

United Nations
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

TWENTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records



2303rd
PLENARY MEETING

Friday, 29 November 1974,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

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President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
(Algeria).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Bartolome (Philippines), Vice-President, took the chair.

AGENDA ITEM 39

Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects: report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/9871)

AGENDA ITEM 40

Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/9872)

1. Mr. ABDULDJALIL (Indonesia), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly two reports of the Special Political Committee: on agenda item 39, "Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects: report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations" [A/9871] and on agenda item 40, "Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories" [A/9872].
2. The Special Political Committee considered agenda item 39 at its 933rd to 936th meetings between 15 and 20 November. It had before it the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations [A/9827], submitted pursuant to General Assembly resolution 3091 (XXVIII). At its 936th meeting, on 20 November, the Special Political Committee adopted, without a vote, a draft resolution which is included in the report. It is the hope of the Special Political Committee that its recommendation, as set out in paragraph 7 of the report [A/9871] will be adopted unanimously by the General Assembly.
3. I shall now return to agenda item 40. The Special Political Committee considered the item at its 928th to 932nd meetings between 8 and 12 November. It had before it the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories [A/9817] and the report of the Secretary-General [A/9843], submitted in accordance with paragraph 10 (c) of General Assembly resolution 3092 B (XXVIII).
4. At its 932nd meeting, on 12 November, the Special Political Committee adopted three draft resolutions, contained in paragraph 15 of its report, as draft resolutions A, B and C.

5. In conclusion, I should like to express the hope that the recommendations of the Special Political Committee as set out in paragraph 15 of its report will be adopted by the General Assembly.

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

6. The PRESIDENT: I invite members to turn their attention first to the report of the Special Political Committee on agenda item 39 [A/9871].

7. The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Special Political Committee in paragraph 7 of its report. The Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3239 (XXIX)).

8. The PRESIDENT: We shall turn now to the report of the Special Political Committee on agenda item 40 [A/9872].

9. I call upon those representatives who wish to explain their vote at this stage on any or all of the three draft resolutions recommended by the Special Political Committee. Representatives will also be given an opportunity to explain their votes after all the votes have been taken.

10. Mr. DORON (Israel): Three draft resolutions were adopted by the Special Political Committee on agenda item 40, and this plenary meeting is about to be called upon to vote on them. All of these draft resolutions are supposedly based on the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices.

11. It is well known that grave and substantive doubts exist as to the legality of the procedure involved in setting up that Committee and also as to its composition. Likewise, grave doubts have been expressed, not only by Israel but also by a number of other countries, concerning its mandate, which clearly prejudged the issue. All of these doubts have been substantiated over the years that this Committee has been allowed to engage in its activities and give vent to its prejudices in the reports it produces year after year.

12. Draft resolution A in the report [A/9872] follows in the footsteps of those adopted in previous years, and again adopts the illegal precedents set in earlier resolutions on this item of outstripping even the report on which it is supposed to be based in the maliciousness and lack of foundation of its contents.

13. This draft resolution purports to express what is called "the grave concern" of the General Assembly in respect of alleged violations, none of which have been substantiated by the report of the Special Committee and many of which have not even been mentioned or alluded to, let alone substantiated, in that report.

14. In the statement of my delegation on 8 November 1974 in the Special Political Committee,¹ we took up, one by one, the allegations made in the report and, by using the very same material on which the Special Committee pretended to base those allegations, proved that each and every one of those allegations was utterly and completely unfounded and untrue, and that indeed the Special Committee was guilty of a deliberate

distortion of the facts so as to mislead the United Nations.

15. In the course of the debate in the Special Political Committee we also showed that no provision of international law, including any of the relevant conventions, had in any way been contravened by Israel. However, despite all this, in the parliamentary situation now prevailing in the United Nations that resolution was adopted in the Special Political Committee. I wish again to express our total opposition to it for the reasons stated now and in the Special Political Committee.

16. The same applies to draft resolution C in the same report, dealing with the alleged destruction by Israel of the town of Quneitra. The Special Committee exceeded its mandate when it took up that subject. Its members were not equipped to deal with it—a fact which they themselves have admitted. They deliberately ignored evidence which was not to their liking, in that it contradicted their preconceived ideas. Thus, they have produced, on this subject also, a report which is one-sided, baseless and totally unacceptable.

17. The Special Committee also managed, by that special brand of legal juggling in which it excels, to drag in the Charter of the International Military Tribunal of Nuremberg,² whose mention in this connexion is totally unacceptable, wrong and, indeed, offensive. My delegation will therefore vote against draft resolutions A and C.

18. As for draft resolution B in the report—there is no need for me to explain again at any great length the position of Israel on the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention³ in the administered territories. It is well known that we have our reservations concerning its applicability, but it is also known that we continue at the same time to take the provisions of that Convention as the standard. As pointed out by my delegation on a previous occasion, this is more honest and decent an attitude than that of many countries which will sign and profess to adhere to an international instrument and then in practice honour it more in the breach than in the observance.

19. Draft resolution B is, as pointed out by my delegation in the Special Political Committee, a matter of legal interpretation. We abstained in the vote on it in the Special Political Committee and we will do so here again.

20. Mr. KELANI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Israel has been and still is trying to create doubt about the legality of the Special Committee established by the General Assembly to investigate Israeli practices in the occupied Arab territories; and it will continue to do so as long as it represents a colonialist occupation and Nazi power. We have known this practice ever since colonialism fastened its grip on our countries and we have continued to know it since the establishment of Israel, and its presence, in our homeland and our countries.

