



Thursday, 16 December 1982,
at 3.20 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 58

**Development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness
between States: report of the Secretary-General**

AGENDA ITEM 59

**Review of the implementation of the Declaration on
the Strengthening of International Security: report of
the Secretary-General**

AGENDA ITEM 137

**Implementation of the collective security provisions of
the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance
of international peace and security**

1. Mr. ERDENECHULUUN (Mongolia), Rapporteur of the First Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the reports of the First Committee related to international security, under agenda items 58, 59 and 137. They are contained in documents A/37/742 to 744. The first two items were included in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly in accordance with previous resolutions of the Assembly, while the last item was a new one. These items were discussed at 11 meetings held between 29 November and 9 December 1982. The combined general debate held on all the items, according to the previous practice of the Committee, has reflected the deep concern of Member States over current developments, which are characterized by mounting tension and a dangerous deepening of existing crises in international relations. Similarly, many States expressed their full support for the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security, particularly by enhancing its peace-making and peace-keeping capabilities.

2. With regard to agenda item 58, many speakers considered that the promotion of good-neighbourliness represented an important factor, contributing to the development of co-operation between States in various fields and thus having a favourable bearing on international relations as a whole. The draft resolution, adopted without a vote, provides for further clarification of the elements of good-neighbourliness—part of a process which, in the view of its sponsors, would finally lead to the elaboration, at an appropriate time, of a suitable international document on this subject.

3. The debate on agenda item 59 provided a thorough analysis of the negative phenomena currently eroding international peace and security. The need was

expressed for concerted efforts to stop and reverse the dangerous trend in international relations and to create an environment conducive to the development of international co-operation based on the sovereign equality of States. During the debate particular importance was attached to the question of strengthening peace and security in different regions of the world.

4. The consideration of item 137 underscored the urgent need for concerted efforts by Member States and the United Nations, in particular the Security Council, towards the prevention of further deterioration of the world political situation. The draft resolution adopted on this item, *inter alia*, requests the Security Council to study the question of the implementation of the collective security provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

5. With these brief remarks, I should like to submit the recommendations of the First Committee to the Assembly for adoption.

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

6. The PRESIDENT: Statements will therefore be limited to explanations of vote. The positions of delegations regarding the various recommendations of the First Committee have been made clear in the Committee and are reflected in the relevant official records. May I remind members that in paragraph 7 of its decision 34/401 the General Assembly decided that when the same draft resolution is considered in a Main Committee and in plenary meeting a delegation should, as far as possible, explain its vote only once, that is, either in the Committee or in plenary meeting, unless that delegation's vote in plenary meeting is different from its vote in the Committee. May I also remind members that, in accordance with the same decision, explanations of vote should be limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

7. I now invite the attention of members to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 58 [A/37/742]. The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Committee in paragraph 8 of its report. Since the Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote, may I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 37/117).

8. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 59 [A/37/743].

9. I call upon the representative of Albania to speak in explanation of vote before the vote.

10. Mr. BAËTA (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): Once again the General Assembly has to take

a decision, which has already become a traditional one, on a draft resolution under the heading "Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security", which is recommended by the First Committee in its report. The Albanian delegation has taken a consistent attitude in not participating in the voting on such resolutions, and frequently in the past we have had occasion to explain the reasons on which this attitude is based. We wish to say that on this occasion we maintain all the reservations already entered in connection with the provisions dealing with the problem of détente and European security, so-called zones of peace, the situation in the Mediterranean, the role of the Security Council, and other things.

11. The draft resolution which we have before us this year contains certain new paragraphs. We support what has been added to emphasize the importance of well-known principles of international law and to bring out more clearly the deterioration of the dangerous situation throughout the world. However, we have further reservations to make. It must be noted that these new provisions in the draft resolution deal with the system of collective security without going into the substance of the matter and without explaining why it has not worked properly and what must be done to remedy the situation. Particular attention is paid this year in the text of the draft resolution to the concept and the role of nuclear States or militarily significant States, as they are called. We have different opinions on this matter. In particular, we cannot associate ourselves with the requests made to nuclear-weapon and other militarily significant States "to take immediate steps aimed at promoting the system of collective security as envisaged in the Charter" or other appeals of that kind. Whatever might be the good intentions behind these requests, we believe that account should be taken of all the unfortunate consequences that might follow. The problem of the role which is or can be played by the nuclear-weapon States is a very complex one. If we take into account the policies and aggressive acts of the super-Powers and the imperialist Powers which are among the nuclear-weapon and militarily significant States, it goes without saying that many questions arise regarding the role they can play in the efforts to make the system of collective security work.

12. We believe, first, that the super-Powers and the imperialist Powers are not going to take seriously the requests made to them. It is even more certain that if they do pay any attention to this problem it will simply be to speculate in their own interests. It is precisely those States, in particular the two super-Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, which cause all the danger and threats to peace and security throughout the world. We cannot accept the idea of asking the major Powers to look after the future security of the world or of entrusting them with the improvement or the proper functioning of the system of collective security, because we are convinced that the imperialist and social-imperialist aggressors will not change their nature of their own free will, or change their policies and objectives just because they are asked in a United Nations resolution to take care of collective security.

13. I could spend a long time on this very important and complicated subject, but since this is simply an

explanation of vote I will confine myself to these brief remarks. For these reasons, my delegation will not participate in the voting.

14. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 8 of its report [*ibid.*]. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 116 votes to none, with 19 abstentions (resolution 37/118).¹

15. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will next turn its attention to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 137 [A/37/744]. The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Committee in paragraph 10 of its report. The draft resolution was adopted by the Committee without a vote. May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (A/37/119).

16. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Albania who wishes to explain his position on the resolution just adopted.

17. Mr. BALETA (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): The Albanian delegation did not oppose the adoption without a vote of the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in its report, but our delegation would like to inform the Assembly that it

has reservations in this connection. It is not our intention now to go into the merits of this resolution, or the shortcomings which we believe it has. We would simply like to say that in view of the serious events which are taking place daily throughout the world, and the powerlessness which the United Nations so often shows, we cannot share certain of the concepts contained in the resolution, which, even if the intentions behind them are laudable, risk creating illusions.

18. As our delegation has had occasion to say in the past, it continues to believe that any resolution on international security should, first and foremost, bring out clearly the causes of the insecurity which persists everywhere. Any resolution which sets out to strengthen the role and effectiveness of the United Nations in promoting international security should first indicate the forces and identify the factors which have prevented the Organization from fulfilling its obligations under the Charter. It is for that reason that we believe that we should emphasize and make it perfectly clear that it is the super-Powers and the imperialist Powers, as well as certain other reactionary forces, which are undermining international security. It is these reactionary forces, particularly the two imperialist super-Powers, which are preventing the United Nations from fulfilling its responsibilities. But we cannot hope that in present conditions the Security Council is going to do better than it has so far, and that the system of collective security is going to function and serve the cause of the peoples and of peace in the world. There are a number of examples which show how that organ and the system has failed precisely because of the aggressive activities and the intrigues of the super-Powers and the imperialist Powers.

AGENDA ITEM 65

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East:

- (a) Report of the Commissioner-General;
- (b) Report of the Working Group on the Financing of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East;
- (c) Report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine;
- (d) Reports of the Secretary-General

AGENDA ITEM 66

International co-operation to avert new flows of refugees: report of the Secretary-General

AGENDA ITEM 68

Israel's decision to build a canal linking the Mediterranean Sea to the Dead Sea: report of the Secretary-General

19. Mr. LOĞOĞLU (Turkey), Rapporteur of the Special Political Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly for its consideration this afternoon three reports of the Special Political Committee.

20. The first report [A/37/723] relates to agenda item 65. The Special Political Committee considered

this item at 11 meetings and heard some 40 statements in the general debate. Eleven draft resolutions, which appear in paragraph 41 of the report, are recommended to the General Assembly for adoption.

21. Two of the draft resolutions, those entitled "Working Group on the Financing of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East" and "Assistance to persons displaced as a result of the June 1967 and subsequent hostilities", were adopted without a vote. The other nine draft resolutions were adopted by recorded votes.

22. The second report [A/37/712] relates to agenda item 66. Five meetings of the Special Political Committee were devoted to this item and some 25 delegations took part in the discussion. The draft resolution, which was adopted without a vote, appears in paragraph 12 of the report and is recommended to the General Assembly for adoption.

23. Lastly, I present the Committee's report [A/37/724] on agenda item 68. The Committee considered this item at four meetings and heard some 20 statements in the general debate. The draft resolution, which was adopted by a recorded vote, appears in paragraph 10 of the report and is recommended to the General Assembly for adoption.

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

24. The PRESIDENT: Statements will therefore be limited to explanations of vote. The position of delegations regarding the various recommendations of the Special Political Committee have been made clear in the Committee and are reflected in the relevant official records.

