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Chairman: Mr. RODRIGUEZ MEDINA (Colombia)

later: Mr. STARCEVIC (Yugoslavia)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 69: REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE ISRAELI PRACTICES AFFECTING THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE POPULATION OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES (A/38/409; A/38/262, 481, 482, 483 and 484)

1. Mr. FONSEKA (Sri Lanka)*, introducing the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories (A/38/409), said that when he had introduced the Special Committee's report of the previous year (A/37/485), he had said that that report reflected the reality and the effects of that reality on the future of the region. In 1982, the Special Committee had informed the General Assembly that the human rights situation of the civilian population of the occupied territories was of major consequence to peace in the area and that violation of those rights was a threat to stability. The events that had taken place in the region had reflected the truth of that statement.
2. Since its establishment in 1968, the Special Committee, in accordance with its mandate, had continuously reflected, the reality of the human rights situation of the civilian population, which had steadily deteriorated. It was questionable whether the obligation to safeguard the human rights of the civilian population of the occupied territories could be satisfied simply by renewing the mandate of the Special Committee. Some believed that nothing could be done to help the civilian population until a final settlement of the Palestine question was found. However, the report of the Special Committee illustrated the inadequacy of that approach. The day-to-day treatment of the civilian population by the occupation authorities had little to do with an overall political solution. It was not legitimate to invoke the absence of political agreements to justify a situation in which fundamental human rights were being violated with impunity. It might also be asked whether the transfer of Israeli citizens to the occupied territories had political significance. The report illustrated that, willingly or unwillingly, the civilian population was affected by that measure: hardly a single day passed without a violent incident in the occupied territories, it was publicly admitted that over 150 settlements had been established in the territories, the Government of Israel acknowledged that it had appropriated over 60 per cent of the occupied territory, and some 4,000 persons remained detained for security offences. Certain officials of the Government of Israel believed that the problem did not exist. In March 1983, the current Prime Minister, at that time the Foreign Minister, had publicly stated in the Knesset that the occupied territories formed part of the Israeli homeland and that it was therefore not necessary to annex them.
3. Chapter IV of the report was concerned with events which affected certain individuals and places. It demonstrated that civilians were being deprived of virtually all their basic liberties, in some cases even the right to life. As in

* The full text of this statement will appear in document A/SPC/38/PV.36.

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(Mr. Fonseka, Sri Lanka)

the past, the Special Committee had tried to ensure that all the information in the report had been corroborated in one form or another. However, it did not pretend that the report gave all aspects of the situation their entirety, although time had shown that the Special Committee's reports had generally reflected the situation accurately and served as a warning to the international community against further complications in the human rights situation of the civilian population.

4. As early as 1979, in its report to the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session, the Special Committee had for the first time drawn the attention of the Assembly to the activities of Israeli settlers affecting the human rights of the civilian population. At that time the Special Committee had stated, in paragraph 373 of document A/34/631: "The Government of Israel appears to be increasingly ineffective in controlling the spirit of expansionism that it has fostered among its settlers in the occupied territories; frequent reports have appeared in recent months of Israeli settlers taking the law into their own hands to the detriment of the civilian population. Furthermore, the Special Committee notes the active role played by members of the Government in encouraging such activities and in ensuring the realization of the policy of annexation and settlement. In this context, the Special Committee refers to article 29 of the Fourth Geneva Convention by virtue of which the Government of Israel is responsible for the acts of Israeli settlers vis-à-vis the civilian population".

5. The situation created by armed settlers who were subject to no authority other than that of the Central Government of Israel had led to the establishment of a governmental committee of the Ministry of Justice of Israel to investigate anti-Arab vigilantism by armed bands of Israeli settlers. That committee had prepared a report but its chairman, Mrs. Yehudit Karp, had resigned on 12 May 1983 because no action had been taken on its recommendations. The activities of the Israeli settlers had continued unabated, provoking further violations of the human rights of the civilians. Responsibility for much of the violence and bloodshed in the occupied territories lay with the Israeli settlers.

