



Saturday, 26 January 1952, at 10.30 a.m.

Palais de Chaillot, Paris

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*President* : Mr. Luis PADILLA NERVO (Mexico).

### Tribute to the Memory of the President of Iceland

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*) : It is with the deepest regret that I have to inform the Assembly of the death of the President of the Republic of Iceland, Mr. Sveinn Bjornsson, whose outstanding qualities as a statesman were devoted to the service of his country.

2. I believe that I am interpreting the feeling of the General Assembly in expressing our deepest sympathy to the people and Government of Iceland, the delegation of Iceland to this Assembly, and President Bjornsson's family.

3. I call upon the representatives in the Assembly to rise and observe one minute's silence as a tribute to the late President of Iceland.

*Representatives rose and observed one minute's silence.*

4. Mr. THORS (Iceland) : On behalf of the people and the Government of Iceland I wish to express heart-felt thanks to the President, for his warm and friendly words of sympathy as well as to all the representatives in the General Assembly for their expression of sympathy in the great bereavement suffered by my people through the loss of our beloved President who has held the highest office in the land for the past eleven years. I thank you all.

### Consideration of the various items on the agenda of the meeting

5. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*) : Our agenda for today's meeting contains four items : a report from the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee and three reports from the Second Committee.

6. Before proceeding to the consideration of these reports, I must consult the General Assembly with regard to the application of rule 67 of the rules of procedure, which reads as follows : " Discussion of a report of a Main Committee in a plenary meeting of the General Assembly shall take place if at least one-third of the Members present and voting at the plenary meeting consider such a discussion

to be necessary. Any proposal to this effect shall not be debated, but shall be immediately put to the vote ".

7. If there are no proposals for a discussion on these reports, I shall take it that it is the Assembly's wish to proceed directly to a vote, without prejudice to the right of representatives to explain their vote on each draft resolution.

8. Mr. MACDONNELL (Canada) : The Canadian delegation has two small amendments to present with regard to the first part of our agenda, and we should like an opportunity to speak very briefly when presenting them.

9. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*) : The representative of Canada will be free to explain his amendments.

10. I shall now consult the Assembly on each one of the various items on the agenda of the meeting to ascertain whether it wishes to discuss that item. If there are no observations, I shall consider that the Assembly does not wish to discuss the item in question.

*It was decided not to discuss the items on the agenda of the meeting (items 24, 11, 21 and 62).*

**Palestine : (a) Report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine ; (b) assistance to Palestine refugees : report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East : reports of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee (A/2070) and the Fifth Committee (A/2080).**

[Agenda item 24]

11. Mr. SEVILLA SACASA (Nicaragua), Rapporteur of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, (*translated from Spanish*) : As Rapporteur of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, it is my privilege to submit my report on the important item 24 of the agenda, which relates to the question of Palestine.

12. The Assembly is aware that the item consists of two parts : the report of the United Nations Conciliation Com-

mission for Palestine which was established by resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948 and was composed of the representatives of the United States, France and Turkey; and the question of United Nations assistance to Palestine refugees including the report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, a body established in pursuance of resolution 302 (IV) of 8 December 1949.

13. At its 342nd plenary meeting of 13 November 1951, the General Assembly decided to refer this item for consideration and study to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee which dealt with parts (a) and (b) separately.

14. Draft resolution I attached to the report submitted for your decision [A/2070] is the outcome of a long debate on the draft resolution submitted to the Committee by the representatives of the United States, France, the United Kingdom, and Turkey, and the various amendments to it introduced in the course of the discussion. This first draft resolution, which is mainly confined to the political aspect of the problem, was approved by 43 votes to 13, with 2 abstentions.

15. On the question of assistance to Palestine refugees, the delegations of the United States, France, the United Kingdom and Turkey submitted a joint draft resolution which was subsequently, after the conclusion of negotiations between the sponsors and the delegations of the Near East States directly concerned, replaced by a revised draft resolution.

16. Draft resolution II which the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee submits for your consideration was also exhaustively debated and finally approved unamended by 44 votes to none, with 7 abstentions.

17. This second draft resolution deals primarily with the humanitarian aspect of the problem and proposes action likely to give material relief to the immediate victims of the conflict which unfortunately still exists and which has kept these important areas of the Near East in a constant state of tension and anxiety.

18. Both draft resolutions are the continuation of a noble effort by the United Nations to settle the delicate Palestine problem.

19. It is my duty to inform the Assembly of the words of thanks and praise spoken in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee concerning the members of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine for their untiring efforts to bring about agreement between the States parties to that international dispute. I should likewise tell the Assembly that there was equally general support for the hopes expressed in the course of the debate that the States concerned might reach such an agreement, a full agreement which will give them entire satisfaction and lead to an early reconciliation between them, a reconciliation which we all earnestly desire.

20. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Before calling upon the representatives who have asked for the floor in order to explain their votes, I wish to call the Assembly's attention to document A/2080 which contains the report of the Fifth Committee on the financial implications of the draft resolutions in document A/2070.

21. I call upon the representative of Canada.

22. Mr. MACDONNELL (Canada): When the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee was considering this question a fortnight ago, there came a stage in the discussions when it seemed to the Canadian delegation that it might be worth while to make an effort to bridge certain gaps between the

views of some of our colleagues which had become apparent during the course of the debate. We offered for this purpose a series of amendments the effect of which was to simplify the proposed draft resolution and to eliminate some controversial features which did not seem to us to be essential to the success of United Nations conciliation efforts in Palestine. The amendments we proposed were accepted by the sponsoring Powers and became an integral part of their joint draft resolution.

