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**President: Mr. Edvard HAMBRO (Norway).**

**AGENDA ITEMS 53 and 60**

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**countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights**

**REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/8163)**

1. The PRESIDENT: I would request the Rapporteur of the Third Committee, Mrs. Gunawardana of Belgium, to present the report of the Committee on agenda items 53 and 60 [A/8163].

2. Mrs. GUNAWARDANA (Belgium), Rapporteur of the Third Committee (*interpretation from French*): The effective safeguarding of and respect for human rights require at the same time the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, the universal achievement of the right of peoples to self-determination and the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. Hence the Third Committee decided to examine jointly agenda items 53 to 60, which are the subject of the report which I have the honour to submit today to the General Assembly.

3. The reprobation which is aroused in the world by the persistence of discriminatory attitudes and practices has been expressed many times by the United Nations. More specifically, the policy of *apartheid* is being continually and forcefully denounced as a violation of human rights which is unacceptable to the human conscience. The right of peoples to self-determination, which is one of the essential foundations of freedom, has been inscribed and reaffirmed in many international instruments. However, at the very time when the United Nations is celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary, we are forced to admit that the ideals on which its existence is based are still being flouted in certain parts of the African continent and in other regions of the world. The Third Committee was unanimous in deploring this situation, and, throughout its proceedings, attempted to define the means for struggling against the persistence of situations which are incompatible with the principles set forth in the Charter.

4. Taking into account all the points of view which were expressed, the report follows the plan provided in the agenda, although the various headings are only different aspects of the same problem. Thus, the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, dealt with in paragraphs 9 to 12 of chapter II, is in fact one of the measures for effectively combating racial discrimination and the policies of *apartheid* and segregation in southern Africa, which is the subject of paragraphs 13 to 19. Similarly, the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, dealt with in paragraphs 20 and 21,

is directly related to the status of the convention for whose implementation it was created; the convention is also mentioned in paragraphs 22 and 23. Finally, opposition to the exercise of the right of self-determination of peoples, which is the theme of item 60, perpetuates discrimination and intolerance against these peoples, as shown under item 53.

5. This interconnexion is implicit in the first two draft resolutions adopted by the Committee concerning the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, whereas the two others are more specific, the first dealing with the first report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the second with the right of peoples to self-determination.

6. These draft resolutions gave rise to discussions which lasted for five meetings, a fact which indicates the interest that the Committee took in their preparation. The report, which is already very lengthy, cannot reproduce the details of those discussions. They will be found in the records of the debates. It indicates, however, the successive changes made in the various drafts as well as the votes which were taken on them. The texts of the four draft resolutions as they were adopted by the Committee are to be found in paragraph 44 of the report. I should be grateful, Mr. President, if you would be good enough to submit them to the General Assembly for adoption.

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Third Committee.*

7. The PRESIDENT: Since no delegation wishes to explain its vote before the vote on agenda items 53 and 60, the Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolutions recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 44 of its report [A/8163].

8. We shall vote first on resolution I. The administrative and financial implications arising out of operative paragraph 10 of the draft resolution are to be found in document A/8167.

*Draft resolution I was adopted by 71 votes to 10, with 11 abstentions (resolution 2646 (XXV)).*

9. We turn next to draft resolution II.

10. Mr. PAOLINI (France) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation asks for a recorded vote on draft resolution II.

11. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to the vote.

*A recorded vote was taken.*

*In favour:* Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Botswana, Burma, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Denmark, France, Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Mexico, Netherlands, New

Zealand, Norway, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Rwanda, Senegal, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.

*Against:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic,<sup>1</sup> Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mongolia, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, People's Republic of the Congo, Poland, Romania, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

*Abstaining:* Colombia, Gabon, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Lesotho, Peru, Swaziland, Togo, Tunisia.

*Draft resolution II was adopted by 49 votes to 33, with 10 abstentions (resolution 2647 (XXV)).<sup>1</sup>*

12. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution III was adopted unanimously by the Third Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly in plenary wishes to do the same?

*Draft resolution III was adopted unanimously (resolution 2648 (XXV)).*

13. Finally, we turn to draft resolution IV.

14. A separate vote has been requested by Costa Rica on the words "and Palestine" in operative paragraph 5. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees that a separate vote should be taken on those words.

