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President: Mr. Ismat T. KITTANI (Iraq).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 32

Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa (concluded):

- (a) Report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*;
- (b) Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports;
- (c) Reports of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/36/719)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): At this morning's meeting, the General Assembly voted on all the draft resolutions before it under this agenda item. I now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes after the vote.

2. Mr. SEZAKI (Japan): My Government has firmly and consistently opposed all forms of racial discrimination, and it has time and again demanded that the Government of South Africa abolish its abhorrent policies of *apartheid*. Japan has supported numerous resolutions on this item and has extended maximum co-operation in the efforts of the international community to eradicate *apartheid*. We cannot, however, support the view that would seek a solution to the problem of *apartheid* in the context of decolonization. As a matter of principle, we refuse to endorse the notion of the United Nations encouraging armed struggle, no matter what the context is, and we believe that assistance to a national liberation movement should not include military assistance.

3. Some paragraphs of the resolutions mention and criticize particular Member States; we believe that this approach does not contribute in a positive way to joint international efforts to achieve the desired end. In our view it is essential to seek a peaceful solution of the problem through talks among all racial groups in South Africa and, in order to induce changes within South African society, to apply to South Africa, in a realistic and practical manner, as much international pressure as possible.

4. While my delegation appreciates the main thrust of the work of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, we cannot accept some of the conclusions and recommendations contained in its report in document A/36/22 and Corr.1. For example, in appendix V it mentions a Japanese bank which in August 1980 allegedly underwrote, with six other banks of various countries, Eurobonds publicly issued for a financial institution in South Africa. An intensive investigation conducted by the monetary authority in Japan, however, has found that the company is in fact a local corporation established under local laws and regulations of the country concerned and is supervised by the authorities of the host country. The description contained in the report gives the erroneous impression that the Japanese bank was involved in this particular market transaction.

5. My delegation wishes once again to emphasize the well-known fact that the Government of Japan, respecting the relevant United Nations resolutions, has long and steadfastly called upon Japanese foreign exchange banks and their branches abroad which are under Japanese jurisdiction to refrain from extending any loans to South Africa.

6. Further, my delegation is disappointed that, as evidenced by some parts of the conclusions and recommendations, the Committee did not pay sufficient attention to the current serious efforts aimed at an effective and balanced utilization of the limited resources available to the Organization as a whole. Nor did it give sufficient consideration to the achievement of close co-operation and co-ordination with other departments and branches within the United Nations system. At this critical time, when serious efforts are being made for the effective allocation of the United Nations budget as a whole, we cannot accept the proposal to increase to \$300,000 this year's allocation to the Special Committee, a 100 per cent increase over last year's allocation and one which could be used virtually at the discretion of the Committee. Furthermore, we cannot support the creation of a grant of \$5,000 to writers for features services. Nor can we support the proposal that would eventually enable the Committee to solicit and receive contributions for its own projects. We are very much concerned about the consequences of all these proposals.

7. My delegation supported the six draft resolutions contained in documents A/36/L.39 and Add.1, 42 and Add.1 to 44 and Add.1, 48 and Add.1 and 49 and Add.1. However, our affirmative votes should not be construed as positive support for all the paragraphs of those six resolutions. For reasons which my delegation has made clear, we have reservations on some of the paragraphs of these resolutions, and I should like to mention some of them for the record.

8. My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/36/L.42 and Add.1, although we do not support the sixth preambular paragraph, which mentions and criticizes two Member States. My delegation also has reservations on operative paragraph 4.

9. Although we voted in favour of draft resolution A/36/L.39 and Add.1, we have reservations on the second part of operative paragraph 1, as well as on some other parts.

10. My delegation once again points out that it has long been Japan's national policy to adhere to strict principles on the arms embargo, and Japan has accordingly prohibited the provision by Japanese nationals or corporate bodies of arms and related equipment, not only to South Africa but to the rest of the world. In addition, the Government of Japan has strictly implemented resolution 418 (1977) ever since it was adopted by the Security Council. With regard to the arms embargo against South Africa, with which draft resolution A/36/L.39 and Add.1 is concerned, Japan is determined to maintain its current policy of the prohibition of the export of arms to South Africa and to continue to implement the arms embargo in accordance with resolution 418 (1977).

11. Mr. SKOGMO (Norway): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the five Nordic countries: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden and Norway.

12. The Nordic countries' condemnation of *apartheid* and all forms of racial discrimination has been voiced in the Assembly on many occasions. We repeat it today. Our rejection is based on the traditional Nordic concepts of justice, freedom and democracy and our belief in the equality and dignity of every human being.

13. Our commitment to these goals is also demonstrated by our continued humanitarian assistance to the victims of *apartheid* and by the measures taken by the Nordic coun-

tries in accordance with the Joint Nordic Programme of Action against South Africa.

14. The Nordic countries have again voted in favour of most of the resolutions just adopted. In view of the attitude of our countries concerning the *apartheid* system, we regret that we have not been able to support all the resolutions. Some of them have again given us serious difficulties. These difficulties concern questions of principle, some of them encountered in several resolutions. I shall describe the reasons for these difficulties.

15. First, the Nordic countries consider universality one of the basic principles of the Organization, and we cannot, therefore, accept any formulation that in one way or another seems to put this principle in doubt.

16. Secondly, the United Nations was established in order to promote peaceful solutions to international problems. Therefore, we cannot accept endorsement by the United Nations of the use of armed struggle.

17. Thirdly, the Nordic countries deplore the inappropriate and arbitrary singling out of individual countries and groups of countries. This year we have seen a marked increase in such formulations. We believe this is unjustified and counterproductive. It makes it more difficult than before to maintain the international consensus in the struggle against *apartheid*.

18. Fourthly, because of the strict adherence of the Nordic countries to the provisions of the Charter we must generally reserve our position with regard to formulations which fail to take into account that only the Security Council can adopt decisions binding on Member States.

19. Fifthly, the implementation of some of the resolutions would encroach upon the constitutional freedoms and rights of Nordic citizens and private organizations.

20. Sixthly, the Nordic countries consider that only a free, democratic process based on one man, one vote can determine who can represent the South Africa people.

21. Those are the considerations on which most of our reservations are based. They apply, in particular, to draft resolutions A/36/L.34 and Add.1, concerning the situation in South Africa, A/36/L.37 and Add.1, concerning comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa and A/36/L.38 and Add.1, concerning military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa.

22. All the Nordic countries participated in the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa. On the basis of the outcome of this important Conference it is proposed in draft resolution A/36/L.35 and Add.1 to proclaim 1982 as the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. The Nordic countries voted in favour of this draft resolution. However, we would like to point out that the resolution does not take into account the guidelines for international years established by the Economic and Social Council. We participated in the consensus on the Paris Declaration with some reservations, which are found in the report. We could not and cannot endorse the recommendations from the political and technical commissions of the Conference, as called for in draft resolution A/36/L.37 and Add.1. These recommendations were not part of the consensus.

23. With regard to draft resolution A/36/L.38 and Add.1, I would like to emphasize, especially on behalf of

the three Nordic countries members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]—Denmark, Iceland and Norway—that we find the reference to NATO in the seventh preambular paragraph wholly unjustified. It introduces an East-West element into these texts which is totally irrelevant in the struggle against *apartheid*.

24. Furthermore, the Nordic countries voted in favour of draft resolution A/36/L.40 and Add.1, concerning the question of an oil embargo against South Africa. We are prepared to join in a mandatory oil embargo imposed by the Security Council. Only such a decision can make the transport of oil to South Africa internationally illegal. Our affirmative vote must be seen in the light of this basic attitude. Norway, the only net oil-exporting Nordic country, has a policy of not selling oil to South Africa.

25. With regard to draft resolution A/36/L.42 and Add.1, on academic, cultural and sports boycotts, the Nordic countries wish to state that no Nordic Government is promoting or participating in the type of collaboration or exchange mentioned. In accordance with the Joint Nordic Programme of Action against South Africa a number of restrictive measures have been taken in this respect. However, we must clearly reserve our position with regard to certain elements in this resolution which infringe on the constitutional rights enjoyed by Nordic citizens.

26. In this connection, we would also like to comment on draft resolution A/36/L.45 and Add.1, concerning public action and the role of mass media. In the Nordic countries the mass media are continuously preoccupied with the abhorrence of the *apartheid* system. Our Governments also contribute to the promotion of information on the subject. However, governmental interference in this area that contradicts the freedom of the press would run counter to the provisions of our Constitutions. Some aspects of the Berlin Declaration referred to in this resolution create problems for us in this respect.

27. All the Nordic countries voted against draft resolution A/36/L.46 and Add.1, concerning relations between Israel and South Africa. Such singling out of one individual country is highly inappropriate in this context. It must be deplored that this draft resolution has been introduced once again, as it seriously detracts from the main thrust underlying the other resolutions before us.

28. In conclusion, I wish to repeat that the Nordic countries have supported most of the resolutions and sponsored some of the texts just adopted. This is in line with our consistent opposition to the system of *apartheid* in all its forms and manifestations. Our commitment to combat actively the evil of *apartheid* remains firm.

29. Miss de BRUYNE (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): The representative of the United Kingdom explained the vote of the 10 States of the European Community. My delegation would like to explain that the introduction of useless or offensive elements has prompted Belgium to abstain in the vote on or vote against certain draft resolutions. Belgium's reservations in this regard are very well known. My delegation will therefore confine itself to explaining its vote on draft resolution A/36/L.39 and Add.1 on an arms embargo against South Africa.

30. Belgium scrupulously respects the arms embargo imposed by the Security Council, and so we voted in favour of that draft resolution. Nevertheless, my delegation is obliged to express certain reservations on this text. The indirect references that it contains to co-operation that

supposedly exists between certain Western States and South Africa are unacceptable to us. Similarly, Belgium rejects all the allusions contained in the resolutions to decisions adopted at meetings and conferences in which we did not take part.

31. Mr. TOMA (Samoa): The Samoan delegation abhors *apartheid* as a philosophy, and we support boycotts and general censure of that most blatant practitioner of *apartheid*, South Africa. Policies based on racist philosophies not only violate accepted standards of human decency but also result automatically in arbitrariness and totalitarianism in the behaviour of Governments.

32. We look forward to the day when such policies are no longer practised in any corner of the globe. We believe that that can come about only when genuine enlightenment of the peoples of the world is bolstered by the goodwill and corresponding actions of their Governments. Underlying all this must be a deep commitment on the part of both peoples and Governments to the basic principles of freedom.

33. We are in favour of the broad objectives of all the resolutions just adopted. We abstained, however, on draft resolution A/36/L.42 and Add.1 because we believe that the singling out of States in that resolution was neither necessary nor exhaustive. Similarly, we abstained in the vote on other resolutions which level serious accusations at specific countries. We are not at all sure that the accusations made are justified in the case of all the countries mentioned; nor are we convinced that the listings are exhaustive.

34. Mr. RICARDES (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Argentina abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/36/L.46 and Add.1, on relations between Israel and South Africa, because we do not agree with the selective approach that it takes. At the same time, for similar reasons—and although this has not prevented us from giving our support to all the other draft resolutions which have been adopted—we wish to express our reservations regarding the references to various countries which appear in some of the texts. As we have stated on several occasions, the specific reference, by name, to certain countries—in addition to being unfairly discriminatory, in some cases—mitigates against support and, consequently, against the effectiveness of decisions adopted by the General Assembly.

35. The delegation of Argentina wishes to reserve its position on the following: first, the references to armed struggle in the eighth preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 13 of draft resolution A/36/L.34 and Add.1, because that implies support for means of action not provided for in the Charter; secondly, references contained in the twelfth preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 14 of the same text, for the reason that the Government of Argentina abstained in the vote on article 44 of Additional Protocol I to the 1949 Geneva Conventions concerning combatants and prisoners of war, which is still being studied by the Argentine authorities; thirdly, we should like to make it clear that in Argentina's opinion, as stated on earlier similar occasions, Member States cannot be asked to comply with some of the measures contained in draft resolution A/36/L.37 and Add.1 until the Security Council, the principal United Nations organ with power to impose mandatory sanctions against a State, has adopted the relevant resolutions.

36. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): Despite some reservations on the wording of certain paragraphs in some of the draft resolutions—particularly operative paragraph 3 in draft resolution A/36/L.34 and Add.1, operative paragraph 1 in draft resolution A/36/L.38 and Add.1 and operative paragraph 1 in draft resolution A/36/L.46 and Add.1—my delegation voted in favour of all the draft resolutions in conformity with my Government's strong opposition to the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. The Assembly will recall that in the past my Government has consistently condemned that abhorrent practice of racial discrimination; we will continue to do so until it is eliminated.

37. Although the Thai delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/36/L.42 and Add.1, we have some reservations on the sixth preambular paragraph, which makes specific references to certain countries. In singling out only two countries the General Assembly appears to have neglected other cases where sports contact with South Africa is still maintained. Moreover, the Assembly seems to overlook the fact that the New Zealand Government was opposed to the Springbok tour and that New Zealand can claim a long record of opposition to *apartheid*.

38. My delegation believes that the international community has more to gain from a common and collective stand in dealing with this problem. The naming of countries on a selective basis makes it impossible for this resolution and indeed some others to enjoy as broad a consensus as they fully deserve.

39. Mr. NEIL (Jamaica): Jamaica voted in favour of all the draft resolutions, in keeping with our strong opposition to the policies of *apartheid* of the régime of South Africa. However, we have done so with some reservations because of the approach taken in a few of the draft resolutions in which there has been a selective naming of countries for condemnation when the factual basis for the charges is not clear. This was the case particularly in draft resolutions A/36/L.38 and Add.1 and A/36/L.46 and Add.1.

40. However, in view of our support for strong international action against the *apartheid* régime of South Africa, we voted in favour of all the draft resolutions.

41. Mr. MAUALA (Solomon Islands): My delegation reaffirms its total condemnation of *apartheid* as a crime against humanity and its total rejection of all policies designed to perpetuate that inhuman system. We continue to believe that the task of the United Nations is to devise practical ways in which the international community can bring about early but peaceful change in South Africa.

42. We understand the frustrations that are felt over the slow progress towards genuine change in South Africa. However, my delegation is not happy with the singling out and naming of certain countries for criticism, and therefore we abstained on draft resolution A/36/L.34 and Add.1 and A/36/L.42 and Add.1. In our determination to achieve practical results on the question of *apartheid*, let us not be divided and thus inhibit the effectiveness of the United Nations.

43. Mr. ADJOYI (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): Once again this year the Togolese Government, as in the past, wishes to express its indignation over the *apartheid* policy of South Africa.

44. The Togolese people will always support the brother people struggling against the racist régime of Pretoria. *Apartheid*, which has been raised to the level of a philosophy of existence, is contrary to the nature and the very essence of that existence. Existence is a primary gift which cannot be prejudiced because of the colour of a man's skin.