23. Once more a situation has arisen which makes it seem to us that it might be worth while to offer amendments again with a view to getting a wider measure of support for draft resolution I now before us. As we all remember, there were certain paragraphs of that draft resolution which were adopted in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee by very slender majorities and which might fail to secure the requisite two-thirds majority in this Assembly if no attempt were made to amend them.

24. We are suggesting only two amendments, which you will find in document A/2083. Both present a compromise between the joint draft resolution as it stood on 12 January and draft resolution I as it stands today, that is to say, between the draft resolution as it stood after the Canadian amendments were accepted by the sponsors and the draft resolution as it stood after it had been approved by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. In that Committee the first paragraph for which we are offering an amendment was adopted by only 28 votes in favour. The second paragraph for which we are submitting an amendment was adopted by only 23 votes in favour.

25. If you will look at operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution I as it now stands and compare it with the briefer text we are proposing, you will see that what is suggested is this. In place of a detailed reference to certain aspects of past resolutions of the General Assembly, it is suggested that it would be enough to make a general reference to the Assembly's resolutions themselves. Paragraph 2 would then read:

“*Notes with regret* that, as stated in paragraph 87 of the report, the commission has been unable to fulfil its mandate under the resolutions of the General Assembly”.

In its amended form the paragraph may, we think, command a wider degree of support than the present paragraph did in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee.

26. In operative paragraph 4 there are two phrases which seem to have been responsible for the slender margin of support which the paragraph received in the vote in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. We are proposing that in place of both of these phrases we should employ a single phrase which we hope will be less controversial. Once again what we propose is simply a reference to resolutions which this body has adopted. As amended paragraph 4 would read:

“*Urges* the governments concerned to seek agreement with a view to an early settlement of their outstanding differences in conformity with the resolutions of the General Assembly on Palestine; and for this purpose to make full use of United Nations facilities”.

27. In the provisional French text of this amendment which has been circulated to some delegations we find that the order of two phrases is different from the order proposed in our amendment which was submitted in English. In the French text the amendment should read as follows to make it conform with the English text:

“*Invite instamment les gouvernements intéressés à s'efforcer d'arriver à un accord pour une prompt solution*”.

*des questions qui ne sont pas encore réglées conformément aux résolutions de l'Assemblée Générale relative à la Palestine."*

28. In the paragraph by paragraph voting on all other parts of draft resolution I Canada's vote will be affirmative except in the case of paragraph 6 calling for the expansion of the Conciliation Commission to seven members. Canada will vote against this paragraph.

29. I hope I have made it clear that our intention in submitting these amendments is to secure a resolution which may enjoy the support of considerably more—a two-thirds majority so that the principle of conciliation within the framework provided by the United Nations may be strongly reaffirmed today.

30. Mr. ORDONNEAU (France) (*translated from French*): In the last few days the delegations of the United States, the United Kingdom, Turkey and France have been carefully considering the situation created by the vote in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on their joint draft resolution and the amendments thereto. The four delegations have held many comprehensive talks with representatives of countries especially interested in solving the Palestine problem. They have come to the conclusion that a compromise can be found between the various tendencies revealed in the course of the difficult discussions in the Committee and that it can be formulated in a manner acceptable both to them and to the great majority of the Members of the United Nations.

31. The Assembly now has before it the text of draft resolution I as it stands after the discussion in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee and also a draft amendment introduced by the Canadian delegation, to replace two paragraphs of the operative part of the draft resolution—paragraphs 2 and 4—by a wording which is clearer and, in substance, more in keeping with the task of conciliation appropriate to the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine. The four delegations of the United States, the United Kingdom, Turkey and France are in full agreement with the Canadian delegation and will vote for its amendments.

32. On behalf of the four delegations I have the honour to indicate the following to the Assembly. The four delegations will abstain on the first paragraph of the preamble to the draft resolution adopted by the Committee. They will vote for the two amendments proposed by Canada in regard to paragraphs 2 and 4. They will vote against paragraph 6 of the Committee's draft. They will vote, finally, for all the remaining parts of draft resolution I. If the votes about to be taken result in the substitution of the Canadian amendment for paragraphs 2 and 4 of the draft resolution, and if paragraph 6 of the Committee's draft is deleted and the remaining paragraphs retain the wording adopted in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, the four delegations will be very happy to vote for the draft resolution as a whole so amended.

33. The delegations of the United States, the United Kingdom, Turkey and France very earnestly hope that the great majority of the delegations here present will find themselves in a position to support by their vote the efforts they have made. They are sure that these delegations will be able to agree, as they themselves have done, to any concessions on minor points which may be necessary, so that the present discussion, the sole purpose of which is an attempt at conciliation, may conclude fittingly in an atmosphere of complete tranquillity.

34. Mr. CHOUKAYRI (Syria): The representative of Canada is a man of dignity, sober mind and sound judgment. In the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee he considered it his

duty—and we appreciate that it was his duty—to fill many gaps and many loopholes in the various amendments and draft resolutions tabled before that Committee. Now he performs his task diligently and with the same devotion. His task is a task of conciliation, of bridging difficulties and we express our gratitude and appreciation to the representative of Canada.

