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**President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
 (Algeria).**

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

AGENDA ITEM 38

- 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 Com-
 mission for Palestine;
 - (d) Report of the Secretary-General

**REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL
 COMMITTEE (A/9959)**

1. Mr. ABDULDJALIL (Indonesia), Rapporteur of
 the Special Political Committee: I have the honour
 to present to the General Assembly the report of the
 Special Political Committee on agenda item 38, con-
 cerning the United Nations Relief and Works Agency
 for Palestine Refugees in the Near East [A/9959].

2. The Special Political Committee considered this
 item between 29 November and 6 December and
 had before it the following documents: the report of
 the Commissioner-General of UNRWA for the year
 ended 30 June 1974 [A/9613]; the report of the Secre-
 tary-General submitted in pursuance of General As-
 sembly resolution 3089 C (XXVIII) of 7 December
 1973 [A/9740]; a note by the Secretary-General trans-
 mitting the report of the United Nations Conciliation
 Commission for Palestine, submitted in accordance
 with General Assembly resolution 3089 B (XXVIII)
 of 7 December 1973 [A/9789]; the report of the Working
 Group on the Financing of the United Nations Relief
 and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near
 East, submitted in accordance with General Assembly
 resolution 3090 (XXVIII) of 7 December 1973 [A/9815];
 and a note by the Commissioner-General of UNRWA
 on revised budget estimates for 1974 and 1975 [A/SPC/
 172].

3. In paragraph 20 of its report [A/9959], the Special
 Political Committee recommends to the General As-
 sembly the adoption of five draft resolutions.

4. Draft resolution I, relating to the Working Group
 on the Financing of UNRWA, was adopted without
 a vote. In operative paragraph 3, the General As-
 sembly would request the Working Group to continue
 its efforts for the financing of UNRWA for a further
 period of one year in co-operation with the Secretary-
 General and the Commissioner-General.

5. Draft resolution II A was adopted by 106 votes
 to none, with 2 abstentions. In operative paragraph 1,
 the General Assembly would note with deep regret
 that repatriation or compensation of the refugees as
 provided for in paragraph 11 of its resolution 194 (III)
 had not been effected, that no substantial progress
 had been made in the programme endorsed by the
 Assembly in paragraph 2 of resolution 513 (VI) of
 26 January 1952 for the reintegration of refugees either
 by repatriation or resettlement and that, therefore,
 the situation of the refugees continued to be a matter
 of serious concern. In operative paragraph 3, the
 Assembly would note with regret that the United Na-
 tions Conciliation Commission for Palestine had been
 unable to find a means of achieving progress in the
 implementation of paragraph 11 of General Assembly
 resolution 194 (III) and request the Commission to
 exert continued efforts towards the implementation
 of that paragraph and to report as appropriate, but
 no later than 1 October 1975. And in operative para-
 graph 7, the Assembly would decide to extend the
 mandate of UNRWA until 30 June 1978, without pre-
 judice to the provisions of paragraph 11 of General
 Assembly resolution 194 (III).

6. Draft resolution II B was also adopted by the Com-
 mittee without a vote. In the operative paragraph, the
 General Assembly would decide that the expenses for
 salary of international staff in the service of UNRWA

which would otherwise be a charge on voluntary contributions should with effect from 1 January 1975 be financed by the regular budget of the United Nations for the duration of the Agency's mandate.

7. Draft resolution II C was also adopted without a vote. In operative paragraph 3, the General Assembly would strongly appeal to all Governments and to organizations and individuals to contribute generously to UNRWA and to the other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations concerned.

8. Draft resolution II D was adopted by a roll-call vote of 97 to 5, with 15 abstentions. In operative paragraph 1, the General Assembly would reaffirm the right of the displaced inhabitants to return to their homes and camps and deplore the refusal of the Israeli authorities to take steps for their return; and in operative paragraph 4, it would deplore Israeli military attacks on refugee camps and call upon Israel immediately to desist from such attacks.

9. I should like to express the hope of the Special Political Committee that the General Assembly will adopt these five draft resolutions.

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

10. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in explanation of vote before the vote on any or all of the five draft resolutions recommended by the Special Political Committee.

11. Mr. DORON (Israel): The views of my delegation on the draft resolutions on item 38 adopted in the Special Political Committee were made quite clear in the course of the deliberations in that Committee. I can therefore be quite brief today and will only say a few words concerning draft resolution II D.

12. That draft resolution is yet another compendium of high-faluting reaffirmations, reiterations, demands and professed sentiments which have no basis in either facts or law.

13. The allegations in respect of refugee camps that were added this year to last year's text have been refuted by my delegation out of the mouths of the spokesmen of the Arab terror organizations themselves, in addition to all the other evidence. And a certain Arab delegation went even so far as to resort to outright falsification of the official records of one of the main Committees of the General Assembly in order to suppress a statement which contradicted their allegations. Quite a few delegations considered that draft resolution one-sided and unbalanced. We shall again vote against it, and I trust that there will be many delegations that will not lend it their support.

14. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to vote on the draft resolutions recommended by the Special Political Committee in paragraph 20 of its report [A/9959]. Draft resolution I relates to the Working Group on the Financing of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/9974. The Special Political Committee adopted draft resolution I without

a vote. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution I was adopted (resolution 3330 (XXIX)).

15. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now vote on draft resolution II A. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, 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, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, 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, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Barbados, Israel, Malawi.

Draft resolution II A was adopted by 122 votes to none, with 3 abstentions (resolution 3331 A (XXIX)).¹

16. The PRESIDENT: We now turn to draft resolution II B. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/9974. The Special Political Committee adopted draft resolution II B without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution II B was adopted (resolution 3331 B (XXIX)).

17. The PRESIDENT: We come now to draft resolution II C. The Special Political Committee adopted that draft resolution without a vote. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do the same?

Draft resolution II C was adopted (resolution 3331 C (XXIX)).

18. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution II D. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bhutan,

Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Germany (Federal Republic of), Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, 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, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Barbados, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Israel, Nicaragua, United States of America.

Abstaining: Bahamas, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Grenada, Guatemala, Iceland, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguay.

Draft resolution II D was adopted by 105 votes to 6, with 17 abstentions (resolution 3331 D (XXIX)).²

19. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those delegations that wish to speak in explanation of vote after the vote.

20. Mr. SERUP (Denmark): The Danish delegation voted in favour of draft resolution II D. We have, however, certain reservations with respect to the unbalanced character of the text, and, in particular, the last preambular paragraph and operative paragraph 4 regarding the bombardment by Israel of the refugee camps. Had there been a separate vote on those paragraphs we would have abstained, since no reference is to be found in those paragraphs to terrorist attacks against Israeli villages.

21. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Customarily Egypt has voted in favour of all resolutions adopted by this Organization condemning aggression of any sort and reaffirming the inalienable right of all peoples to attain national independence and sovereignty over their own territory. On the basis of that position, we have supported the resolutions adopted with respect to UNRWA, in order to reaffirm our unshakable position on this problem, which is that the United Nations resolutions on the subject should be implemented fully.

22. As for the debates at this session, we must say that Israel has been playing with the fate of countries and peoples by continuing to occupy territories of Member States of this Organization. It has taken the liberty of exploiting the resources and plundering the wealth of those territories. Not only that, it has,

moreover, made barbarous extermination raids against unarmed, innocent people who have been expelled from their lands and their homes and have been forced to live in refugee camps. We must reaffirm that Israel remains unable to understand the realities of the situation in the Middle East and the values of the free international community that is the framework for international relations in today's world.

23. We have frequently emphasized and reiterated our desire for peace, a peace we sincerely seek, not out of any fear of force or desire to avoid sacrifice but out of a sincere desire on the part of Egypt to spare the whole world the sufferings of a new war in our region, the destructive effects of which, and the sufferings it led to, could well reach out and affect peoples not in that immediate area, well beyond the area, in fact.

24. We condemn the barbarous Israeli aggression against the refugee camps. And here it is our duty, by virtue of our conscience, to draw attention to the fact that Israel's obstinate pursuit of this course of conduct is removing us further and further from any chance of establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We have already explained our concept of peace repeatedly. We believe that the policy being pursued by Israel is an obstacle to any such peace. Here I must stress the statement of Mr. Ismail Fahmy, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt, on 1 October [2250th meeting, paras. 40-56]. In his statement at that time he called for the complete withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories to the international borders, and he called upon Israel to renounce its expansionist policy and commit itself to doing so both politically and juridically. This commitment is closely linked to the need to restore to the Palestinian people their inalienable rights, their national independence and their sovereignty over their own lands, and to the need for a response to all the just claims of the Palestinian people as expressed by their commander and leader, Yassir Arafat.

25. All the values of justice require that Israel should pay full compensation for the damage caused by its continuing aggression against the Palestinian people—an aggression that has gone on since 1947—as well as compensation for the material and moral damage it has inflicted on the Palestinian people over all those years. Israel alone must shoulder the full responsibility for paying compensation for all the damage and destruction for which it alone has been responsible. It must also be held liable for the exploitation of the resources of the occupied territories since the occupation of those territories began. Israel should become aware of the isolation in which it finds itself. It is the duty of the international community to do all that it can in order to bring Israel to reason and to oblige it to respect the will of the international community if it wishes to continue to belong to that international community.

26. The PRESIDENT: We have concluded our consideration of agenda item 38 with the exception of the appointment of additional members to the Special Committee against *Apartheid*.

AGENDA ITEM 36

Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security: report of the Secretary-General

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/9972)

AGENDA ITEM 104

Question of Korea:

- (a) **Withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations;**
- (b) **Urgent need to implement fully the consensus of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly on the Korean question and to maintain peace and security on the Korean peninsula**

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/9973)

27. Mr. COSTA LOBO (Portugal), Rapporteur of the First Committee: I have the honour to introduce the report of the First Committee on agenda item 36 [A/9972] on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, and the report of the Committee on item 104 [A/9973] relating to the question of Korea.

28. Paragraph 7 of the report of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [A/9972] contains the draft resolution adopted by the Committee.