45. The South African people, represented by the African National Congress [ANC], have the right to existence and to dignity. For that reason my delegation voted in favour of all the draft resolutions, which would create the necessary conditions for that existence and for that dignity.

46. An appeal must be made to the entire international community, to all States, to put an end to this policy of *apartheid*. That is why, in connection with the wording of paragraph 4 of draft resolution A/36/L.37 and Add.1 and paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/36/L.38 and Add.1, my delegation wonders whether the countries mentioned in those paragraphs are the only ones deserving of condemnation. In this regard, my delegation would like to recall its position of principle, which is well known. My delegation feels that there is no need to mention countries by name if we are not certain of providing an exhaustive list of all the countries involved. This is a question of justice and of equity.

47. For that reason, my delegation abstained in the vote on paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/36/L.38 and Add.1. My delegation considers that the wording of paragraph 4 of draft resolution A/36/L.37 and Add.1 and paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/36/L.38 and Add.1 should have been formulated differently. Thus we have reservations concerning these two paragraphs.

48. Mr. DORADO (Philippines): My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/36/L.42 and Add.1. However, if there had been a separate vote on the sixth preambular paragraph, we would have expressed reservations on it.

49. Mr. IBRAHIM (Indonesia): My delegation was a sponsor of most of the draft resolutions on *apartheid* just adopted and supported all of them, because it is in full agreement with their purpose and spirit.

50. However, in addition to its reservations concerning operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/36/L.38 and Add.1, which was voted upon separately this morning, my delegation would also like to express its reservations on certain paragraphs of the draft resolutions which selectively condemn or deplore the actions of certain countries, particularly operative paragraphs 3 and 11 of draft resolution A/36/L.34 and Add.1, the sixth preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 4 of draft resolution A/36/L.37 and Add.1 and the sixth preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/36/L.42 and Add.1. Therefore, if the aforementioned paragraphs had also been voted upon separately, my delegation would have abstained on them, although in substance we support the draft resolutions.

51. Mr. GUERREIRO (Brazil): The delegation of Brazil voted in favour of the 16 draft resolutions. I wish to state, however, that, with regard to draft resolution A/36/L.34 and Add.1, we believe that the language used in some of its provisions could have been improved, so as to garner even wider support.

52. As regards draft resolution A/36/L.37 and Add.1, on comprehensive mandatory sanctions, we have doubts

about some of its language, which may be considered excessive, and about its scope, which seems to go beyond what would be expected of a General Assembly resolution.

53. As regards draft resolution A/36/L.38 and Add.1, on military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa, we believe that some of its provisions should have been drafted in a more balanced manner.

54. In connection with operative paragraph 2 of that draft resolution, my delegation wishes to state once again my Government's steadfast opposition to any kind of military alliance involving South Africa.

55. Mr. TALEB (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation voted, as was its duty, in favour of all the draft resolutions relating to the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. By doing so my delegation wished to express once again its solidarity with the people of South Africa and to reaffirm its condemnation of the *apartheid* system.

56. Furthermore, my delegation was a sponsor of most of the draft resolutions on which the General Assembly has just voted. My delegation was not able to endorse or sponsor all the draft resolutions, because it has a certain number of reservations on the wording of some paragraphs of some of the texts which are discriminatory and with which my delegation cannot agree.

57. Mr. HEPBURN (Bahamas): My delegation's affirmative vote on draft resolutions A/36/L.34 and Add.1 to 45 and Add.1 and A/36/L.47 and Add.1 to 49 and Add.1, just adopted, represents and strengthens the commitment of the Bahamas Government to the just and legitimate struggle of the black majority of southern Africa against the inhuman system of *apartheid*, which has long been recognized by the United Nations as a crime against humanity and an affront to the dignity and conscience of mankind.

58. My delegation is also aware that many States and private organizations are now re-examining measures, collective and unilateral, which may be taken to make South Africa realize that the world can no longer tolerate the hypocritical philosophy of bantustanization, its continued acts of aggression against the neighbouring States and its efforts to increase its nuclear capability.

59. However, it is disconcerting to my delegation that statements during the debate indicate that there is no unanimity on the view that effective eradication of *apartheid* and violations of human rights also calls for the implementation of action-oriented measures against the South African régime in the areas of economic and social development.

60. Having said this, we feel that it is regrettable that certain countries and regional groups are singled out for censure on these matters, and in addition it is fair to assume that the tone of the language contained in some of the texts makes it virtually impossible to gain the kind of universal support that would make the elimination of this abominable crime a reality in the near future.

61. Despite the frustrations we all must feel regarding South Africa's intransigence and the need to seek harsher measures, my Government expresses the hope that the long overdue solution to this grave dilemma can be reached through peaceful means, as outlined in the Char-

ter, and it would have wished to see such elements emphasized in the current texts, and in future ones, on this matter.

62. Finally, the Bahamas abstained on draft resolution A/36/L.46 and Add.1, on relations between Israel and South Africa, for some of the aforementioned reasons and also for the imbalance that is presented in the text.

63. Mr. SEWRAJSING (Suriname): The delegation of Suriname has voted in favour of the draft resolutions, condemning the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa. In this way, my delegation expressed its support for the underlying principles as contained in the various resolutions adopted in the General Assembly.

64. With regard to draft resolution A/36/L.37 and Add.1, however, the delegation of Suriname wishes to place on the record that it would have preferred another wording of operative paragraph 4 of that resolution. Had a separate vote been taken on that paragraph, my delegation would have abstained.

65. Mr. TORRES (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Chile voted in favour of most of the draft resolutions adopted this morning. We did so because we abhor all racial discriminatory practices and, in particular, the system of *apartheid*. None the less, we felt obliged to withhold our support from some of the texts introduced here because we have serious reservations as to whether they really contribute successfully to the struggle against *apartheid*.

66. First of all, we reaffirm our opposition to the practice of singling out States by name in dealing with the question of collaboration with South Africa. Furthermore, we would like to express our disagreement with the policy of asking Member States to take extreme measures against South Africa, not only because this is irreconcilable with a free system and falls within the internal jurisdiction of States but also because the adoption of such measures devolves exclusively upon the Security Council.

67. We were particularly troubled by the gratuitous and baseless allusion made to a so-called joint military agreement of the South Atlantic, in which South Africa is alleged to participate. We reject, as Latin Americans, any imputation of that sort, as many countries from our region have already firmly done.

68. Finally, we should like to say that we are in disagreement with the wording chosen in the drafting of certain provisions of some draft resolutions, for we feel that the spirit that should infuse those that draft such resolutions should always embody a search for the broadest possible consensus, in order to indicate very clearly that the international community rejects racism and wishes to see the system of *apartheid* disappear.

69. Mr. SÁNDIGA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Peru voted in favour of the draft resolutions, in keeping with our constant position of firmly rejecting and condemning the system of *apartheid* which exists in South Africa. None the less, our delegation must express some specific reservations on the paragraphs of several resolutions in which certain Member States are condemned by name. We consider that those resolutions may be interpreted as being selective, and, therefore, discriminatory.

70. Our delegation also feels that the solution to the problem of *apartheid* in South Africa must be reached essentially through peaceful means, in keeping with the principles and purposes of the Charter. That is why we cannot subscribe to the idea of seeking solutions to international problems through violence.

71. Mr. DE SILVA (Sri Lanka): Sri Lanka has voted in favour of all the draft resolutions and was, in fact, a sponsor of four of them.

72. Sri Lanka's support for the elimination of *apartheid* in South Africa is too well known to require repetition here. However, my delegation would have preferred there to have been no specific condemnation by name of countries with which Sri Lanka has diplomatic relations. It was for this reason that Sri Lanka abstained on the separate vote on operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/36/L.38 and Add.1. Nevertheless, Sri Lanka voted in favour of all the draft resolutions.

73. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Ecuador, faithful to its constant policy of rejecting any type of racial discrimination, and in particular the shameful form which this takes in the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa, has voted in favour of all the draft resolutions submitted on this item. My delegation, however, would like to place on record the following considerations.

74. First, Ecuador has always rejected *apartheid* most categorically as a crime against humanity, and, in keeping with the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, it was the first Latin American State to sign the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*.

75. Secondly, the Government of Ecuador maintains no official relations whatsoever with the Government of South Africa and refrains from promoting any type of trade with it in spite of our free enterprise system. We shall spare no effort in preventing transactions from taking place between South Africa and Ecuador.

76. Thirdly, according to the Political Constitution of Ecuador, approved by a popular referendum in 1978, this policy was ratified as follows:

“Article 4. The State of Ecuador condemns all forms of colonialism, neo-colonialism and discrimination or racial segregation. We recognize the right of peoples to free themselves from such systems of oppression . . .

“Article 9, paragraph 4. Any discrimination on grounds of race, colour, sex, language, religion, lineage, political or other opinion, social origin, economic position or birth is prohibited.”

77. Fourthly, we agree with the contents and meaning of draft resolution A/36/L.34 and Add.1, but we think that the wording of its operative paragraph 3 is not fair or appropriate. That is why we would have abstained on that paragraph had there been a separate vote on it. We abstained for the same reason on operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/36/L.38 and Add.1.

78. Fifthly, with regard to draft resolution A/36/L.45 and Add.1, we supported it on the clear understanding that it does not in any way affect the principle of freedom of information contained in article 19 of the Universal

Declaration of Human Rights, because Ecuador absolutely respects that freedom as well as the free exercise of the profession of journalism, the freedom of journalists to enter or leave our country at their will and to express their opinions freely.

79. Regarding the recommendation concerning a publicity campaign to mobilize the international public against *apartheid*, Ecuador supports this as an appeal, like the one made to all the information media in the Committee on Information with regard to other priority areas of United Nations action, and for more information on the Organization itself, so that the attention of the world may be better focused on third world countries to ensure economic, social and cultural development.

Mr. Orn (Sweden), Vice-President, took the Chair.

80. Mrs. CASTRO de BARISH (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Costa Rica's position on *apartheid* is well known and has been reiterated firmly year after year, and this was also made clear during the voting on the draft resolutions on *apartheid* in South Africa.

81. I should like to recall that Costa Rica participated actively in the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for a period of seven years following its establishment and acted as Vice-Chairman for many months on various occasions.

82. We agree that, as has been said here, *apartheid* denies the very essence of man. We supported all the draft resolutions—with the exception of draft resolution A/36/L.46 and Add.1. We abstained on that draft resolution because we could not agree to singling out one country and devoting an entire text to it. We do not think that contributes to a proper study of the agenda item, and that is what concerns us today above all else.

83. With regard to the other draft resolutions, we voted in favour of them because we are in favour of all efforts made by the United Nations to get rid of *apartheid*, which is a crime against humanity, as stated by the United Nations, both as a State policy and as an inhuman and detestable ideology. None the less, we must indicate that we cannot go along with some paragraphs and concepts contained in some of the draft resolutions adopted, such as A/36/L.34 and Add.1, 37 and Add.1, 38 and Add.1, 42 and Add.1 and 45 and Add.1, because they contain elements which we do not accept and which do not seem to us to be appropriate. For example, we could not accept the wording of paragraphs 1 and 2 of draft resolution A/36/L.38 and Add.1. We abstained in the separate vote on operative paragraph 1 of that draft resolution for that reason.

84. Consequently, Costa Rica's position on the various draft resolutions is consistent with its position on the tendency to single out certain countries only.

85. With regard to draft resolution A/36/L.42 and Add.1, we have reservations on the fifth preambular paragraph, which we feel is inappropriate and unjust, and on operative paragraph 3 of that text. In Costa Rica sports do not come under the jurisdiction of the State, thus the State cannot dictate to sporting organizations concerning their activities, travel or contracts. In the same way, Costa Rica cannot accept the legitimacy of requesting States to impose certain sanctions and limits on individuals, as that would be a violation of the Costa Rican Constitution and

of the commitments made by my country in agreements and conventions on human rights. These are limitations that we cannot exceed even when we are dealing with such a noble and just cause as the struggle against *apartheid*.

86. The Costa Rican delegation bases its reservations on three main points: first, the mention of certain sanctions against individuals, because that would go against our own political Constitution; secondly, the naming of some countries, because it is unacceptable to mention some and leave out others; and thirdly, the mention of declarations and conferences that are outside the orbit of the United Nations, because in some cases these would seem to involve political propaganda and they include documents adopted without Costa Rica's agreement, such as the Berlin Declaration and the Paris Declaration, the first of which is mentioned in paragraph 3 of draft resolution A/36/L.45 and Add.1, and the second referred to in draft resolution A/36/L.34 and Add.1 and A/36/L.41 and Add.1.

87. Notwithstanding these reservations, Costa Rica reiterates its support for all efforts by the United Nations to eliminate the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa.

88. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the German Democratic Republic, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

89. Mr. SCHROETER (German Democratic Republic): In their explanations of vote two representatives, in connection with the International Seminar on Publicity and Role of Mass Media in the International Mobilization against *Apartheid*, referred to "East Berlin", but the only East Berlin I know is a place situated in the environs of New York City. As far as the Seminar is concerned, I must recall that that event took place in Berlin, German Democratic Republic, as can easily be seen by reading the text of draft resolution A/36/L.45 and Add.1 carefully.

90. The PRESIDENT: Owing to an unfortunate oversight, the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, who had requested to speak at the end of the consideration of agenda item 32, was not invited to speak. I regret this misunderstanding and wish to inform the Assembly that the statement he intended to make on behalf of the Special Committee will be issued as a document of the General Assembly [see A/36/849].

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly (concluded):*

(b) Report of the Credentials Committee

91. The PRESIDENT: I invite members to turn their attention to the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee in paragraph 12 of its second report [A/36/517/Add.1]. I call on the representative of Pakistan to speak in explanation of vote.

92. Mr. PIRACHA (Pakistan): With regard to the second report of the Credentials Committee, my delegation wishes to record its formal reservations concerning the credentials of the representatives of the Kabul authorities to occupy the seat of Afghanistan at this session. This position is consistent with the principled

* Resumed from the 3rd meeting.

stand taken by Pakistan in international forums that foreign military intervention against the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of a country cannot be justified in any circumstances and that such intervention constitutes a violation of the principles of the Charter and universally accepted norms of international behaviour. Accordingly, my delegation shares the position of the delegations of China, Papua New Guinea and the United States as reflected in paragraphs 5, 6 and 8 of the report.

93. My delegation also wishes to make it clear that the fact that the Pakistan delegation has not considered it necessary to raise any objection to the credentials of the Kabul delegation should in no way be interpreted as recognition of the régime in Kabul or acquiescence in foreign military intervention in Afghanistan.

94. With that reservation, my delegation supports the recommendations of the Credentials Committee.

95. The PRESIDENT: The Credentials Committee adopted the draft resolution in paragraph 12 of its report without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do so also?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 36/2 B).

96. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those delegations wishing to explain their position.