15. Mr. AKRAM (Pakistan): My delegation has asked for the floor to request a roll-call vote on the deletion of the words "and Palestine", as well as on the draft resolution as a whole.

16. Mr. DAHMOUCHE (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation is opposed to a separate vote on paragraph 5, with a view to deleting the words "and Palestine". We believe that there are no people on earth who do not have the right to self-determination.

17. Mr. EL-ERIAN (United Arab Republic): I shall be very brief. Our position on draft resolution IV was explained in the Third Committee and I will not repeat it now. We support this draft resolution in all its parts. It deals with one of the basic principles of the United Nations, namely, equal rights and self-determination. Any attempt to deny the application of such a basic norm of general application to any people is against the very foundation of the Charter. The United Nations has adopted a number of resolutions which consider

<sup>1</sup>The delegations of Brazil, Dahomey, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Dominican Republic subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to be recorded as having voted in favour of the draft resolution.

that respect for the right of the Arab people of Palestine is an indispensable element in the establishment of just and lasting peace in our part of the world. I would refer to the latest resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 4 November [2628 (XXV)], whose operative paragraph 3 reads:

*“Recognizes that respect for the rights of the Palestinians is an indispensable element in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East”.*

18. To deny the shield of the United Nations to the people of Palestine, to imply that they are not protected by the shield of the United Nations and that they are not subject to the general application of the basic norms of international law, cannot be condoned. As the late President of the United Arab Republic stated, when he spoke from this rostrum at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly [873rd meeting], there is no problem in our part of the world which we would not submit to the rule of the Charter; we accept all the resolutions of the United Nations.

19. As I have stated before, the United Nations has adopted a number of resolutions affirming the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine. For that reason we oppose any attempt to put the people of Palestine beyond the shield of the Charter and beyond the realm of international jurisdiction, and, therefore, we support the adoption of the draft resolution in all its parts.

20. Mrs. DE BARISH (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation is very respectful of the rights of other delegations; we hope, therefore, that our rights also will be respected.

21. We have requested a separate vote on the words “and Palestine” in operative paragraph 5 of draft resolution IV for reasons which we explained in the Third Committee and which I do not think it necessary to repeat here.

22. The PRESIDENT: A separate vote has been requested. This is not an amendment; it is merely a request for a separate vote. There appear to be no objections to that request.

23. I therefore now put to the vote the words “and Palestine” in paragraph 5 of draft resolution IV. A roll-call vote has been requested.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

*Brazil, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.*

*In favour:* Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ceylon, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Equatorial Guinea, Gambia,<sup>2</sup> Greece, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, People's Republic

of the Congo, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria.

*Against:* Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Israel, Italy, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Paraguay, Rwanda, Swaziland, United States of America, Uruguay, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Botswana.

*Abstaining:* Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Chad, Chile, China, Ethiopia, France, Gabon, Ghana, Guyana, Haiti, Iceland, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Japan, Kenya, Laos, Mexico, Nepal, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Argentina, Barbados.

*The words “and Palestine” were adopted by 48 votes to 27, with 35 abstentions.*

24. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now vote on draft resolution IV as a whole.

*Draft resolution IV as a whole was adopted by 71 votes to 12, with 28 abstentions (resolution 2649 (XXV)).*

25. I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to be allowed to explain their vote after the voting.

26. Mr. WILSON (Liberia): The delegation of Liberia voted in favour of the proposal of Costa Rica for a separate vote on the words “and Palestine” at the end of operative paragraph 5 of draft resolution IV in document A/8163. In doing so, we took into consideration that at no time has Palestine been listed by the United Nations among the Territories which have been denominated by the General Assembly as Trust Territories, Non-Self-Governing Territories or Territories under colonial domination.

27. Our view is that any resolution which calls for self-determination of peoples—which is one of the cornerstones of the United Nations—should relate to those Territories which have been declared by the United Nations as Non-Self-Governing. As Palestine does not fall into that category, we found ourselves obliged to vote for the exclusion of the words “and Palestine” from the draft resolution.