25. I should like to remind members that in paragraph 7 of its decision 34/401 the General Assembly decided that when the same draft resolution is considered in a Main Committee and in plenary meeting a delegation should, as far as possible, explain its vote only once, that is, either in the Committee or in plenary meeting, unless that delegation's vote in plenary meeting is different from its vote in the Committee.

26. I also remind members that, also in accordance with decision 34/401, explanations of vote should be limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

27. The Assembly will now consider the report of the Special Political Committee on agenda item 65 [A/37/723]. The Assembly has to take action on draft resolutions A to K, recommended by the Special Political Committee in paragraph 41 of its report, after which representatives will be given an opportunity to explain their votes.

28. I now put to the Assembly draft resolution A, entitled "Working Group on the Financing of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East". The Special Political Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution A was adopted (resolution 37/120 A).

29. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution B, entitled "Assistance to persons displaced as a result of the June 1967 and subsequent hostilities", was also adopted by the Committee without a vote. May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to do the same?

Draft resolution B was adopted (resolution 37/120 B).

30. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution C is entitled "University of Jerusalem for Palestine refugees". The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/37/747. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, 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, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Israel, United States of America.

Abstaining: None.

Draft resolution C was adopted by 141 votes to 2 (resolution 37/120 C).

31. The PRESIDENT: Draft resolution D is entitled "Offers by Member States of grants and scholarships for higher education, including vocational training, for the Palestine refugees". A recorded vote has been requested:

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Central

African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, 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, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Israel.

Draft resolution D was adopted by 143 votes to none, with 1 abstention (resolution 37/120 D).

32. The PRESIDENT: We come now to draft resolution E, entitled "Palestine Refugees in the Gaza Strip". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore,

Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, 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, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Israel, United States of America.

Abstaining: None.

Draft resolution E was adopted by 143 votes to 2 (resolution 37/120 E).

33. The PRESIDENT: Now we come to draft resolution F, entitled "Resumption of the ration distribution to the Palestine refugees". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Canada, Finland, Guatemala, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden.

Draft resolution F was adopted by 121 votes to 13, with 10 abstentions (resolution 37/120 F).

34. The PRESIDENT: We come now to draft resolution G, entitled "Population and refugees displaced since 1967". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Israel, United States of America.

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

Draft resolution G was adopted by 126 votes to 2, with 19 abstentions (resolution 37/120 G).

35. The PRESIDENT: We come now to draft resolution H, entitled "Revenues derived from Palestine refugee properties". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar,

Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Israel, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Samoa,² Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Zaire.

Draft resolution H was adopted by 121 votes to 2, with 24 abstentions (resolution 37/120 H).

36. The PRESIDENT: We come to draft resolution I, entitled "Special identification cards to all Palestine refugees". The administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution are contained in the report of the Fifth Committee in document A/37/747. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Chile, Costa Rica, Fiji, Finland, Guatemala, Ireland, Jamaica, Malawi, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Uruguay, Zaire.

Draft resolution I was adopted by 106 votes to 16, with 20 abstentions (resolution 37/120 I).

37. The PRESIDENT: Now we turn to draft resolution J, entitled "Protection of Palestine refugees". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, 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 Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Israel, United States of America.

Abstaining: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Denmark, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Portugal, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Draft resolution J was adopted by 127 votes to 2, with 16 abstentions (resolution 37/120 J).

38. The PRESIDENT: We come now to draft resolution K, entitled "Assistance to Palestine refugees". A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland,

Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, 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, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Israel.

Draft resolution K was adopted by 144 votes to none, with 1 abstention (resolution 37/120 K).

39. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to explain their vote.

40. Miss STREDEL (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Venezuela voted in favour of draft resolutions I and J because we believe that they contain humanitarian goals which are of benefit to the Palestinian people. It is the understanding of the Venezuelan delegation that paragraph 2 of draft resolution I and paragraph 1 of draft resolution J will be implemented with the full consent of the authorities of the country in question, without undermining its sovereign rights.

41. Mr. SMITH (Jamaica): Jamaica voted in favour of draft resolution J, which has just been adopted by the General Assembly, because it contains elements which we consider important and because it reflects in particular my Government's serious concern over recent events in Lebanon. Nevertheless, we wish to state for the record that our support for the resolution is without prejudice to the interpretation of and the views expressed by the Legal Counsel of the United Nations in respect of operative paragraph 1 during the consideration of the draft resolution in the Special Political Committee.

42. The PRESIDENT: I now invite members to turn their attention to the report of the Special Political Committee on agenda item 66 [A/37/712].

43. The Assembly will take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Special Political Committee in paragraph 12 of its report. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is in document A/37/748. The Committee adopted the draft resolution without a vote. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to do the same?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 37/121).

44. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the report of the Special Political Committee on agenda item 68

[A/37/724]. In paragraph 10 of its report the Special Political Committee has recommended the adoption of a draft resolution.

45. I call on the representative of Jordan in explanation of vote before the vote.

46. Mr. BATAINAH (Jordan): The Assembly is about to take a decision on a question of the utmost concern for Jordan, and for others as well. Despite tremendous Israeli rhetoric and propaganda to the contrary, the construction of a canal linking the Mediterranean Sea with the Dead Sea would have grave consequences and implications for Jordan and for the Palestinian people. At various stages of the General Assembly debate on this issue, Israel has spared no efforts to obfuscate and confuse the issue before us. Israeli representatives have tried in vain to paint a rosy picture of this project by presenting it as a peaceful development project carrying rewarding pay-offs for Jordan and for the area as well.

47. No amount of cunning and rhetoric can conceal two basic facts about this Israeli strategic thrust. First, the project is full of danger; secondly, it is devoid of legitimacy. The dangers of this new Israeli drive become only more evident when it is recognized that this project is part of a grand plan initiated by the Zionist strategists early in the nineteenth century and revised in the 1930s. That plan sought to ensure for Israel the acquisition and control of the waterways and water resources in the area. The drying up of Lake Hulae, the diversion of the Jordan River, the appropriation of the Litani and, recently, this canal plan are but part of this Israeli undertaking.

48. The other part is to be found in Israel's supremacy over and control of gulfs, rivers and straits in the area. Such an undertaking is fundamental to the Zionist programme to colonize the occupied Arab territories and to support the hegemonistic policy of Israel in the area. It would ensure a solid agricultural and industrial economy for thousands of Jewish immigrants to settle in the new cities to be built along the canal. It would also inundate neighbouring Arab villages, whose population would naturally be forced to leave them and join an already staggering number of refugees. Moreover, more Arab land would have to be expropriated, with further displacement of the Arab population.

49. The direct link between this proposed canal and the Israeli settlement policy in the occupied Arab territories is, therefore, crystal clear. It becomes even more clear when one realizes that the digging of this canal is connected with the building of a dam to the north of Lake Tiberias. As a result of the building of this dam the waters of the River Jordan, which normally flow into the Dead Sea, will be shifted through Galilee towards the Palestinian coast, thus providing the Israeli settlements with extra water resources and forcing the Jordanian and Palestinian farmers in the area to abandon their lands; and the proposed canal would compensate for that shifted water by bringing water from the Mediterranean Sea into the Dead Sea.

50. The damage that the canal will inflict on Jordan is incalculable. This may not appear if one takes the Secretary-General's report [A/37/328 and Corr.1] as one's only source. We are aware that this report is

inconclusive and needs further elaboration. We appreciate the efforts of the Commission which visited the area and we recognize the limitations and constraints under which it operated. We appreciate too the factors which were involved in the preparation of the recommendations which were submitted to the Secretary-General, on the basis of part of which he submitted his report to the Assembly.

51. Despite this shortcoming, which we genuinely believe is a result of deliberate misinformation and obfuscation by Israel, the Secretary-General's report does indicate that serious, direct and irreparable damage will be done to Jordan as a result of the construction of this canal. Jordanian potash production alone, which accounts for 15 per cent of my country's yearly gross national product, will be seriously damaged by the Israeli canal, not to mention other economic, ecological and demographic set-backs for Jordan caused by the project—set-backs which were elaborated on in detail in my delegation's statements to the Special Political Committee when it debated this issue.

52. Four major nuclear plants are to be established on the canal. The plants will be new tributaries of Israel's nuclear-military industry. In addition, more damage will result from the dumping of nuclear wastes from the Israeli Dimona nuclear plant into the canal and thus into the Dead Sea, giving rise to possible hazards and degradation of the environment.

53. It has become obvious now that this Israeli canal is, in one of its aspects, a major attribute of Israel's colonization policy. It is also a supporting base of Tel Aviv's nuclear-military industry which, combined with Israel's preponderant conventional military might, projects and sanctions Israeli political crusades in the region. It is Israel's strategic designs in the region which further aggravate the adverse effects of this canal, especially in its integral relationship with the colonialist and hegemonistic policies of Tel Aviv.

54. Just as the canal's economic, ecological and demographic effects are devastating, so are its political and juridical implications. It will be utilized to beef up some of Israel's self-aggrandizement policies—these policies which are bent on intransigence, power, conquest and *faits accomplis*. Therefore, this purely "peaceful, developmental" project can be best understood only within the context of Israel's political and military gambles against Jordan, the Palestinians and the Arabs.

55. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended in paragraph 10 of the Committee's report in document A/37/724. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution appears in document A/37/763. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Demo-

cratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, 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, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Israel, United States of America.

Abstaining: Malawi.

The draft resolution was adopted by 139 votes to 2, with 1 abstention (resolution 37/122).

AGENDA ITEM 34

The situation in the Middle East: reports of the Secretary-General (*continued*)*

56. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now resume its consideration of agenda item 34 in order to proceed to the vote on the draft resolutions relating to that item. Representatives will recall that at the 96th plenary meeting, on 8 December, the Assembly concluded its debate on this item.

57. I now call on the representatives who wish to introduce the draft resolutions.

58. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour, on behalf of the sponsors of the various draft resolutions on the situation in the Middle East, to introduce to the General Assembly for its consideration draft resolutions A/37/L.48 to L.52, which, as on previous occasions, contain the basic principles for a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the Middle East conflict, principles already established earlier by the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

59. In these texts, the Israeli aggression against the Arab nation is condemned, in the light of General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX), as is also the occupation of the Syrian Golan Heights and the decision of the Government of Israel to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration over that territory. The need for complete and unconditional withdrawal from

* Resumed from the 96th meeting.

the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories as a prerequisite for the establishment of peace in that tense region is reaffirmed; and the massacres of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila camps, which is quite rightly referred to as genocide, is strongly condemned. I believe that there is no need to dwell at length on each one of these draft resolutions, since they are all self-explanatory.

60. However, I would like to point out, on behalf of the sponsors, that we would like the vote on draft resolution A/37/L.48 to be postponed, since consultations are still being held on some of its paragraphs.

61. I would like to introduce, on behalf of the sponsors, some minor amendments, first to the text of draft resolution A/37/L.51. In paragraph 2, we have deleted the words "Article 25 of". The text now reads "in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations"; in other words, there is no reference to Article 25 of the Charter.

62. With regard to draft resolution A/37/L.50, we have two amendments. The first relates to the third and last preambular paragraph, which begins with the words "*Having learned*". We have replaced the word "looted" by the words "took away". The phrase now reads "seized and took away the archives and documents...". The second amendment relates to operative paragraph 2, which has been rephrased and now reads as follows:

"Calls upon the Government of Israel to make full restitution, through the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, of all the cultural property belonging to Palestinian institutions, including the archives and documents removed from the Palestine Research Centre and arbitrarily seized by the Israeli forces."

63. Mrs. CUERVO de JARAMILLO (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have the honour to introduce to the General Assembly, on behalf of its sponsors, resolution A/37/L.53.

64. This draft resolution reflects the growing concern of a large group of countries over the future of Lebanon as an independent and sovereign nation and as a land where peace, progress and development can prevail.

65. A few days ago, the international community met in this Hall to hear the President of Lebanon, Mr. Amin Gemayel [35th meeting], and we heard an authoritative version of the events during a war that has ruined his country. We sympathize with his people, in their tragedy, their suffering, their grief and their despair. What he told us surpasses even the most vivid journalistic imagination. President Gemayel described to us the situation in a country which, at another time in its history, served as a model not only for its region but for the whole world, owing to the resilience of its race, the brilliance of its intelligence, the discipline of its people and the freedom of its institutions, and which, owing to an accident of geography and excessive democratic hospitality, has been turned into the bloodiest and most merciless battlefield of recent years.

66. All of us heard the Lebanese leader call for international solidarity to enable his people to live in peace and to undertake the moral and material reconstruction of his country. The draft resolution is designed to bring about the fulfilment of this just

aspiration. In it, the General Assembly takes note of the call for the withdrawal from Lebanese territory of foreign troops which are there without the prior consent of the Lebanese people and Government. It also calls for strict respect for the territorial integrity, sovereignty, unity and political independence of Lebanon and supports the efforts of the Lebanese Government to re-establish its territorial boundaries.

67. It is obvious that the Lebanese Government, in the final analysis, is the only legal authority that can determine which troops are to remain in its territory to guarantee the maintenance of peace. We are firmly convinced that the continued presence of foreign troops against the expressed will of the Lebanese people is an element which is highly disturbing to the stability of the region and, more important, constitutes an unacceptable obstacle to the achievement of lasting peace in the Middle East.

68. This draft resolution seeks only to enable this great people, through the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanese territory, to re-establish peace and to get back on the path of progress, so that, as President Gemayel himself said, they may some day once again amaze the world.

69. This just aspiration of the people of Lebanon calls for complete international solidarity, and we therefore believe that this draft resolution must quite logically be adopted by consensus by the Assembly.

70. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic to introduce an amendment [A/37/L.59] to draft resolution A/37/L.53.

71. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic, in accordance with the views of my Government, is anxious to see the end of the Israeli occupation of a large part of Lebanon which followed the brutal aggression against and the invasion of Lebanon. My delegation wishes to amend draft resolution A/37/L.53 by adding to its preamble the following third paragraph:

"Bearing in mind Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) of 5 June 1982 and 509 (1982) of 6 June 1982,".

72. Resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) were adopted unanimously by the Security Council, yet the Israeli aggression and occupation continue unabated in spite of the fact that resolution 509 (1982) calls for Israel to withdraw immediately and unconditionally from all Lebanese territory. The reference to these two resolutions in the context of the situation in the Middle East during the consideration of draft resolution A/37/L.53 is an invitation to all countries to spare no effort in supporting the Lebanese Republic in its struggle to regain its freedom, sovereignty, security and unity through the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of Israel, in accordance with Security Council resolution 509 (1982).

73. We would like to recall that all States Members of the Organization are committed to full respect for Article 25 of the United Nations Charter. Resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) were adopted unanimously, thus reaffirming the commitment of the members of the Security Council to respect the Charter.

74. We appeal to all States to vote in favour of this amendment, thus helping to achieve unanimous support for the efforts to end the Israeli occupation of Lebanon and ensure respect for the sovereignty, freedom, independence and unity of the people of Lebanon, for whom we feel a great sense of brotherhood and to whom we extend best wishes for their future progress. The Security Council is the organ empowered to pass mandatory resolutions and, in accordance with Article 25 of the Charter, we must not ignore Security Council resolutions. Support for the Security Council is the main objective of the Syrian amendment.

75. The PRESIDENT: I wish to announce that, at the request of the sponsors, we shall defer the vote on draft resolution A/37/L.48 until tomorrow afternoon. I ask those delegations that wish to explain their votes before the voting to refrain from explaining their position on that particular draft resolution until tomorrow. I would also like to remind the Assembly that, under rule 88 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, the President shall not permit the proposer of a proposal or of an amendment to explain his vote on his own proposal or amendment. Further, I remind representatives that explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made from their seats. I now call on representatives who wish to explain their votes before the voting.

76. Mr. ARTACHO (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Spanish delegation would like to explain its votes on the draft resolutions on the situation in the Middle East.

77. In keeping with your appeal, Mr. President, my delegation will explain its vote on draft resolution A/37/L.48 when we receive the modifications which were announced earlier by the representative of Cuba.

78. In connection with draft resolution A/37/L.49, while my delegation agrees with the spirit and the general meaning of the text, we shall be compelled to abstain for the reasons explained on 5 February last, at the 12th meeting of the ninth emergency special session, when the General Assembly adopted resolution ES-9/1, which, basically, is identical to this draft resolution. Draft resolution A/37/L.49 raises matters of interpretation of the Charter of the United Nations or questions which, in the view of my delegation, fall within the purview of the Security Council, of which my country is a non-permanent member at this time. Therefore, we cannot deal with these matters.

79. We would, however, like to repeat that our delegation's abstention should in no way be construed as a departure from the position of the Spanish Government, which continues to be the strongest possible repudiation of the expansionist policy of the Israeli authorities and the condemnation and non-acceptance of the decision to implement, in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights, the laws, jurisdiction and administration of the State of Israel. On behalf of the Spanish Government, we again demand that the occupying Power cancel its decision of 14 December 1981.

80. Finally, the Spanish delegation will vote in favour of draft resolutions A/37/L.50 to L.53. In connection with draft resolution A/37/L.52, my delegation, quite apart from the legal problems that may be raised about reference to the massacres

perpetrated last September in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila, wishes, through its affirmative vote, to reiterate its outrage concerning, and its condemnation of, such acts.

81. Mr. ULRICHSEN (Denmark): I should like to make a statement on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community on the draft resolutions before us.

82. The principles which, in the view of the Ten, provide the basis for a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute have been set out in the Venice Declaration, of 13 June 1980,³ and in their subsequent statements on the issue and are, we trust, well known. Most recently, in their statement in Brussels on 20 September 1982, the Ten said that: "Such a settlement should be based on the principles of security for all States in the region, including Israel's right to exist, justice for all peoples, including the right of self-determination for the Palestinians with all that this implies, and mutual recognition by all the parties involved" [see A/37/473, annex].

