace. In brief, this draft resolution, like the one preceding it, violates the Charter of the United Nations and all it stands for.

158. The fact is that the sponsors of these draft resolutions cannot bring themselves to accept the fact that two Members of the United Nations which were at war with each other have signed a negotiated peace treaty and have also undertaken to work towards a comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israel conflict. By any yardstick, this is surely not only a legitimate but also a desirable position for two States to take. No third party or parties, and certainly not this Assembly, have the legal or moral authority to question, let alone deny, the validity of the accords attained, or of any bilateral treaties deriving from them. Indeed, if the Organization were less topsy-turvy than it is, it would have welcomed the accords and the peace treaty.

159. Draft resolutions A/35/L.40 and Add.1 and A/35/L.41 and Add.1 are more of the same. The first of them extends once again the life of a committee whose establishment was illegitimate in the first place, and the perniciousness of whose mandate became clear four years ago when the Committee's illicit recommendations were first submitted. Since that time, the Committee has proved itself to be an utterly biased and irresponsible body, at the complete disposal of those implacably opposed to peace in the Middle East. Yet the Assembly is being asked once again to squander more of the United Nations limited resources on it, at a time when the Organization is in such dire financial straits that it cannot find even smaller sums of money to fund constructive projects.

160. On the basis of past performance, members of the Committee will engage in numerous travel junkets, mainly at the expense of taxpayers in those countries which contribute the bulk of the United Nations budget and which have consistently voted against the activities of the Committee as being a waste of money. It would seem that it is the inalienable right of members of the Committee to be rewarded with inalienable travel facilities on the most dubious of pretexts.

161. Draft resolution A/35/L.41 and Add.1, while being no less reckless with United Nations resources, is even more reprehensible. It seeks to fund and perhaps even to enlarge the so-called Special Unit in the United Nations Secretariat whose primary activity is to produce and to disseminate propaganda material emblazoned with the emblem of the United Nations on behalf of an organization which is the linchpin of the Terrorist International. This Unit is subordinated to the so-called Palestine Committee, under whose "close guidance" it operates. Hence, the Unit compromises the integrity of the United Nations Secretariat and does immeasurable damage to the image and the prestige of the Organization.

162. Members of the Assembly will recall that the Palestine Committee and the Special Unit were allocated over \$2 million last year within the United Nations budget for the biennium 1980-1981. One could well ask if this large sum of money, which the United Nations can ill afford, would not have been better

spent in aid to starving children in Kampuchea and the African countries of the Sahel region or the victims of earthquakes in Algeria and Italy.

163. The last of these draft resolutions, A/35/L.42/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1, ostensibly dealing with Jerusalem, is a new venture. Israel's firm position on Jerusalem, the undivided and eternal capital of Israel and the Jewish people, is well known and needs no repetition here. However, the purpose of this draft resolution is to attempt to intervene in the conduct of bilateral relations between sovereign States and Israel. Such attempts are unquestionably beyond the powers of the Assembly.

164. It goes without saying that these draft resolutions deliberately ignore the inalienable rights of the State of Israel and its people. In so doing, they violate the Charter of the United Nations and are thus devoid of any validity. Almost everything we heard in this debate—and certainly everything contained in the draft resolutions before the Assembly—only confirms the widely held view that this is not the way to advance the cause of peace in the Middle East. We would request all fair-minded States to see these draft resolutions for what they are and to dissociate themselves from them.

165. I reserve my right to speak again on draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1 at the appropriate time.

166. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): It looks as though the representative of Israel's Alice in Wonderland dream about changing the geography, history and demography of the Middle East countries, and particularly of Palestine and Jordan, is becoming notorious.

167. I have already exposed, legally and historically, the Israeli representative's flawed arguments; it is like ploughing in the sea. How many times do we have to reiterate that Mandated Palestine is Mandated Palestine and that Jordan is Jordan, with each belonging to its own indigenous people for thousands of years? My delegation...

168. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Israel has asked to be allowed to speak on a point of order and I have to call on him.

169. Mr. BLUM (Israel): Mr. President, I understand that we are at the stage of explanations of vote before the vote. The representative of the Palestinian Arab State of Jordan is engaging in something else. I saw fit to draw your attention to this fact.