6. The Israeli occupation authorities were trying to implement Military Order No. 854 aimed at controlling education and educational institutions. Mr. George Schultz, the Secretary of State of the United States, had criticized Military Order No. 854 as a violation of the basic right to academic freedom. Under that Order, academics had to undertake not to support the PLO as a prerequisite for obtaining a work permit. Many academics had been forced to leave their posts. During the year under review, the Special Committee had interviewed a number of the expelled academics. The political pressure was totally unjustified and was probably even counterproductive if the real aim of Military Order No. 854 was to suppress political activities in the universities. 1983 had been characterized by unprecedented vigour in the imposition of measures of reprisal and other forms of punishment in schools of all levels for both teachers and students.

7. In addition to the tragic situation of civilians in the occupied territories, it was necessary to bear in mind the plight of those who were being denied the right of return, as in the case of the civilian population of the Golan Heights,

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and the Palestinians of Rafah, who had found themselves in Egyptian territory after the demarcation of the international border between Egypt and Israel. In its report the Special Committee hoped to facilitate the adoption of such measures as might at least arrest the deterioration in the human rights situation and make the first modest step leading to a solution of the problem posed by the plight of the civilian population.

8. Mr. Starcevic took the Chair.

9. Mr. HAMADNEH (Jordan) referred to the inhuman living conditions of the population of the occupied territories and welcomed the Special Committee's efforts to reflect that situation adequately in its report. All that Israel had done during the period 1982-1983 had been to consolidate its position in the region and subjugate the entire population of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The serious incidents there had led Israel to invade Lebanon in an attempt to conceal its practices in the occupied territories, as it continued expropriation in those territories and sought to impose its own administration. The military authorities were constantly maltreating the population, thus violating the norms of international law and the United Nations Charter. Israel was approaching the question as if it were not an occupying Power bound by such international instruments as the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land and The Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, of 14 May 1954. Israel was not showing any respect for the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights or the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

10. A report prepared by Israeli researchers and published two weeks earlier referred to the activities of the Israeli population in the legal, economic, social and political spheres. The report examined a peculiar dual system of discrimination: the Jewish settlers enjoyed democratic rights that were guaranteed by Israeli legislation, whereas the 1.3 million Arabs were subject to a complex set of Israeli, Ottoman and British-mandate military laws.

11. The colonialist settlements policies followed by Israel in the occupied Arab territories were extremely dangerous and constituted the key element of Israeli thinking. The so-called religious right invoked to justify those policies was a pretext, such policies were actually based on military might.

12. As the occupied Arab territories had a very large population, Israel was expelling the Arab inhabitants. Such action was another aspect of the Israeli settlements policy. Since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, colonialist settlement activities had been stepped up. They took various forms, particularly expropriation, misappropriation and the falsification of contracts for the sale and resale of land, especially in the West Bank.

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(Mr. Hamadneh, Jordan)

13. The occupying authorities were denying tribunals in the West Bank their due jurisdiction over land matters. As a result, Arab tribunals could merely transmit claims to a special committee composed of representatives of the Israeli military Government. Between the start of Israel's military occupation of the West Bank in 1967 and the end of June 1983, Israel had expropriated 2,740,000 dunams of land, which represented 49 per cent of the total area of the West Bank. In those territories, Israel had established over 157 settlements, where 140,000 settlers currently lived. Israel's plan was to populate the Israeli settlements so that, by the year 2000, the number of Jewish settlers in the West Bank would be 1.5 million. The problem then would not be one of settlements, but one of Jewish settlers, who would become the majority in the region, while the Arab population would be in the minority.

14. Another dangerous aspect of Israel's settlements policies in the occupied Arab territories had to do with the actions of settlers against the Arab population. The Israeli authorities had established, in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Council of Jewish Settlements, which, in collaboration with Gush Emunim, a movement of fanatics, had set up security committees to attack and terrorize the Arab inhabitants and force them out of their land and their country.