83. In their common statement in the debate which took place in the Assembly on this item [95th meeting], the Ten reiterated that their commitment to Israel's right to live in security and peace is fundamental and unwavering, and they equally stressed their commitment to the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, with all that this implies. They also made clear their wish to see the Palestinian people in a position to pursue their demands by political means and by negotiations. For negotiations to succeed, the Ten believe that the Palestinian people must be able to commit themselves to such negotiations and thus to be represented at them. Consequently, the position of the Ten remains that the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] must be associated with the negotiations.

84. It will be clear that the Ten have important reservations on those draft resolutions that address themselves to important aspects of the question of a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute and that are not in accordance with their common position regarding principles for a comprehensive peace settlement. The Ten have repeatedly stressed the need for such resolutions to adopt a balanced approach. The Ten cannot, moreover, accept formulations criticizing a permanent member of the Security Council for exercising its right under the Charter of the United Nations.

85. In the view of the Ten, possibilities for progress towards a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East are better than they have been for a long time, following the latest United States initiative contained in President Reagan's speech of 1 September 1982⁴ and the statement made by the Arab Heads of State and Government on 9 September 1982 at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez [see A/37/696]. During their contacts with the parties to the conflict and in their conclusions at the latest meeting of the European Council on 3 and 4 December 1982, the member States of the European Community have urged the parties to take advantage of the present favourable situation. The Ten have called on Israel to give a constructive response and on the PLO

to express clearly its will to recognize Israel's right to exist and its right to security.

86. In developing the principles which should, in the view of the Ten, guide the search for a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute, the Ten have always based themselves on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Accordingly, the Ten whole-heartedly support the amendment to draft resolution A/37/L.48 contained in document A/37/L.55, introduced by Egypt.

87. The Ten support the general thrust of draft resolution A/37/L.50, if not all the specific wording used. They note that UNESCO has dealt extensively with the matter, that the representative of Israel made a statement to the General Conference of UNESCO on 30 November 1982⁵ and that a commission has been established to investigate the facts in detail. They urge Israel to return the cultural and historical material involved.

88. The Ten support draft resolution A/37/L.51. In this connection, they recall the importance they attach to Security Council resolution 478 (1980).

89. As regards draft resolution A/37/L.52, the reaction of the Ten to the massacres of Palestinian civilians in Beirut was one of profound shock and revulsion, and the Ten strongly condemn this criminal act. The Ten have reservations about the reference in the draft resolution to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Needless to say, from a juridical point of view, it is not within the competence of the General Assembly to decide whether a certain act constitutes an act of genocide according to the Convention.

90. May I finally note that the Ten are all sponsors of draft resolution A/37/L.53.

91. Mr. GHIKAS (Greece): My delegation would like to explain its vote on draft resolution A/37/L.49. Greece has never failed to condemn consistently and in no uncertain terms the acts of Israel against Arab nations. Our position in this respect, apart from our traditional friendship with the Arab world, is determined by my country's unshakeable attachment to the principles enshrined in Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter of the United Nations and in the Final Act of Helsinki.⁶ It is for that reason that my delegation will vote in favour of that draft resolution.

92. However, my delegation is unable to go along with certain paragraphs of that draft resolution. If separate votes are taken, my delegation will abstain on paragraph 8 and on subparagraphs (c) and (d) of paragraph 13, and will vote against paragraph 14. Thus, my delegation dissociates itself from those paragraphs when voting in favour of the draft resolution.

93. Mr. BHATT (Nepal): The position of Nepal with respect to the situation in the Middle East has already been made clear in different forums. Nepal is firmly committed to the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. Israeli actions in the Syrian Golan Heights and other territories occupied since 1967 negate the principles embodied in Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and in the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,⁷ as well as other relevant resolutions of the United Nations. Accord-

ingly, we will vote in favour of draft resolution A/37/L.49.

94. We are not, however, in a position to support all the provisions and language in the draft resolution. The delegation of Nepal reserves its position on the eighth preambular paragraph and on operative paragraphs 8, 9, 12, 13 and 14 of the draft resolution. The provisions of those paragraphs run counter to the declared policies and perceptions of my Government with regard to the situation in the Middle East. Furthermore, initiation of the measures called for in the operative paragraphs is the prerogative of the Security Council, which alone has the power to adopt the measures it deems necessary under the Charter of the United Nations.

95. My delegation would have liked reference to be made to Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which, in our opinion, constitute the only realistic basis for a peaceful settlement of the Middle East dispute.

96. Miss STREDEL (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In connection with draft resolution A/37/L.49, the delegation of Venezuela is convinced that one of the most important allies of the just Palestinian cause is moderation. My delegation considers that any new text adopted by the Assembly which departs from that moderation does not effectively contribute to the progress of the efforts to ensure the achievement of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to create a sovereign, independent Palestinian State. For these reasons, my delegation will abstain in the voting on that draft resolution.

97. With regard to draft resolution A/37/L.51, Venezuela would like to state for the record that it was the first country to withdraw its embassy from the Holy City of Jerusalem. That decision was taken one month before the adoption of Security Council resolution 478 (1980).

98. On 28 July 1980, at the 10th meeting of the seventh emergency special session, the delegation of Venezuela gave the reasons why its Government acted in this fashion. For these reasons, my delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/37/L.51. Similarly, my delegation will vote in favour of draft resolutions A/37/L.50, L.52 and L.53.

99. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Ecuador would like to repeat, with regard to the item on the situation in the Middle East, that it completely rejects the use of force in relations among countries and abides strictly by the principles of non-intervention, the self-determination of peoples and the peaceful settlement of disputes. Ecuador condemns all violations of law in every part of the world and any use of force for the acquisition of territories, and affirms that the use of armed force does not lead to the acquisition of rights.

100. It is on the basis of these principles that, in all forums of the United Nations, Ecuador has rejected the military occupation by Israel of territories in the Middle East and has insisted on the need to return those territories. In the case of agreements which were freely entered into and which have led to the restitution of some territories, Ecuador cannot oppose

such expressions of the sovereign will of States. Rather, this should give encouragement to the international community as an expression of the obligation to solve disputes by peaceful means.

101. Thus, my delegation will abstain if paragraph 5 of draft resolution A/37/L.48 is kept in its present wording. We will also abstain on paragraph 9 of that draft resolution because it contains elements of dubious legality.

102. With regard to draft resolution A/37/L.49, we must stress most strongly that Ecuador supports the fundamental principle that the acquisition of territories by force is inadmissible. It also supports what is stated in paragraphs 1 and 2 and considers that territorial occupation is unacceptable, as is the case in the Syrian Golan Heights, where there is an attempt to give the appearance of legality with unilateral declarations which run counter to the Charter of the United Nations and by an attitude of indifference to resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. This does not contribute to the lessening of tension or to the achievement of peace in an area where everyone desires it.

103. On the other hand, there are certain elements in draft resolution A/37/L.49 which are not acceptable to my delegation. The principle of universality of the United Nations must be maintained in all its forums, in its composition, in the very action of promoting decolonization, which is leading to universality and has been resolutely supported by Latin American countries, among them Ecuador, which was one of the countries that drafted and signed the Charter. Therefore, any action or declaration, however preliminary it might appear, for the expulsion or suspension of a Member State would be unacceptable to my delegation, apart from the fact that any measure of this kind would, in the present case, merely create greater difficulties in any process of negotiation and peaceful settlement of the situation in the Middle East and the question of Palestine. Similarly, with regard to the measures suggested in paragraph 13 of draft resolution A/37/L.49, my delegation is of the view that decisions to establish or not to establish diplomatic, trade and cultural relations are decisions which fall exclusively within the sovereignty of each State and cannot be subject to appeals made by third parties. Therefore, we will be compelled to abstain on that draft resolution.

104. With regard to draft resolutions A/37/L.50 to L.53, we will vote in favour of them because of the principles upheld by our country in the field of international relations and the well-known respect of my country for human rights. I should like to say that Ecuador, which, along with the other Andean countries, is among the sponsors of draft resolution A/37/L.53, supports the request of the Lebanese Government for the withdrawal of all non-Lebanese troops and forces, the deployment of which is not authorized by that Government. We hope that if this is done the martyrdom of the Lebanese people will come to an end and that this will lead to the establishment of peace in that region of the Middle East.

105. The PRESIDENT: I would remind delegates that, at the request of the sponsors, we have agreed to defer action on draft resolution A/37/48 and that

explanation of vote on that draft resolution should also be deferred.

106. Mr. CHEN CHARPENTER (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Mexico will vote in favour of draft resolution A/37/L.49, despite the substantive reservations it might have on paragraphs 12, 13 and 14, the subject-matter of which falls within the jurisdiction of another body of the Organization. If those paragraphs were to be voted upon separately, my delegation would abstain.