28. The proposal in that regard having been defeated, we voted in favour of the draft resolution as a whole. But that was done without prejudice to the position we had already taken in the matter of the exclusion of the words “and Palestine”.

<sup>2</sup> The delegation of the Gambia subsequently informed the General Assembly that it had intended to abstain (see para. 67 below).

29. Mr. LORCH (Israel): My delegation considers it its duty to place on record its reasons for voting against draft resolution IV contained in document A/8163. This is the first time in over twenty years that the delegation of Israel has been compelled to cast a negative vote on any draft resolution dealing with self-determination. That was done not because its attitude has changed in any way, but because of the attempt which has been made here to introduce the entirely extraneous Middle East conflict into this context.

30. The tragic conflict in the Middle East is well known to all of us, and our Governments have had many an opportunity to express their views. It is a conflict between sovereign States, all of which were under colonial rule some decades ago, but are no longer in that condition. It is a conflict between States Members of the United Nations whose sovereign equality is enshrined in the Charter. It is tragic particularly because it involves peoples that have much in common—in language, tradition, culture and ethnical background. All of us are aware of the tremendous difficulties entailed in finding a solution to the conflict.

31. By the resolution adopted here today, by the votes of a minority of its Members, the General Assembly, if anything, added to these difficulties. By introducing a principle normally applied to colonial situations, the General Assembly has confused the issue even more, whilst at the same time devaluating the principle of self-determination. By lending itself to the abuse of this principle, by parties whose one-sided preoccupation with the struggle against my country seems to have blinded them to practically all other issues confronting our Organization, the General Assembly has done a disservice to itself, to the peoples of the Middle East, who crave for peace, and to those peoples that deserve our best efforts to enable them to achieve their right of self-determination.

32. Mrs. BULTRIKOVA (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation would like to explain briefly the reasons for its votes on the resolutions which have been adopted on the item on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. The Soviet people attaches great importance to the question of action to combat racism and racial discrimination. We consider it is high time for the complete and final elimination of these shameful phenomena from the life of modern society.

33. The nationalities policy of our multinational State is based on the Leninist principles of the full equality of all peoples and the inadmissibility of any form of racial discrimination. Guided by these principles, the Soviet delegation voted for draft resolution I, which is designed to ensure that the United Nations takes effective measures to combat racism and racial discrimination. While we attach great importance to the main provisions of the resolution, which provides for the adoption of effective measures to combat racism, we should however like to state that the proposed dissemination of the special study should be effected under the regular programme of advisory services and

should not entail any additional financial expenditure. In other words, the cost of disseminating the special study should be absorbed within the regular budget of the United Nations.

34. With regard to draft resolution II, the Soviet delegation would like to state that we voted against this resolution primarily because it is designed to weaken the measures provided for in draft resolution I. As many delegations pointed out in the Third Committee, draft resolution II is a step backward from the documents previously adopted by the United Nations on the question of action to combat racism and racial discrimination and is at variance with draft resolution I.

35. The position of the Soviet delegation on the other resolution remains as before. It was explained during the discussion in the Third Committee.

36. Mr. DLAMINI (Swaziland): My delegation abstained in the vote on draft resolution IV as a whole, which is contained in document A/8163. It did so because it found some difficulties in supporting that draft resolution, in particular in two of its paragraphs.

37. My delegation would like to reaffirm here that Swaziland positively supports self-determination for all peoples everywhere. However, Swaziland does not support violence as a means for achieving independence or settling disputes. It appeared to my delegation that the words at the end of operative paragraph 1, "any means at their disposal", are open to any interpretation and could be easily replaced by "force or violence". My delegation therefore abstained.

38. My delegation also is not aware of a State or territory of Palestine as being in factual or legal existence. It therefore found difficulty with that wording there and voted against the inclusion of the words "and Palestine".

39. For the reasons stated above my delegation would have supported that draft resolution as a whole, but for the words "and Palestine".

40. Mr. BARROS (Brazil) (*interpretation from French*): The Brazilian delegation has already stated in the Third Committee that it considers that certain essential provisions of draft resolution I suggest measures whose consideration and adoption are within the competence of the Security Council. Consequently, and in accordance with that position, my delegation did not participate in the vote on the aforesaid draft resolution.