97. Mr. PRENDERGAST (United Kingdom): I should like to stress very briefly that the fact that my delegation has not objected to the credentials of the delegation of Afghanistan does not mean that my Government regards the Babrak Karmal régime as a Government.

98. Miss de BRUYNE (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): I wish to make it clear that the fact that my delegation did not raise any objection to the credentials of Afghanistan should not be interpreted as recognition by us of the present régime in Afghanistan, which was imposed from outside upon the Afghan people.

99. Mr. JELONEK (Federal Republic of Germany): The fact that my delegation has not challenged the credentials of the Afghan delegation must be viewed in relation to our understanding of the competence of the Credentials Committee. We have always held the view that that Committee has solely the technical task of examining whether the credentials of a delegation are formally in order. Since we do not want our position regarding the Babrak Karmal régime to be misunderstood, I should like to place it on record that the fact that we do not protest against the Credentials Committee's report does not mean that we recognize the legitimacy of a régime installed and kept in power by foreign intervention.

100. Mr. LOĞOĞLU (Turkey): The delegation of Turkey has consistently supported all United Nations resolutions on Afghanistan calling for the withdrawal of foreign forces from that country and upholding the right of its people to determine its own future without outside interference. The position of Turkey with respect to the presence of Afghanistan in the United Nations at this time should therefore be understood within that context.

101. Mr. CHAN (Singapore): My delegation associates itself with the statement made by the representative of Pakistan and expresses its reservations regarding the

credentials of the delegation of the Babrak Karmal régime.

AGENDA ITEM 7

Notification by the Secretary-General under Article 12, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations

102. The PRESIDENT: May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of document A/36/503, containing a note by the Secretary-General?

It was so decided (decision 36/436).

AGENDA ITEM 10

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

103. The PRESIDENT: It has been customary for the Assembly merely to take note of the annual report of the Secretary-General. This year's report has been referred to with great interest on several occasions during the present session. Unless I hear any objection, I shall therefore take it that the Assembly wishes to follow the usual practice.

It was so decided (decision 36/437).

AGENDA ITEM 11

Report of the Security Council

104. The PRESIDENT: The report of the Security Council for the period 16 June 1980 to 15 June 1981 is contained in document A/36/2. May I consider that the General Assembly takes note of the report of the Security Council?

It was so decided (decision 36/438).

AGENDA ITEM 17

Elections to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs (*continued*):*

- (e) Election of the members of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries

105. The PRESIDENT: Since no candidate has been put forward, I suggest that the General Assembly decide to defer until its thirty-seventh session the election of the members of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the wish of the Assembly.

It was so decided (decision 36/319).

AGENDA ITEM 18

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

- (g) Appointment of six members of the Joint Inspection Unit;
- (h) Appointment of the members of the Peace Observation Commission;

* Resumed from the 69th meeting.

** Resumed from the 77th meeting.

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

106. The PRESIDENT: We shall take up first subitem (g), dealing with vacancies in the Joint Inspection Unit. I invite members to turn their attention to two notes by the President [A/36/698/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1]. As a result of consultations, including consultations with the President of the Economic and Social Council and with the Secretary-General in his capacity as Chairman of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, I have drawn up the following list of candidates for appointment as members of the Joint Inspection Unit for a five-year term beginning on 1 January 1983: Mr. Mark Allen (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland); Mr. Alexander Sergeevich Efimov (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics); Mr. Toman Hutagalung (Indonesia); Mr. Mohamed Salah Eldin Ibrahim (Egypt); Mr. Nasser Kadour (Syrian Arab Republic); and Mr. Norman Williams (Panama).

107. May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to appoint those candidates?

It was so decided (decision 36/320).

108. The PRESIDENT: We turn next to subitem (h), relating to the appointment of the members of the Peace Observation Commission, which was established by the General Assembly on 3 November 1950 under its resolution 377 A (V). The present 12 members of the Commission are: Czechoslovakia, France, Honduras, India, Israel, New Zealand, Pakistan, Sweden, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America and Uruguay. The two-year term of office of all those members will expire on 31 December 1981.

109. I call on the representative of Kuwait.

110. Mrs. Al-MULLAH (Kuwait): My delegation would like to propose formally that consideration of this item be postponed until tomorrow.

111. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with rule 78 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, I suggest that the consideration of this item be postponed until tomorrow.

It was so decided.

112. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to subitem (j). In his note relating to the confirmation of the appointment of the Executive Director of the United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries [A/36/816], the Secretary-General states that he is not submitting an appointment for confirmation by the General Assembly. May I take it that the General Assembly decides to take note of document A/36/816?

It was so decided (decision 36/321).

AGENDA ITEM 13

Report of the International Court of Justice

113. The PRESIDENT: The report of the International Court of Justice covering the period from 1 August 1980 to 31 July 1981 is contained in document A/36/4. I pro-

pose that the General Assembly decide to take note of that report.

It was so decided (decision 36/439).

AGENDA ITEM 12

Report of the Economic and Social Council (continued)*

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (PART III) (A/36/691/Add.2)

AGENDA ITEM 69

Development and international economic co-operation (concluded):**

(b) Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (PART II) (A/36/694/Add.1)

(d) Industrialization:

(i) Report of the Industrial Development Board;

(ii) Report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (PART V) (A/36/694/Add.4)

(e) Science and technology for development: report of the Intergovernmental Committee on Science and Technology for Development;

(f) Natural resources: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (PART VI) (A/36/694/Add.5)

(g) Food problems:

(i) Report of the World Food Council;

(ii) Reports of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (PART VII) (A/36/694/Add.6)

(i) Restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the United Nations system: reports of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (PART IX) (A/36/694/Add.9)

(j) Environment:

(i) Report of the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme;

(ii) Report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (PART X) (A/36/694/Add.9)

(o) United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy;

(p) United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries

* Resumed from the 101st meeting.

** Resumed from the 100th meeting.

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE
(PART XIII) (A/36/694/Add.12)

AGENDA ITEM 17

Elections to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs (concluded):

- (a) **Election of fifteen members of the Industrial Development Board**

AGENDA ITEM 70

Operational activities for development:

- (a) **Operational activities of the United Nations system: report of the Secretary-General;**
(b) **United Nations Development Programme;**
(c) **United Nations Capital Development Fund;**
(d) **United Nations Revolving Fund for Natural Resources Exploration;**
(e) **United Nations Fund for Population Activities;**
(f) **United Nations Volunteers programme;**
(g) **United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries;**
(h) **United Nations Children's Fund;**
(i) **World Food Programme;**
(j) **Technical co-operation activities undertaken by the Secretary-General**

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE
(A/36/812)

AGENDA ITEM 72

Special economic and disaster relief assistance:

- (a) **Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator: report of the Secretary-General;**
(b) **Special economic assistance programmes: report of the Secretary-General;**
(c) **Implementation of the medium-term and long-term recovery and rehabilitation programme in the Sudano-Sahelian region: report of the Secretary-General**

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE
(PARTS I AND II) (A/36/737 and Add.1)

114. Mr. OULD SID'AHMED (Mauritania), Rapporteur of the Second Committee (*interpretation from Arabic*): I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the reports of the Second Committee on agenda item 12 [A/36/691/Add.2], item 69 as a whole and subitems (b), (d), (e), (f), (g), (i), (j), (o) and (p) thereof [A/36/694/Add.1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 and 12], item 70 [A/36/812] and item 72 [A/36/737 and Add.1].

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

115. The PRESIDENT: The positions of delegations regarding the various recommendations of the Second Committee have been made clear in the Committee and are reflected in the relevant summary records.

116. I should like to remind members that, by the terms of its decision 34/401, the General Assembly agreed that when the same draft resolution is considered in a Main Committee and in plenary meeting a delegation should, as far as possible, explain its vote only once, that is, either in the Committee or in the General Assembly, unless that delegation's vote in the plenary meeting is different from

its vote in the Committee. I should like also to remind members that, again in accordance with that decision, explanations of vote should not exceed 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

117. I invite members to turn their attention to part III of the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 12 [A/36/691/Add.2]. The Assembly will now take decisions on the recommendations of the Second Committee.

118. The draft resolution in paragraph 7 is entitled "Permanent sovereignty over national resources in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories". The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/36/834. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Japan, 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, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, 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, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Israel, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece,¹ Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The draft resolution was adopted by 115 votes to 2, with 24 absentions (resolution 36/173).¹

119. The PRESIDENT: The Second Committee also recommends the adoption of the draft decision contained in paragraph 8 of its report. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that draft decision?

The draft decision was adopted (decision 36/440).

120. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Chile, who has asked to speak in explanation of vote.

121. Mr. BAZAN (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Chile voted in favour of the draft resolution on permanent sovereignty over national resources in the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories because

we agree with its basic purpose. But we should like to state that if operative paragraph 1 had been voted on separately, we would not have supported it, because we feel that the judgement expressed therein is excessive and, in our opinion, will not help to bring about the co-operation we should like to see in this area.

122. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the report of the Second Committee dealing with agenda item 69 as a whole, entitled "Development and international economic co-operation", and subitem (b) thereof [A/36/694/Add.1]. The Assembly will now take decisions on the draft resolutions recommended by the Second Committee.

123. Draft resolution I, entitled "Co-operation between the United Nations and the Agency for Cultural and Technical Co-operation", was adopted by the Committee without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to adopt it?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 36/174).

124. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution II, entitled "Specific action related to the particular needs and problems of land-locked developing countries". A separate, recorded vote has been requested on operative paragraph 1.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Benin,² Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chad, Colombia, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt,² El Salvador, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Grenada, Guatemala, Honduras, Hungary, Indonesia, Iraq, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Rwanda, Singapore, Spain, Sri Lanka, Thailand,² Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Angola, India, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mozambique,² Nigeria, Pakistan, Sao Tome and Principe, Sierra Leone.

Abstaining: Algeria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Burma, Canada, Chile, China, Congo, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Iceland, Iran,² Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mauritania, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Oman, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Saint Lucia, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Operative paragraph 1 was adopted by 59 votes to 9, with 66 abstentions.

125. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote draft resolution II as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran,³ Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Burma, Chile, India, Lebanon, Pakistan, Sierra Leone.

Draft resolution II as a whole was adopted by 137 votes to none, with 6 abstentions (resolution 36/175).³

126. The PRESIDENT: We come now to draft resolution III, entitled "Expansion of the conference facilities of the Economic Commission for Africa at Addis Ababa". The administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution are to be found in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/36/714, para. 3]. Draft resolution III was adopted by the Committee without a vote. I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 36/176).

127. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution IV is entitled "Transport and Communications Decade in Africa". The administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution are to be found in paragraph 6 of document A/36/714. The Second Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution IV was adopted (resolution 36/177).

128. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution V, entitled "Multinational Programming and Operational Planning Centres", was also adopted by the Second Committee without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution V was adopted (resolution 36/178).

129. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution VI, entitled "Interrelationships between resources, environment, people and development". It was adopted by the Second Committee without a vote. I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt it.

Draft resolution VI was adopted (resolution 36/179).

130. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution VII, entitled "Special measures for the social and economic development of Africa in the 1980s", was also adopted by the Committee without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to adopt it?

Draft resolution VII was adopted (resolution 36/180).

131. The PRESIDENT: The Second Committee recommends the adoption of a draft decision in paragraph 44 of its report. I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt it.

The draft decision was adopted (decision 36/441).

132. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Brazil, who has asked to speak in explanation of vote.

133. Mr. GUERREIRO (Brazil): Brazil voted in favour of both operative paragraph 1 of draft resolution II and of the text as a whole. We wish in this context to reaffirm our belief that the lack of access to the sea poses problems for the economic development of the land-locked developing countries. Bilateral agreements between land-locked developing countries and transit countries can significantly reduce the scope of such problems. The agreements which Brazil has entered into with its land-locked neighbours assure them, therefore, of free access to the sea and freedom of transit.

134. I turn now to draft resolution VI and should like to state that on 24 July 1981, in the Economic and Social Council,⁴ the Brazilian delegation commented on the subject of the interrelationships between resources, environment, people and development. The statement we made then still stands in its entirety. We also indicated in the Council that we expected to have a more thorough discussion of this subject in the General Assembly. Unfortunately, this did not occur.

135. We did not fully share the views of the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation, as expressed in document E/1981/65 submitted to the Economic and Social Council, just as we do not fully share his views in the annex to document A/36/571 submitted to the General Assembly. We had felt in addition that in response to Council resolution 1981/51 the Brazilian Government would have been formally consulted on this subject; it was not. Explanations have been given, and we are now formally consulting the Secretary-General on this specific point in order to avoid future misunderstandings.

136. Let me make clear that we have no difficulty with the explicitly stated objectives of the work programme on interrelationships "to enlarge and improve the capacity of the international community to prepare for the future of humankind" [A/36/571, annex, para. 5]. In this context, the work programme is welcomed, and that is why we worked for and joined the consensus on this resolution.

137. However, we question some of the existing assumptions of "harmful trends in the fields of population, resources and the environment" [*ibid.*] if they are applied—as seems to be the case—outside the only limits within which they can be tackled, namely, through the exclusive initiative of Governments. We do not accept, for instance, the concept that "it is in the developing countries where the threats posed are most acute" [*ibid.*, para. 6]. In this regard we ask: are the arms race and super-Power confrontations the initiative of the developing countries? Is it not obvious that the present structure of international economic relations is responsible for the aggravation of the problems of underdevelopment and poverty, the elimination of which is at the core of all attempts to improve standards of living?

138. We feel that the Director-General must agree with that and recognize such facts. Let me emphasize in this context that the last preambular paragraph in draft resolution VI, which we have just adopted, recognizes that the formulation of relevant integrated national policies and strategies is the prerogative of Governments and not, as implied in paragraph 13 (b) of the annex to document A/36/571, something that might fall outside such prerogative.

139. Also, the Brazilian Government does not share some other concepts such as those of "global accountability" and "international responsibility" referred to in the same document. They clearly go beyond the scope of the proposed programme of work, and we hope that no international organization or secretariat will embark upon paths which have not yet been covered and exhausted at the intergovernmental level.

140. The Brazilian Government expects to be consulted on the basis of paragraph 1 (b) of the resolution just adopted, and we shall then elaborate further on this subject. However, we wanted to have on record, as we did in the Economic and Social Council, some of the reservations that we have in respect of some of the premises of the work programme which the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation is now authorized to pursue. The Brazilian Government will formally revert to them in the near future, therefore, when consulted.

141. The PRESIDENT: I now invite members to turn their attention to part V of the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 69 covering subitem (d), entitled "Industrialization" [A/36/694/Add.4]. The Assembly will take decisions on the draft resolutions recommended by the Second Committee.

142. Draft resolution I concerns the revision of the lists of States eligible for membership in the Industrial Development Board. It was adopted without a vote in the Second Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 36/181).

143. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II is entitled "Industrial development co-operation". The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/36/829. The Second Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 36/182).

144. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to agenda item 17 (a), concerning elections to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs. We shall proceed to the election of 15 members of the Industrial Development Board to replace those members whose terms of office expire on 31 December 1981.

145. The 15 outgoing members are: Australia, Burundi, China, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Iraq, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, Nigeria, Panama, Poland, Togo, Turkey and United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Those members are eligible for immediate re-election.

146. I should like to remind members that after 1 January 1982 the following States will still be members of the Industrial Development Board: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Central African Republic, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Madagascar, Mongolia, Morocco, Netherlands, Pakistan, Romania, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Trinidad and Tobago, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America and Zambia. Therefore, those 30 States are not eligible for election.

147. May I remind members that, in its decision 34/401, the General Assembly agreed that the practice of dispensing with the secret ballot for elections to subsidiary organs when the number of candidates corresponds to the number of seats to be filled should become standard, unless a delegation specifically requests a vote on a given election.

148. The chairmen of the regional groups have informed me of the following candidatures: for six seats from list A: Afghanistan, China, Iraq, Lesotho, Liberia, Malaysia and Sierra Leone; for five seats from list B: Australia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Spain, Turkey and United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; for three seats from list C: Mexico, Panama and Venezuela; for one seat from list D: Poland.

149. With reference to the six seats from list A, the number of candidates endorsed for the three vacancies for African States corresponds to the number of seats to be filled. However, regarding the three vacancies for Asian States, the Chairman of the group of Asian States has informed me that although the candidatures of Afghanistan and Malaysia were endorsed by the group of Asian States, the group could not reach an agreed slate of candidates.

150. Since the number of candidates for the three vacancies from list A for African States and those for the vacancies from lists B, C and D correspond to the number of seats to be filled in those groups, I declare the following candidates elected members of the Industrial Development Board for a three-year term beginning on 1 January 1982: Australia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Lesotho, Liberia, Mexico, Panama, Sierra Leone, Spain, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Venezuela.

151. I apologize to members of the Assembly. There seems to be a mistake in my notes. They contain the name of Poland for list D, but it is suggested that the seat should go to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. I would ask the Chairman of the regional group represented in list D to inform the General Assembly which is the

candidate of the group—Poland or the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

152. Mr. BENA (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): It is the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

153. The PRESIDENT: To avoid any misunderstanding, I shall again read out the list of countries that have now been elected members for the new period: Australia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Lesotho, Liberia, Mexico, Panama, Sierra Leone, Spain, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Venezuela.

154. Since in list A there are more candidates than vacancies for the group of Asian States, the Assembly will now hold a ballot for that group. In accordance with existing practice, the required number of candidates which receives the largest number of votes and not less than the majority required will be declared elected. In case of a tie vote for the last place, there will be a restricted ballot limited to those candidates which have obtained an equal number of votes. May I take it that the General Assembly agrees to that procedure?

It was so decided.

155. The PRESIDENT: The ballot papers will now be distributed. I would request members of the Assembly to use only those ballot papers and to write the names of the three States for which they wish to vote. Ballot papers containing more than that number will be declared invalid.

156. I would remind members that the following Asian States will still be members of the Board after 1 June 1982 and are therefore not eligible for election: India, Indonesia, Mongolia, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. I would also remind members that, for the three seats, the four candidates put forward by the regional group are: Afghanistan, China, Iraq and Malaysia.

157. The representative of Afghanistan has asked to speak. I would remind him that we are in the process of balloting and that no statement may be made unless it refers to the actual balloting.

158. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): Mr. President, I wish only to seek some clarification. You referred to a letter from the Chairman of the group of Asian States. I would ask you to read out that letter.

159. The PRESIDENT: The Chairman of the group of Asian States has informed me that although the candidates of Afghanistan and Malaysia were endorsed by the Asian group, the group could not reach an agreed slate of candidates.

160. Mr. PLECHKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Before we start the vote, may I have some clarification? Which group is the ballot on?

161. The PRESIDENT: The present ballot is on the Asian candidates in list A, where the number of candidates exceeds the number of seats. That is why a ballot is necessary.

162. Mr. PLECHKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Does that mean that we have one group within another group?

163. The PRESIDENT: I have been given to understand that it was agreed, and also that it was the opinion of the Legal Counsel, that, as the number of African States put forward from list A corresponded to the number of seats available, they could be duly elected without compromising the election of the Asian members from list A. Indeed, as the representative of the Soviet Union may recall, the Assembly has already elected those African members. But, as I have said, there are four candidates for the three seats to be filled by Asian members from list A. I referred to a letter from the Chairman of the group of Asian States—not of the African and Asian States—stating that the Asian group had not been able to reach an agreed slate of candidates. But I understand that the group of African States managed to do so.

164. Mr. PLECHKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): As we understand it, list A includes Yugoslavia, in addition to the Asian and African countries. Where do we put Yugoslavia? What does the Legal Counsel say about that?

165. The PRESIDENT: If it is agreeable to the representatives, I shall answer the question about Yugoslavia after consultation with the Legal Counsel. If members agree, we could proceed with the balloting that we had already started for the Asian seats.

166. The letter to the President of the General Assembly from the current Chairman of the group of Asian States, the Permanent Representative of Pakistan, reads as follows:

"In my capacity as Chairman of the Asian group for the month of November 1981, I have the honour to inform you that for the three Asian vacancies in the Industrial Development Board the following countries have announced their candidatures: Afghanistan, China, Iraq, Malaysia. Although the candidatures of Afghanistan and Malaysia were endorsed by the Asian group, the group could not reach an agreed slate of candidates for the Industrial Development Board. In view of this, the matter may be resolved through an open election."

That is the suggestion of the Chairman of the group of Asian States—that we have an open election on the four Asian candidates for the three Asian seats. I would therefore ask the Assembly to proceed with the balloting.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Galka (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), Mr. Cabello Sarubbi (Paraguay) and Mr. Hattinga van't Sant (Netherlands) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

167. The PRESIDENT: I shall suspend the meeting briefly while the ballots are counted.

The meeting was suspended at 5.20 p.m. and resumed at 5.40 p.m.

168. The PRESIDENT: The result of the voting is as follows:

Number of ballot papers:	147
Invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	147
Abstentions:	1
Number of members voting:	146

Required majority:

74

Number of votes obtained:

China	120
Iraq	116
Malaysia	113
Afghanistan	51
Bhutan	1
Nepal	1

169. The PRESIDENT: Having obtained the required majority, the following three States from list A have been elected members of the Industrial Development Board for a three-year term beginning on 1 January 1982: China, Iraq and Malaysia.

Australia, China, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iraq, Lesotho, Liberia, Malaysia, Mexico, Panama, Sierra Leone, Spain, Turkey, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Venezuela were elected members of the Industrial Development Board for a three-year term beginning on 1 January 1982 (decision 36/322).

170. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to congratulate the countries which have been elected members of the Industrial Development Board and to thank the tellers for their assistance in this election.

171. I now invite members to turn their attention to the report of the Second Committee on items 69 (e) and (f) [A/36/694/Add.5]. The Assembly will proceed to take action on the recommendations of the Committee.

172. Under subitem (e), the Second Committee recommends for adoption the draft resolution entitled "United Nations Financing System for Science and Technology for Development". The administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution are set forth in paragraph 3 of the report of the Fifth Committee [A/36/827]. The Second Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 36/183).

173. The PRESIDENT: The Second Committee also recommends, under subitem (e), the adoption of draft decision I, entitled "Science and technology for development". May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt draft decision I?

The draft decision was adopted (decision 36/442).

174. The PRESIDENT: The Second Committee also recommends the adoption of draft decision II, under subitem (f), by which the Assembly would take note of the report of the Secretary-General on multilateral development assistance for the exploration of natural resources. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt that draft decision?

The draft decision was adopted (decision 36/443).

175. The PRESIDENT: With reference again to item 69 (e), I should like to invite the attention of the Assembly to the report of the Fifth Committee [A/36/827]. In paragraph 4, the Fifth Committee decided without objection to recommend the adoption of a draft resolution entitled "Secretariat of the United Nations Financing System for

Science and Technology for Development". May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that draft resolution?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 36/184).

176. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the United Kingdom, who has asked to make a statement to explain the position of a number of delegations.

177. Mr. BOYD (United Kingdom): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Community and its member States, on behalf of whom it was pointed out at the 10th meeting of the Second Committee that science and technology for development was one of the most important items on the agenda of the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session. The Community has taken an active and, we hope, constructive part in the subsequent discussions, at this session.

178. We are happy that solid progress has been made and that a consensus has emerged. The long-term arrangements for the Financing System are to be launched on 1 January 1982, even if important aspects remain to be worked out. This seems to be a wise balance.

179. Throughout the negotiation of the draft resolution recommended by the Second Committee, the Community was guided by a desire to see a financing system established which would be viable, command wide support and bring maximum benefit to all. In this context, we are glad to note that the Financing System is to be organized on a voluntary and universal basis, and is to be open to the participation of all countries as full members. We welcome these points.

180. It has been stated often, and it remains our position, that the funding of the Financing System should be voluntary in principle. To succeed, the System will need to be acceptable to and attract support from all those in a position to provide it. Additionally, any institutional arrangements should not prejudice the role of the United Nations Development Programme and its Governing Council in relation to the operational activities of the United Nations system.

181. We are glad to note that the impetus given at this session to work on the Financing System will continue in the new year. We look forward to the two meetings of the *Ad Hoc* Intergovernmental Group on the United Nations Financing System for Science and Technology for Development scheduled to be held in March and April 1982 in preparation for the fourth session of the Intergovernmental Committee on Science and Technology for Development.

182. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 69 (g) [A/36/694/Add.6]. The General Assembly will now take action on the recommendations of the Committee.

183. Draft resolution I, entitled "Report of the World Food Council", was adopted by the Second Committee without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 36/185).

184. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II, entitled "Situation of food and agriculture in Africa", was also adopted by the Second Committee without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt that draft resolution?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 36/186).

185. The PRESIDENT: The Second Committee also recommends the adoption of a draft decision, entitled "Food and agriculture". May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that draft decision?

The draft decision was adopted (decision 36/444).

186. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Australia who has asked to speak in explanation of his delegation's position.

187. Mr. BUCKINGHAM (Australia): Australia was pleased to join in the consensus on draft resolution I, just adopted.

188. Nevertheless, while welcoming the acknowledgement, in the tenth preambular paragraph, of the "need for adoption by all countries of policies designed to avoid disruption of international trade", we are very disappointed that this resolution contains no explicit recognition of the fact that export subsidization policies today are a major destabilizing element in international trade in agricultural products. Those pursuing such policies force the whole burden of adjustment onto the world market and undermine the prospects for the harmonious development of world trade. More specifically, subsidy systems not only increase world price instability and generally depress the prices received by exporters on all exports, but also cause efficient producers to leave the market. The income losses thus caused to developed and developing countries alike are considerable.

189. It should not be forgotten that agricultural exports are a major source of the export income of developing countries. The effect of agricultural protectionist measures on the export incomes of developing countries is well documented. If agricultural protectionism did not exist, then, on the basis of studies by UNCTAD, financial flows to the developing world would be increased by \$30 billion a year. That would release great resources for other development projects. In this sense, the problem is of international significance and should be of concern to developed and developing countries alike.

190. For its part, Australia will continue vigorously to pursue this issue in all appropriate forums, whether bilaterally, in GATT, or here in the General Assembly. We have been encouraged by the fact that this year's consultations have revealed a growing awareness among many countries of the issues involved, and we hope that in time this will be translated into appropriate and substantive action.

191. The PRESIDENT: Next we have the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 69 (i) [A/36/694/Add.8]. The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Committee, entitled "Restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the United Nations system".

192. The draft resolution was adopted by the Committee without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 36/187).

193. The PRESIDENT: The Second Committee also recommends the adoption of two draft decisions. Draft decision I is entitled "Draft resolution on the implementa-

tion of section II of the annex to General Assembly resolution 32/197 on the restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the United Nations system". I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt that draft decision.

The draft decision was adopted (decision 36/445).

194. The PRESIDENT: Draft decision II is entitled "United Nations pledging conferences for development activities". May I take it that the Assembly adopts that draft decision?

The draft decision was adopted (decision 36/446).

195. The PRESIDENT: I now invite members to turn their attention to the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 69 (j) [A/36/694/Add.9]. The Assembly will now take action on the draft resolutions recommended by the Committee.

196. Draft resolution I is entitled "Problem of remnants of war". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, 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, Guatemala, 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, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Somalia,⁵ Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, 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, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Portugal, Senegal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 115 votes to none, with 29 abstentions (resolution 36/188).

197. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II is entitled "Session of a special character of the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme". The administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution are contained in the report of the Fifth Committee

[A/36/822]. Draft resolution II was adopted by the Second Committee without a vote. I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same.

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 36/189).

198. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution III is entitled "Implementation in the Sudano-Sahelian region of the Plan of Action to Combat Desertification". It too was adopted without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt it?

Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 36/190).

199. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution IV, entitled "Study on financing the Plan of Action to Combat Desertification", was adopted by the Second Committee without a vote. I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to adopt it.

Draft resolution IV was adopted (resolution 36/191).

200. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution V, entitled "International co-operation in the field of the environment", was also adopted without a vote in the Second Committee. I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to adopt it.

Draft resolution V was adopted (resolution 36/192).

201. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, who wishes to speak in explanation of vote.

202. Mr. ZIMMERMANN (Federal Republic of Germany): It is the understanding of my Government that operative paragraph 6 of draft resolution V, which we have just adopted, does not prejudice the agenda, in accordance with the consensus on draft resolution II, of the session of a special character of the Governing Council of UNEP. It is also the understanding of my Government that the additional resources mentioned in operative paragraph 7 of the same resolution will be made available through existing channels.

203. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to the report of the Second Committee (o) and (p) of agenda item 69 [A/36/694/Add.12]. The Assembly will now take action on the recommendations of the Committee.

204. Draft resolution I is entitled "United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy". The administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution are contained in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/36/830]. The Second Committee adopted draft resolution I without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 36/193).

205. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II is entitled "United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries". The administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution are contained in the report of the Fifth Committee [A/36/828]. Draft resolution II was adopted without a vote in the Second Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to adopt it?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 36/194).

206. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 17 of its report, the Second Committee recommends the adoption of two

draft decisions. I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt them.

The draft decisions were adopted (decisions 36/447 and 36/448).

207. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of France.

208. Mr. DUVERNEY-GUICHARD (France) (*interpretation from French*): Following the adoption of draft resolution II, the French delegation would like to express its satisfaction at seeing the Assembly endorse the conclusions of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries.

209. As the President of the Conference, Mr. Jean-Pierre Cot, himself said, following its work, the Conference concluded with solemn and unanimous commitments by the international community towards those countries. My delegation notes with satisfaction that those undertakings have been confirmed by the consensus adoption of draft resolution II. The results were made possible by the spirit of co-operation which prevailed in Paris and which continued to prevail in the work of the Second Committee.