21. I do not wish to reply in detail to all that the Israeli representative said, neither do I wish to waste the time of members of the Assembly by repeating what I have already submitted, including statements, documents and evidence.

22. In my statement before the Special Political Committee on 11 November,⁴ I submitted evidence in proof of the fact that Israel has violated the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the Fourth Geneva Convention. I wish however to give the Assembly some information about the city of Quneitra.

23. On the evening of 10 June 1967, Quneitra was seized by the Israeli army, and the first thing that that aggressive army did was to plunder the city in a wholly barbaric manner. It expelled the whole population, numbering over 40,000. After seven years, that is on the evening of 26 June 1974, Quneitra was returned to Syria, but it was in a state of complete devastation, with all the buildings destroyed—about 8,000 houses. The people of Quneitra returned to the city to find its roads completely covered with debris, no water, no electricity—only tombs and the bones of the dead scattered everywhere. That is the tragedy of Quneitra, whose whole population was driven out by the invading army. Only nine persons remained there and lived under the occupation.

24. The Special Committee has given a true picture of what it has seen: the city totally ruined and destroyed; a complete wasteland—no buildings, no trees, and no water. Almost all the buildings, public and private, had been reduced to ruins. In most cases all that remained of the buildings were fragments of wall. And none of this was due to aerial bombardment or artillery fire. Only two buildings escaped the destruction—one of them occupied by the United Nations Observation Group and the other an office for the Governor of the city.

25. As for the public utilities, such as the water and electricity supply buildings, they too were completely destroyed. The school, which used to accommodate 1,500 students, was also destroyed. The hospital met no better fate—it was turned into a military post, a fact verified by the scars of machine-gun fire and grenades.

26. Nor did Israeli nazism spare the tombs of the dead. After having demolished the homes of the living, the Israelis destroyed the walls of the Christian cemetery, opened its gates by means of grenades and other weapons, and stole gold teeth and jewels that had been buried with the dead in keeping with tradition. That was the fate of a city which seven years ago was a thriving centre, with a flourishing social, urban and economic life. That was Quneitra, a symbol of life and movement; but now it has been converted into a proof of the facts perpetrated by Israeli nazism and zionism.

27. I should now like to place before the General Assembly two important documents that constitute material evidence of the crime committed by Israel in completely and deliberately devastating the city of Quneitra, not because it was a military target but solely out of malice and hatred.

28. The first document is a statement made on 27 June 1974—that is, only one day after Quneitra was restored to Syria—by the Israeli Chief of Staff, General Mordecai Gur. At a press conference reported by *Reuters News Agency*, General Gur said:

“Part of Quneitra was destroyed in 1967 and 1973, but with regard to the remaining parts”—

and I emphasize the words “with regard to the remaining parts”—

“they were demolished and destroyed before the withdrawal, in order to define the cease-fire line. A number of houses were also demolished and destroyed in order to ensure the security of the fields cultivated by Israelis on the Golan Heights.”

29. That is material evidence given by the Israeli Chief of Staff. He says that part of Quneitra was destroyed in 1967 and 1973, but he admits that the remaining parts were destroyed before the withdrawal.

30. The other document is a United Nations document. It consists of the following letter dated 16 August 1974, written to General Tayara, a Syrian officer who is the senior delegate to the Mixed Armistice Commission, by the interim Force Commander of UNDOF, Brigadier-General Gonzalo Briceño Zevallos:

“I have been asked by Lieutenant-General Siilasvuo to reply to your letter of 23 July 1974. (No. 2663) requesting that UNDOF conduct an investigation on the destruction of the town of Quneitra by Israeli forces as a violation of the Geneva Agreement on Disengagement.

“According to our observations, the town of Quneitra was destroyed by Israeli forces before the commencement of the process of disengagement”—

I repeat: “According to our observations, the town of Quneitra was destroyed by Israeli forces before the commencement of the process of disengagement”—

“and therefore the investigations that you have requested would fall outside the terms of reference of UNDOF.

“This position has already been made clear by the Secretary-General to the Permanent Representative of Syria to the United Nations.”*

31. Miss FAROUK (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): I wish merely to make a correction to paragraph 10 of the report in document A/9872, on agenda item 40. The affirmative vote cast by Tunisia in the Special Political Committee on the draft resolution in document A/SPC/L.306 is not recorded in the report. I would therefore ask that a correction to that effect be made in the report [A/9872].

32. The PRESIDENT: That error will be corrected in the final version of the report.

33. I now call on the representative of Israel on a point of order.

34. Mr. DORON (Israel): The representative of Syria exceeded what is called an explanation of vote before the voting because what he did was to try, as it were, to give evidence himself on what had happened or had not happened in Quneitra.

35. There are many conflicting statements and reports on what occurred in Quneitra from 1967 until 1974. The town was subjected to bombardment, bombing, rocket fire and indeed every possible form of warfare during the wars that raged there. Like the Special Committee, so also the representative of Syria has chosen to present to the Assembly a completely

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

one-sided, lopsided and misleading picture. The statement of the Chief of Staff of Israel to which he referred confirmed that the city was destroyed during the fighting and, as to 1974, the destruction referred to in that connexion was carried out on military grounds of security.

36. The letter of UNDOF is not clear at all. It says that what happened in Quneitra fell outside the terms of reference of UNDOF. There is a contradiction between that statement and the preceding sentence in the letter. So far as the reference to the Secretary-General is concerned, we made inquiries—because this letter had already been mentioned in the Special Political Committee—and we were told that the Secretary-General's position mentioned there relates only to the fact that UNDOF did not have any authority or jurisdiction to enter into any kind of inquiry or investigation.

37. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now take a decision on the three draft resolutions recommended by the Special Political Committee in paragraph 15 of its report [A/9872].