15. If they tried to defend themselves against those attacks, they were subjected to cruel reprisals. Such actions had culminated in the attack on students at the Islamic University of Hebron on 26 July 1983; 33 students had been killed or wounded. The purpose of that attack had been to create a climate of fear among the Arabs of Hebron and force them out of the city. All indications were that the Israelis would not confine themselves to the so-called Jewish quarter of the old city of Hebron, but were trying to drive the Arab population out and Judaize the entire city.

16. On 20 November 1983, Mr. Mordechai Ben-Porat, Minister without portfolio of the Israeli Government, had stated that Israel's plan was to demolish Palestinian camps in the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. Jordan had already referred to that plan during consideration of agenda item 73. For the first time since 1948, Israel was implementing a plan to liquidate the refugees and terminate the physical existence of the camps. Jordan urged the international community to reject the Israeli plan and adopt the necessary resolutions to prevent Israel from continuing to carry it out.

17. With respect to education, the occupying authorities were still implementing Military Order No. 854, promulgated at the beginning of 1982, which was considered to be a violation of academic freedom. On 18 November 1983, it had been announced that 20 lecturers at Bir Zeit University might be ordered to leave, including nationals of France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Ireland, Sweden, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America. There had been cases of schoolgirls being poisoned at certain schools in the West Bank. Israeli settlers had been accused in those cases, which had caused hysteria and panic.

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(Mr. Hamadneh, Jordan)

18. The Israeli authorities continued to implement policies of reprisals against the civilian population, including expulsion, detention, the imposition of fines, and restrictions on the movement of people and property to Jordan and within the occupied Arab territories. The report referred to the many curfews imposed on the population of the occupied Arab territories by the authorities.

19. Jordan wished to warn the international community about the results of the Israeli occupation and to urge it to use its powers of dissuasion to make Israel honour the norms of international law and implement the United Nations resolutions, so that a comprehensive, just and lasting solution could be found in that part of the world.

20. Mr. Rodríguez Medina (Colombia) resumed the Chair.

21. Mr. ABOUCHAER (Syrian Arab Republic) commended the Special Committee for its efforts over the past year to investigate Israeli practices and gather evidence and for the objectivity and integrity with which it had carried out its difficult task. He shared the Special Committee's concern about the deterioration of the situation and about the need to protect the rights of the civilian population. He believed, however, that effective action had not been taken to deter Israel from applying its expansionist settlement policies, which were contrary to international law. His delegation supported the Special Committee's objective and valuable results and conclusions, which were a further reaffirmation that Israel's policies constituted a violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

22. Many important conclusions contained in previous reports were absent from the current report (A/38/409). The Special Committee must include those conclusions in all its reports so as not to give the impression that it no longer subscribed to them. The conclusions in question included the following: (1) Israel's occupation of the Arab territories was in itself a grave violation of the human rights of the inhabitants of the occupied territories; (2) the purpose behind the creation of a Jewish homeland was the establishment of a State with a single religion (Judaism), and that was part of an expansionist and racist policy which not only denied the population of the occupied territories their right to self-determination, but also was a source of constant and systematic violations of human rights; (3) the violation of human rights in the occupied Arab territories would cease only when the Palestinian people were allowed to enjoy their right to self-determination and Syrian citizens recovered the territories that were part of the independent Syrian Arab Republic.

23. His delegation was surprised at the omission of those internationally recognized views and therefore wished to request that such important principles should be included in future reports. That mistake, which had no doubt been made in good faith, was nevertheless inexcusable, particularly if account was taken of the conclusions set forth in paragraphs 364 to 368 of document A/34/631.

24. His delegation condemned Israel for its persistent refusal to co-operate with the Special Committee, despite the efforts made in the year under consideration by

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(Mr. Abouchaer, Syrian Arab Republic)

the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, as well as for its unwillingness to give the Special Committee an opportunity to fulfil its mandate. His Government wished to reaffirm that: (1) the position adopted by Israel revealed that country's traditionally negative attitude towards the United Nations and its resolutions and to the international community's views; (2) Israel's unwillingness to co-operate with the Special Committee could not be justified by what that country regarded as the prejudices of that Committee, whose neutrality and objectivity were unquestionable, particularly in view of the strict rules it had adopted; (3) Israel's negative attitude was due to its determination that the Special Committee should not disclose the atrocities and violations of international law that it was committing, as well as its repressive treatment of the inhabitants of the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories; (4) Israel's refusal to co-operate with the Special Committee was meant as a rejection of any responsibility arising from that Committee's conclusions.