210. Thus our common will to contribute to the solution of problems facing the most disinherited of the developing countries has been reaffirmed. My delegation hopes that the provisions of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the least developed countries, now that they have been endorsed by the Assembly, can be implemented as speedily as possible. This applies in particular to the follow-up procedure, which is one of the novelties of the Programme and which, globally and within each country, is aimed at ensuring the realization of the undertakings entered into at the Conference.

211. Lastly, I should like to express my Government's appreciation for the provisions of operative paragraph 2, introduced on the initiative of the Group of 77 and adopted by the Assembly. My delegation will not fail to inform our authorities of this and they will be very appreciative of the honour done them and the confidence thus expressed in them. Nevertheless, it is quite certain that the positive results of the Conference could not have been obtained without the co-operation of all its participants, and thus of all Member States. We should like to thank them, therefore, on behalf of my Government.

212. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 70 [A/36/812].

213. I call on the representative of Ecuador, who wishes to explain his vote before the vote.

214. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I refer specifically to draft resolution VI, entitled "United Nations Development Programme", on which we shall vote in favour, to state quite particularly that our support stems from the fact that, in case of a Programme as important as is this positive North-South action within the United Nations system, we support the appeal to all countries for an average annual increase of their contributions of at least 14 per cent; this has been endorsed by the developing countries, those of Latin America in particular, and that is very significant.

215. It is necessary to increase substantially and effectively the flow of resources for UNDP so that they can meet the needs for the transfer of technology to the developing world, without harming the development plans of all those countries, which make up two thirds of mankind, and to maintain the level of programme planning for the participating countries, as approved by the Governing Council of UNDP for the third programming cycle, 1982-1986, since they are allocating their own national resources as a counterpart to the frequently very limited allocations coming from UNDP, which, however, have the virtue of being seed money producing greater contributions. If there is not a sufficient volume of funds in cash to meet current costs, changes will clearly have to be made in execution; but under no circumstances in the planning of the whole five-year period, because that would be contrary to the philosophy of UNDP and of the United Nations itself, and to the wish to promote the economic and social development of countries through specific programmes, using both pre-investment and investment monies.

216. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on the recommendations of the Second Committee.

217. I put to the vote draft resolution I, entitled "United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries".

Draft resolution I was adopted by 119 votes to none, with 22 abstentions (resolution 36/195).

218. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II is entitled "United Nations Capital Development Fund". The Second Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 36/196).

219. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution III is entitled "United Nations Children's Fund". The Second Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 36/197).

220. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution IV is entitled "United Nations Volunteers programme". The Second Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution IV was adopted (resolution 36/198).

221. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution V is entitled "Operational activities for development". The Second Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution V was adopted (resolution 36/199).

222. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution VI is entitled "United Nations Development Programme". The Second Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution VI was adopted (resolution 36/200).

223. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution VII, entitled "Establishment of the United Nations Population Award". The Second Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution VII was adopted (resolution 36/201).

224. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution VIII is entitled "Target for World Food Programme pledges for the period 1983-1984". The Second Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution VIII was adopted (resolution 36/202).

225. The PRESIDENT: The Second Committee also recommends the adoption of a draft decision entitled "Assistance by the United Nations system to regional inter-country technical co-operation institutions". May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt that draft decision?

The draft decision was adopted (decision 36/449).

226. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider parts I and II of the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 72 [A/36/737 and Add.1].

227. Draft resolution I in part I of the report is entitled "Implementation of the medium-term and long-term recovery and rehabilitation programme in the Sudano-Sahelian region". The Second Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly also wishes to adopt it?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 36/203).

228. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II is entitled "Assistance for the reconstruction, rehabilitation and development of Equatorial Guinea". The Second Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to adopt it?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 36/204).

229. The PRESIDENT: Next, draft resolution III, entitled "Assistance for the reconstruction and development of Lebanon". The Second Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly also wishes to adopt it?

Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 36/205).

230. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution IV is entitled "Assistance for the reconstruction, rehabilitation and development of the Central African Republic". The Second Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do so also?

Draft resolution IV was adopted (resolution 36/206).

231. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution V is entitled "Assistance for the development of Liberia". The Second Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution V was adopted (resolution 36/207).

232. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution VI is entitled "Special economic assistance to Benin". The Second Committee adopted it without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly also wishes to adopt it?

Draft resolution VI was adopted (resolution 36/208).

233. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution VII is entitled "Assistance to Sao Tome and Principe". The decision of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in paragraph 2 of its report [A/36/795]. The Second Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do so also?

Draft resolution VII was adopted (resolution 36/209).

234. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft resolution VIII, entitled "Assistance to Chad", to which amendments have been submitted by Chad and Kenya [A/36/L.57].

235. In accordance with the rules of procedure, I shall first put to the Assembly the amendments contained in document A/36/L.57. The decision of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of those amendments is contained in paragraph 5 of its report. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Egypt, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, France, 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, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, 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 States of America, Upper Volta, Vanuatu, Viet Nam, Yemen, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chile, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, German Democratic Republic, Guatemala, Hungary, Mexico, Mongolia, Panama, Peru, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Yugoslavia.

The amendments were adopted by 112 votes to none, with 22 abstentions.⁶

236. The PRESIDENT: Next I put to the Assembly draft resolution VIII, as amended. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt that draft resolution, as amended?

Draft resolution VII, as amended, was adopted (resolution 36/210).

237. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution IX is entitled "Assistance to Cape Verde". The Second Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to adopt it?

Draft resolution IX was adopted (resolution 36/211).

238. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution X is entitled "Assistance to the Comoros". It was adopted by the Second Committee without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to adopt it?

Draft resolution X was adopted (resolution 36/212).

239. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution XI is entitled "Assistance to Nicaragua". The Second Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to adopt it?

Draft resolution XI was adopted (resolution 36/213).

240. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution XII is entitled "Assistance to Zambia". The Second Committee adopted it without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to adopt it?

Draft resolution XII was adopted (resolution 36/214).

241. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution XIII is entitled "Assistance to Mozambique". It was adopted by the Second Committee without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to adopt it?

Draft resolution XIII was adopted (resolution 36/215).

242. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft resolution XIV, entitled "Assistance to Djibouti". The Second Committee adopted it without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution XIV was adopted (resolution 36/216).

243. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution XV is entitled "Special economic assistance to Guinea-Bissau". It was adopted by the Second Committee without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to adopt it?

Draft resolution XV was adopted (resolution 36/217).

244. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution XVI is entitled "Assistance to Uganda". The Second Committee adopted it without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution XVI was adopted (resolution 36/218).

245. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution XVII is entitled "Assistance to Lesotho". The Second Committee adopted it without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution XVII was adopted (resolution 36/219).

246. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution XVIII, entitled "Assistance for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the Gambia", was adopted by the Second Committee without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to adopt it?

Draft resolution XVIII was adopted (resolution 36/220).

247. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to draft resolution XIX, entitled "Assistance to the drought-stricken areas in Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, the Sudan and Uganda", which the Second Committee adopted without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to adopt it?

Draft resolution XIX was adopted (resolution 36/221).

248. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution XX, entitled "Assistance to Botswana", was also adopted by the Second Committee without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution XX was adopted (resolution 36/222).

249. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution XXI, entitled "Assistance to Zimbabwe", was adopted by the Second Committee without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly also wishes to adopt it?

Draft resolution XXI was adopted (resolution 36/223).

250. The PRESIDENT: I now invite members to turn their attention to the draft resolutions recommended by the Second Committee in part II of its report.

251. Draft resolution I, entitled "Expression of appreciation to the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator", was adopted by the Second Committee without a vote. May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to adopt it?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 36/224).

252. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote draft resolution II, entitled "Strengthening the capacity of the United Nations system to respond to natural disasters and other disaster situations". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Angola, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Kampuchea, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, 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 States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Abstaining: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Cuba, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Viet Nam.

Draft resolution II was adopted by 128 votes to 9, with 6 abstentions (resolution 36/225).

253. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to speak in explanation of vote after the vote.

254. Mr. TRAN XUAN NHAT (Viet Nam): My delegation would like to make the following statement in explanation of vote on draft resolution II contained in part II of the report.

255. The position of my country in regard to the role and function of UNDRO was clearly stated at the 27th meeting of the Second Committee. Since its establishment in 1971, UNDRO has made considerable and effective contributions, through the mobilization and co-ordination of relief activities of various organizations of the United Nations system, in response to requests for disaster relief from disaster-stricken States.

256. My country supports the improvement of the effectiveness of UNDRO in response to natural disasters. Nevertheless, my delegation abstained in the vote on the draft resolution as a whole, and if operative paragraphs 8, 9 and 10 had been put to the vote separately my delegation would have voted against them. My delegation's vote is based on a position of principle. First, the wording of operative paragraphs 8, 9 and 10 in general, and such concepts as "complex disasters" and "emergencies of exceptional magnitude" in particular, are ambiguous and may give rise to different interpretations, which may affect the sovereignty of disaster-stricken countries and result in interference in their internal affairs. Secondly, this draft resolution touches on a series of complicated and controversial questions which require further consideration by all Governments. My delegation is of the opinion that owing to its particular importance this draft resolution should have the agreement of all countries concerned, and that therefore the action taken on it at this stage is premature.

257. Mr. GÖKÇE (Turkey): My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution II, contained in part II of the report. However, we wish to make the following interpretative statement. Regarding operative paragraphs 8, 9 and 10, all related activities to be undertaken within the United Nations system and by the resident co-ordinator and other appropriate entities in Turkey, within the framework of draft resolution II, can only be carried out subject to the prior request and prior consent and under the full control of the Turkish Government.

258. Further, regarding operative paragraph 10, my delegation is of the opinion that within the general context of

draft resolution II the lead entity to be designated at the international level by the Secretary-General of the United Nations should normally be UNDRO, as representing him, in view of its mandate, unless the specific requirements of a given disaster situation warrant otherwise.

259. Finally, regarding the concept of "affected country", my delegation's view is that this would comprise not only those countries affected directly by a given disaster situation, but also neighbouring countries that could also be affected thereby in many different ways.

260. Mr. ZIMMERMANN (Federal Republic of Germany): I wish to refer to resolution VIII, in part I of the report. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany shares the deep concern of the international community about the massive destruction of property and the serious damage to the economic and social infrastructure of Chad during the past 15 years. My Government is therefore prepared to support, to the best of its abilities, the efforts made by the Government of Chad in the reconstruction, rehabilitation and development of the country. It was in this spirit that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany participated in the meeting of donor countries and financial institutions held in Paris on 12 and 13 November 1981. It announced there that it had 55 million German marks, that is, more than \$20 million, available for projects in the field of financial and technical co-operation, 10 million marks of which were for immediate disbursement in the form of goods and equipment.

261. In view of the difficult situation of Chad, my delegation voted in favour of draft resolution VIII. However, it feels that it is too early to hold a pledging conference in the first half of March 1982. My Government will not be able to make any additional pledge then.

262. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Chad, who has asked to be the last speaker on this item.

263. Mr. BARMA (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): Once again the Members of the United Nations have demonstrated solidarity with my country by unanimously adopting draft resolution VIII. I should like to thank whole-heartedly all delegations present, in particular those that were kind enough to sponsor the draft. My delegation thanks the sister delegation of Benin, which, as Chairman of the group of African States for November, introduced the draft resolution in the Second Committee.

264. As my delegation has frequently emphasized, 15 years of civil war ended in the destruction of the entire economic and social infrastructure of Chad. Since the end of the last battle at N'Djamena, we have actively been trying to restore the country with the generous support of some friendly brother States and also with the participation of some organizations within the United Nations system; we should like to pay a tribute to them for their assistance. But, laudable as those efforts are, they are still inadequate in view of the immensity of the work still to be done. Our own means are virtually non-existent because of the destruction caused by the war, and international assistance is still limited. Those people who left the country during the hostilities are now returning by the thousands, but it is still very difficult for them to secure their minimum requirements. It is to help those people that in operative paragraph 3 of the resolution there is an appeal to the international community to provide emergency assistance to the Government of Chad.

265. With regard to the reconstruction of the country, it is noted with interest that the inter-agency mission under the leadership of Mr. Akhund, which went to Chad late in October 1981, has now submitted its report [A/36/739, annex]. That report sums up the basic needs of the country and will be useful as a basis for the work of the pledging conference, which is so deeply desired by the Government of Chad and which will be held in March 1982 at Nairobi, in accordance with the provisions of the resolution that has just been adopted. In this respect, our delegation greatly appreciates the work of the presidency, the delegation of Kenya and the members of the Fifth Committee, who all contributed to facilitating the adoption by the General Assembly of the amendments to the draft resolution [A/36/L.57].

266. In conclusion, my delegation would like to take this opportunity to make a new appeal to the international community and particularly to Member States, international organizations, governmental and non-governmental organizations to give increased assistance to the people of Chad, who have suffered so horribly from war, and to participate in the scheduled pledging conference so as to help Chad finance its plan for national reconstruction.

AGENDA ITEM 33

The situation in the Middle East: report of the Secretary-General (*concluded*)*

267. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now resume its consideration of agenda item 33, the debate on which was concluded on 15 December. I call on the representative of Cuba to introduce draft resolutions A/36/L.59 and A/36/L.60.

268. Mr. LÓPEZ DEL AMO (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the sponsors, including my own delegation, I have the honour to introduce to the General Assembly draft resolutions A/36/L.59 and A/36/L.60, concerning the situation in the Middle East.

269. As is customary, both draft resolutions were drafted in the group of Arab States and the working group on the Middle East and Palestine of the non-aligned movement. This means that, in addition to representing the views of the sponsors, the draft resolutions we are now introducing in plenary meeting represent a consensus on the part of a large number of countries which, together with the rest of the international community, share a similar concern over the progressive deterioration of the situation in the Middle East and at the same time are convinced of the absolute necessity of finding a comprehensive, just and lasting peace for the conflict in that region.

270. In the drafting of these two draft resolutions account was taken of the Secretary-General's report [A/36/655], the debate on the item in the Assembly and the information available regarding the most recent events in the Middle East. This has enabled us to note that since the matter was considered at the thirty-fifth session, that dangerous focus of tension, a constant threat to international peace and security, has continued to deteriorate steadily.

271. In spite of repeated resolutions of the United Nations, Israel persists in its aggressive and expansionist policies and practices, which are translated into an inten-

sification of the indiscriminate massacres of innocent Palestinian and Lebanese citizens in Lebanon; the underhanded attack on the peaceful nuclear installations in Iraq; repeated threats against the Syrian Arab Republic and other Arab countries; further measures for the annexation of Palestinian and occupied Arab territories by the establishment of new settlements; the expropriation of Arab lands; the expulsion of Palestinian leaders and ruthless repression of the population of those territories; the annexation of Jerusalem and the declaration making it the "capital" of Israel; and, most recently, the decision taken on 14 December 1981 to apply Israeli law to the Golan Heights, part of the territory of the Syrian Arab Republic which has been occupied by Israel since 1967.