170. The PRESIDENT: Representatives may have seen that I have been very lenient in conducting the affairs of the Assembly as far as explanations of vote and other statements are concerned, and I continue to be so. The representative of Jordan may continue.

171. Mr. NUSEIBEH (Jordan): On a point of order before I resume: I totally object to the illegality and usurpation of the representative of Israel in calling the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan the Palestinian Arab State of Jordan. He knows full well that Jordan was admitted to the United Nations in 1955 as the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and it will remain so whether he likes it or not. It is a point of order which he must bear in mind.

172. I shall now continue my explanation of vote before the vote.

173. My delegation supports the five draft resolutions, which seem to constitute a formidable array and proliferation of draft resolutions on the question of Palestine and the Middle East. But I can assure the Assembly that they give little comfort to the Palestinian people who have been uprooted and have been living in the wilderness away from their homes and ancestral homeland for the past 33 years. This is the basic reality of the situation, regardless of how we phrase those draft resolutions.

174. May I respectfully explain to representatives that the only legally binding resolutions on the question of Palestine, as far as the General Assembly is concerned, are resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III) on the repatriation of the Palestinian refugees to their homeland, as a right.

175. Resolution 181 (II) provided for the creation of a Palestinian Arab State, the boundaries of which are clearly delineated in the maps attached to that resolution, alongside a Jewish State. The Security Council was entrusted with the implementation of that resolution, but unfortunately it failed to carry out that task. The Israelis, the Haganah and other armed groups, already pre-empted that resolution by occupying, even during the British Mandate, most of Palestine, far beyond the areas allotted to it by the General Assembly.

176. Many persons still talk about resolution 242 (1967), which Jordan has always supported, as though it were still a viable, living and applicable resolution. I do not believe in self-deceit in matters of such importance. The truth of the matter is that the Israelis have, over the past 13 years, obliterated resolution 242 (1967) on the ground and continue to defy it openly and inexorably. What is the use of withdrawing from the door when the house itself has been massively colonized already by Israeli citizens, in blatant violation of the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, and of international law? The catastrophe which has befallen the Palestinian people is unprecedented in our age or, indeed, in any other age. It is myopic to believe that there can ever be peace or security as long as the law of the jungle prevails, as it seems to have prevailed over the past three decades.

177. The representative of Israel says that the resolutions impede peace. What kind of peace does Israel want? Is it the peace of the grave? He speaks of the welfare of the Palestinian Arabs. Where are the Palestinian Arabs? Two million are in the Diaspora and 1,750,000 are under occupation and ruthless oppression. He says that the draft resolutions are intended to undermine the United Nations. What has undermined the effectiveness of the United Nations other than Israel's incessant and systematic defiance of every single United Nations resolution on the subject since 1947? This has encouraged other countries to ignore and denigrate the role of the United Nations in international relations.

178. I have already said that Jordan is Jordan and belongs to its people. Israel knows that. It is not Palestine. Palestine is a country which everybody knows, even children know what Palestine is.

179. As for the sanctions for which we are asking, they are provided for in the Charter. Why should Israel regard itself as being above the law? If any recalcitrant Member refuses to abide by decisions of the United Nations then, after giving it all the time Israel has had to comply with those resolutions, the only alternative is to enforce sanctions on that Member, no matter which one it is.

180. As for the Camp David accords, I need hardly say that they are not a peace process. They provide for permanent Israeli occupation of the remnants of the Palestinian homeland; they provide openly for permanent Israeli colonization of the remnants of Palestinian territory; they provide for continued Israeli cannibalization of the Palestinian people; and they condemn the Palestinians to permanent exile and do not provide for the return of a single Palestinian, refugee or dispersed. Is that peace? If I am deprived of the chance of going back to my town and home, is that peace?

181. Speaking about the United Nations and the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights and spending \$2 million, that is a drop in the bucket when we remember that Israel, the usurper of Palestine and the Palestinian homeland, during the past three and a half years has received from one major country alone over \$11 billion—more than has been given to the entire world. The representative of Israel begrudges \$2 million to explain the catastrophe of the Palestinian people, which was started right here in the General Assembly when Palestine was dismembered and we were uprooted and scattered.

182. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Malta for a clarification of the situation as far as A/35/L.38/Rev.1 is concerned.

183. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): I understand that draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1 will contain only the revision I read out this morning. I believe therefore that there would be no purpose served in awaiting a further decision on the draft resolution.

184. In view of certain statements made this morning, on behalf of the Committee on Palestine I should like to recall that when I introduced the recommendations of the Committee, both before the General Assembly and before the Security Council, I indicated at that time that the Committee would welcome any additional suggestions on or amendments to the recommendations. None were forthcoming, and consequently the recommendations remained unchanged, and they have since been repeatedly endorsed by the Assembly as a basis for the solution of the question of Palestine, although so far they have not been acted on by the Security Council.

185. The Committee has, I believe, made it abundantly clear that it relies on the Security Council...

186. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Israel wishes to raise a point of order. I call on him.

187. Mr. BLUM (Israel): I would respectfully ask that the President inquire of the representative of Malta whether this is an explanation of vote or the clarification he has sought to make.

188. The PRESIDENT: I trust that the representative of Malta is coming to the end of his statement,

because the Assembly wishes to proceed with the voting.

189. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): The clarification has already been made. I am referring now to some of the remarks made on the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Right of the Palestinian People.

190. The PRESIDENT: If the representative of Malta wishes to make an explanation of vote, he is kindly invited to do so before the vote, but I would prefer if he would distinguish between explanation of A/35/L.38/Rev.1 and an explanation of vote.

191. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): In the circumstances, I have nothing more to add.

192. The PRESIDENT: Now the Assembly may wish to decide whether it should begin by voting on A/35/L.38/Rev.1 under the present new circumstances, instead of on A/35/L.39 and Add.1 as earlier decided.

193. May I ask the Assembly whether there is any objection to beginning with A/35/L.38/Rev.1 and then voting on the other draft resolutions?

194. That does not seem to be the case. I now call on those representatives to wish to speak in explanation of vote before the vote on A/35/L.38/Rev.1. I should add that those representatives did not explain their vote on this draft resolution when they explained their vote on the other draft resolutions.

195. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): A few moments ago, I explained our position regarding draft resolution A/35/L.39 and Add.1. In particular, I referred to our position of principle regarding the Palestinian question, and as the General Assembly has decided to start the voting on draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1 right away, I see no need to repeat once again our position of principle regarding the Palestinian question while explaining our vote on that draft resolution.

196. My delegation notes with great regret that draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1 contains certain negative references which Egypt believes do a disservice to our efforts to achieve our common objective. I refer first to the mention of General Assembly resolution 34/65 B, which was adopted during the last session by a very small majority, who regrettably, and yet in good faith, were dragged into unnecessary manoeuvres; secondly, the reference to Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which represents the general framework for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. No attempt should be made to tamper with that resolution.

197. The amendment proposed by Malta [A/35/L.45] to the initial text of draft resolution A/35/L.38 is an attempt to improve its language. My delegation would have preferred to confine the language to recalling and reaffirming Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), together with a reaffirmation of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. We believe that resolution 242 (1967), which was unanimously adopted by the Security Council, reflects the fundamental principles of international law, namely, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, the peaceful settlement of international disputes, and a set of corresponding obligations which, when faithfully implemented, would

ensure the security and peace of all the parties concerned on a reciprocal basis.

198. In the light of the aforementioned considerations, the delegation of Egypt has no alternative but to abstain on draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1.

199. I should like to reiterate and put on record very clearly that the basic reasons for our abstention in the vote on that draft resolution are the negative reference in it to Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and the reference to General Assembly resolution 34/65 B. This abstention does not in any way affect Egypt's total and consistent commitment to and support for the achievement of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

200. Mr. BAFI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It has been customary to see the Israeli representative repeating the same formulations in all forums and on all occasions when dealing with the question of the rights of the Palestinian people or the situation in the Middle East. This has become a sort of ritual.