35. Our friend the representative of France has explained the position of his delegation and the delegations of the United Kingdom, the United States and Turkey. We feel that the attitude taken by the four sponsors is a wise attitude. On our part we also wish to take a conciliatory position before the General Assembly because the Conciliation Commission, in order to be successful in its conciliatory efforts, must have a resolution from the General Assembly which has the spirit of conciliation as its basis.

36. So far as our position is concerned I put it in this way. On the whole the amendments of the representative of Canada are not divorced from the language of previous resolutions of the General Assembly. They follow closely the language of the resolutions of the General Assembly passed in previous sessions. As was explained, paragraph 2 as amended only intends to delete details. The part in the original paragraph which reads "in particular with regard to the repatriation of refugees wishing to return to their homes and also with regard to the just and equitable evaluation of and compensation for the properties of those not wishing to return" is only a paraphrase of paragraph 11 of the resolution of the General Assembly of 1948 [194 (III)]. To our mind such a paraphrase is unnecessary in the resolution because we feel that it is the duty of the Conciliation Commission under the resolution of the General Assembly to secure the implementation of paragraph 11 of the resolution of 1948, to secure the repatriation of those refugees wishing to return to their homes and the just and equitable compensation of those who do not express their desire to go back to their homeland. With that clear in our minds we have no objection to accepting paragraph 2 as amended by the delegation of Canada.

37. With regard to paragraph 4, again as amended, it is really a reproduction of previous provisions, articles and phrases adopted by the General Assembly in previous resolutions, particularly in 1948 and 1950. Therefore to our minds it is only a minor change, not a change of substance but of language. We feel—and I put it respectfully to the Assembly—that the principles of the resolutions which have been adopted by the General Assembly on Palestine are strictly observed, strictly respected, and that the amendments now tabled by the Canadian delegation are intended to implement and to respect all the resolutions of the General Assembly on Palestine.

38. With regard to paragraph 6, concerning the expansion of the Conciliation Commission, it was our attitude in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee that the Conciliation Commission should be expanded, and we have submitted our reasons for that, which are legitimate reasons. Those reasons are still legitimate, in our view, but various explanations have been given to us about the wisdom of the immediate expansion of this commission at this session of the Assembly. We have accepted those explanations and we hope, in the final attempt, that the Conciliation Commission in its present composition will be able to submit to the Assembly at the end of this year a successful report containing successful results. If the Conciliation Commission fails to do that, as it has done in the past three years, then the delegations present here would have the liberty again to consider the idea of reviving the Conciliation Commission.

39. Most of our delegations—I am referring to the Arab delegations, but not all of them—are probably reconsidering

their position with regard to this expansion, and may agree to the deletion of this paragraph if not abstaining on it.

40. Finally, I should like to extend an appeal to our colleagues from Colombia, Pakistan, Indonesia, Iran and the Philippines, who have submitted amendments or draft resolutions to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, whose amendments or resolutions are now being affected by the amendment introduced by the Canadian delegation. I extend my appeal to them that they accept the revised draft resolution I, as amended, so that we shall have a wider range of agreement, and so that we may be able to carry this resolution with unanimity. Equally I make these submissions and this appeal to the whole Assembly.

41. Mr. BOKHARI (Pakistan) : In explaining the vote of my delegation, I shall confine myself at present to paragraph 6 of draft resolution I as it comes to us in the report of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. That paragraph contains the idea of the expansion of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine.

42. The idea of expansion was first proposed to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee by my delegation. My delegation explained fully the reasons which prompted it to suggest a new composition of the commission. Those views which we then expressed we still hold.

43. In view, however, of the fact that it is widely desired that the resolution as passed by the plenary meeting should be as little controversial as possible in order that the Conciliation Commission should have a firm mandate before it, and also in view of the appeal made by my friend and colleague the representative of Syria, my delegation will not press for the passage of paragraph 6.

44. However, I endorse the wise words of my Syrian colleague, who has made it clear that, although we do not give up our stand with regard to the expansion of that commission, we merely demur from pressing it in the present session. We hope, therefore, that between this and the next session the commission will be able to work without much difficulty and to the satisfaction of all concerned.

45. Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*) : The debate on the Palestine question in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee has made it quite evident that the Conciliation Commission, though nominally an organ of the United Nations, has in fact been pursuing a policy directly opposed to the interests of the peoples of Palestine.

46. During the discussion in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee a number of delegations bluntly accused the members of the Commission of acting not in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations but on the instructions of their governments, and of trying to impose upon the parties directly concerned in the Palestine question decisions which were not in the interests of the peoples of Palestine but in those of the governments represented on the Commission.

47. In view of the fact that the Commission is composed of representatives of the United States, France and Turkey it is not difficult to see in whose interests it has been acting. Naturally, such activity by the Commission could not bring about a settlement of the Palestine question, and it has in fact failed to do so ; it has given rise to just dissatisfaction and sharp criticism on the part of both the Arab States and Israel. This circumstance is a further demonstration of the fact that the aims of the United States in Palestine, in the interests of which the Commission has been acting, are contrary to the interests of the peoples of Palestine.

48. When the report of the Conciliation Commission was considered in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, the representatives of the United States, France, Turkey and the United Kingdom submitted a joint draft resolution, which is now before this plenary meeting of the Assembly in the form of draft resolution I of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. In it the countries referred to, though obliged to note that the Commission has been unable to perform its task in Palestine, nevertheless, regardless of common sense and the interests of the peoples of Palestine, propose that the Commission should continue its activities there.