107. Mr. BARBOSA de MEDINA (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*): During the current session, my delegation has had occasion to speak on certain specific matters relating to the Middle East. In particular, we condemned any unilateral decision which would be likely to modify the juridical status of a territory subjected to military occupation, in violation of the applicable rules of international law. We also denounced the tragic events which occurred last September in the Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut. We expressed the conviction of our Government that it would be unrealistic to consider the possibility of reaching a solution of the Middle East problem without a negotiated, comprehensive and peaceful solution of the question of Palestine.

108. During the thirty-sixth session, at the 95th meeting, I had occasion to stress the fact that if there is to be a negotiated solution everybody must work together; if there is to be a comprehensive solution all the parties concerned must be committed, without exception; and if there is to be a peaceful solution there must be unequivocal condemnation of any unilateral act that could make more difficult, or even prevent, the negotiations. As long as there is a well-founded hope that efforts to reach such a negotiated, comprehensive and peaceful solution can succeed, my Government will support them, not only in keeping with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, but also in accordance with the fundamental principles of its own political Constitution.

109. Furthermore, such a position of principle makes it necessary to dissociate oneself from any act or appeal which might prejudice a possible solution and, in particular, from any resolutions which, because of their language, of certain measures they advocate, of discriminatory references they contain or of their legal implications, would make more difficult the negotiations on which a peaceful solution of the Middle East problem should be based.

110. My delegation must therefore vote against draft resolution A/37/L.49 because, *inter alia*, of paragraphs 8, 12 and 13, and we shall also abstain on draft resolution A/37/L.52, despite our condemnation of the massacres which were perpetrated. We shall vote in favour of draft resolutions A/37/L.50, L.51 and L.53 to emphasize our support of that last draft resolution which concerns the situation in Lebanon and of which we are a co-sponsor.

111. Mr. CARR (Jamaica): The problem of the Middle East, which is probably one of the most complex the Organization has had to confront, is today as threatening to the peace and security of that important region and of the world as it was over three decades ago.

112. The Government of Jamaica has consistently supported all initiatives designed to achieve a just, durable and comprehensive settlement of all the outstanding issues surrounding this question consistent with the relevant resolutions of the Organization, and will continue to do so.

113. Regarding the draft resolutions to be voted on today, my delegation has some difficulty with draft resolution A/37/L.49, particularly the eighth preambular paragraph, paragraphs 8 and 12 and parts of paragraph 13, and this will compel us to abstain on this draft resolution.

114. My delegation, in the hope of advancing the search for peace, will support all the other draft resolutions, though we have some doubts regarding the appropriateness of some of the language used in paragraph 2 of draft resolution A/37/L.52.

115. Mr. GUERREIRO (Brazil) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Brazil will vote in favour of four of the five draft resolutions before us this afternoon on the question of the Middle East. However, we will abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/37/L.49 because it is essentially the same as that which was adopted at the ninth emergency special session of the General Assembly as resolution ES-9/1, on which we abstained. The reasons why we abstained at that time hold good at this time as well.

116. Mr. DESKER (Singapore): The widespread participation by Member States in the debate on this agenda item reflects the mounting concern of the international community over the grave situation arising from the continuing conflict in the Middle East and, in particular, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon on 4 June 1982.

117. In statements issued on 11 June [A/37/283, annex], 16 June [A/37/324, annex] and 7 August 1982 [A/37/387, annex], the Foreign Ministers of the States members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] strongly condemned the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, which violated the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon and caused great loss of life and destruction of property. By its acts, Israel has contravened the principles enshrined in the Charter and disregarded the decisions of the Security Council. The ASEAN Foreign Ministers called for the immediate implementation of the relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions.

118. The Government of Singapore believes that a just, peaceful and comprehensive settlement of the situation in the Middle East cannot be achieved without the participation on an equal footing of all the parties to the conflict, including the PLO. We support the establishment of a Palestine homeland in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip and cannot accept the annexation by Israel of territories occupied by force. In this context, my delegation reaffirms its conviction that there is an overriding necessity for the total and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967.

119. The Government of Singapore fully supports the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, particularly resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which established the fundamental basis for a durable, stable and lasting peace in the Middle East. One element in

the search for a lasting peace would be the recognition of the right of all States in the region, including Israel, to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries, free from threats or acts of force.

120. In the light of these considerations, my delegation will vote in favour of draft resolutions A/37/L.50 to L.53. We will abstain on draft resolution A/37/L.49. We will consider draft resolution A/37/L.48 when it is presented to the Assembly in revised form.

121. With regard to paragraph 2 of resolution A/37/L.52, my delegation regrets the use of the term "an act of genocide" as we feel that the determination of an act of genocide should be made by the appropriate legal bodies, in accordance with article VIII of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.⁸ In the Convention, the term "genocide" is used to mean acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group. My delegation regrets the tendency in the Assembly to engage in the use of loose and casual language when referring to issues with a precise legal definition.

122. Mr. PORTUGAL RODRÍGUEZ (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Peru would like to explain its vote on draft resolution A/37/L.49. We shall abstain in the vote on that text because we consider that it contains ideas and recommendations which, far from contributing to a just, comprehensive and lasting solution to the problem of the Middle East, would be damaging to the efforts being made to deal with this situation within the framework of the United Nations and in accordance with the relevant decisions already taken by the Security Council and the General Assembly.

123. We do not believe that the adoption of the measures proposed in draft resolution A/37/L.49 would be the best way to get the process towards peace in the region under way. On the contrary, it would create the danger of prejudicing even more the principles and norms of international law and of further reducing the efficiency of the Organization.

124. Regarding draft resolutions A/37/L.50 to L.53—of the last of which we are a co-sponsor—my delegation will vote in favour of these.

125. Finally, the Peruvian delegation would like to reserve its right to explain its position on draft resolution A/37/L.48 when the new drafting is before the Assembly.

126. Mr. ABDULAH (Trinidad and Tobago): We shall abstain in the voting on draft resolution A/37/L.49 because, in our view, it raises fundamental questions of interpretation which have not been the subject of definition within the Organization. However, although it is obliged to abstain, my delegation wishes to make clear that it is in agreement with the general thrust of the draft resolution, particularly in so far as it relates to the necessity of the withdrawal by Israel from occupied Arab territories and affirms that the Geneva Convention⁷ and the Hague Convention⁹ relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war apply to territory occupied by Israel since 1967. We shall vote in favour of the other draft resolutions which are before the Assembly today.

127. Mr. BLUM (Israel): The draft resolutions before the Assembly clearly have little to say about the Middle East as such. In dealing with the conflict in one small corner of the area, they are sadly ill-conceived and make only a negative contribution to any process of conciliation or peacemaking.

128. As I suggested in my statement at the 95th meeting, on 8 December, the Middle East is a vast area which should be regarded as a whole. Since the title of the item under discussion is "The situation in the Middle East", I suggested that delegations would do well to look at a representative cross-section of the trouble spots which agitate this endemically and chronically unstable area and which are certainly worthy of discussion in the Assembly under the agenda item before it.

129. By way of example, I pointed to the brutally repressive behaviour of the Iraqi régime, and wondered whether the time had not come to consider the establishment of a special agency similar to UNRWA to deal with the acute refugee problem arising from the Iraqi-Iranian hostilities that have gone on unabated for 27 months. The bitter experience of Ad Dujayl, a town erased from the face of the earth last July, its former inhabitants having been either massacred or deported to unknown destinations by the terror régime of Saddam Hussein al Takriti, surely indicates that the problem is a wide and pervasive one in Iraq and that the need for international concern and a possible relief effort can no longer be ignored.

130. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Iraq on a point of order.

131. Mr. AL-ZAHAWI (Iraq): I should be grateful, Mr. President, if you would draw the attention of the Israeli representative to the fact that he is not making an explanation of vote but is opening a debate on a matter—the Iraqi-Iranian war—which the Assembly has already debated and taken positions on, and is bringing in extraneous matters which are totally unrelated to the question which is being considered now. He should abide by the rules of procedure and explain his vote, and not engage in tactics of this sort to divert the attention of the Assembly.

132. The PRESIDENT: I am sure the representative of Israel will take note of that. I invite him to continue.

133. Mr. BLUM (Israel): I believe I am addressing myself to the situation in the Middle East. The genocidal acts perpetrated by the Iraqi régime in Ad Dujayl relate to the situation in the Middle East.

134. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Iraq on a point of order.

135. Mr. AL-ZAHAWI (Iraq): We are not debating the situation in the Middle East: we are engaged in explanations of vote. I should like to draw the attention of the representative of the Zionist entity to the fact that we are not discussing the situation in the Middle East now; the debate is over. The situation in the Middle East, as everyone knows, concerns basically the question of Palestine and the Israeli acts of aggression against the Palestinian people and the Arab countries in general. This is the question of the Middle East. This is how it was listed on the agenda of the Security Council and this is how it is listed on the agenda of the General Assembly.