41. Regarding draft resolution II, of which Brazil is a co-sponsor, I would ask you, Mr. President, to have the Brazilian delegation's vote recorded as affirmative.

42. Mr. NATHAN (Singapore): Operative paragraph 5 of draft resolution IV is structurally made up of two parts, one general and the other particular. The first part "condemns those Governments which deny the right of self-determination of peoples recognized as

being entitled to it . . . ". My delegation has no quarrel with that proposition as the people and Government of Singapore are irrevocably committed to support the principle of self-determination of peoples of all Non-Self-Governing Territories. The second part of that operative paragraph condemns those Governments which deny the right of self-determination "of the peoples of southern Africa and Palestine".

43. Although that operative paragraph does not designate the guilty party it is reasonably clear that, in the case of southern Africa, the Governments to be condemned are those of Portugal, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. By virtue of our support for the principles of self-determination and racial equality we could not disagree with the condemnation of the Government of Portugal for its refusal to apply the principle of self-determination to its colonies in Africa, and of the Governments of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa for their failure to uphold the principle of racial equality.

44. My delegation has some difficulty with the condemnation, contained in the last part of operative paragraph 5, of those Governments which deny the right of self-determination to the people of Palestine. The question is: does the term "Palestine" in operative paragraph 5 refer to the whole of the former Mandated Territory or only to those parts of the former Mandated Territory which were not part of the national territory of Israel before the war of June 1967? My delegation has been unable to accept an interpretation of the term "Palestine" in operative paragraph 5 which would include the national territory of the State of Israel for the following reasons. First, it would be inconsistent with our bilateral relations with Israel, whereby my Government has recognized the national sovereignty of the State of Israel and agreed to respect its territorial integrity. Second, such an interpretation would be contrary to previous resolutions of the United Nations, and in particular Security Council resolution 242 (1967), on which the hopes of the world for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East are pinned. Third, such an interpretation would be contrary to the declared positions of some of the Arab Governments, which, by virtue of their acceptance of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), have therefore by implication agreed to recognize the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the State of Israel.

45. Therefore, if the concept of Palestine in operative paragraph 5 is to be interpreted to include the national territory of Israel, my delegation cannot accept such a proposition and would have voted in support of the deletion of the words "and Palestine" from the paragraph. On the other hand, if the words "and Palestine" were meant only to refer to those parts of the former Mandated Territory which were not part of the national territory of Israel before the war of June 1967, then my delegation would have supported the inclusion of the term "and Palestine".

46. My delegation had been assured by certain Arab delegations that the latter—or more restrictive—meaning is the one intended by operative paragraph 5 of

draft resolution IV. Because of this uncertainty my delegation abstained from the separate vote on the words "and Palestine" contained in that operative paragraph.

47. Having made our position clear on that part of the text, we voted in favour of draft resolution IV as a whole.

48. Mr. CAVAGLIERI (Italy): I should like to explain my delegation's vote on draft resolution IV, which has just been adopted.

49. The Italian delegation has always been in favour of the right of national self-determination and has given its firm support to the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. We have also expressed on many occasions, and recently in the debate in the Special Political Committee [733rd meeting] on the report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, our deep feelings of understanding and sincere concern for the tragic lot of the Palestinians.

50. I should like to recall that the Italian Government has always affirmed its full support of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and its sincere wish to see it implemented in all its parts and to contribute to solving all questions related to the situation in the Middle East. In the light of this wish we consider that the complex situation in that area could be more effectively dealt with in a comprehensive way and in the same context. No single aspect of it should therefore be taken up separately from the main body and examined apart, thus creating also an undesirable overlapping of competence between different organs of the United Nations. That is why the Italian delegation felt it necessary to vote for the deletion of the words "and Palestine" from operative paragraph 5, although it shared the main objectives pursued by the co-sponsors. We had to abstain on the draft resolution as a whole since we still have certain reservations about the wording of some other specific paragraphs.

51. Mr. MOLEFHE (Botswana): My delegation voted for the draft resolution on the importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee of observance of human rights.

52. My delegation supported the spirit of the draft resolution in general, but at the same time it wishes to record its reservation about operative paragraph 1.