49. This fact discloses the manifest concern of above all the governments of the United States, France and the United Kingdom to keep the Conciliation Commission in being, despite its complete failure to settle matters in Palestine. The real reasons for this interest of the United States in Palestine, in the Near and Middle East, have not only been frankly disclosed by the American Press but admitted by official United States representatives. The former Assistant Secretary of State Mr. McGhee has frankly stated that the Middle East is necessary to the United States as an especially rich source of oil and as a strategically important area at the intersection of the air, land and sea routes connecting three continents.

50. The American Press declares with cynical frankness that the object of the United States policy is conquest of the Near and Middle East as the main prerequisite for gaining control of the whole world. Briefly, the United States together with the United Kingdom, as part of the realization of their aggressive plans, are attempting to use the territories of the countries of the Near and Middle East as a jumping-off ground for the preparation of the future war. Convincing proof of this is provided by the recent proposal made to all the Near Eastern States by the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Turkey, for the creation of a "united Middle East Command". It is common knowledge that the purpose of creating a Middle East Command is to turn the territory of the countries of the Middle and Near East into a military jumping-off ground and base for the armed forces of the countries of the aggressive Atlantic bloc. The proposal to create a Middle East Command is quite definitely designed to secure the presence of Anglo-American armed forces in the countries of the Near East, to extend the network of military bases of the United States and United Kingdom there, and to turn the peoples of those countries, whether they like it or not against their will, into cannon fodder for the American command.

51. It is not difficult to see that the purpose of these measures, which in reality mean the military occupation of the countries of the Near and Middle East by the armed forces of the United States and United Kingdom, is to enable the ruling circles of those two countries to intervene permanently in the domestic affairs of the countries of the Near and Middle East and to deprive the peoples of those countries of their national freedom and independence of action. Such are the real aims of the United States and other major partners in the aggressive Atlantic bloc, in Palestine and in the Near and Middle East.

52. It is precisely because of Anglo-American policy that it is necessary to examine the proposal of the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Turkey to extend the life of the Conciliation Commission, contained in the draft resolution before us. The object of this proposal is not to protect the interests of the peoples in Palestine, but to maintain there a state of affairs which will enable the United States and the United Kingdom to realize their aggressive military objectives in Palestine and in the Near and Middle East.

53. It is in this light too that we should regard the fact that none other than the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Turkey, that is to say the very Powers which are trying to set up the "Middle East Command", have submitted the draft resolution for prolonging the life of the so-called United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine which, as was established during the discussion in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, has really been acting as a subsidiary organ of the United States State Department.

54. The USSR delegation will accordingly vote against draft resolution I to extend the life of the commission, and in this connexion it has submitted to the Assembly its own draft resolution to abolish the commission [A/2071].

55. The USSR delegation believes that abolition of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine will clear up the situation in Palestine and remove a harmful body which for a number of years has constituted one of the obstacles to settlement of the Palestine question, and that it will open the door to a settlement of the problem in the interests of the peoples of Palestine and not of the Powers which are endeavouring to subject those peoples, and the peoples of the whole Near and Middle East, to their command and domination.

56. Mr. BELLEGARDE (Haiti) [*translated from French*] : Every human being has at some time in his life been faced with a *drame de conscience* somewhat similar to a Corneille tragedy, a conflict of sentiments or of duties, which is resolved by adopting the line of conduct most in conformity with the higher laws of ethics and honour. But it is not always easy to decide which of two alternative solutions is in fact more in conformity with those laws. We cannot always tell whether the best we wish people is not the enemy of the good we want to do them by furthering their interests.

57. Our consciences are faced with such a conflict when we consider the Palestine problem, which the draft resolution now before the General Assembly attempts to solve. I will be perfectly frank on this question, for I see no point in hiding the truth or in not looking the facts in the face when seeking the most effective ways of righting a bad situation.

58. I would beg certain of my colleagues not to take offence at my remarks, for I believe we must go to the root of the matter and not turn this discussion into a debate on purely formal questions.

59. As I have been mostly in the First Committee, I have been unable to follow continuously the lengthy discussion which took place in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee on the Palestine problem. But I am sorry to say that what I have heard has aroused in me feelings of anxiety and distress which I shall try to explain frankly and which I am sure were shared by many of my colleagues.

60. Some of the statements made in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee had in them the echo of a far-off past of hatred and prejudice, the social and international effects of which have already brought untold misery to mankind. The Jewish people have for centuries been the victims of a prejudice all the more dangerous for being irrational. In far too many countries, children are still brought up in the belief that persons of Jewish origin form a group apart which cannot be assimilated, separated from the rest of the nation by a kind of spiritual barrier. Christian peoples too often forget that to set a fine example of humility and brotherhood, the Son of God chose to live in a carpenter's shop and took for His earthly father and mother a man who belonged to the most persecuted race in the world and a woman who was so dark-skinned that she was described as *nigra sed formosa*, black but comely.

61. The Arab peoples, in common with all others who have been separated from the Jews by centuries of conflict, are sometimes, let us say it quite frankly, unable to recognize the contribution which Jewish scientists, philosophers, artists and philanthropists have made to their civilization and to the spiritual and material development of all mankind.

62. Too many of us confuse Shylock and Einstein, the close-fisted and grasping usurer and Henri Bernstein. Out of such confusion of ideas Hitler evolved the most monstrous mass-extermiation plan which has ever been conceived and carried out in the course of history. Six million Jews were hanged, shot or burnt in the crematoria of Germany.