38. We turn first to draft resolution A. The decision of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution appears in paragraph 4 (a) of its report [A/9881]. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Bolivia, Israel, Nicaragua, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, El Salvador, France, Germany (Federal Republic of), Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Laos, Luxembourg, Malawi, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Paraguay, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Draft resolution A was adopted by 95 votes to 4, with 31 abstentions (resolution 3240 A (XXIX)).⁵

39. The PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote draft resolution B. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany (Federal Republic of), Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Barbados, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Grenada, Israel, Malawi, Nicaragua.

Draft resolution 3 was adopted by 121 votes to none, with 7 abstentions (resolution 3240 B (XXIX)).⁵

40. The PRESIDENT: We come now to draft resolution C. The decision of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of draft resolution C is contained in paragraph 4 (b) of its report in document A/9881. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Bolivia, Canada, Israel, Nicaragua.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Germany (Federal Republic of), Grenada, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Laos, Luxembourg, Malawi, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Draft resolution C was adopted by 89 votes to 4, with 36 abstentions (resolution 3240 C (XXIX)).

AGENDA ITEM 49

**Economic co-operation among developing countries:
report of the Secretary-General**

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/9868)

AGENDA ITEM 60

Assistance in cases of natural disaster and other disaster situations:

(a) Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (PART I) (A/9853)

41. Mr. LASCARRO (Colombia), Rapporteur of the Second Committee (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour of presenting to the General Assembly the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 49, concerning economic co-operation among developing countries [A/9868].

42. In connexion with this item, the Committee adopted, without a vote, a draft resolution the text of which appears in paragraph 6 of its report, and recommended its adoption to the General Assembly. In the draft resolution the Assembly would take note of the report of the Secretary-General [A/9760]; endorse Trade and Development Board decision 121 (XIV) of 13 September 1974, on trade expansion, economic co-operation and regional integration among developing countries [see A/9615/Rev.1, annex I]; urge the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to provide continuing support for the promotion of economic co-operation among developing countries in accordance with paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 3177 (XXVIII); and lastly, request the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session on the contribution made by the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system in promoting economic co-operation among developing countries.

43. I also have the honour of introducing part I of the report of the Second Committee [A/9853], on agenda item 60, "Assistance in cases of natural disaster and other disaster situations", which covers consideration by the Committee of subitem (a) on the Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator.

44. In connexion with this subitem, the Committee adopted without a vote three draft resolutions, which

are contained in paragraph 13 of its report, and recommended their adoption to the General Assembly.

45. Draft resolutions I and III are self-explanatory, since they relate to economic and social assistance requested for two countries, Honduras and Bangladesh which have suffered natural disasters.

46. In draft resolution II, entitled "Strengthening of the Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator", the General Assembly would call upon the Secretary-General to provide sufficient staff, equipment and facilities to strengthen the capacity of the Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator [UNDRO] to provide an efficient and effective world-wide service of mobilizing and co-ordinating disaster relief, including particularly the collection and dissemination of information on disaster assessment, priority needs and donor assistance; decide that the additional costs of providing this strengthened capability should be met by voluntary contributions during the first year, commencing as soon as possible, and during the biennium 1976-1977, at which time the method of financing for succeeding periods should be subject to review in the light of experience, with the understanding that the additional resources made available under the terms of the present resolution should be concentrated on strengthening the co-ordinating capability of UNDRO, but without prejudice to any improvements that could be made in the roles of that Office in disaster prevention and in pre-disaster planning within the resources otherwise available to it; and request the Secretary-General to take appropriate measures, drawing upon the aforementioned voluntary funds, to prepare a plan and budget for this increased capability, and to proceed with its immediate implementation. Lastly, the General Assembly would request the Secretary-General, as called for in Economic and Social Council resolution 1891 (LVII), to continue to investigate the feasibility of measures to strengthen the United Nations machinery with regard to disaster prevention and pre-disaster planning, and to report on the implementation of the resolution to the Economic and Social Council at its fifty-ninth session and to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session.

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

47. The PRESIDENT: I invite members of the Assembly to turn to the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 49 [A/9868].

48. The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Second Committee in paragraph 6 of its report. The Second Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3241 (XXIX)).

49. The PRESIDENT: We shall now consider part I of the report of the Second Committee on agenda item 60 [A/9853].

50. The Assembly will now take decisions on the three draft resolutions recommended by the Second Committee in paragraph 13 of part I of its report.

51. Draft resolution I deals with economic and social assistance for Honduras. Since the Second Committee adopted draft resolution I without a vote, may I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 3242 (XXIX)).

52. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution II is entitled "Strengthening of the Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator". The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of this draft resolution is contained in document A/9888. Since the Second Committee adopted draft resolution II without a vote, may I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution II was adopted (resolution 3243 (XXIX)).

53. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution III relates to measures to assist Bangladesh following severe flood disaster. The Second Committee adopted draft resolution III without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

Draft resolution III was adopted (resolution 3244 (XXIX)).

54. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call upon the representative of Honduras.

55. Mr. MARTÍNEZ ORDÓÑEZ (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): With the unanimous support the General Assembly has given today to draft resolution I contained in document A/9853, which embodies the recommendations of the ninth extraordinary session of the Committee of the Whole of the Economic Commission for Latin America⁶ and makes them an expression of the will of this Assembly, my country has been granted effective assistance in its own rehabilitation efforts. My delegation wishes publicly to state the sincere feelings of gratitude of the Government and people of Honduras to each and every one of the countries and delegations represented here. The support which this Organization is to give us, by the express wish of the Assembly, strengthens in our hearts the faith that we have always had in the lofty aims of the United Nations. I wish to convey our profound thanks to all the members of the Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 52

Human rights in armed conflicts: protection of journalists engaged in dangerous missions in areas of armed conflict

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/9865)

AGENDA ITEM 55

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 and observance of human rights: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE (A/9866)

56. Mr. VON KYAW (Federal Republic of Germany), Rapporteur of the Third Committee: I have the

honour to introduce the report of the Third Committee [A/9865], dealing with agenda item 52, "Human rights in armed conflicts: protection of journalists engaged in dangerous missions in areas of armed conflict".