272. For the sponsors and also for the other delegations that contributed to the drafting of both draft resolutions, this growing Israeli aggressiveness and intransigence are closely linked to the encouragement received by the Tel Aviv Government through the promotion of separate agreements and treaties, the failure of which is becoming increasingly clear, and also the protection, support and political, diplomatic, economic and military assistance offered to it by its main ally, the United States, with which it recently signed a treaty on strategic co-operation.

273. Accordingly, as representatives may see, in the preambular part of draft resolution A/36/L.59, the Assembly expresses its concern over the development of the situation in the Middle East and reaffirms and reiterates the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.

274. The operative part reiterates the principles contained in many of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, emphasizing the need for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations and states that this should be based on the unconditional withdrawal by Israel from the territories occupied since 1967 and the exercise of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], its sole legitimate representative, including its right of return, self-determination, national independence and the establishment of its own sovereign State in Palestine. In addition to rejecting the policy of partial agreements and separate treaties, the operative paragraphs condemn the Israeli annexationist policies in the occupied territories and the criminal attacks against Lebanon, and express the conviction that the treaty of strategic co-operation between Israel and the United States will encourage the expansionist and aggressive tendencies of Israel. Lastly, the Secretary-General is requested to report periodically to the Security Council on the development of the situation and to report to the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session.

275. As to draft resolution A/36/L.60, after expressing the concern of the General Assembly over Israel's decision to extend its laws to the occupied Syrian Arab territory of the Golan Heights, and reaffirming the relevant principles of the Charter of the United Nations, international law and relevant United Nations resolutions, it declares, among other things, the Israeli action null and void; determines that the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 continues to apply to the Syrian territory occupied by Israel since the 1967 war; calls upon all States, specialized agencies and other international institutions not to recognize Israel's decision; requests the Security Council to invoke Chapter VII of the Charter in the event

* Resumed from the 99th meeting.

of Israel's failure to implement this resolution; and, lastly, requests the Secretary-General to report on this matter to the General Assembly and the Security Council.

276. In connection with this item, I should like to recall that on 14 December the countries of the non-aligned movement, in a plenary meeting held in New York, condemned in the most forceful terms this Israeli action and expressed its full solidarity with the Government and people of the sister Syrian Arab Republic.

277. Approval by the General Assembly of these two draft resolutions and the subsequent implementation of them will, in our view, constitute an important contribution by the international community to the cause of peace and justice in the Middle East.

278. On behalf of the sponsors and of my own delegation, I urge the Assembly to lend maximum support to these objectives by supporting both draft resolutions.

279. In connection with draft resolution A/36/L.60, we would like to state that operative paragraph 7 should read as follows: "*Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council on the implementation of the present resolution." In other words, the last phrase, "not later than 21 December 1981", is deleted.

280. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on representatives who wish to speak in explanation of their vote before the vote. I remind representatives that explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made from their seats.

281. Mr. de PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation has taken an active part in the debates in the plenary meetings on the question of Palestine and in the Special Political Committee concerning UNRWA, as well as on Israeli practices in the occupied territories, including Israeli excavations in areas of historic value in Jerusalem, and the digging of a canal linking the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea.

282. I should like now to state in general that Spain's position with regard to these questions has been governed by one irrefutable principle: the right of all States now existing in the area, or which may be established, to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries. This principle, arising from Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), sufficiently developed, would cover all the problems of the area. On the one hand, there is the question of Palestine, on resolutions relating to which we have voted recently. Here it is a question of solving at the same time both a short-term and a medium-term problem. The urgent need is to improve the lot of the almost 2 million Palestinians who for more than three decades have been living in conditions of deprivation which only their desire for a national identity has enabled them to survive. In order to achieve this objective, no more direct path is to be found than that of ensuring the survival of UNRWA, to which Spain is a principal contributor. The appropriate working group must find a way to solve its financial difficulties before next February.

283. In the medium term, we must take the political route, in which all the parties concerned are represented, in order to reach a solution which will allow the States in the area to live within secure boundaries. This solution will be possible only if there is an end to the Israeli practices denounced by the Special Committee, in particular

the establishment of illegal settlements in the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, and if Israel complies with the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, with regard to those territories.

284. Secondly, it is necessary to put a halt to the armed conflicts that are gradually destroying the area, such as those which are taking place between Iran and Iraq and in Lebanon. In this connection I should like to reaffirm my country's support for UNIFIL and the important work it is doing.

285. Lastly, there is the question of the withdrawal from the territories occupied since 1967, one of which, the Golan Heights, has just been the subject of a new violation of international law by Israel, which is being studied by the Security Council now. In that organ my country has defended the just cause of the Syrian Arab Republic in opposing the annexation sought by the Israeli Government. Without prejudicing our actions in the Council, my country will vote in favour of draft resolution A/36/L.60, which declares the legal and administrative measures adopted by Israel in the occupied Syrian Arab territory of the Golan Heights to be null and void. Those measures run counter to the principles of international law and the Geneva Convention, not to mention Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

286. My delegation, similarly, will vote in favour of draft resolution A/36/L.59, since we consider that it adequately reflects the overall problem of the Middle East, although in connection with operative paragraph 12 I must state that the language used prevents our endorsing the statements therein.

287. Mr. VIDAL ESPAILLAT (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Dominican Republic will abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/36/L.59. We consider that the agreements rejected in its operative paragraph 5 constitute true contributions in the lengthy process of the search for peaceful solutions to the Middle East problem. Since we feel that the rejection of those agreements is unjustified, we cannot vote in favour of the draft resolution. However, we shall vote for draft resolution A/36/L.60.

288. Mr. HERMIDA CASTILLO (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We should like to state our position and explain our vote on one of the most important items before the General Assembly. The international community has expressed its concern over this issue on a great many occasions, in view of the threat which it poses to international peace and security. The crisis in the Middle East, which is the result of the denial of the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people, has persisted for 14 years. The vital importance of this issue makes the search for a comprehensive, just and lasting solution in that troubled area the main priority.

289. Nicaragua, like the immense majority of countries, is fully convinced that a just and lasting peace can never be achieved while attempts are made to ignore or deny, invoking so-called "vital interests", the essential element in the situation, which has given rise to a series of wars and caused the deterioration of the region. The question of Palestine is the core of the Middle East problem. A settlement of the Palestine problem will lay the necessary foundations for the lasting peace we all desire in the Mid-

dle East and solve a crisis which is of great danger to all mankind.

290. The United Nations has expressed its solidarity with and firm support for the just cause of the Palestinian people and the Arab peoples many times in their struggle against aggression and Israeli occupation. This is shown by the great many resolutions adopted on this issue. The annexationist practices and policies of Israel have been condemned, as have its intransigence and terrorist practices against the Palestinian people. The Organization has requested Israel to withdraw from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem. It has also declared its rejection of the settlement of Palestinians outside their homeland and the attempts by third parties to determine the fate of the Palestinian people.

291. All of this is in accordance with the commitments of the General Assembly with its legal and historical obligations in defence of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their occupied territory, to self-determination, national independence and the creation of a Palestinian State on Palestinian soil.

292. Furthermore, the non-aligned movement has since its foundation reiterated its commitment to the Palestinian people. It has condemned the persistent violation of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the inhabitants in the Arab and Palestinian territories by Israel and the policy of colonization practised by Israel.

293. It is to be regretted that, despite all the appeals made by the General Assembly, the non-aligned movement, other international organizations and the Arab world, Israel, with assistance from its allies, is continuing its aggressive policies in contempt of international opinion. The reply of the Zionists to efforts made is to step up their attacks on Lebanon, replying with bombing and the destruction of cities and towns. The constant violation of the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and public security of Lebanon, and the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor, flouting all the norms of international law, is further proof of how the Israelis are thinking and using their policies. Furthermore, we have witnessed the perpetual provocation in the violation of Arab airspace by Israel. Therefore my delegation will vote in favour of draft resolutions A/36/L.59 and A/36/L.60.

294. The recent annexation by Israel of the Golan Heights has underscored the validity of these draft resolutions and the thesis supported by the great majority of the international community, and particularly the members of the non-aligned movement, to the effect that the core of the problem in the Middle East is the denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and Israel's aggressive measures to perpetuate this illegal and unjust situation, sheltered by the immunity made possible by the political, economic and military support of a super-Power.

295. We shall vote for these draft resolutions because Nicaragua considers Israel's conduct to be unacceptable and intolerable, just as we consider that failure to punish such conduct is unacceptable. The threat or the use of force deserves at least condemnation by the international community. The Arab people knows this well; on many occasions it has been the subject of Israeli aggression. The people of Nicaragua are also well aware of this, threatened as they are today by the principal ally of Israel, as are other peoples in our area who are the victims of the military co-operation between Israel and the dictatorships of Latin America.

296. Israel's decision to annex the territory of the Golan Heights makes quite clear its true intention to reject political solutions and to perpetuate its colonialist policy throughout Arab territories occupied by force. My delegation condemns all of these practices and expansionist policies of Israel against the Palestinian people and the Arab nation. We reiterate our solidarity with them and our support for the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

297. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Ecuador will abstain in the vote on one of the draft resolutions on the situation in the Middle East, not because of the principles mentioned therein and the declarations rejecting aggression, annexationist practices, occupation and the retention of territories by force and violations of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of a country. The abstaining vote refers in particular to operative paragraphs 5 and 12 of draft resolution A/36/L.59, since these are unilateral and prejudge understandings and agreements freely contracted by sovereign countries, with the full endorsement of the public opinion of the peoples concerned and with the concrete result, encouraging for international law, of returning territories to the State of original sovereignty.

298. Ecuador hopes, pursuant to its constant policy of rejecting invasion by force and the acquisition of rights through the use of force, that any initiative tending to bring about the withdrawal of military forces from all the occupied territories will bear fruit.

299. We believe that the attitude of the United Nations, expressed in its resolutions, should be to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes. We consider that both the Palestinian people as well as the State of Israel should, through their representatives, mutually negotiate and therefore take part at the negotiating table on an equal footing in order to reach an understanding that would free the world from a world war which could result from the great tensions in the area.

300. Ecuador is in favour of any step to promote peaceful solutions in the Middle East, where it has cordial relations with all the countries of the area.

301. We have voted in favour of various other draft resolutions on the case of Palestine at this same session. In connection with the occupation and the declaration of Israel's legal incorporation of the Golan Heights, Ecuador will vote in favour of draft resolution A/36/L.60, which invokes the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the principles of international law and relevant resolutions of the Organization.

302. The delegation of Ecuador hopes that despite the prevailing tension it will be possible to find formulas for understanding in order to reach final solutions in the area and that the peoples will be able to express freely their decisions on their future without pressure, beginning with the withdrawal from territories occupied by force and following with the elimination of the climate of violence that is preventing the normal development of life in peaceful coexistence among the peoples of the Middle East.

303. Mr. ADAN (Somalia): My delegation wishes to state that it will vote in favour of the draft resolutions which are before us and which express the concern of the General Assembly over the continued threat to peace posed by the grave situation in the Middle East. We wel-

come the reaffirmation in the draft resolutions of the legal and political imperatives for a just and lasting peace in the area. The draft resolutions rightly emphasize that it is inadmissible, under the Charter of the United Nations, to acquire territory by force. This principle has the clearest application to the Middle East situation. It demands without any shadow of a doubt Israel's complete and unconditional withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem. Israel's illegal settlement policies in Arab territory clearly contravene the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, a convention the international community has repeatedly declared to be applicable to the territories under Zionist occupation.

304. No one can contest the illegality, the arrogant imperialism and the inhumanity of those policies. The world community must continue to condemn them and to demand that they be stopped and reversed.

305. No judgement on international affairs has been so often repeated as the one that the Palestinian question is at the heart of the Middle East problem. My delegation heartily welcomes the fact that recognition of the justice of the Palestinian cause is world-wide and that the vast majority of Member States have joined in demanding the restoration to the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights to self-determination and to statehood in Palestine. We strongly believe that a Middle East settlement can be achieved only with the participation on an equal footing of all the parties to the conflict, including the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinian people, and we welcome the reaffirmation of that principle in the draft resolution.

306. We have long been familiar with Israel's denial of Palestinian rights, its illegal annexations, particularly that of Jerusalem, and its inhuman and terrorist policies directed against the Arab populations in occupied territories and in neighbouring States.

307. To this disgraceful record has been added the steady escalation of Zionist aggression and expansionism over the past year. The world community has already condemned on an individual basis such shocking international crimes as the destruction by aerial attack of Iraq's nuclear reactor, the callously inhuman bombing of the civilian population in Lebanon, which resulted in widespread death and destruction, and, most recently of all, the typically arrogant announcement of the extension of Israeli laws to Syria's Golan Heights. These actions have earned even the condemnation of Israel's closest supporters. It could hardly be otherwise, when the irresponsible actions of Israel's leaders undermine the principles and provisions of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and obstruct the path to a Middle East peace.

308. We hope that the Security Council will take action commensurate with the gravity of Israel's flagrant violation of international law with regard to the Golan Heights, the agenda item which it is now considering.

309. In the light of Israel's historical intransigence and its increasingly belligerent policies, it can hardly be doubted that Israel's lip-service to the peace process is calculated to mask the cynical opportunism of its expansionist policies.

310. We often hear a call from Zionist and other circles for so-called balanced resolutions on the Middle East, as though the General Assembly were handing out tokens in

some children's counting game. We are, of course, dealing with the realities of a dangerous situation, and its salient factors are Israel's gross violations of international law, its contempt for United Nations resolutions and its steadily escalating policies of military aggression and expansionism. However much we may wish it to be otherwise, these are the realities and we cannot ignore them. Israel's policies must continue to be condemned by the world community because of their threat to regional and international peace and security.

311. Of course, condemnation has never served to deter Israel from its expansionist policies. My delegation therefore attaches particular importance to the call voiced in draft resolution A/36/L.59 to all States to put an end to the flow to Israel of any military, economic and financial resources which would encourage and support the Zionist State in its transgressions of international law.

312. Mr. BLUM (Israel): The General Assembly has before it draft resolutions A/36/L.59 and A/36/L.60. Let me deal with the first of these drafts first.

313. In my statement at the 95th plenary meeting I suggested that representatives should look at the Middle East as a whole, since the name of the item before us is literally "The situation in the Middle East". I suggested that they would do well to look at the many trouble-spots throughout that endemically and chronically unstable area.

314. By way of an overview, I pointed to the brutally repressive behaviour of the ruling tyrant in Iraq, Saddam Hussein al Takriti. I recalled Iraq's brutal treatment of its minorities, particularly the Assyrians, the Jews and the Kurds, since that country attained its independence in the 1930s. And I drew attention to Iraq's ongoing war of aggression against Iran, which has already created a refugee problem of huge dimensions, about which the United Nations has done nothing.