63. It was to be able to offer asylum to the Jewish people, sometimes despised for its poverty, sometimes hated for its wealth, often envied for its intelligence, that a number of generous statesmen such as Balfour wished to establish a national home where the Jews could come together and live their own lives, sheltered from all persecution, under the protection of their own laws and in harmony and good fellowship with all the other nations of the world.

64. Those generous hopes were fulfilled by the United Nations in its resolution of 29 November 1947 [181<sub>A</sub>(II)], establishing the State of Israel. The new State was not born painlessly, and it was soon to meet with hostility; the causes of this hostility differ, but the most important and the gravest is the displacement of an Arab population estimated at over 800,000 persons.

65. The accusations which we have heard made against the Israelis would have us believe that, in independence the Jews have been as cruel and inhuman to the Arabs as the Nazis were to them. If that were proved, we should be deeply distressed, because it would make us despair of human nature itself. Is it possible that the martyrs of yesterday have become the executioners of to-day? To do justice to the Jews, I think that these accusations are exaggerated and that, if they are borne out at all, the Government of Israel must be ready to right the wrongs done and redress any damage caused.

66. Might it not be, however, that behind these accusations lies only the desire to protect the interests of the Arab refugees? I should like to believe so, because, if that was all the Palestine problem amounted to, its solution would be, not easy perhaps, but at any rate possible within a relatively short time. Behind these accusations, however, lie other factors, one of which, and that which constitutes the greatest threat to peace, is the refusal of the Arab States to recognize the very existence of the State of Israel. I have heard as much said. I have heard one of the spokesmen of the Arab group say, with impressive allegations, that the State of Israel was like a wedge thrust into the living flesh of the countries of the Near East, like some malignant tumour, the poison from which might endanger their lives, their political and religious institutions and their culture, which they defend and have every right to defend.

67. On the other hand, Israel cannot be sure of living in peace unless its neighbours recognize it as a member of the international community, accept it as a neighbour and agree to its collaborating in a joint programme for cultural progress, economic prosperity and collective security.

68. In particular, Israel regards the establishment of a strong and fanatically hostile minority, made possible by the repatriation of more than 800,000 refugees, as an attempt to implant within it the seeds of permanent instability and civil war. How can we solve a problem of such complexity?

69. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): May I draw the attention of the representative of Haiti to the fact that he has exceeded the time allotted to speakers?

70. Mr. BELLEGARDE (Haiti) (*translated from French*): It was my wish to stress the basic fact of the problem, namely, that only if the Arab States and Israel come to an understanding as good neighbours and as friends, will it be possible for the Palestine problem to be solved. It will not be solved merely by voting for some resolutions. That is the point I wished to make; but I cannot say everything I intended to say, for the President reminds me that I have exceeded the time allotted to me. I do wish, however, to stress the need for the peoples of the Near East to understand each other and to unite, and not to hearken to any poisoned voice which may try to envenom their quarrels. Above the battlefields the vultures fly; it is not the living combatants who interest those birds of prey, but the corpses which are their food. The poisoned voices must be disregarded; you must agree to settle your problems.

71. That is why we welcome the amendments which have just been made to draft resolution I. We shall vote for them in the hope that thus amended, the draft resolution will make conciliation possible between the Arabs and Israel, to the benefit of world peace.

72. Mr. ULLRICH (Czechoslovakia): In connexion with the work of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine, the Czechoslovak delegation has considered the situation which has been created by the tension in the Near East between Israel and the Arab countries, and has studied the documents submitted to the sixth session of the General Assembly for consideration and decision. The commission, which was established by resolution 194 (III) adopted at the third session of the General Assembly, was given the task of assisting in the negotiations which were taking place in a situation which might threaten peace and security in the Near East. Judging from the report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission [A/1985], it would seem that its work has been completely unsuccessful, not only in the immediate past, but during the whole of the three years of its existence.

73. The Czechoslovak delegation has come to the conclusion that the reason for its failure lies in the fact that, among other things, it has not dealt with the real causes, the origins, and the reasons for the continued existence of the dispute. The commission started from the position that there was a dispute between the two parties, that is, between the Arab countries and Israel. As the discussion in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee has shown, we must seek the causes of the continuation of the dispute in the application of the aggressive policy of the Governments adhering to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, headed by the United States, a policy following the old principle of "Divide and rule".

74. The Near East, which, on account of its great natural wealth, especially oil and ores, has always been looked upon as a suitable area for exploitation by imperialistic Powers, has been designated as a specially important base for the implementation of the war-like policy of the North Atlantic Powers. In the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee we have heard also numerous concrete facts, particularly about the great strategic importance which the North Atlantic strategists have been attributing to that area, an area connecting three continents, for the carrying out of aggression against the Soviet Union and the countries of the people's democracies.

75. By artificially keeping up the dispute between Israel and the Arab countries, those countries are being purposely

weakened and their peoples are being prevented from solving their own national problems. The refugee problem which has arisen in the Near East and which is one of the accompanying phenomena of imperialistic Near East policy, cannot be thus solved. The Conciliation Commission, composed of representatives of the United States, France and Turkey, has not been solving these problems of the Near East in this way; on the contrary, having taken up, through its members, the policy pursued by their own Governments, it has become a barrier to the solution of these problems. The misery of the Arab refugees has been exploited in order to obtain a cheap source of labour for the construction of strategic highways, military airfields and bases, where refugees must work in conditions of slavery.