25. He wished to refer to the process of annexation that Israel was engaged in in the occupied Arab territories. The Israeli practices in question were in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war, particularly article 47. Furthermore, according to Security Council resolution 497 (1981) of 17 December 1981, the annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights was null and void and without international legal effect. He also wished to refer to The Hague Convention of 1907, which prohibited the occupying Power from adopting any measures that might change the political or legal status of the occupied territory. Moreover, Security Council resolution 465 (1980) of 1 March 1980, which had been adopted unanimously, condemned the measures taken by Israel to change the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure and status of the occupied Arab territories. The policy of annexation being implemented by Israel was a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and international law and was contrary to the principle that territory should not be acquired by force. Following the annexation of East Jerusalem in 1980 and of the Syrian Golan Heights in 1981, those in power in Tel Aviv were attempting gradually to annex the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Using as its defence a false ideological justification, Israel was claiming that the territories occupied since 1967 formed part of the Jews' native land. In paragraph 2 of resolution 1983/1, adopted at its thirty-ninth session, the Commission on Human Rights condemned the Israeli practices based on the "Homeland" doctrine. The Commission expressed the view that that policy not only denied the right to self-determination of the population of the occupied territories but also constituted the source of the continuing and systematic violation of human rights.

26. He wished to draw attention to paragraphs 238 to 295 of document A/38/409 on measures of annexation and settlements. International relations could not be governed by interpretations of sacred books to the effect that international instruments, the Charter of the United Nations and all international agreements were to be regarded as worthless documents. He wished to point out that in August 1967 Moshe Dayan, the then Israeli Minister of Defence, had said that, if the Jews regarded themselves as belonging to the biblical people, they must have control over the land of the Bible and the prophets. In 1968, Dayan had said that

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for over 100 years the Jewish people had been establishing settlements in the region in order to expand their territory and that it could not be said that that process had come to end. He wished to point out that the international community should remind the zionist entity's current leaders that the Bible was not a title-deed that they could use in order to achieve their colonialist ends in Palestine. It was, on the contrary, a sacred book that should be given the greatest respect.

27. It could be seen from the report of the Special Committee that there had been an unprecedented intensification of the process of colonizing the occupied territories. The zionist leaders were vying with each other to announce projects and plans to expand and step up that process, including the plan providing for 100,000 settlers, the plan for 1,000,000 Jews by the end of the century and the plan for metropolitan Jerusalem. The zionists' statements implied that it was too late to restore sovereignty over the territories in question to the Arab States. F. Holan, the writer, had indicated in an article published on 24 December 1982 that Michael Dekel, Deputy Minister of Agriculture, had been distributing occupied hills and portions of land as though they were his father's property. On 17 December 1982, Aharon Ben-Furat had said that the rush to establish settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip was a race to annex the occupied territories in which the Government and fanatical movements were taking the initiative. On 15 December 1982 the Jerusalem Post had quoted Ariel Sharon, the then Minister of Defence, as having said that he wished to see settlements throughout the West Bank. On 22 December 1982 the newspaper Ma'ariv had quoted the Minister for Science and Development as having said that he was earmarking his Ministry's entire budget for the establishment of settlements in the West Bank and the setting up of a public enterprise to Judaize the West Bank and its tourist spots. Rafael Eitan, former Chief of Staff, had said at a meeting of the Knesset held on 29 December 1982 that the settlement operations would cover the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. A memorandum containing the plan for the following five-year period (1983-1987), which provided for 80,000 more settlers by 1987, had been submitted at the Thirtieth Zionist Congress, held at Jerusalem in December 1982. Dani Rabinstein, correspondent for the occupied territories of the newspaper Davar had said that the annexation was an irreversible process which, according to the members of Likud, should be continued. He had referred to barbarous acts committed by such groups as Gush Emunim, which were trying to drive the Arabs over to the other side of the Jordan. He had added that the Arabs could not but believe and feel that they were living under oppressive policies.