315. I pointed to the situation on the western flank of the Middle East, where Colonel Muammar Al-Qadhafi, the notorious quartermaster and paymaster of the "terrorist international", tried to annex in the course of this year the country of Chad and also attacked the Sudan. I observed that a military arsenal of a kind and size far beyond Libya's capacity to use had been put at its disposal by the Soviet Union, the super-Power which over the last quarter century and more has worked consistently to destabilize the Middle East.

316. I also referred to President Hafez al Assad of Syria and the brutality, repression and corruption with which he and his brother Rifa'at try to keep their minority régime in power. I alluded to the continuing Syrian rape of Lebanon, including the lengthy siege this year of the town of Zahle and also to Syria's strategic alliances with the Soviet Union on the one hand and Libya on the other.

317. Turning southwards, I drew attention to the highly unstable situation of an almost feudal society in possession of staggering wealth, which has made Saudi Arabia a threat not only to the Middle East but, indeed, to the world as a whole. In particular, I adduced some examples of how Saudi oil wealth is being parlayed into arms purchases in quantities per capita virtually unknown in human history. And I stressed that Saudi Arabia had in the last few years done everything in its power, which, given its wealth, is not inconsiderable, to frustrate the peace process in the Middle East.

318. I concluded by expressing the hope that the Assembly would wish to rise to the occasion and take this opportunity of discussing the Middle East as it really is. As has invariably happened in years past, the Assembly let this opportunity pass through its fingers. Instead of discussing the Middle East, it preferred to focus on one small part of the Middle East and to regurgitate its one-sided deliberations on the question of the Palestinian Arabs.

319. As a result, the draft resolution before the Assembly is largely a synopsis of the political resolutions which were adopted at the 93rd meeting under agenda item 31, together with a long series of hobby-horses ridden so hard year in, year out, by a certain group of States in the Assembly. In addition, it has become a convenient catch-all for a highly selective list of matters, somehow not covered by the resolutions on item 31.

320. Its purpose is precisely the same as in those resolutions—namely, to impede the peaceful solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Like those resolutions, it is an anti-peace resolution. As such, it should be rejected.

321. The language of the draft resolution basically follows and exacerbates the formulations which have been advanced year after year on this item. It only goes to prove that its drafters have fallen captive to their own obsessions and slogans and are incapable of producing any fresh ideas, certainly any approaches that might contribute constructively to anything in the Middle East.

322. One of the novelties we see here is the rewording of the paragraph concerning Lebanon in last year's resolution on the Middle East. We had no difficulty in voting for the paragraph on Lebanon's sovereignty last year. But this year, the draft resolution speaks of "regional" endorsement of that sovereignty, which in plain language means the perpetuation of the Syrian occupation of Lebanon. This we cannot support.

323. In the tradition of resolutions on this item, the draft contradicts the provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and the foundations on which it rests. That resolution was and remains one of the few positive contributions which the Organization has made to the cause of peace in the Middle East. It is the only basis for a negotiated settlement of the Arab-Israel conflict. The sponsors of the draft resolution before us appear to begrudge the Organization that contribution and hence seek to undermine it.

324. In sum, this draft resolution, like the ones adopted last week on agenda item 31, is in flagrant violation of the Charter and all it stands for. It turns the United Nations against its very *raison d'être*: the prevention of war and the promotion of peace.

Mr. Naik (Pakistan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

325. It goes without saying, therefore, that States which hold aloft the ideals of peace and of the United Nations in general should dissociate themselves from this draft resolution.

326. As regards draft resolution A/36/L.60, Israel's position on this subject was fully set out in my statement to the Security Council yesterday, 16 December.⁷ Let me therefore say very briefly that the draft resolution suffers from a fundamental flaw: it ignores Syria's persistent aggression against the State of Israel since the very day it

was established in 1948. It ignores Syria's adamant refusal to recognize Israel, to negotiate with Israel and to make peace with Israel. It ignores every hostile act taken by Syria in the last few years to subvert any movement towards a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israel conflict.

327. In this connection, let me recall Article 12, paragraph 1, of the Charter. That Article states:

"While the Security Council is exercising in respect of any dispute or situation the functions assigned to it in the present Charter, the General Assembly shall not make any recommendation with regard to that dispute or situation unless the Security Council so requests."

The Security Council is currently considering the matter dealt with in draft resolution A/36/L.60. Under the provisions of the Charter, and as long as the Security Council is seized of the matter, the Assembly is precluded from adopting any resolution on the matter contained in the present draft resolution. Should such a resolution be adopted it will clearly be in open violation of the Charter.

328. Mr. BUSTANI (Brazil): The delegation of Brazil will vote in favour of both draft resolutions on the situation in the Middle East inasmuch as they generally reflect its overall position on the several issues they deal with. We wish, however, to state our doubts on some parts of draft resolution A/36/L.59, the language of which could be made more appropriate and precise.

329. Mr. MAYNARD (Bahamas): My delegation has had some difficulty in accepting some of the ideas enunciated in draft resolution A/36/L.59. We refer in particular to paragraph 5 of that draft resolution. While there is much of a positive nature in draft resolution A/36/L.60, in our view that positive impetus has not been fully transferred to draft resolution A/36/L.59.

330. Therefore, the Bahamas will support draft resolution A/36/L.60 but will abstain on draft resolution A/36/L.59, without prejudging the deliberations of other bodies, in particular those of the Security Council. The Bahamas favours any measure which will promote a lasting solution to the problems of the Middle East, in particular the cause of the Palestinian people, and welcomes the reaffirmation of this prospect by the General Assembly.

331. Mrs. NOWOTNY (Austria): The position which Austria takes on the situation in the Middle East was made clear once again in the Austrian statement during the debate on this question [95th meeting]. Austria will now abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/36/L.59. That draft resolution partly meets the position of the Austrian Government and contains elements which we also regard as necessary for a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the Middle East conflict. Several other elements, however, which are of equally vital importance, are missing, first and foremost a reference to Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and to the right of all States in the area, including Israel, to exist within safe and secure boundaries.

332. Austria will vote in favour of draft resolution A/36/L.60, as we regard the recent decision of the Israeli Government to apply Israeli law to the occupied territories of the Golan Heights as a very serious violation of international law, in particular of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. This measure will have grave consequences for the situation in the area and will further jeopardize the efforts

to achieve a peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict. We have strong reservations, however, on operative paragraph 6 of this draft resolution, reservations that are heightened because of the fact that this whole question is at present under consideration by the Security Council, and the General Assembly, under Article 12 of the Charter, should not pronounce itself on it.

333. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to take a decision on draft resolution A/36/L.59 and Add.1. A separate recorded vote has been requested on operative paragraph 8 of that draft resolution.

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, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, 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, 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, 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, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Israel.

Abstaining: Burma, Egypt,⁸ Guatemala, Haiti, Trinidad and Tobago, United States of America, Upper Volta.

Operative paragraph 8 was adopted by 132 votes to 1, with 7 abstentions.

334. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/36/L.59 and Add.1 as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, 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, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, 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, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, 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: Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Bolivia, Burma, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Liberia, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Portugal, Sweden, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Zaire.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 94 votes to 16, with 28 abstentions (resolution 36/226 A).

335. The PRESIDENT: Next I put to the Assembly draft resolution A/36/L.60 and Add.1. A separate recorded vote has been requested on operative paragraph 6.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, Upper Volta, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

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

Abstaining: Bahamas, Burma, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Gabon, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Ireland, Jamaica, Lesotho, Liberia, Nepal, Panama, Philippines, Portugal, Saint Lucia, Spain, Swaziland, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Zaire.

Operative paragraph 6 was adopted by 92 votes to 19, with 26 abstentions.

336. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to vote on draft resolution A/36/L.60 and Add.1 as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, 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, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, 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, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, 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, Swaziland, 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, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Israel, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Liberia, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 121 votes to 2, with 20 abstentions (resolution 36/226 B).

337. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those delegations wishing to explain their votes.

338. Mr. LUNDAVIK (Sweden): The Swedish delegation abstained in the vote taken on draft resolution A/36/L.59 and Add.1. In addition to the general lack of balance that caused my delegation to abstain on the corresponding resolution last year, the text includes new elements which we cannot accept. Our views on the conflict in the Middle East have been put forward in the recent debate under this agenda item [95th meeting], as well as in an explanation of our vote under agenda item 31, on the question of Palestine [93rd meeting]. I need not, therefore, reiterate them once again.

339. My delegation particularly regrets not having been able to support draft resolution A/36/L.60 and Add.1, dealing with the recent illegal Israeli measures regarding the Golan Heights. The reason is the fact that the sponsors have found it necessary to include language in operative paragraph 6 of that resolution which cannot be reconciled with the provisions of the Charter. My delegation supported resolution 36/147 E on the same subject adopted by the General Assembly under agenda item 64, after having abstained from voting on the same text at the 46th

meeting of the Special Political Committee. The reason for our changed vote was, of course, the intervening action taken by the Israeli authorities in relation to the area.

340. Allow me, in this context, to refer to a statement made on 15 December by my Foreign Minister, Mr. Ola Ullsten, who said:

"The decision yesterday by the Israeli Parliament to apply Israeli law and administration to the Golan Heights means, in practice, that the area is annexed by Israel. The Swedish Government deeply deplores that decision. The measure reduces the possibilities of achieving a comprehensive peace in the area. Any attempt to change unilaterally the status of the Golan Heights is in clear violation of international law and of Security Council resolution 242 (1967)."

341. Mr. McBARNETTE (Trinidad and Tobago): The delegation of Trinidad and Tobago voted in favour of the two draft resolutions as a whole. Our position on the question of Palestine is clear and does not need to be stated at this time. My delegation would like, however, to indicate for the record that we have reservations on these resolutions because of certain elements in the operative parts.

342. Mr. TORRES (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Chile voted for both draft resolutions.

343. Our positive vote on draft resolution A/36/L.60 and Add.1 reflects my Government's concern at the Israeli action with regard to the Syrian Golan Heights. Chile's position on this, which is well known, is that one of the essential factors for peace in the Middle East is Israel's withdrawal from all territories occupied since 1967. Similarly, we have unswervingly supported the applicability of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, to the situation of all the territories occupied since 1967. Despite that, we have reservations on operative paragraph 6 of that draft resolution, in which the General Assembly exceeds its powers, since it is pronouncing itself on a question which only the Security Council is entitled to determine. For that reason, my delegation has just abstained in the separate vote on that paragraph.

344. Our positive vote on draft resolution A/36/L.59 and Add.1 stems from the fact that it contains elements which we endorse in connection with the solution to the problem of the Middle East. However, we should have preferred it if, together with recognition of Palestinian rights, it had placed on record the right of all States in the area, including the State of Israel, to live within secure and recognized boundaries. To this end, we believe that mention should have been made of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. With regard to operative paragraphs 5 and 12, we consider that States have the sovereign right to conclude whatever agreements they deem necessary, in accordance with international law, and the General Assembly does not have the power to question their validity. In connection with this draft resolution, we should also like to state our position that the General Assembly should not grant exclusive representativity of the Palestinian people until that people has exercised its right to self-determination. However, we reaffirm our position that the PLO should be associated in any negotiations on the future of the Palestinian people. Finally, regarding operative paragraph 7, we must place on record our disagreement with the language used in its drafting.

345. Mr. ADELMAN (United States of America): My delegation voted against resolution A/36/L.59 and Add.1 for several reasons. Apart from its greater harshness, there is very little that is new in this resolution. It is a replay of the unbalanced accusations and stale invective that have characterized many of the resolutions on the Middle East under other agenda items during this session. We and other members have already made our position known on these issues, often more than once. It is regrettable that we are asked to repeat this process once again. Such an exercise serves no useful purpose. It diverts the energies of the General Assembly and debases the dialogue on an important subject.

346. The United States voted against this resolution also because it contains several elements which we find especially objectionable. For example, we cannot accept the characterization of the recent agreement on strategic co-operation between my Government and the Government of Israel. The purposes of that agreement were made known publicly and are entirely consistent with the Charter of the United Nations. We vigorously reject this challenge by the General Assembly to our sovereign right to enter into this agreement and to its propriety.

347. I must also repeat our firm and continuing support for the Camp David peace process, which is once again unjustly criticized by oblique reference in this resolution. That process, the only path to peace agreed to by any of the parties in the Arab-Israeli dispute, provides ample scope for negotiations leading to a just and lasting settlement. To reject it as this and other resolutions have done, is simply irresponsible.

348. This resolution contains tendentious and harsh language. The characterization of Israeli practices as "aggression" in the operative paragraphs is an especially objectionable abuse of language. The call for an end to all forms of aid to Israel in effect is a demand for sanctions, and as such is beyond the competence of the General Assembly. The Assembly should instead be seeking ways to reduce animosities on both sides and to acknowledge the legitimate rights of all parties.

349. The most glaring defect of all is the total absence of any recognition of Israel's right to live in peace with its Arab neighbours or the need for peaceful negotiations based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) as the only sure path to peace. Only when such balance is found in General Assembly resolutions on this subject will they have my Government's support.

350. With respect to the part which deals with the Golan, namely, paragraph 8 of draft resolution A/36/L.59 and Add.1 and draft resolution A/36/L.60 and Add.1, I should like to make the following comments.

351. My delegation abstained in the vote on operative paragraph 8 of draft resolution A/36/L.59 and Add.1 because it is inappropriate for the General Assembly to pass judgement on an issue which is at present being considered in the Security Council. My delegation voted against draft resolution A/36/L.60 and Add.1 because operative paragraph 6 invokes Chapter VII of the Charter and because, according to Article 12 of the Charter, it is improper for the General Assembly to make any recommendations with regard to a situation before the Security Council.

352. The United States is deeply concerned over and opposes any effort to change the status of the Golan unilaterally. As President Reagan stated just this afternoon:

"We have registered our disagreement and the fact that we do deplore this unilateral action taken by Israel, which has increased the difficulty of seeking peace in the Middle East under the terms of . . . resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) . . . Hopefully . . . this action can be ameliorated."

353. I should like to make one final comment on draft resolution A/36/L.59 and Add.1. We strongly support the call in operative paragraph 10 for strict respect for the territorial integrity of Lebanon and the restoration to the Lebanese State of its authority over all its territory.

354. My delegation has repeatedly stressed that we do not regard the Arab-Israeli conflict as an immutable fact of history. We are strongly convinced that a just and lasting settlement between Israel and its Arab neighbours is possible. For this reason we strongly oppose any efforts to single out Israel for censure. Such efforts do not bring Arab-Israeli peace any nearer; on the contrary, they detract from serious efforts to resolve the problems which have been addressed under this and other items for the last few weeks.

355. Mr. SASSI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya voted in favour of draft resolution A/36/L.59 and Add.1. The resolution contains very positive paragraphs, but that does not in any way mean that we agree with all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations—for example Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which we do not recognize.