76. In the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee we heard a number of facts documented by official reports which had appeared in the world Press. Experience has shown that the Conciliation Commission, to which millions of dollars have been contributed, is not a factor which could lead to the establishment of conditions in which the dispute could be successfully settled. There are thus no reasons for the further existence of a commission which is not capable of carrying out the principles of the United Nations which are expressed in its Charter, and which is alien both to the interests of world peace and to those of the peoples of the Near East.

77. If this commission were to be abolished, it would mean the elimination of the one barrier which prevents the nations of the Near East reaching agreement by themselves. The peoples of the Arab countries, as well as the people of Israel, are not interested in the maintenance of the present tension or in the forcible solution of disputes, but are opposed to the war-like plans of the North Atlantic countries headed by the United States.

78. The abolition of the commission would simplify the situation and would ease the positions of the disputing parties, enabling them to reach agreement by themselves, and thus help to eliminate the tension existing in the Near East and, with it, also the threat of war.

79. This peaceful solution is the aim of the draft resolution submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union [A/2071]. The Czechoslovak delegation, which desires in the same way a peaceful solution of the dispute, therefore, rejects the proposal under which the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine would be preserved, and will vote for the USSR draft resolution which asks for the commission's abolition.

80. Mr. EBAN (Israel): The remarkable utterance of the representative of Haiti has lifted our debate to high level of idealism and political wisdom and has revealed a sensitive insight into the problems, the spiritual problems, which confront Israel and the Arab States. He has thus furnished a congenial background for the termination of the General Assembly's work at this session on the problems of Israel and the Arab States, and the amendments submitted by the delegation of Canada have a considerable effect on the draft resolution adopted by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. The Assembly will recall that my delegation had three fundamental reservations in regard to that draft resolution.

81. First, paragraph 2 of the operative part had been changed by amendment to include the following words:

"Notes with regret that the above-mentioned resolutions have not yet been implemented, in particular with regard to the repatriation of refugees wishing to return to their homes and also with regard to the just and equitable evaluation of and compensation for the properties of those not wishing to return".

This condition aroused profound disquiet in the minds of my Government, for we could not react without astonishment to the implication that the repatriation of refugees should have taken place in conditions of unceasing hostile pressure on Israel by its neighbours at a time when the absorption of seven hundred thousand refugees had stretched our current resources of absorption to their uttermost limits, and without any reference to legitimate considerations of sovereignty, security and economic capacity. We also deplore the manner in which the previous text referred to the serious work done by United Nations officers on the compensation question. Moreover, we had always maintained, in full conformity with the resolutions of 1948 and 1950, that the primary duty of the parties was to reach a total settlement and that no single problem should be isolated as concerning a separate obligation. The Canadian amendment simplifies the text and removes these objections, and will therefore have our full support. Paragraph 2, as amended, would now read:

*Notes with regret* that, as stated in paragraph 87 of the report, the commission has been unable to fulfil its mandate under the resolutions of the General Assembly”.

The reference in paragraph 87 of the report of the Conciliation Commission to current conditions and changes in the area and the need for the parties and for the United Nations to take fresh stock of their position is of great prudence and utility, and paragraph 2, as amended, would be a positive asset to the draft resolution.

82. Secondly, as regards the phrase in the original text of paragraph 4, “*Urges* the Governments concerned strictly to observe the resolutions of the General Assembly”, even if that phrase were taken to mean those resolutions dealing with the Palestine question, it is apparent that all these successive resolutions are not simultaneously capable of implementation. When the 1947 resolution [181 (II)] was set aside by armed resistance, the General Assembly in 1948 called upon the parties to reach their own solution by agreement. This remains the paramount duty of the parties. The Canadian amendment would omit the words “strictly to observe the resolutions of the General Assembly”, and would instead emphasize the duties of the parties themselves to seek agreement on all outstanding questions in conformity with this resolution. This Canadian amendment therefore improves the text substantially and will have the support of my delegation.

83. Several paragraphs in the joint draft resolution as amended now refer to the duty of the parties to seek agreement on all outstanding questions and to do so in conformity with the resolutions of the General Assembly. It is of course evident that sovereign States have complete freedom to conclude any peaceful agreements between themselves upon which they concur. Therefore the duty to seek such agreements is a central feature of both resolutions under which the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine operates and will, under the terms of paragraph 5, continue to operate, for the word “continue” in paragraph 5 indicates that the commission’s basic credentials are unchanged. In the previous resolutions, those of 1948 and 1950, affecting the work of the Conciliation Commission, the parties are urged to seek agreement by negotiations conducted either with the Conciliation Commission or directly with a view to the final settlement of all questions outstanding between them. It may therefore be assumed that the references to previous resolutions in paragraphs 3 and 5, and now in the Canadian amendment to paragraph 4, do not limit in any way the freedom of the parties to conclude any agreements in which they may concur.

84. On 15 January the representative of the United States, speaking for the sponsors of the four-Power draft resolution said:

“Under both these resolutions [of 1948 and 1950] the governments concerned were urged ... ‘to seek agreement by negotiations conducted either with the Conciliation Commission or directly, with a view to the final settlement of all questions outstanding between them’. Accordingly, these resolutions opened the way for direct negotiations and direct arrangements between the parties. This is consistent with a policy which the United Nations has followed in many other cases where differences have existed between governments and where the United Nations has been interested in the establishment of peaceful arrangements. Where the parties are able, in the exercise of their sovereign rights, to reach mutual agreement, the United Nations welcomes such a result... The main role of the Conciliation Commission has been to assist the parties to reach an agreement”<sup>1</sup>.