57. In view of the fact that the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts has decided to consider the item at its next session, in 1975 [A/9669, *para. 129*], the draft resolution on the subject, adopted without a vote by the Third Committee, recommends that the General Assembly decide to continue the examination of this question as a matter of priority at its thirtieth session.

58. I also have the pleasure of introducing the report of the Third Committee [A/9866], referring to agenda item 55, 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 and observance of human rights. Under this item a draft resolution was adopted in the Committee by 104 votes to 1, with 19 abstentions.

59. In the debate, delegations expressed their support for the rights of all peoples, and in particular of those in Africa and Palestine, to self-determination and independence as a prerequisite for the effective guarantee of their basic human rights. The decision of the new Portuguese Government to give independence to the Territories under Portuguese administration was welcomed, and the need to bring the process of decolonization in those Territories to a positive conclusion was underlined. The important role of the liberation movements and the legitimacy of their struggle were emphasized. A number of delegations raised the question of assistance given to racist régimes and of the links maintained with them, and called for the severance of such links.

60. The draft resolution now before this Assembly gives expression to the foregoing considerations. In view of divergent opinions, in particular with regard to the question of the legitimacy of a liberation struggle by all available means and of the advisability of a policy of complete isolation of racist régimes, a separate vote was taken in the Third Committee on operative paragraphs 3, 8 and 9 of the draft resolution.

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

61. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Third Committee in paragraph 8 of its report on agenda item 52 [A/9865]. The draft resolution was adopted by the Third Committee without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3245 (XXIX)).

62. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the draft resolution contained in paragraph 9 of the report of the Third Committee on agenda item 55 [A/9866]. There are no requests for explanations of vote before the vote. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Israel.

Abstaining: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, France, Germany (Federal Republic of), Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 107 votes to 1, with 20 abstentions (resolution 3246 (XXIX)).⁷

63. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Israel has asked to explain his vote after the vote.

64. Mr. ROSENNE (Israel): We voted here, as in the Third Committee, against the draft resolution submitted by the Committee in document A/9866. We did so because of the misleading way in which, in operative paragraph 7, it mentions the Palestinian people, thus referring to a matter which was not on the agenda of the Third Committee nor connected with this agenda item, which concerned colonial countries and peoples.

65. That notwithstanding, I wish to recall and reconfirm that my delegation consistently supports the right of colonial peoples to self-determination, as indeed was made clear in our statement of 11 November in the Third Committee.⁸

66. It is in that sense that our negative vote this afternoon is to be understood.

AGENDA ITEM 88

Participation in the United Nations Conference on the Representation of States in Their Relations with International Organizations, to be held in 1975

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/9836/Rev.1)

67. Mr. SANDERS (Guyana), Rapporteur of the Sixth Committee: I have the honour to introduce the report of the Sixth Committee on agenda item 88,

"Participation in the United Nations Conference on the Representation of States in their Relations with International Organizations, to be held in 1975" at Vienna [A/9836/Rev.1].

68. The draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee for adoption by the General Assembly appears in paragraph 11 of the report; in operative paragraph 1, the General Assembly would invite all States to participate in the Conference.

69. I should also like to draw the Assembly's attention to paragraph 4 of the report which sets out the Secretary-General's statement on the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution.

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

70. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Israel has asked to be allowed to explain his vote before the vote.

71. Mr. ROSENNE (Israel): My delegation voted against the draft resolution submitted by the Sixth Committee, after our request for a separate vote on certain words in operative paragraph 2 had been rejected. The reference to which we objected was to the invitation of a so-called national liberation movement recognized by the League of Arab States—the Palestine Liberation Organization—to the Conference.

72. The views of my delegation on the true nature of that group and on the participation of its representatives in any capacity in the United Nations were made abundantly clear during the present session in the statements of our Foreign Minister in the 2255th plenary meeting on 3 October in the general debate, in our statements during the 2267th, 2283rd and 2296th plenary meetings on 14 October and 13 and 22 November on agenda item 108, and during the 1465th meeting of the Sixth Committee on 30 September, in connexion with the present agenda item.

73. In the course of the discussions, the incorrect allegation is constantly repeated that on certain occasions in the past Israel has not objected to consensus decisions inviting that group to participate in one conference or another. I would therefore like to take this opportunity to repeat what our position was and remains, resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974 notwithstanding.

74. In a United Nations context, the question of inviting this group first arose last year in the discussion on the item of respect for human rights in armed conflicts. It was brought to a roll-call vote at the 1454th meeting of the Sixth Committee on 4 December 1973, when Israel voted in the negative. We explained our position at the time.

75. At the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts, at Geneva, the delegation of Israel, at the 6th plenary meeting on 1 March 1974, formally went on record that it was totally opposed to the invitation to that particular group to participate in the Conference in any capacity whatsoever. At the 7th meeting, on the afternoon of the same day, the President of the Conference intimated that what he termed "a broad consensus" had emerged from previous discussions, and that since

no delegation had asked for a vote the relevant draft resolution should be adopted by consensus. This complicated matter is described in paragraphs 13 to 15 of the report of the Secretary-General on the first session of that Conference [A/9669 and Add.1].