53. Mrs. SIPILA (Finland): The delegation of Finland was unable to be present today from the beginning of the consideration of and voting on the report of the Third Committee. Our votes on this item would have been the same as in the Third Committee. On the separate vote concerning the words "and Palestine" the delegation of Finland would have abstained.



54. Mr. MAHMASSANI (Lebanon): Once again the General Assembly has affirmed the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, and once again this august body has condemned the Government of Israel for denying them their inalienable right to a homeland. We regret that the representative of Costa Rica thought it fit to request a separate vote on the words "and Palestine". The same representative attempted in the Third Committee to have the words "southern Africa and Palestine" deleted. Its motion was rejected in the Committee and in the Assembly. We are confident that such a motion will always be rejected, as long as the Members of the General Assembly uphold the Charter.

55. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): We have indeed witnessed a travesty of justice perpetrated by those who have denied that there is a Palestinian people. It behoves me to mention that none other than my good friend and colleague, the representative of Costa Rica in the Third Committee, asked for a separate vote. It is curious that she should have ignored South Africa but picked on Palestine. She is a young lady—I do not know her exact age—and I must assure her that twenty centuries before she was born there was a people called the Palestinian people. In fact the word "Palestine" came from those who resided on the island of Crete about thirty-five centuries ago; the Phillistines, in the English language. Here, the representative of Costa Rica, a country that is about 7,000 miles from Palestine, asks us to declare that the Palestinian people do not exist. She must have forgotten that in 1947—she must have been at high school then, or perhaps a teenager—pressure was brought to bear on the Latin American countries for the partition of the land of Palestine. How can there be a land of Palestine without a Palestinian people? The people of Palestine exist, whether you like it or not. They were mentioned at Versailles and a Mandate was granted to none other than the United Kingdom to prepare the Palestinian people for self-determination and ultimate self-rule and independence. How can a Member of the United Nations declare that there is no such thing as a Palestinian people or that it should not determine its destiny?

56. One representative from an Asian State, none other than my colleague from Singapore, talked about resolution 242 (1967) and said that certain Arab countries had recognized the creation of this artificial State in the midst of the Middle East and would co-operate with Israel to find a solution. The problem is not with the Arab Governments, whether or not they be contiguous to the land of Palestine which has been usurped under the name of "Israel". The conflict does not exist between the Arab Governments and the Zionists; it exists only in so far as certain territories of those Governments have been occupied. The problem of the artificial State that was created in the Middle East is between Israel and the indigenous people of Palestine who were driven from their homeland by terrorism and who are now unfortunately resorting to the same tactics that were used against them by the Zvai Leumi, by the Stern gang and all the other gangs whose names I do not have to mention because their number is legion—those gangs that killed Bernadotte, that bombed and destroyed the King David Hotel, that

hanged Tommies. Who are you here, you youngsters, to come and say that the people of Palestine do not exist? Is it just by political solidarity? You cannot sell a people by political solidarity. Why have you been defending our black brethren, our brothers in South West Africa? You do not request a separate vote in that respect. You do not ask for a vote by division in order to include South Africa. You only ask for such a vote in order to exclude Palestine. Palestine will not be excluded. It cannot be erased from the map, because there is a dynamic Palestinian people that has taken matters into their own hands.

57. I think you should be sober; you should think; you should not be tools and stooges of certain policies. I declare that I have been seized of this problem since 1920, and here every Tom, Dick and Harry comes and tells us what we should do in our area. Do you, my good friend from Costa Rica, accept the United States—with whom you are allied in the Organization of American States—as arbiter of your destiny? "No", you will say. Why then should the Palestinian people accept as vindictive arbiters people from a country that is 7,000 miles away from their homeland—none other than the United States of America? Neither will they accept the vindictiveness of any great Power, whether it be the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China—in the future—the United States, the United Kingdom, or any State that exercises world power.

58. They should have learned a lesson from the late General de Gaulle—may his soul rest in peace—when he challenged those who were colonialists inside his country by declaring that if Algeria did not want to be a part of France it was for the Algerians to decide. He went down in history not only as the liberator of his country but as the liberator of colonial people living under a yoke which was imposed on them in the last century.