It is precisely in this sense that my delegation understands the allusions to previous resolutions in paragraphs 3 and 5 and in the Canadian amendment to paragraph 4. The parties must look forward as well as back, and their desire to reach agreement should range freely over the whole field of possibilities and over the entire realm of past and future solutions.

85. The Canadian amendments thus remove two of our fundamental reservations to draft resolution I of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, and bring it back to the spirit and intent of the original four-Power draft resolution. The work undertaken by the Canadian delegation in this field is in full conformity with the positive and constructive role which that Government has played in all developments in United Nations treatment of the Palestine question.

86. There remains one paragraph which fundamentally affects my delegation’s attitude. It is paragraph 6, which we shall oppose. If the Canadian amendments are adopted and paragraph 6 is omitted, my delegation will be able to take a generally positive attitude to the draft resolution as a whole.

87. We shall also vote for draft resolution II on aid to Palestine refugees.

88. In the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee my delegation expressed the view that the Conciliation Commission should regard itself as a good offices group responding to the desire of the parties to use its facilities, but that the responsibility of initiative should pass squarely to the governments concerned. While draft resolution I now before us could, in our view, have expressed these objectives more clearly, we do nevertheless see here a gratifying approach to the good offices concept. Paragraph 3 reserves the primary responsibility to the parties for reaching a settlement. Paragraph 4 urges the governments to seek agreement on all questions outstanding between them and to use the facilities of the United Nations. Paragraph 5, having expressed the opinion that the Conciliation Commission, in continuation of its previous efforts to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly, should remain in existence, adds that the Commission should be available to the parties to assist them in reaching agreement on outstanding questions.

89. The mandate of the United Nations is clear. Agreement can only be generated by the common will of the parties. It must spring from within. It cannot be created

<sup>1</sup> This quotation is from the verbatim record. For a summary of the speech from which this quotation is taken, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Session, Ad Hoc Political Committee, 41st meeting.*

or imposed from without. The agencies of the United Nations can play an invaluable role, but only in circumstances in which the parties themselves have made it a sincere objective to progress towards a final settlement of outstanding questions.

90. I therefore find it necessary to repeat my Government's willingness to seek an agreement on outstanding questions with each of the contiguous Arab States. We are willing to do this either by direct formal negotiations or by developing the work of the Mixed Armistice Commission in which Israel and the Arab States already sit together, or by recourse to the machinery which the United Nations will hold available under the terms of this draft resolution.

91. The Arab States and Israel, looking out with anxiety over a turbulent region torn by so many convulsions and conflicts, should now see each other as fellow Members of the United Nations fully able and qualified to settle their own differences and to secure the well-being and progress of the region by the common effort of its kindred peoples.

92. Mr. KRAJEWSKI (Poland) (*translated from French*): the Polish delegation wishes to give the following explanation of its vote. The United Nations Conciliation Commission has not discharged the task which was entrusted to it. That has been made abundantly clear. It is, however, necessary to add that the activities of the Conciliation Commission have not only failed to yield the slightest positive results, but have confused the situation in Palestine to such an extent as to make it extremely complex and to turn that area into an inflammatory danger spot.

93. After the lengthy discussion in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee it has become perfectly clear to everyone what the aim is in complicating the situation in the Near East in this way, and by whom it is being complicated. The western Powers still hope that they will succeed in placing the countries in the Near East in such a situation, economically and politically, as will oblige them to bow to their wishes. We know that the plans of the Middle East Command provide for turning this area into a military, air and supply base. Reference to the daily Press clearly indicates the variety of means of pressure which are being continually exerted on the countries in the Near East to oblige them to accept these plans, which are fraught with mortal dangers for these countries and which threaten the peace and security of the world.

94. The United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine has been, without any doubt, one of the instruments of that policy. Oddly enough, the commission's members were none other than the representatives of the United States, France and Turkey, all signatories of the Near East pact which has recently been concluded in connexion with the aggressive plans of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It is obvious that it is not only the United States representative, but also his two colleagues who receive instructions from Washington regarding the work of the Conciliation Commission. Accordingly, the commission has done nothing to clarify the problem with which it was entrusted by the United Nations or to place it in the correct perspective. On the contrary, it has done all in its power to prevent the problem of Palestine from being settled. There is no reason, therefore, why the Conciliation Commission should one day, with divine aid, find the solution which for several years it has not been able and has not wished to find.

95. Do not let us hide our heads in the sand. Let us openly proclaim that the Conciliation Commission serves no useful purpose, since not only does it fail to perform its duties

in accordance with the terms of reference given it, but it does not even conceive of its duty in conformity with the basic provisions of the Charter. In these circumstances it should be abolished.

96. The Polish delegation hopes that the two parties concerned, mindful of the welfare of the inhabitants of that part of the world, will make the necessary effort to arrive at a compromise, which is so much to be desired in present circumstances. It believes that no solutions can be imposed which do not meet the interest of the parties concerned and which only serve the selfish interest of certain great Powers.

97. The Polish delegation will therefore vote for the draft resolution of the Soviet Union proposing the abolition of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine on the grounds that it is useless and harmful, and will vote against draft resolution I, as submitted by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee.