28. The motives for Israel's policy were of an economic and financial nature. The current Israeli leaders were seeking rapid wealth by plundering Arab property. Contributions from Jews throughout the world, who had been deceived by the zionists, were being used to establish more settlements in the occupied Arab territories. According to the issue of 13 March 1983 of the San Diego News, the United States was contributing over \$200 million or \$300 million for the establishment of settlements in the occupied Arab territories.

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29. With regard to the Israeli practices of oppression and repression in the occupied Arab territories, in the period covered by the report the Israeli occupation authorities had continued their iron-handed policies, driving out the inhabitants of the territories and denying them fundamental freedoms, imposing high taxes and blocking the publication of national and patriotic books. A number of paragraphs of the report referred to the fact that the zionist authorities had arrested dozens of young Arabs for opposing the occupation and participating in demonstrations. Furthermore, the authorities had imposed a curfew on the old quarter of Nablus and closed the Al Najah University, arresting members of its student council because they supported the PLO. The occupied Arab territories were accurately described as one big prison, since they were full of prison camps. On 27 January 1983 Ariel Sharon, the former Minister of Defence, had acknowledged that there were over 1,870 detainees from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in Israeli prisons. Paragraph 309 of the report indicated that the Arab detainees were living in extremely difficult conditions and that they were being ill-treated. Israel was steadily pursuing its barbarous operations, under the very eyes of the international community. The trials of the soldiers accused of committing acts of aggression against the Arab population in March and April, which were referred to in paragraphs 331 to 350 of the report, had revealed that Rafael Eitan, Chief of Staff, had ordered that the Arab demonstrators should be assaulted. That information, together with details on Eitan's harsh and brutal instructions, had appeared in the issue of 22 January 1983 of The Miami Herald. As indicated in paragraph 325 of the report, Ariel Sharon, former Minister of Defence, had instructed his troops to "rip the testicles off" Arabs caught in demonstrations.

30. With regard to education, the Zionist occupation authorities were waging an unprecedented campaign to destroy the Arab identity and culture by closing universities and schools, imposing restrictions on Arab and foreign teachers and banning textbooks. Among other steps taken by the Israelis was their appropriation of elements of the Arab heritage, such as the style of dress and folklore traditions of the Palestinian people, which they widely claimed to be of Israeli origin. The Zionist occupation authorities viewed Palestinian schools at every level as a time bomb that threatened Zionist existence. The zionists were thus seeking to turn the Arabs into an ignorant population submissive to Israel and consigned to doing the heavy labour that Jewish workers refused to do.

31. Some of the Israeli policies that affected the human rights of the population of the occupied Arab territories in the economic sector were the following:
(a) impairing agriculture and industry in the occupied territories and incorporating them into the Israeli economy; (b) transforming the occupied Arab territories into a market for Israeli products and an important source of raw materials; and (c) exploiting the Arab working class as cheap manpower for the Israeli labour market. There was no question that those policies aimed to transform the occupied territories, which would impede their economic independence and the establishment of an economic infrastructure and of an independent Palestinian State. In that connection, paragraphs 39, 40 and 51 of document A/38/265 and paragraph 61 of document A/38/282 should be borne in mind.

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32. Document A/38/409 contained few paragraphs referring to the Israeli policies and practices directed against the civilian population of the occupied Syrian territories of the Golan Heights. However, paragraph 197 did mention the detailed information reported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic which was reproduced in annex I. Since the occupation of the Golan Heights in 1967, Israel had expelled 90 per cent of the population. Only four inhabited villages were left in the Golan Heights and the population had been reduced from 155,000 to 12,000. The Special Committee had managed to obtain important information on the repressive measures of the Israeli authorities, which included the expropriation of grazing and farm land and property, the plundering and diversion of water resources for the benefit of the Zionist settlers, and the imposition of Israeli nationality, with arbitrary detention of those who refused to accept it. As for education, the repressive action in the Golan Heights was designed to prevent students from attending Syrian universities.