201. In his explanation of vote, the Israeli representative referred to the following points: first to the Camp David accords; those accords, the failure of which has been proved and which encourage negotiations behind the backs of the Palestinian people are actually aimed at undermining the very rights of the Palestinian people. Consequently those accords have become the laughingstock of the community, which understood their true nature regarding the autonomy question, for example. I do not understand the sort of autonomy that is referred to, because Begin said that even if an agreement were reached the Israeli forces would continue to remain on the West Bank and remain there forever. Such are the Camp David accords, and those who participated in their formulation should feel ashamed to mention them because their end result would be detrimental to the Palestinian people and would be counter to hundreds of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly calling for respect for that people's inalienable rights, their right to independence, self-determination, national sovereignty and to their homeland, Palestine, as well as to their right of return to their homes.

202. With regard to the reference to Security Council resolution 242 (1967), it is well known that the Republic of Iraq does not recognize that resolution. The reason is that it has become obvious that the formula contained therein would bring no tangible results for the Palestinian people. The world as a whole knows the way in which the question of Palestine was dealt with in that resolution, which addresses the Palestinian question as a question of refugees only, completely overlooking the fact that the Palestinian people have a national cause and that their land has been illegally occupied by the Zionist usurpers who are well known for their chauvinism and who have come from different parts of the world to colonize that land. Their expansionist objectives are well known to the world, for their expansionist acts have revealed the true nature of the Zionist entity. The result has been the condemnation of that entity in hundreds of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly as well as by the Security Council.

203. The delegation of Iraq will vote in favour of draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1. However, we should

like to make it clear that our acceptance of the mention of General Assembly resolution 181 (II) does not in any way deprive the Palestinian people of its eternal and inalienable right to self-determination and to its own land, Palestine.

204. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation will support all the draft resolutions before the General Assembly on the question of Palestine in that they stipulate that it is indispensable to ensure the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights; that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be established without an equitable settlement of the Palestine problem; that all private agreements or separate arrangements concluded to the detriment of the interests of the Palestinian people are rejected; and in that they condemn the measures adopted by Israel to modify the character and status of Jerusalem. The fundamental decisions of the Security Council in connexion with the settlement of the situation in the Middle East maintain their full force. At the same time, we consider that a settlement of the question of Palestine must be based on the well-known resolutions of the United Nations that provide for the observance of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine and in particular of their right to create an independent State of their own.

205. The PRESIDENT: A separate vote has been requested on operative paragraph 13 of draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, China, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico¹¹, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, 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, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Bahamas, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Central African Republic, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Fiji, Gabon, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, Mauritius, Nepal, Paraguay, Portugal, Samoa, Singapore, Spain, Suriname, Swaziland, Uruguay, Zaire.

Operative paragraph 13 of the draft resolution was adopted by 94 votes to 19, with 34 abstentions.

206. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/35/L.38/Rev.1 as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, China, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, 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 Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Austria, Bahamas, Bolivia, Burma, Central African Republic, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Egypt, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Japan, Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, Mauritius, Nepal, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Portugal, Samoa, Swaziland, Sweden, United Republic of Cameroon, Zaire.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 98 votes to 16, with 32 abstentions (resolution 35/169 A).

207. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution A/35/L.39 and Add.1. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, China, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dji-

¹¹ The delegation of Mexico subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as an abstention.

bouti, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Philippines,¹² Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Argentina, Bahamas, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Central African Republic, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Fiji, France, Gabon, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Japan, Liberia, Malawi, Mauritius, Mexico, Nepal, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Singapore, Suriname, Swaziland, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, United Republic of Cameroon, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zaire.

The draft resolution was adopted by 86 votes to 22, with 40 abstentions (resolution 35/169 B).

208. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will next vote on draft resolution A/35/L.40 and Add.1. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, 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, Zimbabwe.

Against: Australia, Israel, United States of America.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The draft resolution was adopted by 120 votes to 3, with 23 abstentions (resolution 35/169 C).

209. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/35/L.41 and Add.1. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, China, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, 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, Zimbabwe.

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

Abstaining: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The draft resolution was adopted by 120 votes to 4, with 23 abstentions (resolution 35/169 D).

210. The PRESIDENT: Finally, I put to the vote draft resolution A/35/L.42/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1. A recorded vote has been requested.

¹² The delegation of the Philippines subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as an abstention.

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 Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, 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, Grenada, Guinea, 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, Nicaragua, Niger,

Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, 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, Zimbabwe.

Against: Israel.

Abstaining: Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Malawi, United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 143 votes to 1, with 4 abstentions (resolution 35/169 E).

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.