59. All of those who, by division, have voted against the Palestinian people, will be ignored by the Palestinian people. We are told there is no Palestinian people. That is what Mrs. Golda Meir said. "Who are those Palestinian people?"

60. I was looking into my file the other day, and when I say that I have been seized of this question for fifty years, I have a document here in my hand to prove that. It is the envelope of a letter with the stamp "EEF"—Egyptian Expeditionary Forces. That letter is from the newspaper *La Palestine*, P.O. Box 591, Jaffa. Telephone number 94. It is addressed to The Respected Essayed Jamil Murad Baroodi, Bab Idris, Beirut. Palestine was taken by the British through the co-operation of the Egyptians and the letters here, "EEF" were superimposed on those stamps in 1922 and 1923. You will find the word "Palestine" in Arabic superimposed followed by the English and the Hebrew equivalent. That was when the British were playing politics—one day supporting the Zionists and the next supporting the Arabs. Massacres were rife in those days.

61. This is not all. On that same envelope you find the postmark—and I will show it to you—from Jaffa, Palestine. The year is 1923, forty-seven years ago, and the word "Palestine" is superimposed on stamps the British issued. There you have "EEF"—Egyptian Expeditionary Forces—with the word "Palestine" in Arabic at the head, followed by English in the middle and then the Hebrew, because of that perfidious Balfour Declaration, mentioned at the bottom.

62. But that is not all. There is a seal which says "Palestine for the Arabs" in English. It is like the Christmas seals here in the host country. That seal which says "Palestine for the Arabs" has a picture of the mosque called the Dome of the Rock. The Palestinians knew it was their land but they wanted the British and the whole world, wherever letters went, to know that Palestine was for the Arabs. I will give you this envelope, Mr. President, and you and your illustrious Legal Adviser can bear me out, or say that I am wrong. There is not only the seal but also the stamps, the letters, the postmark and the date.

63. So there is no Palestine? Who do you think you are fooling except yourselves? The Palestinian people will prevail. Do not think I am not cool inside. I want to ginger you up a little because you are so placid with the instructions from your governments. As I have mentioned time and again you are wearing the straitjackets of instructions. In your innermost hearts you know that there is a Palestine and a Palestinian people. You mentioned them only when they hijack a few planes and Sir Alec Douglas Home, the British Foreign Minister, speaks of "barbarian methods". But the British hijacked colonies and nobody says anything. The host country hijacked a whole continent which belonged to the Red Indians. But, when a few planes are hijacked not in order to make a fuss but to attract world public opinion, you make a hullabaloo here in the Assembly. Although planes have been hijacked to Cuba time and again, it was only when the Palestinian people hijack planes that you went to the Sixth Committee with certain draft resolutions on hijacking. That will get you nowhere. Leave us alone all you Western and other countries from outside our area, the Middle East. We have not done you any wrong. You have put an abscess in the body politic and the body social of our Middle East region and the whole place is feverish.

64. Is all this worth calling for that little vote by division? It is significant. If I did not make my voice heard here, who would hear the voice of the Palestinians? We are here the Palestinians by proxy and no Arab Government which is the servant of its people would dare to crush the Palestinian people. And let me tell you there are attempts to crush them. Money is being spent. How do we know? Do you not think that people have their own intelligence organizations? We have our humble organizations for intelligence. We know from the people who did not get money and who are jealous of those who did. Officers have received money, but I do not want to name the countries because I might embarrass them. You cannot buy people. You can buy traitors. You cannot crush a people.

65. I feel sorry for the innocent Jews living amongst us because they are human beings and I stand for the worth and dignity of any human being, irrespective of his religion, colour, race, and so on. But I feel sorry because they have been brain-washed and transplanted to the wrong place. Had they come motivated by religious sentiment they would be living in peace and not cajoling you Western and other than Western Powers to come and vote for them, monopolizing the press and the theatre as they do in New York City and other big cities.

66. Tomorrow I shall speak in the Special Political Committee on the Palestine refugees. I will give some facts which will make certain people representing certain governments ashamed of themselves for having violated the Charter. So, let those people take heed, when they are asked to be stooges that there is an index that can point to them. I pity them, for after all I stand also for their human dignity and worth.