356. Mr. HUMFREY (United Kingdom): I speak on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community.

357. In connection with the voting on draft resolution A/36/L.60 and Add.1, the 10 States wish to re-emphasize strongly their position as set out by their Foreign Ministers on 15 December [see A/36/848] regarding the decision of the Government and the Knesset of Israel to extend Israeli law, jurisdiction and administration to occupied Syrian territory in the Golan Heights. The members of the European Community strongly deplore this decision and consider such an extension, which is tantamount to annexation, to be contrary to international law and therefore invalid in their eyes. They also assert that the Israeli step prejudices the possibility of the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and is bound to complicate further the search for a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East, to which the Community remains committed.

358. Hence, it will be clear that all the 10 member States of the European Community would have wished to support this resolution, and they in no way condone the Israeli action. However, they regret that they were unable to support operative paragraph 6, in view of the reference to Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, and they would point out that the Security Council is in any case currently considering the complaint by the Syrian Arab Republic on the situation.

359. Mr. HUTCHENS (Australia): The Australian Government deplores Israel's decision to enforce Israeli law on the Golan Heights. As the Australian Foreign Minister

said on 15 December, this decision is contrary to the principles of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). The Australian Government considers the Golan Heights to be part of the occupied territories, the final status of which should be determined through negotiations between all parties in the context of a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East dispute. The Australian Foreign Minister further stated that the enactment of legislation enforcing Israeli law in the Golan Heights would exacerbate tension in the region and make it more difficult to achieve progress towards a comprehensive settlement.

360. Had draft resolution A/36/L.60 and Add.1 not included operative paragraph 6, Australia would have voted for it. For reasons which are well known, however, Australia is unable to support calls for action by the General Assembly under Chapter VII of the Charter. Such action belongs to the Security Council alone. For this reason Australia voted against operative paragraph 6 and abstained in the vote on the resolution as a whole. This vote in no way qualifies our opposition to the latest move by Israel.

361. Mrs. GUELMAN (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Uruguayan delegation voted for draft resolution A/36/L.60 and Add.1, since it answers its purpose, which is the defence of the principle of the non-use of force in international relations. On this score, we wish to put on record our deep disagreement with the occupation of territories by force; in this case in particular we must also place on record with our positive vote our disagreement with the decision taken by Israel to apply its legislation to the occupied territory of the Golan Heights.

362. Nevertheless, we also wish to place on record our reservation on operative paragraph 6, which led to our abstention in the separate vote on that paragraph. We consider that the Assembly has no mandate to recommend the application of Chapter VII of the Charter, which clearly confers this power on the Security Council.

363. Mr. KERGIN (Canada): I should like to explain my delegation's votes on both draft resolutions.

364. Earlier this week, when my delegation considered draft resolution E submitted to the Assembly in the report of the Special Political Committee [*see A/36/632/Add.1*], it registered Canada's strong opposition to the extension of Israeli law to the occupied Golan Heights, which we consider to be contrary to international law. We view this unilateral action by Israel with great concern, particularly in the context of other Israeli actions. We believe that it adversely affects the peace process, which so many of us hope will lead to a just, lasting and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East.

365. In view of this position, I should like to place on record that we were in agreement with the general thrust of draft resolution A/36/L.60 and Add.1. We could not, however, support this draft resolution because of our opposition to the content of operative paragraph 6, which we voted against.

366. Our delegation would also like to explain its vote in favour of operative paragraph 8 of draft resolution A/36/L.59 and Add.1, referring to Israel's annexation of the occupied Golan Heights. Although we voted in favour of this paragraph, we do not believe that the facts substantiate several of the allegations made regarding Israeli actions with respect to Syrian citizens located in the Golan Heights.

367. Mr. PELAEZ (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/36/L.59 and Add.1 because it contains language which is not conciliatory and does not include certain basic elements which were included in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which we think deserve special attention as a realistic framework for arriving at an overall just and lasting peace in the Middle East, the central element of which is the question of Palestine.

368. The Peruvian delegation has always supported any steps in the Security Council and the General Assembly aimed at achieving a just solution to the problem of the Middle East. In this connection it has always been in favour of the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, respect for the international status of Jerusalem, strict respect for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon and rejection of aggressive and annexationist practices and policies against the people in the occupied Arab territories.

369. Therefore, we should like once again to express our conviction that confrontation and conflict can be overcome through a political process which, with the participation of all parties concerned, could leave behind decades of painful confrontation and usher in a new era of peace in the region.

370. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): The Turkish delegation voted for the two draft resolutions.

371. However, it would have preferred that operative paragraph 12 not be included in draft resolution A/36/L.59 and Add.1, which deals with the existing conflicts between the countries of the Middle East area.

372. Nevertheless, my delegation hopes that everything necessary will be done to ensure that Israel is not in any way able to consider the agreement mentioned in that paragraph as encouragement for its basically negative policy and its aggressive conduct vis-à-vis the Arab States and the Palestinian Arab people.

373. Mr. ARCILLA (Philippines): My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/36/L.59 and Add.1 as a whole. However, had there been separate votes on operative paragraphs 5, 12 and 13, the Philippines would have expressed reservations on them.

374. Mr. FRANCIS (New Zealand): New Zealand's position on the territories occupied by Israel since 1967—and these include the Golan Heights—is perfectly clear. We regard Israel's continued occupation and any move to change the nature or status of these territories as illegal, contrary to the provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and a major obstacle to the negotiation of a peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

375. It was for these reasons that New Zealand voted in favour of draft resolution E concerning the Golan Heights, which was adopted by the General Assembly under item 64. New Zealand fully supports the thrust of draft resolution A/36/L.60 and Add.1, on Israel's move to annex the Golan Heights as well, but we have strong reservations about operative paragraph 6, on which we registered a negative vote, and, regretfully, this obliged us to abstain on the draft resolution as a whole.

376. Mr. ROMERO-SÁNCHEZ (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation voted for the two

draft resolutions but we wish to record our reservations on operative paragraphs 5 and 12 of draft resolution A/36/L.59 and Add.1.

377. Mr. GONZÁLEZ CÉSAR (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation of course voted for draft resolution A/36/L.59 and Add.1. However, I should like to make it clear that, had there been a separate vote on operative paragraph 5, my delegation would have abstained.

378. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

379. Mr. SASSI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I would not have wished to take up the time of the General Assembly, since it is already late, but I should like to exercise my right of reply in response to the tendentious allegations made by the representative of the Zionist entity.

380. That representative, as is his custom, diverted attention from the real cause of the problem we are now discussing. It is very ironic that the Zionist entity should accuse us of terrorism. If he means to say we are terrorists because we support the liberation movements of the world, then we accept the accusation, but if he considers the word "terrorism" in its real meaning, then we must say that he is the terrorist.

381. What are we to call the decision of the Zionist entity to make Jerusalem its capital? Is that not a terrorist action? How else can we describe the aggression of the Zionist entity and its unceasing actions against the Palestinian people in the occupied Palestinian territories and elsewhere—for example, in the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon? Is that not a terrorist operation? How else can we describe the expropriation and seizing of land, the establishment of settlements, the assassination attempts and other terrorist, aggressive and repressive measures? They are violations of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law and international agreements. Is this not terrorism?

382. How else can we describe the annexationist policies of the Zionist entity in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights, the establishment of settlements, the confiscation of land, the diversion of water, the actions against Syrian citizens and the imposition of Israeli nationality on those Syrian citizens? Is this not terrorism?

383. How are we to describe Israeli actions against Lebanon, the constant bombing and destruction of Lebanese towns and villages? Is this not terrorism?

384. How else can we describe the violations by the Zionist entity of the airspace of various Arab countries? Is this not terrorist action? How else can we describe the bombing of the King David Hotel and the massacre of innocent men, women and children ordered by the terrorist Begin? How else can we describe the Deir Yassin massacre and the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear power plant? Are these not all terrorist actions?

385. It is strange that reality should be so distorted that a peaceful approach is called terrorism and terrorism is called peaceful conduct.

386. These are some facts which prove beyond a doubt how the Zionist entity conducts itself and which show that

the allegations made by the representative of that entity attack the unwavering position of principle of my country in support of the peoples' right to self-determination and independence. My country will continue to support and assist the national liberation movements of the world until their struggle is crowned with success and until all peoples gain freedom and independence.

387. The Zionist representative forgets that the world has learned something very important from history—namely, that all racist régimes such as his own can survive only through terror and massacre.

388. In supporting the PLO and the people of Palestine in their efforts to free their land and regain their rights, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is merely carrying out its duty. The entire world recognizes that the Palestinian people should enjoy the same rights as all other peoples in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

389. Regarding Chad, the arrogance of the Zionist representative is unbounded. He should bear in mind that in Africa we can solve our problems ourselves. We do not need his advice. There is a very important difference between going into a country to drive out the inhabitants and to adopt a practice of plunder, occupation and massacre, and going into a country at the request of its legitimate Government to put an end to a civil war there.

390. We should like to remind the representative of the Zionist entity in occupied Palestine that our forces withdrew from that country a long time ago, at the request of the legitimate Government of Chad and after my country had done its duty with regard to that country and had made considerable sacrifices to ensure peace and to put an end to the civil war. This shows the whole world the positive role played by my country in support of peace and security in Africa.

391. Mr. BARMA (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): I too would like to apologize to the Assembly because it is very late, but I shall be brief.

392. I should like to respond briefly to the representative of Israel. In exercising his right of reply the representative of Israel claimed that President Qadhafi of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya had, in pursuit of what he described as a terrorist policy, attacked Chad.

393. I think that the Libyan representative has responded quite correctly to the Israeli representative. For my part I would say to him and to the Assembly that the attack on Chad by Libya of which the Israeli representative has spoken exists only in his imagination. Chad and Libya are two neighbourly, fraternal countries, and they have an excellent relationship of good-neighbourliness. This is all the more true in that at a time when the Government of Chad was facing an armed rebellion that received considerable help from outside, the Government of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya responded favourably to the appeal made to it by the Government of Chad and thus enabled the latter to triumph over the rebel forces on 15 December 1980. Moreover, since the end of the war Libya has been participating actively in the reconstruction undertaken by the Transitional National Union Government.

394. Mr. MOHAMMAD (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is very disturbing and odd that at a time when the international community is calling for the withdrawal of the Zionist entity from the occupied Arab territories,

denouncing its violations of United Nations resolutions, condemning its racist practices against the Palestinian people in the occupied Arab territories and beyond, condemning its attacks against Lebanon and Iraq and denouncing its violations of the airspace of various Arab countries, and at a time when the Zionist entity has just been condemned by the Security Council for its annexation of the Golan Heights, the representative of the Zionist entity, in his reply, should speak ill of my country. This is a Zionist practice to deceive public opinion, and it is both regrettable and ironic. We are all quite familiar with Israel's practices in Palestine and the other occupied Arab territories. Its persistent violations of international law, its defiance of world public opinion, its general conduct, its policy of annexation and the plundering of Arab lands and property, the establishment of settlements in the Arab and Palestinian occupied territories and the expulsion of the indigenous inhabitants and the violation of the Holy Places in Jerusalem make the issue very clear to the world.

395. The actions of the Zionist entity in recent years and especially, during this year, its aggression against Lebanon and Iraq demonstrate the extent of Israel's arrogance and are an insult to the United Nations and a defiance of world public opinion.

396. The PRESIDENT: The observer for the Palestine Liberation Organization has asked to make a statement. I call on him in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974.

397. Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): The Assembly, with 94 affirmative votes, has adopted draft resolution A/36/L.59 and Add.1, including operative paragraph 5. To characterize that acceptance as irresponsible is insulting. When 94 States accept that paragraph, they are not irresponsible; they are confirming their full sense of responsibility towards the international community. Let us see what operative paragraph 5 says. It says that the General Assembly "rejects all partial agreements and separate treaties in so far as they violate the recognized rights of the Palestinian people". That is what the international community has accepted. It has rejected partial agreements and separate treaties that violate the recognized rights of the Palestinian people and contradict the principles of just and comprehensive solutions. The representative that claims that this is irresponsible is the representative that does not want to have peace, does not want to have a comprehensive solution and still insists on violating the recognized rights of the Palestinian people.

398. Again, that same representative, when referring to operative paragraph 13, said that its provision is tantamount to sanctions. That paragraph "calls upon all States to put an end to the flow to Israel of any military, economic and financial resources that would encourage it to pursue its aggressive policies". If the representative of the United States is not happy with that, he can continue to encourage Israel to pursue its aggressive policies; he can still supply them with billions of dollars of the United States taxpayers' money; he can still send them F-15s and F-16s; he can still support them so that they can drop cluster bombs and other such things on refugee camps. We know exactly what the United States stands for on this issue. Of course, the representative of the United States told us something nice, that the President of the United

States deplored the unilateral action by Israel. How pleased I am. But then he said that he hoped the situation could be ameliorated. I wonder if they have some sugar coating for the annexation of Syrian territory.

399. It has been mentioned that the Arab-Israeli conflict is not a historic conflict. I am glad somebody said that. There was no such thing as an Arab-Israeli conflict. The Jews and Arabs have lived together for centuries. It only started when the colonization by the Zionist movement began and was backed by the imperialists, by the Kaiser, by all those colonial Powers. It is known as the colonization of Palestine—it is not known as the return, or anything like that—and colonization it was.

400. Reference has been made to the agreement which is referred to in paragraph 12 of the resolution. That paragraph deals with strategic co-operation. The preamble to the American-Israeli agreement states that "the parties recognize the need to enhance strategic cooperation to deter all threats from the Soviet Union to the region". Whether there is a threat to the region can only be decided by the peoples and the Governments of the region, not by someone who is oceans away and someone who is illegally in possession of that region. If the peoples and Governments of that region cannot decide whether there is a threat, then the Security Council can determine the existence of any threat to international peace and security. It is very clear from reading the text of the American-Israeli agreement that is directed against the area, because article I B states that the two parties are to "provide each other with military assistance for operations of their forces in the area that may be required to cope with this threat". Who is going to decide where the threat comes from and where it ends?

401. Naturally, the position of the Government of the United States on the issue of the human rights of the Palestinian people and in support of Israeli aggression and violations is very well known and the delegation of the United States has no need to prove it.

The meeting rose at 8.15 p.m.

NOTES

¹ The delegations of Greece and Samoa subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

² The delegations of Benin, Egypt, Mozambique and Samoa subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to abstain in the vote on the paragraph; the delegations of Iran and Thailand that they had intended to vote against it.

³ The delegation of Iran subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution; the delegation of Samoa that it had intended to vote in favour.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1981, Plenary Meetings*, 41st meeting.

⁵ The delegation of Somalia subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution.

⁶ The delegations of Djibouti and Singapore subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour of the amendments.

⁷ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year*, 2316th meeting.

⁸ The delegation of Egypt subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.