76. A similar development occurred with regard to the same issue in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.

77. At the 38th plenary meeting of the Conference on 11 July a formal proposal was advanced that the liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity or the League of Arab States should be invited to be represented at the Conference as observers. The mover of that proposal also requested that the proposal should be adopted by consensus. The delegation of Israel immediately expressed its total opposition for reasons relating to the competence of the Conference and because of considerations of substance concerning the so-called Palestine Liberation Organization. Israel's challenge on the question of the competence of the Conference was put to a roll-call vote, and Israel voted in the negative. That was the decision taken at that meeting. Since to invite those movements required an amendment to the rules of procedure, that matter—the amendment of the rules of procedure only—came before the 40th plenary meeting the next day in the form of a report from the General Committee on the amendment required. Opening the discussion on that amendment, the President of the Conference requested that the proposal to invite the national liberation movements in the capacity of observers should be approved by consensus. The delegation of Israel again expressed its total opposition to any such invitation being addressed to that particular group. The new draft rule was then adopted by consensus; it appears as rule 63 of the rules of procedure of the Conference. There was no vote or formal decision at all on the question of inviting any of the national liberation movements to the Conference. This appears clearly from the statement of activities of the Conference during its first and second sessions.⁹ The question was subsumed, or implied, in the decision to amend the rules of procedure. That is all.

78. The Israel delegation has formally placed on record its opposition to the invitation of this group as observers to the World Population Conference and the World Food Conference. It did so during the 682nd and 686th meetings of the Economic Committee on 8 and 14 May 1974, and at the 1896th meeting of the Economic and Social Council on 15 May 1974. Not being a member of the Council, Israel made its statements on the basis of Article 69 of the Charter, and it follows that it was unable, itself, then to bring the issue to a vote. It is also opposing the suggestion that travel and other related expenses of the group in question should be defrayed by the United Nations.

79. In this session of the General Assembly, in addition to our speeches and votes in the plenary Assembly and in the Sixth Committee, we have adopted exactly the same position in the Third Committee in connexion with the Conference of the International Women's Year. There is thus no room for any misunderstanding over the continuing position of our delegation on this matter.

80. During the year, the Israel delegation has opposed similar decisions by the different specialized agencies, notably UPU, WHO, ICAO and UNESCO. I refer to speeches of my colleagues, the representatives of Israel, in the Universal Postal Congress on 29 May, in Committee B of the World Health Assembly on 15 May, in the meetings of the UNESCO Executive Board and General Conference on 3 and 25 October, and at the Executive Committee of the ICAO Assembly and in the Assembly itself on 4 and 11 October.

81. It is obvious that in all these instances the term "consensus" only relates to the mechanics of the adoption of the decision and not to the substance of the decision. There is no point in tilting at windmills, and when the parliamentary outcome is obvious, it is a complete misrepresentation of the position, a mere philological manipulation, to suggest that a delegation, whose opposition to the course of action proposed is unambiguous and has been repeated in the clearest possible terms, was a party to the so-called consensus or that it accepted it, or indeed that any consensus was in fact reached at all, when the suggestion is made in reliance on the fact that that delegation has heeded an appeal by the President and has placed no particular obstacle in the way of the mechanical adoption of the decision in question. The word "consensus" is nothing but a vague word signifying a befuddled reality.

82. The suggestion that in allowing invitations of this character to the so-called Palestine Liberation Organization to go forward one is only following precedents and earlier consensuses is thus completely unfounded. In the two cases most frequently mentioned, the Geneva and Caracas Conferences, there was a strong appeal by the President of the Conference for the decision to be adopted by consensus.

83. All that is meant by "consensus" in this type of situation is that the debate is terminated without a vote. It does not signify the absence of opposition to that decision, or acquiescence in it. The record shows that always there was, in fact, strong opposition—indeed, complete polarization within the body taking the decision. In this sense I am reminded of a trenchant observation by Professor Paul Reuter of the University of Paris, who recently wrote that the consensus is:

"an instrument of constraint and management for the purpose of overcoming the inconveniences of formal democracy and obtaining the best possible results from the machine."¹⁰

For the foregoing reasons, supplementing our remarks in explanation of vote in the 1481st meeting of the Sixth Committee I would say that if the draft resolution submitted by the Sixth Committee is put to the vote, my delegation will vote against it.

84. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee in paragraph 11 of its report [A/9836/Rev.1]. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution is contained in document A/9883.

The draft resolution was adopted by 105 votes to 3, with 15 abstentions (resolution 3247 (XXIX)).

85. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their vote after the vote.

86. Mr. KOLESNIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): In connexion with the report of the Sixth Committee, which we are now considering, and the draft resolution, which the General Assembly has just adopted and which my delegation supported, I feel that it is necessary to confirm once again our position of principle, expressed during the debates in the Sixth Committee.

87. My delegation believes that the "all States" formula contained in the resolution must be applied in strict compliance with the principle of the sovereign equality of States and the principle of non-discrimination, and that the interests of co-operation among States urgently require that the principle of universality should be applied consistently in the convening of conferences held under the auspices of the United Nations.

88. The Soviet delegation is satisfied to note that the General Assembly has taken a decision to invite all States to the United Nations Conference on the Representation of States in Their Relations with International Organizations. It is considerably disappointed, however, that the report of the Sixth Committee reflects the so-called understanding, which creates assumptions and could lead to a restrictive interpretation of the "all States" formula for the convening of the Conference at Vienna in 1975.