136. The PRESIDENT: May I ask the representative of Israel to confine himself to an explanation of vote.

137. Mr. BLUM (Israel): I am in the process of explaining why the draft resolutions before us are ill-conceived and do not meet the requirements of the agenda item entitled "The situation in the Middle East". I would be grateful, Sir, if you would also draw the attention of the representative of the Takritian entity in this Hall to the fact that we are supposed to refer to each other as representatives of the countries which we represent and that he has again ignored the customary proprieties of such debates. With your permission, Sir, I should like to continue.

138. In my statement of 8 December, I also referred to the extraordinary activities of Libya, which continues to intervene in the internal affairs of all unfortunate enough to attract its attention, thus subjecting them to continued brutality, repression and terrorism.

139. We must also note with regret that in this debate, ostensibly devoted to the situation in the Middle East, the Assembly has again ignored a horrendous act of the minority régime of Damascus. Syria's contribution as a member of the Commission on Human Rights was the massacre, last February, of thousands of its own citizens in what was the centre of the town of Hama. That dramatic event overshadowed many others over the past year, but it will go unstigmatized owing to overriding parliamentary considerations in the Assembly. With regard to draft resolution A/37/L.49, may I remind the Assembly that for many years the Golan Heights served as a launching pad for Syrian aggression against Israel.

140. The attempts to vilify Israel as a non-peace-loving State are surely grotesque in the light of the well-known sacrifices Israel has already made for peace. Instead of calling for negotiation and conciliation, the draft resolution calls on States to refrain from supplying Israel, the intended victim of repeated Arab aggression, with the necessary means of defence, and seeks to isolate Israel so that Arab aggressors may be emboldened to continue their warfare across Israel's borders and to assault Israel in the Assembly. The draft resolution not only ignores Syria's adamant refusal to recognize Israel, to negotiate with Israel and, ultimately, even to attempt to make peace with Israel, but also ignores every hostile act committed by Syria in the last few years to subvert any movement towards a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israel conflict. As such, draft resolution A/37/L.49 is a distortion of truth and reality and should be rejected.

141. Draft resolution A/37/L.50 bears no relation to reality either. In truth, the so-called Palestine Research Centre engaged not only in the production of anti-Israel horror propaganda but also in the collection of diverse operational intelligence data for use by terrorist groups against Israel and against Jewish civilian targets in Israel and throughout the world. It is difficult to see how the personal files of high-ranking Israeli officers, as well as lists of gas stations, bridges, and water and electricity installations in Israel, can be considered as *objets d'art* or as the cultural heritage of the Palestinian people. I am authorized by my Government to state that, in due course, genuine

research material will be returned to the Government of Lebanon, in whose capital it was found.

142. With regard to Jerusalem, dealt with in draft resolution A/37/L.51, Israel's position is a matter of public record and has been stated in numerous debates held in this and other forums of the United Nations. We have repeatedly affirmed that no discussion on Jerusalem can ignore the fact that the Jewish people—and only the Jewish people—have always regarded Jerusalem as the centre of their national and spiritual life. Reunited since 1967, Jerusalem today enjoys a freedom and peace unprecedented in the history of the city, a freedom which guarantees access and right of worship to the adherents of all faiths. As in the past, so in the future, Israel will continue steadfastly to further the peace and well-being of our capital and its people, as well as the preservation of the special place that Jerusalem holds in the hearts of people of diverse faiths around the globe.

143. My Government's condemnation of the massacre perpetrated in Beirut last September is common knowledge and has been given appropriate expression in our statements both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly. Our position will be duly reflected in our vote on paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/37/L.52. At the same time, we shall join all those States that oppose paragraph 2 of the same draft resolution because of the loose, irresponsible and inaccurate terminology used with regard to certain well-defined legal concepts. Such reckless manipulation of those concepts is bound to compromise the credibility of the United Nations.

144. Finally, I should like to say a few words about draft resolution A/37/L.53. As is well known, Israel fully supports the complete restoration of Lebanese sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the restoration of the lawful authority of the Government of Lebanon throughout the length and breadth of that country. It is therefore essential that all non-Lebanese elements, without exception, remove themselves from Lebanese soil and that the Lebanese people be enabled to take their destiny into their own hands. Since the main provisions of draft resolution A/37/L.53 reflect these basic tenets of Israel's position, we shall join in support of the draft resolution, it being clearly understood that nothing contained in that draft resolution can be interpreted as affecting Israel's right to demand that any future arrangements in Lebanon permanently and reliably preclude hostile action against Israel and its citizens from Lebanese soil.

145. Israel will vote against document A/37/L.59, which is not only irrelevant but has also been overtaken by events.

146. We reserve our right to explain in due course our vote on draft resolution A/37/L.48.

147. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/37/L.49 and Add.1. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Chad, China, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic

Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Poland, Qatar, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Brazil, Burma, Central African Republic, Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Fiji, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Malawi, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Samoa, Singapore, Spain, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zaire.

The draft resolution was adopted by 87 votes to 22, with 31 abstentions (resolution 37/123 A).

148. The PRESIDENT: We shall next vote on draft resolution A/37/L.50 which has been orally amended and has become draft resolution A/37/L.50/Rev.1, incorporating the modifications submitted orally by the representative of Cuba, namely: in the third preambular paragraph, the word "looted" has been replaced by the words "took away". That paragraph now begins:

"Having learned that the Israeli army, during its occupation of Beirut, seized and took away the archives..."

Paragraph 2 now reads:

"Calls upon the Government of Israel to make full restitution, through the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, of all the cultural property belonging to Palestinian institutions, including the archives and documents removed from the Palestine Research Centre and arbitrarily seized by the Israeli forces."

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France,

Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, 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, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Israel.

Abstaining: Dominican Republic, Malawi, Papua New Guinea, United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 138 votes to 1, with 4 abstentions (resolution 37/123 B).¹⁰

149. The PRESIDENT: We shall next vote on draft resolution A/37/L.51 and Add.1. I remind the Assembly that paragraph 2 has been modified by the deletion of the words "Article 25 of". It now reads:

"Calls upon those States to abide by the provisions of the relevant United Nations resolutions, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations."

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, 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, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Israel.

Abstaining: Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Malawi, United States of America.

The draft resolution, as orally amended, was adopted by 137 votes to 1, with 4 abstentions (resolution 37/123 C).

150. The PRESIDENT: We now come to draft resolution A/37/L.52 and Add.1. Separate recorded votes have been requested on paragraphs 1 and 2. I take it that there is no objection to this. We shall therefore vote first on paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/37/L.52 and Add.1.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, 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, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: None.

Paragraph 1 was adopted by 145 votes to none.

151. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on paragraph 2 of draft resolution A/37/L.52 and Add.1.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

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

Abstaining: Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Burma, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Gabon, Guatemala, Ivory Coast, Japan, Malawi, Mauritius, Nepal, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Samoa, Singapore, Spain, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Uruguay, Zaire.

Paragraph 2 was adopted by 98 votes to 19, with 23 abstentions.

152. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/37/L.52 and Add.1, as a whole. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain,

Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Barbados, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Dominican Republic, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Portugal, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 123 votes to none, with 22 abstentions (resolution 37/123 D).

153. The PRESIDENT: We now come to draft resolution A/37/L.53 and Add.1 and the amendment to it in document A/37/L.59. In accordance with rule 90 of the rules of procedure, I shall first put to the vote the amendment contained in document A/37/L.59. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, 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, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

Against: Israel.

Abstaining: United States of America.

The amendment was adopted by 140 votes to 1, with 1 abstention.

154. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution A/37/L.53 and Add.1, as amended. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, 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, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: None.

The draft resolution, as amended, was adopted by 145 votes to none (resolution 37/123 E).

155. The PRESIDENT: I now call on those delegations that wish to explain their vote. I once again remind representatives that explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made from their seats.

156. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): Japan has repeatedly stated that it strongly condemns and will never condone the measures taken by Israel in the occupied territory of the Golan Heights, such as its effective annexation. However, Japan was obliged to vote against draft resolution A/37/L.49 because it contains several paragraphs that are incompatible with some of the fundamental beliefs of my Government. I refer in particular to my Government's belief that the United Nations must be a universal Organization; that any and all conflicts must be resolved peacefully, through negotiations; and that the isolation of a particular

country does not necessarily contribute to the solution of a question.

157. None the less, my Government wishes to warn Israel in the strongest terms not to make the mistake of interpreting this vote as in any way condoning the measures it has taken in the occupied Golan Heights, its outrageous practices in the other occupied Arab territories or its invasion of Lebanon.

158. Mr. MORENO-SALCEDO (Philippines): While my delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/37/L.52 as a whole, sharing as it does the outrage at and condemnation of the world community over the massacre of Palestinian civilians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Beirut, it abstained from voting on paragraph 2 of that draft resolution because it is not certain that the massacre was an act of genocide in accordance with the provisions of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide,⁸ which entered into force on 12 January 1951.