33. According to reports in the 5 April 1982 issue of Ha'aretz, steps were being taken by the Zionist occupation authorities to impose Israeli identity by force on the population of the Golan Heights now holding Israeli identity cards. It should be stated categorically that the December 1981 decision of the Knesset extending Israeli law to the Golan Heights, a decision condemned in Security Council resolution 497 (1981) and mentioned in paragraph 361 of document A/38/409, was null and void and unacceptable as yet another expansionist measure that fed the colonial ambition of the zionists and was calculated to establish a Greater Israel from the Euphrates to the Nile. The statements of Israeli officials confirmed those ambitions and intentions, because they maintained that the Golan Heights was an indivisible part of Israel. The events occurring in the occupied territories that were in the hands of the Israeli occupation authorities or their agents, the armed settlers, not only violated the Fourth Geneva Convention and the norms of international law; they were also, according to article 11 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, war crimes and offences against mankind. Those barbarous acts could be compared to the brutality of the crimes committed by the nazis in Europe and by the apartheid régime in South Africa.

34. His delegation therefore requested the General Assembly: (1) to condemn the Israeli occupation as a serious violation of the human rights of the population of the occupied territories and to declare that all steps by Israel to annex and occupy the territories and establish settlements, as well as its efforts to change the geographical and demographic character of the occupied territories and their legal, political and economic status were illegal; (2) to condemn Israel for its refusal to comply with the Fourth Geneva Convention and apply it in the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, and for its repressive policies that constituted war crimes and offences against mankind; (3) to affirm that the human rights of the population of the occupied territories would cease to be violated only when the Palestinians enjoyed their rights to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State, and when the Syrian citizens of the Golan Heights recovered their rights, and consequently when Israel put an end to its occupation of the Arab and Palestinian territories under its control by withdrawing from all of them; and (4) to denounce the persistent refusal of Israel to allow the Special Committee into the occupied territories and to co-operate with it.

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35. The CHAIRMAN suggested that the list of speakers under agenda item 69 should be closed at the end of the morning meeting on Monday, 28 November. Since the deadline for draft resolutions having financial implications would not be extended beyond 1 December, they would have to be introduced and put to the vote in the course of the following week.

36. Mr. HAMADNEH (Jordan) asked for the text of the statement of Mr. Fonseca, Chairman of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices to be reproduced in full.

37. The CHAIRMAN said that, if he heard no objection, he would take it that the Committee wished to adopt the proposal of the representative of Jordan.

38. It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 73: UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND WORKS AGENCY FOR PALESTINE REFUGEES IN THE NEAR EAST (continued)

39. The CHAIRMAN said that he had held informal consultations with delegations on the matter of issuing the full text of the statement by the representative of Israel and, in view of the importance of the question, he suggested that the texts of all statements made in the general debate under agenda item 73 should be reproduced in full. That would involve no extrabudgetary expenditure.

40. Mr. EDGAR (United Kingdom) said that he objected in principle to issuing the full text of all statements made during the debate. However, if no other delegation shared his opinion, he would withdraw his objection.

41. The CHAIRMAN said that he would take it that the Committee decided that the full text of the statements made in the general debate under agenda item 73 should be reproduced.

42. It was so decided.

43. Mr. SMIDOVICH (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that he had not raised any objection in order not to stand in the way of consensus. However, in view of his delegation's position that maximum savings should be made in the regular budget of the United Nations, it had no intention of supporting any other decisions like the one just adopted because they set a bad precedent and could, in similar instances, give rise to additional unjustified expenditure.

44. The CHAIRMAN said that he had decided to make the suggestion after extensive negotiations and that there were precedents for it. It was important to follow that course because it was necessary to ensure that freedom of expression was respected in the debate and that the Committee could have verbatim records if it saw fit. He recalled that verbatim records of the debates had formerly been the rule and not the exception, and that the decision to have summary records had been taken only 10 years earlier, at the beginning of the financial crisis of the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.