67. Sir Alieu JACK (Gambia): My delegation wishes to express its deep regret that it voted inadvertently during the voting on paragraph 5 of draft resolution IV in document A/8163. We would be grateful if an abstention could be recorded instead.

68. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Costa Rica has asked for the floor for a right of reply, which is hardly surprising, but may I remind her and all the representatives of the fact that the Assembly has decided not to discuss these matters? This is just a statement in exercise of the right of reply.

69. Mrs. DE BARISH (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I must explain why my delegation abstained in the vote on resolution IV in spite of our support for the right of peoples to self-determination since my own country is the outcome of the exercise of that right.

70. However, as we already explained in the Third Committee [1777th meeting], we had objections to operative paragraph 1, which contains the phrase, "by any means at their disposal". I said then and I repeat now that many things could be done under this phrase, and that the international community has seen itself caught up by unspeakable events. One which I recall now is the hijacking of civilian aircraft. I could also cite the assassination of prominent political figures under the pretext of liberation struggles.

71. Furthermore, we declared that we ought not to bring the Middle Eastern conflict into this resolution since we would be getting into political problems which were not within the powers of the Third Committee. Rather we feel that the mention of Palestine within this context would lead to a step backward in the political process in that region. Therefore my delegation, not I personally, asked for a separate vote on these words in paragraph 5, and vote against maintaining them.

72. I would remind Ambassador Baroody that his friend in the Third Committee is not too young to be

unaware of certain things. For example, I know that Palestine was under a British colonial mandate which ended its colonial status in 1947 in accordance with a resolution of the General Assembly.

73. As I said before, my delegation, with these reservations abstained on the draft resolution as a whole in spite of our fervent adherence to the right of peoples to self-determination.

### AGENDA ITEM 57

#### Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

##### REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/8177)

74. Mrs. GUNAWARDANA (Belgium), Rapporteur of the Third Committee (*interpretation from French*): The world in its rapid development is undergoing deep changes, which can produce instability. One of the consequences of the political and social mutations occurring in many countries which are seeking their national identity is the emergence of new structures in which more or less numerous population groups no longer find an appropriate place, either because they are rejected by a reconstituted society or because they themselves deliberately choose to exclude themselves from that society. They then become, in the community into which they are projected, "refugees" in search of new social ties to replace the natural ties which have been so abruptly severed.

75. The painful situations inherent in the status of refugee and the grave legal, social and economic problems arising from the existence in many parts of the world of a migrant, ill-adjusted population provide for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees a field for large scale humanitarian activity. Success in this activity requires absolute objectivity, flexibility at all times and constant vigilance.

76. When the report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [A/8012 and Add.1], which is the subject of item 57 of the agenda, was examined, the members of the Third Committee participating in

the debate were unanimous in paying tribute to Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan for the way in which he was carrying out his very difficult task and in expressing gratification over the results attained by the High Commissioner's Office under his direction. The principles at the basis of his action were approved by the Committee as a whole, which reiterated its confidence in him in seeking practical solutions to the problems he faces concerning both refugee groups and individual refugees. Although material assistance is limited by the inadequacy of the resources available to the High Commissioner and by the difficulties of finding external support for his action, on the other hand, legal protection of refugees has now been guaranteed by means of international instruments subscribed to by an ever-growing number of governments. Furthermore, many former refugees have recovered permanent status thanks to the High Commissioner's assistance, either by repatriation to their countries of origin or by integration in the host community or by resettlement in other countries.

77. These humanitarian efforts should continue without respite and they deserve the support of all Governments. These are the main points at the basis of the draft resolution [A/8177, para. 8] which the Third Committee adopted by acclamation and which I request you, Mr. President, to submit to the General Assembly for its adoption.

*Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Third Committee.*

78. The PRESIDENT: No representative has indicated a desire to explain his vote before the vote. As the Rapporteur has said, the draft resolution contained in paragraph 8 of this report [A/8177] was adopted by acclamation in the Third Committee. May I take it that the plenary Assembly also wants to adopt it unanimously?

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously (resolution 2650 (XXV)).*

*The meeting rose at 4.30 p.m.*