159. Mr. LICHENSTEIN (United States of America): The Government of the United States supports and is actively working towards a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East, freely negotiated by the parties to the conflict and conforming to the principles of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

160. The position of the United States on the several resolutions voted on this afternoon by the General Assembly under the rubric "The situation in the Middle East" has been determined by our commitment to the objective of a just, negotiated peace. To the extent that these resolutions further the goal of peace, we support them; to the extent that they deflect us from that goal or widen the gap between the parties to the conflict, we oppose them.

161. It is from this perspective that we look on draft resolution A/37/L.49 with dismay. This omnibus resolution, full of reckless condemnations, rejections, declarations, demands, does not serve the cause of peace; indeed, it would put new obstacles on the road to peace. Its essential objective is to isolate a Member State and a party to the conflict and, further, to lay the groundwork for future attempts to expel that Member State from this body. The highest officials of my Government have made clear our position on any such future eventuality. This draft resolution is a perfect example of the kind of sterile parliamentary exercise which serves only to polarize positions instead of resolving conflicts and which further erodes the credibility of the Assembly. For all of these reasons, my delegation voted "No" on that draft resolution.

162. As for draft resolution A/37/L.50/Rev.1, we abstained in the vote because neither the United States nor, in our judgement, any other Member of the Assembly is in a position to know the full facts surrounding the charges made. Until such facts are before us, condemnation is surely premature. At the same time, the United States wishes to make clear that it supports the principles of the Hague regulations and the Geneva Convention relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war and of their property in occupied territories.

163. We also abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/37/L.51, on the question of diplomatic missions in

Jerusalem, as we abstained on Security Council resolution 478 (1980), to which reference is made in the draft resolution. We believed the Council's call on Member States to withdraw their missions from Jerusalem was not binding, was without force, was an attempt to dictate to Member States. That continues to be our view. Our position on the status of Jerusalem also remains firm: the ultimate character of the city, its ultimate status, will emerge in the process of negotiating a just and lasting peace.

164. There is no question about the criminality of the massacre of Palestinian civilians in Sabra and Shatila. We condemn the killings. We joined in supporting paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/37/L.52. However, it is in our judgement a serious and a reckless misuse of language to label this tragedy genocide, as defined in the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Indeed, in a very real sense, the reckless use of hyperbole tends to cheapen a tragic event. Therefore, we were not able to support paragraph 2, and we abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/37/L.52 as a whole.

165. Finally, we were pleased to be a co-sponsor of draft resolution A/37/L.53, calling for the withdrawal from Lebanon of all non-Lebanese forces not authorized by the Government of Lebanon to deploy on its territory. We continue wholly, unequivocally, to support the Government of Lebanon in the restoration of its authority throughout its territory to the internationally recognized borders. We abstained in the vote on the Syrian amendment [A/37/L.59] to include a reference to Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) in a preambular paragraph of that draft resolution. Those Security Council resolutions, which were wholly pertinent to the situation that gave rise to them last June and which we supported in the Security Council last June, are irrelevant to the present situation and represent, in our judgement, a needless intrusion into an otherwise precisely focused and vitally important affirmation. My Government therefore not only sponsored draft resolution A/37/L.53, but voted for it.

166. Mr. BEAUGE (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Argentina voted in favour of draft resolutions A/37/L.50/Rev.1 to L.53, but we abstained in the vote on draft resolution A/37/L.49. That last draft resolution refers basically to the Syrian Golan Heights, which is illegally occupied by Israel, in violation of Security Council resolution 497 (1981) and of resolutions of the General Assembly. There is no doubt whatsoever that Israel's decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the Golan Heights is null and void and has no validity or legal effect whatsoever.

167. In this specific case, where the Syrian Arab Republic was illegally dispossessed of a portion of its sovereign territory, the Government of Israel must strictly respect the principles of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force and must respect the territorial integrity of States. These are fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

168. Nevertheless, the delegation of Argentina abstained in the voting because it believes, as it did in regard to the recent crisis in the area of the Malvinas Islands, when the Republic of Argentina was the object

of arbitrary and illegally imposed sanctions, that States Members of the United Nations must respect the competence of the main bodies of the Organization, in compliance with the provisions of the Charter.

169. Mr. PASTINEN (Finland): Draft resolution A/37/L.52, in its very words, recognizes the universal outrage and condemnation of the massacre committed in Sabra and Shatila. This is, indeed, an apt and true description of the reaction of the international community and people everywhere to this horror.

170. It was for that reason that the Finnish delegation voted in favour of that draft resolution. We did so in spite of very serious doubts on legal and factual grounds about the applicability to those events of the term "genocide" as defined in the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

171. We regret that, by the introduction of this element, the General Assembly was prevented from giving unanimous expression to the universal outrage and condemnation which are shared by the whole international community with regard to the massacre at Sabra and Shatila.

172. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): In regard to draft resolution A/37/L.53, which has just been adopted, the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics would like to make the following statement.

173. The Soviet Union regards it as a matter of urgent necessity to ensure the territorial integrity, sovereignty, unity and political independence of Lebanon. It is precisely for that reason that the Soviet Union firmly condemns Israel's aggression in Lebanon and Israel's occupation of a considerable portion of Lebanese territory—an occupation which continues to this very day and undermines the observance of all these principles.

174. The foundations for a settlement of the Lebanese situation are set out in resolutions adopted unanimously by the Security Council—namely, resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), which have frequently been supported by the General Assembly. These contain a demand for the immediate cessation of all military activities within Lebanon and for an unconditional—and I stress the word "unconditional"—withdrawal of Israel forces from the entire Lebanese territory. As regards the virtually unanimous vote by the General Assembly for the amendment introduced by the delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic [A/37/L.59], and now included in the final text of the resolution, it is a due reminder to the aggressor. The vote on that amendment, however, indicates something else as well—that is, that the position of the United States is drawing closer and closer to the position of Israel. Originally, in the Security Council, the United States formally voted in favour of resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982); subsequently, however, the United States started to block the implementation of those resolutions of the Security Council. The vote cast today by the United States on the amendment by the Syrian Arab Republic marks a qualitatively new stage in the evolution of the American position. That vote indicates that the United States is now publicly refusing to support Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982). That vote cast by the United States should,

in our opinion, act as a cold shower upon the thinking of those who still entertain the hope that the United States may refrain from giving unconditional support to Israel and in some way may help the Arabs. It is a hard truth that this has not occurred, nor can it occur. It cannot occur because the United States and Israel have concluded a strategic alliance. That alliance is aimed at recolonizing the Middle East and subjecting the Arab countries and peoples to the global ambitions of the United States and the regional ambitions of Israel.

175. The Soviet delegation would also like to emphasize that the wording of paragraph 1 of draft resolution A/37/L.53 just adopted, which refers to international support for the efforts of the Government of Lebanon, by no means applies to the activities of the so-called multinational forces. The fact that these special North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] forces were sent to Lebanon undermines the effectiveness of the efforts of the Security Council and the United Nations as a whole and is in contradiction with the spirit and letter of relevant United Nations resolutions.

176. Mr. ELMÉR (Sweden): Sweden voted against draft resolution A/37/L.49. In spite of our full support for what we would consider the central theme of that text, as expressed in paragraphs 3, 4, 5, 6 and 9, we had no choice but to vote against the draft resolution as a whole.

177. The reason, as in the case of resolution ES-9/1, which Sweden was also forced to oppose, is that a number of totally unacceptable elements are contained in the resolution, above all in paragraphs 12 to 16. Our objections to these paragraphs relate to their substantive content, as well as to the fact that they cannot be reconciled with the division of responsibilities envisaged by the Charter as between the General Assembly and the Security Council.

178. My delegation supported draft resolutions A/37/L.50/Rev.1 and L.51. With respect to draft resolution A/37/L.52, I wish to state that my Government has expressed its revulsion at the massacre perpetrated in refugee camps in Beirut and its condemnation of this horrendous crime. In the opinion of my Government, however, the assertion made in paragraph 2 is not correct, and with regret my delegation found it unavoidable to abstain in the vote on that draft resolution.

Mr. Traoré (Mali), Vice-President, took the Chair.

179. Mr. BALETA (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): The Albanian delegation voted in favour of draft resolutions A/37/L.49, L.50/Rev.1, L.51 and L.52, which have just been adopted. These votes in favour are in conformity with the well-known position of our country in support of the just struggle of the Arab peoples against the imperialist Zionist aggression.

180. The Socialist People's Republic of Albania also firmly supports the restoration and preservation of and complete respect for the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon. To achieve that, we believe an end must be put without delay to Israel's military occupation and aggression against Lebanon. The Zionist occupation troops must withdraw immediately from Lebanon, and there must

be no military presence or intervention of any other Powers in that country.