98. Mr. LOPEZ (Philippines): Because of the emphatic references which have been made in the course of the debate in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee to the plight of the Arab refugees in Palestine, the Philippine delegation felt that the General Assembly ought to underline in some way the concern which it has felt and still feels on this problem. Therefore, we presented an amendment which was adopted in the Committee by a vote of more than two-thirds, and which now appears as the second clause of paragraph 2 of draft resolution I.

99. The first of the two Canadian amendments now proposes deleting this detailed reference to the refugee problem in favour of a more general reference to the provisions of the resolutions of the General Assembly. On the understanding that this more general reference to the resolutions of the General Assembly necessarily includes the particular provisions regarding the problem of refugees, the representative of Syria has accepted the Canadian amendment and has appealed to my delegation, among others, to do likewise. We are happy to do this, but at the same time we express the hope that the amendment will in no way cause or imply a diminution of our interest in the just solution of the refugee problem.

100. We also express the hope that the conciliatory attitudes which have, for the most part, manifested themselves in the Assembly will be carried over to the Conciliation Commission when it resumes its work, and will endure until all outstanding problems between the parties are settled.

101. Mr. ASTAPENKO (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*). An analysis of the progress report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine submitted at this session of the General Assembly and of the Commission's work during the past three years shows that it has failed to discharge the task for which it was set up in 1948.

102. The Conciliation Commission has done nothing towards the equitable settlement of the Palestine problem. The representatives on the Commission and its numerous subsidiary organs have been, and are still, travelling around the various Arab States and Israel without however doing anything to help solve either any of the separate problems or the Palestine problem as a whole.

103. The results of the commission's activities and other facts put forward by a number of delegations in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee during the considerations of the conciliation Commission's report prove that the Near and Middle East are regarded by United States' ruling circles as a direct objective in the United States expansionist plans



for world domination. The United States and the other colonial Powers should have realized long since, however, that the time has passed when they can do as they like in backward countries. The peoples of these countries are showing that they can and must decide their own destiny. There is ample evidence of this, not least in the Near and Middle East.

104. Experience has shown that the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine has been a tool for United States interference in the domestic affairs of the countries of the Near and Middle East. Naturally in the circumstances the commission's work could not have any positive results, a fact which it does not even attempt to conceal, announcing as it does that it has failed. During the past three years, since the Commission was created, the situation in Palestine has not improved and relations between Israel and the Arab States remain as unsettled as ever. Moreover during that time, the commission has swallowed up more than four and a half million dollars of the United Nations budget.

105. It is clear from the foregoing facts that the proposal to continue the commission, as suggested in the draft resolution submitted by the United States, France, Turkey and the United Kingdom which was approved by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, merely brings out the special interest of the Anglo-American ruling circles in this Commission and the part it is to play in their aggressive plans in the Near and Middle East. It is also abundantly clear that the Commission's activities do not conform to the principles and purposes of the United Nations. It is undermining the United Nations authority and is hampering the settlement of the Palestine problem in the best interests of the peoples of Palestine.

106. In view of the above, the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine should be abolished as suggested in the USSR draft resolution.

107. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR supports the draft resolution of the Soviet Union which proposes the abolition of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine and will vote for it. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR will vote against draft resolution I which proposes that the commission should be continued.

108. Mr. CASTRO (El Salvador (*translated from Spanish*)): At this point, when delegations are stating their different attitudes, I shall speak briefly and exclusively to explain how my delegation will vote on the draft resolution before us.

109. The delegation of El Salvador will vote in favour of draft resolution I as amended by the Canadian delegation, with the exception of paragraph 6, because in this forum almost all delegations have taken the view that it was not

desirable, at least at this year's session, to adopt that paragraph. Some of the delegations which have expressed their opposition to the immediate adoption of this paragraph did so purely for reasons of reaching agreement, for in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee they voted in favour of this paragraph. The delegation of El Salvador will not, therefore, be an exception and will vote against paragraph 6 of draft resolution I. But this is not the only point I wish to make: I also wish to clarify what I consider a fundamental point.

110. Paragraph 4 of draft resolution I as modified by the Canadian amendment, refers to the fact that the negotiations between the Arab States and the State of Israel must be carried out in conformity with the resolutions of the General Assembly on Palestine.

111. This phrase, "in conformity with the resolutions of the General Assembly on Palestine", has been variously interpreted. Naturally, the delegation of El Salvador believes that since all the States directly concerned which are urged by the General Assembly to negotiate with a view to settling their differences are free States, they clearly enjoy the full freedom conferred upon them by their sovereignty in conducting negotiations and in placing the results of such negotiations before the General Assembly, which will then naturally give the results adequate consideration.

112. However, the questions relating to Palestine and the resolutions touching upon the various problems connected with Palestine do not solely involve Arab and Israeli interests. There are resolutions of another kind which also involve interests of third parties, and my delegation wishes to make it clear that in voting in favour of paragraph 4 of the draft resolution as amended by Canada, it does so on the understanding that the negotiations between the Arab States and the State of Israel will exclusively touch upon those interests common to the Arab States and to Israel upon which views differ, but that they should by no means touch upon questions in which other important interests referred to in previous resolutions of the General Assembly are concerned, such as, for instance—and I shall speak quite frankly—the question of the internationalization of Jerusalem.

113. My delegation considers, therefore, that the negotiations which the General Assembly would like the parties to conduct are negotiations relating solely to Arab and Israeli interests.

114. That is all I wish to say. The delegation of El Salvador has clearly stated its point of view and explained the position it will take in voting on draft resolution I before us and on the Canadian amendments.

*The meeting rose at 1 p.m.*