89. Mr. FERGUSON (United States of America): My delegation was not able to vote in favour of this draft resolution because of our reservations concerning the invitation to liberation movements to attend international conferences. Our reservations have been deepened by the subject-matter of this particular Conference, which deals with the relations between States, and I emphasize "States", and international organizations.

90. My delegation wishes to note that it had no difficulty with operative paragraph 1 in the light of the understanding expressed by the Chairman of the Sixth Committee, contained in paragraph 6 of the Committee's report. It is clear that the only basis on which the invitations can be issued pursuant to an "all States" formulation is the understanding to which the representative of the Soviet Union made reference. That was the basis on which the Sixth Committee forwarded the draft resolution to the General Assembly.

91. In the Sixth Committee, the delegation of the Soviet Union dissociated itself from that understanding, but did not challenge the understanding or seek to put the matter to a vote. The understanding consequently stands. We understand the statement made by the delegation of the Soviet Union here today in the same light. Any other view would only lead to confusion, and we are confident that no delegation seeks that end.

92. Mr. SINGH (Nepal): Regrettably, we missed voting on the draft resolution in paragraph 11 of the report of the Sixth Committee. I should therefore like to place on record that had my delegation voted on that draft resolution we should have cast an affirmative vote.

93. The PRESIDENT: I have been informed that the Fifth Committee is still considering the question which is the subject of the last item on our agenda for today. In view of the urgency of the matter, I suggest that the present meeting be suspended and that we resume our work at 6.30 p.m. As there is no objection, we shall proceed accordingly.

The meeting was suspended at 5.05 p.m. and resumed at 7 p.m.

94. The PRESIDENT: I have been informed by the Secretariat that, because of its length, the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 84 cannot be ready in all the working languages of the General Assembly until 8.30 p.m. I therefore suggest, if there is no objection, that we defer our consideration of the three reports of the Fifth Committee until 8.30 this evening.

The meeting was suspended at 7.05 p.m. and resumed at 8.55 p.m.

Mr. Bouteflika (Algeria) took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 78

**Publications and documentation of the United Nations:
report of the Secretary-General**

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/9869)

AGENDA ITEM 80

**Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of
subsidiary organs of the General Assembly:
(b) Committee on Contributions**

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/9832)

AGENDA ITEM 84

**Financing of the United Nations Emergency Force and
of the United Nations Disengagement Observer
Force: report of the Secretary-General (*continued*)***

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (PART II)
(A/9825/Add.1)

95. Mr. OSMAN (Egypt), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: I have the honour to introduce the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 78, concerning publications and documentation of the United Nations [A/9869].

96. May I draw the attention of the members of the Assembly to paragraph 2 of that document, which refers to the decision taken by the Fifth Committee to the effect that, on an experimental basis, its reports to the General Assembly during this session on agenda items 72, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78, 85 and 106 should be prepared along the lines set out in paragraph (f) of the annex to resolution 2292 (XXII) of 8 December 1967. The Fifth Committee adopted that decision without objection. I should also like to refer to the decision contained in paragraph 3 and to the recommendation contained in paragraph 4 of the report. Both were adopted without objection.

* Resumed from the 2273rd meeting.

97. Secondly, I wish to introduce the Committee's report on agenda item 80 (b), relating to appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of the Committee on Contributions [A/9832]. The recommendation of the Fifth Committee appears in paragraph 5 of the report.

98. And finally, I should like to introduce part II of the Committee's report on agenda item 84 on the financing of the United Nations Emergency Force and of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force [A/9825/Add.1]. The decisions of the Committee are to be found in paragraphs 4 to 6, and its recommendations in paragraphs 9 and 10.

99. It is my hope that the decisions and recommendations of the Fifth Committee will be adopted by the General Assembly.

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

100. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now turn to the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 78 on publications and documentation of the United Nations [A/9869]. As there are no representatives who wish to explain their vote, the Assembly will now take a decision on the draft decisions and the recommendation contained in paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 of the report in document A/9869.

101. First, I invite the Assembly to turn to the decision in paragraph 2. The Fifth Committee adopted that decision without objection. May I therefore consider that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

It was so decided.

102. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now turn to the draft decision in paragraph 3. Since the Fifth Committee adopted that draft decision without objection, may I take it that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

It was so decided.

103. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now take a decision on the recommendation in paragraph 4. Again, I should like to point out that the Fifth Committee adopted that recommendation without objection. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do likewise?

It was so decided.

104. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now turn to the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 80 (b), concerning appointments to fill vacancies in the Committee on Contributions [A/9832].

105. As there are no representatives who wish to explain their vote, the Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 5 of its report. May I consider that the General Assembly adopts that draft resolution?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3248 (XXIX)).

106. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Assembly will now consider part II of the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 84, on the financing of UNEF and UNDOF [A/9825/Add.1].

A draft resolution and a recommendation have been transmitted by the Fifth Committee and appear in paragraphs 9 and 10 of its report.

107. Mr. AL-HUSSAMY (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): In order to arrange for the financing of UNEF, the General Assembly has laid down a number of principles which should govern such financing. The Assembly considered those principles as the basis for the just distribution of the contributions of Member States. The question of financing was considered by the General Assembly to be the responsibility of all Member States and, in particular, of the economically more developed States, which were urged to pay a greater share than that paid by the developing and smaller States. The Assembly referred in particular to the responsibilities of the States permanent members of the Security Council.

108. The General Assembly did not forget that it should give special consideration to those States faced with circumstances making it necessary for the United Nations to undertake measures to maintain peace. Thus, the General Assembly, at its fourth special session, adopted resolutions in which all these principles and bases were set forth. In paragraph 1 (e) of resolution 1874 (S-IV), the following is stated:

"Where circumstances warrant, the General Assembly should give special consideration to the situation of any Member States which are victims of, and those which are otherwise involved in, the events or actions leading to a peace-keeping operation."