181. However, we did not take part in the voting on draft resolution A/37/L.53 for the following reasons. We find among the sponsors the names of some countries that bear a grave responsibility for the serious situation created in Lebanon and the suffering of the Lebanese people. The United States, in particular, is responsible because it has enormously assisted and encouraged Israel to follow a policy of brutal interference and barbarous aggression against Lebanon and to occupy a large part of that country militarily. American imperialism, by co-sponsoring that draft resolution, is seeking to avoid its responsibility. Furthermore, that text is not specific, as far as we can see, about the troops that must leave Lebanon. There is unacceptable silence, as far as we are concerned, about the fact that it is the Israeli occupying troops which have seriously violated the sovereignty and integrity of that country. We also feel that the presence of American and other troops in Lebanon is a dangerous precedent.

182. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): My delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/37/L.49. This affirmative vote is not due merely to the friendly relations which so happily exist between my country and the Syrian Arab Republic, as well as many other fraternal Moslem countries. My delegation's vote was also based on our ideological principles, which make our unreserved support for the defence of the Moslem land a religious obligation incumbent upon us. It is because of the same principles that my delegation is not quite happy with the phrase "occupied since 1967" in paragraph 11 of that draft resolution. In my Government's understanding, the political surgery that is called Israel is nothing but an illegal occupation of the State of Palestine. This base of Zionist usurpers in our area is a political cancer, and all its acts of aggression and occupation, whether before or since 1967, remain illegal consequences of its very illegal existence.

183. The Assembly has just seen the representative of the Zionist usurpers taking advantage of the situation between Iran and Iraq to try to divert the attention of the Assembly from the illegal occupation of Muslim territories by the Zionist usurpers. It should be noted that many of the differences in the area are created or instigated, directly or indirectly, precisely by the Zionist conspirators and their supporters.

184. That is why all the countries of the region, as well as the Assembly, have rightly identified the situation of the Middle East with the problem of the Zionist non-entity that is called Israel.

185. Mr. TRUCCO (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): One of the basic principles of my country's foreign policy is the rejection of the use of force in international relations. On the basis of that principle, Chile has consistently rejected the occupation and the illegal annexation by the State of Israel of the Golan Heights.

186. For these reasons, we regard as a positive aspect the fact that draft resolution A/37/L.49 takes up the basic principle that the occupation of territory by force is inadmissible. However, the delegation of Chile abstained in the voting on that draft resolution

because, despite its positive aspects, it contains excessive language and elements which affect its balance and make it an ineffective contribution to the search for peace in the Middle East. Thus, in our opinion, the appeals set forth in paragraph 13 prejudice the destiny of any type of assistance granted to one sovereign State by another, or received by one sovereign State from another. Furthermore, as we have repeatedly maintained, only the Security Council is competent to apply sanctions such as those recommended in one of the operative paragraphs.

187. Mr. DORN (Suriname): The Government of the Republic of Suriname is of the opinion that the persistent failure of Israel to comply with Security Council resolution 497 (1981) makes it incumbent upon the international community to deal with and take appropriate action to remedy that failure.

188. Furthermore, my Government holds the view that peace in that area of the world will continue to prove unattainable as long as Israel persists in its unconditional denial of the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people, a denial which lies at the core of the difficult situation in the Middle East.

189. The delegation of Suriname therefore welcomes these resolutions as yet another step in our joint efforts towards the goal of convincing the State of Israel that it cannot and should not be allowed to defy with impunity the principles of international law and the decisions of the international community.

190. My delegation, however, has serious doubts with regard to the wisdom of certain paragraphs of the resolutions before us. In this connection, my delegation wishes to put on record its reservations with respect to the eighth preambular paragraph and to paragraph 12 and subparagraphs (c) and (d) of paragraph 13 of draft resolution A/37/L.49. These reservations, however, did not prevent the delegation of Suriname from voting in favour of these draft resolutions.

191. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey): I should like to explain the position of my delegation in connection with the draft resolutions just adopted by the General Assembly.

192. On draft resolution A/37/L.49, my delegation, while it voted in favour, is not completely clear about the legal implications of the eighth preambular paragraph and of paragraph 12, and therefore reserves its position in this regard. Further, my delegation is in principle against negative references to third parties, such as those contained in paragraph 8. Turkey does not associate itself with the condemnation contained in this paragraph and does not consider its presence useful or helpful.

193. The delegation of Turkey voted in favour of draft resolution A/37/L.52 on the large-scale massacre of Palestinian civilians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps.

194. At the present time, my delegation is not certain whether the General Assembly, given the information available to it, is in a position to make an exact determination about the nature of those events and whether the General Assembly is competent to describe them precisely in a legal sense. However, we cast an affirmative vote on the draft resolution as

a whole to express our deep indignation and shock at this horrible crime perpetrated against innocent men, women and children. The victims of this appalling massacre were defenceless people who were living in those camps not out of choice but because they were forced to do so by the reality of not having their own homeland. Their supreme sacrifice will not be redeemed until the Arab Palestinian people are able to exercise fully their inalienable rights, including their right to self-determination and the right to establish their own independent State in their homeland.

195. The delegation of Turkey voted today in favour of all the draft resolutions under agenda item 34. This reflects the long-standing position of my Government and its clearly established policy in favour of a just, lasting and comprehensive solution to the Middle East conflict and the question of Palestine.

196. The Government of Turkey will continue to evaluate these new resolutions, as it has done with past resolutions on the same subject-matter in accordance with the general principles and objectives of its foreign policy and, particularly, in the context of its Middle East policy as expressed in statements, official acts and positions of the Government of Turkey.

197. Mr. KERGIN (Canada): My delegation does not wish to take up the time of the Assembly in rehearsing the well-known Canadian position on the major issues that have been raised in the draft resolutions just voted upon. I wish, however, to make one brief remark concerning the separate vote called for on paragraph 2 of draft resolution A/37/L.52. Canada has condemned the massacres at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps, both here at the United Nations and in declarations made by the Government of Canada. What happened there is abhorrent to all civilized peoples. However, the term "genocide" cannot, in our view, be applied to this particular inhuman act. We also question whether the General Assembly has the competence to make such a determination.

198. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): My delegation voted in favour of the general political thrust of the draft resolutions before the Assembly, as it did on similar resolutions in the past.

199. We wish, however, to explain that our affirmative vote does not necessarily imply full agreement with each and every provision in the draft resolutions, nor does it imply that the legal issues that may arise from the provisions of the draft resolutions can be decided by the General Assembly.

200. Mr. AMEGA (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): Togo voted in favour of draft resolution A/37/L.49. However, we would have abstained on paragraph 8 had a separate vote been requested. In fact, the vote of a State—and that is what is in question—is a sovereign act, and it is not up to us to pass judgement on the way a State votes.

201. Having said that, however, I should like to add that Togo has always been in favour of taking more energetic measures against Israel, under Chapter VII of the Charter, in the form of sanctions against that country for its actions as regards the international community and, particularly, as regards the Palestinian people.

202. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply. Before calling on him, I should like to draw the attention of representatives to the fact that, pursuant to decision 34/401 of the General Assembly, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes and must be made by delegations from their seats.

203. Mr. BURWIN (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The representative of the Zionist entity, in his explanation of vote, used the occasion to make accusations against my country, and spoke of repression and intervention.

204. It is the Zionist entity itself which intervenes in the territories of other States. It has made war against neighbouring Arab States and has occupied land, applying racist laws based on religious and racist doctrines. This régime was established by terror, and by terror alone. The Zionist entity is intervening, directly and through Zionist organizations, in the affairs of other States where there are Jewish people. Those organizations, through inadmissible methods such as blackmail and other immoral means, are exerting pressure on those who must make decisions, particularly political decisions, in certain Western European countries and in North America especially.

205. This racist entity derives its living mainly from the money obtained by immoral methods from certain countries in Western Europe and North America, and it expends that money in subversion and on terrorist and expansionist settlements, to the detriment of neighbouring Arab countries, and in attempts to achieve its colonialist objectives. As far as repression is concerned, I think the Zionist entity is the last that should speak about this problem, because its practices against the real inhabitants of Palestine are common knowledge. The pursuits, evictions, assassinations, collective sanctions, destruction of houses, usurpation of land and water, and violation of human

rights in the Palestinian and Arab territories occupied by the Zionist racist entity—not to mention the massacres of the Palestinian people at Sabra and Shatila, which the Zionist entity encouraged and organized the implementation of—have been noted and condemned by many international bodies.

206. The repressive policies of the Zionist racist entity have had repercussions in other regions of the world. Thus, it helped Somoza to repress the people of Nicaragua; it helped the Shah to oppress the people of Iran; it helps the racist régime in South Africa to tyrannize the African people of that country; and it continues to give aid and support to all dictatorial régimes, in violation of all human rights.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.

NOTES

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

² The delegation of Samoa subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/14009.

⁴ See *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1982), vol. 18, No. 35, p. 1081.

⁵ *Records of the General Conference, Fourth Extraordinary Session, Proceedings*, vol. 3, twelfth plenary meeting.

⁶ Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

⁷ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973, p. 287.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 78, p. 277.

⁹ Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1915), p. 100.

¹⁰ The delegation of Vanuatu subsequently informed the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.