109. The draft resolution which is now before the Assembly is based on those principles, set forth in the General Assembly resolution to which I have just referred, except for the principle recently set forth by the General Assembly that there should be a difference between the aggressor and the victim of the aggression. That is an important principle of international law and, as is well known in international relations, the aggressor should pay compensation for all losses resulting from his aggression.

110. The Syrian Arab Republic is a victim of the June 1967 aggression by Israel, an aggression which is still continuing. At present, part of Syrian territory is still being occupied and the enemy is still exploiting and using that occupied territory and its resources—not to mention the adverse effect resulting from the disruption of its economy and the effect on its cities and utilities that entail great losses. In addition, the Government of my country is still compelled to maintain and safeguard services to all those inhabitants who were expelled and today number more than 120,000—people who have been forced out of their villages and homes in the Golan under the threat of arms and violence perpetrated by the occupying Israeli forces.

111. The Syrian Arab Republic should be expected to pay only a token amount, and that should not give rise to any discussion. But what needs to be debated and discussed here is the principle itself. How can a Government be required to pay for the occupation of its own territory? This is a matter rejected by international law and logic. For that reason my delegation believes that countries victims of aggression should be exempted from any financial obligation or commitment resulting from such activities for the main-

tenance of peace. That principle very clearly differentiates between the aggressor and the victim of aggression.

112. The draft resolution now before the Assembly places the aggressor and the victim of the aggression on the same footing. For that reason my delegation will vote against it, basing itself on the principles of international law and on previous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly.

113. Mr. BENKHAYAL (Libyan Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation has asked to speak again on this occasion to reaffirm what we said at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly¹¹ and even during the current session [2273rd meeting, paras. 90-93] regarding our stand on agenda item 84, which is now being debated.

114. The Libyan Arab Republic feels that the presence of these forces on Arab soil and territory is completely unjustified—apart from defending the aggressor who is constantly preparing and planning to continue its aggression. And so, in spite of the support for the people of Palestine—which we noted recently, here in this very hall, when the question of Palestine was being discussed—the Zionist criminal State is still adamant in its previous stand and is still planning and paving the way for a fifth war aimed at suppressing and annihilating the Palestinian people and destroying what has been accepted by the international community in the matter of their rights and privileges.

115. What, therefore, is the role of UNEF and of UNDOF? What is their role but to maintain and safeguard this very bad situation and to participate in and contribute to making things worse.

116. This Assembly should not continue to protect and defend this very sad situation in that part of the world by approving the refinancing of UNEF and UNDOF. Our Assembly should compel the aggressor to discontinue its imperialist plans and also compel it to respect and implement resolutions which have been adopted by this Assembly and which recognize the right of the original owners to return to their land. The Arab people are not at all satisfied with the situation now existing on their very territory. The Arab people is ready to fight by all possible means, to regain and recover its legitimate rights.

117. For those reasons, my delegation will vote against the draft resolution in document A/9825/Add.1; at the same time, it rejects any commitments and obligations, whatever they may be, that may emanate from the implementation of that draft resolution.

118. Mr. ARMAN (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation will not participate in the voting on the draft resolution relating to the financing of UNEF and UNDOF.

119. It is my Government's understanding of this question of the United Nations forces and their role that such forces are supposed to maintain international peace and security. However, the exploitation of these international forces by certain States for the purpose of strengthening their military and political positions jeopardizes the independence and sov-

ereignty of a number of countries. The Middle East furnishes a very good example of that.

120. The Zionists occupied Palestine first and the territories of two Member States of this Organization after that. After the war of October 1973 the United Nations sent its emergency forces to carry out the complete withdrawal of Zionist forces from the occupied Arab territories. But one year has passed since October 1973 and the Arab territories are still occupied.

121. My Government does not wish these forces to be a means by which the Zionists can continue to occupy Arab territories and can prepare for a new war.

122. This question is now entering its second year. The costs are increasing considerably over the amounts originally requested. That will affect the financial position of the developing countries. We think that the aggressor country, Israel, should shoulder the financial responsibility for these operations. My delegation will therefore have to review its position regarding the share to be paid in the financing of UNEF and UNDOF.

123. Finally, my delegation would have liked the draft resolution to include a paragraph calling upon Israel to withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories and to respect the United Nations resolutions on this question. For, in our opinion, the question we are now examining and the draft resolution we are about to adopt are not only financial but also political in nature.

124. Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like to point out an inaccuracy in the Russian translation of the Fifth Committee report now before the Assembly [A/9825/Add.1]. There is an error in the last sentence of paragraph 10 of the Russian text. The text should be aligned with the English original, which reads as follows: "The rates of payment shall be subject to review by the General Assembly." We should like the Russian translation to be corrected in the final version of the report and the draft decision.

125. I should like to take this opportunity also to confirm the Soviet delegation's position on operative paragraph 2 of section I and operative paragraphs 1, 2 and 4 of section II of the draft resolution in the Fifth Committee's report on agenda item 84.

126. Mr. HOU Tung (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): With regard to the dispatch of UNEF to the Middle East and the establishment of UNDOF, the Chinese delegation has repeatedly stated its position of principle at the Security Council and General Assembly meetings, which is clear to all, and I would not repeat it here. Basing ourselves on our consistent position, the Chinese delegation is opposed to the inclusion of the expenditures for the above-mentioned forces in the United Nations budget, and it goes without saying that we will not bear any of the expenses incurred from them. The Chinese delegation will not participate in the voting on this item, including the question of additional costs.

127. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 9 of its report [A/9825/Add.1].

The draft resolution was adopted by 92 votes to 3, with 10 abstentions (resolution 3211 B (XXIX)).¹²

128. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now vote on the draft decision recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 10 of its report [A/9825/Add.1].

The draft decision was adopted by 91 votes to 3, with 10 abstentions.

129. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Portugal, who wishes to speak in explanation of his vote after the vote.

130. Mr. LEITE DE FARIA (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation was unable to vote for the resolution just adopted by this Assembly, which, in approving the appropriations to finance UNEF and UNDOF, utilizes, for purposes of apportioning the costs among Member States, the special scale of assessments established last year for this purpose.

131. My delegation had occasion to emphasize in the Committee the injustice of keeping democratic Portugal—this new Portugal which, in seven months, has come a considerable distance towards total decolonization—at the same level on the scale of assessments as that at which, a year ago, and for readily understandable reasons, the deposed colonialist régime was placed. My Government therefore had to abstain. None the less, it would like to make it clear that this abstention should in no way be interpreted as implying a refusal to extend the mandate of the United Nations forces.

132. On the contrary, Portugal attaches the highest importance to these peace-keeping operations, and would have voted for the necessary appropriations to maintain the United Nations forces in the Middle East if the corresponding costs had been apportioned equitably.

133. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of Israel, who has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

134. Mr. ROSENNE (Israel): This particular agenda item is concerned with the financing of UNEF and UNDOF. The substantive questions connected with those forces are matters for the Security Council; and it is there that we have made our views known, as far as concerns UNDOF on the Golan front, as recently as this afternoon, at the 1809th meeting of the Security Council. Since the General Assembly is now discussing only the financial aspects on the basis of a report from the Fifth Committee, where we expressed our position through our votes, I will not take up the Assembly's time at this late hour to reply at length to the statements we have heard this evening from the representatives of Syria, Libya and Democratic Yemen.

135. Dealing in the usual one-sided way with a wide range of political issues, those statements went beyond the limited scope of this agenda item. Those speeches were typical of aggressor States, indicating good pupillage from the aggressor of 35 years ago and its propaganda organs. Furthermore, the threatening language will not have passed unnoticed. It accords ill with today's meeting of the Security Council.

136. I would, however, say just this: it is a well-worn canard, a broken record, to say that Israel started the war of aggression in the Middle East which has now been going on for nigh on 30 years. That blatant falsehood is entirely refuted by official documentation in the United Nations official records, both in 1948 and 1973, and throughout. Some of this documentation emanates from Arab official and unofficial sources. It illustrates the overweening boastfulness with which Arab leaders and Governments and their followers recognized and broadcast the fact that they had unleashed the war of aggression against Israel. In 1973 the accounts are more lapidary, for the official ones in the United Nations records emanated from the United Nations Observers themselves and they tell, *inter alia*, how Syrian armies began the assault in the north, in flagrant violation of all their obligations under the Charter and generally.

137. This is quite enough to answer the irrelevant contentions and calumnies bandied about in the course of this debate. Indeed, it was surprising to hear the representative of Syria making the kind of statement he made tonight. That is sufficient at this stage to refute the partisan statements we have heard this evening and which cannot be regarded as a useful contribution to a reduction of tension in our area. The Syrian statement in particular is quite out of tune with what the representative of Syria said earlier today in the Security Council.

138. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We have thus concluded today's consideration of agenda item 84, final consideration of which will be concluded at a subsequent meeting. At this stage, I should like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the fact that paragraphs that may subsequently be adopted have no financial implications.

Arrangements for the special meeting in tribute to the memory of U Thant, third Secretary-General of the United Nations

139. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Following the statement I made on 25 November at the 2297th plenary meeting, I should like to announce that on Monday, 2 December, a special plenary meeting will be held at 10.30 a.m. in this hall in tribute to the memory of U Thant, the third Secretary-General of the United Nations.

140. After the necessary consultations with the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, and the chairmen of the regional groups, it was agreed that the ceremony should be marked by solemnity, sobriety and dignity, as befits respect for the memory of the former Secretary-General. Consequently, in addition to the President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General, the list of speakers will be made up of the following persons: former Presidents of the General Assembly who are among us, and the chairmen of the regional groups for the month of December—that is, the representatives of Cyprus, the German Democratic Republic, Haiti, Italy and the Upper Volta. We shall then hear the representative of the United States, the host country, and finally the representative of Burma.

141. It was also decided that, as far as possible, statements should not exceed 10 minutes.

142. May I take it that these arrangements are satisfactory to members of the General Assembly? If there is no objection, it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 9.55 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Special Political Committee, 928th meeting, paras. 18-45.*

² *United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 75, No. 251.*

³ *Ibid.*, vol. 75, No. 973.

⁴ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Special Political Committee, 929th meeting, paras. 1-17.*

⁵ The delegation of Honduras subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

⁶ *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fifty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 9A (E/5608/Add.1).*

⁷ The delegation of Colombia subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR subsequently advised the Secretariat that its vote in favour of the draft resolution had not been recorded.

⁸ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Third Committee, 2087th meeting, paras. 29-33.*

⁹ *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, First and Second Sessions, vol. III, Documents of the Conference, document A/CONF.62/L.8/Rev.1, paras. 35-37.*

¹⁰ *Quelques réflexions sur le vocabulaire du droit international* (Paris, Mélanges Trotabas, 1970), p. 423.

¹¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Fifth Committee, 1608th meeting, para. 20.*

¹² Resolution 3211 A was adopted at the 2273rd meeting on 31 October 1974.