29. The report on the question of Korea [A/9973] is comparatively long because several amendments and proposals were submitted to the Committee in connexion with this item, but I do not think that it requires any particular comment or clarification. Paragraph 23 contains the draft resolution adopted by the Committee.

30. On behalf of the First Committee, I have the honour to recommend to the General Assembly for adoption the draft resolutions to which I have just referred.

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

Mr. Bouteflika (Algeria) took the Chair.

31. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall take up first the report of the First Committee on agenda item 36, on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [A/9972].

32. We shall now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 7 of its report. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll call.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelo-

russian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates.

Against: United States of America.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany (Federal Republic of), Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Turkey.

The draft resolution was adopted by 119 votes to 1, with 14 abstentions (resolution 3332 (XXIX)).³

33. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now invite the Assembly to turn its attention to the report of the First Committee on agenda item 104, on the question of Korea [A/9973].

34. Before the Assembly proceeds to take a decision on the draft resolution contained in the report, I shall call on those representatives who have asked to be allowed to speak in explanation of vote before the vote.

35. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation has pointed out on many occasions that the prolonged stationing of United States troops in South Korea and the United States interference in the internal affairs of Korea present the main obstacle to the Korean people's realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. In order to facilitate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, it is imperative to eliminate the interference by outside force and have all the United States troops withdrawn from South Korea. This is the key to the solution of the Korean question, as well as the only correct road to the elimination of tension in the Korean peninsula.

36. The proceedings of the debate on the Korean question in the First Committee at the current session of the General Assembly have fully shown that the aforesaid just proposition reflects not only the greatest national aspiration and fundamental interests of the entire Korean people, but the common demand of all the justice-upholding countries and peoples as well.

37. In the course of the debate, the Chairman of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Li Jung Mok, and the representatives of many third-world countries, presenting facts and reasoned arguments and speaking out for justice, put forward a series of correct and reasonable pro-

posals for the solution of the question of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. They also fully exposed the facts about the United States interference in the internal affairs of Korea and its attempt at the perpetual division of Korea through persistent usurpation of the name of the United Nations. No amount of fine words and sophistry on the part of the United States and some of its followers can deny this basic fact.

38. This debate has played a very useful role of educating the people of the world, and, from a political and moral point of view, it is an important victory for the people of Korea and the rest of the world.

39. As is clear to all, the so-called draft resolution tabled by the United States and others is solely designed to provide the United States with an excuse for usurping the name of the United Nations to continue its interference in the internal affairs of Korea and maintain the neo-colonialist rule of outside force in South Korea. Its purpose is to delay a settlement of the Korean question, perpetuate the division of Korea and obstruct the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. What is more, it attempts to reimpose on the membership of the United Nations the illegal Security Council resolutions which are opposed by, or have nothing to do with, many Member States of the United Nations. This draft is in itself completely contradictory to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and against the will of the entire Korean people and the people of the rest of the world. Naturally, it is absolutely unacceptable to the Korean people and all the justice-upholding countries and peoples throughout the world and is, therefore, null and void. It stands to reason that the Chinese delegation and many other delegations have rejected this so-called draft resolution imposed on the United Nations by a super-Power.

40. The United States and others have tried to impose their so-called draft resolution on the current session. They have resorted to such despicable means as the exertion of pressure and barely managed by a tied vote in the First Committee to prevent the adoption of the draft resolution tabled by Algeria and 39 other countries. This also shows that they have a guilty conscience and are devoid of any reasoned argument and that truth and justice are not on their side. However, the United States has met and will surely continue to meet with the strong opposition of the entire Korean people and the people of the rest of the world for its illegal usurpation of the name of the United Nations to prolong its aggression, interference and division of Korea. In delaying a settlement of this question, the United States will only land itself in greater passivity and isolation.

41. Korea belongs to the entire Korean people. It is perfectly just to demand the elimination of the United States aggression and interference in Korea, the withdrawal of the United States troops stationed under the United Nations flag and the realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. No force can obstruct this general trend and the will of the people, which are bound to triumph in the end. It will certainly be borne out by the process of historical development.

42. The Chinese and Korean peoples are intimate brothers. China and Korea are neighbours as closely

linked as the lips and the teeth. The Chinese people will unswervingly stand on the side of the Korean people, fight shoulder to shoulder with them and support them in their just struggle. We are deeply convinced that with the support of the people throughout the world, the entire Korean people will surely eliminate the aggression and interference of outside forces and win the final victory of reunifying their fatherland.

43. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Soviet Union, in explanation of its vote, considers it necessary to make the following statement in connexion with the discussion of the question of Korea.

44. A large group of socialist and non-aligned States proposed and defended the proposal that all foreign troops illegally stationed under the United Nations flag should be withdrawn from South Korea. We are firmly convinced that the adoption by the Assembly of this proposal would undoubtedly lead to the creation of favourable conditions for a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem and for a dialogue between the North and the South and for the unification of both parts of the country, without foreign interference, on a democratic basis by the Korean people themselves in accordance with their desire to see their country united, free and prosperous.

45. In the First Committee, the votes on the draft resolution on the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea were evenly divided [*see A/9973 para. 22*]. The draft resolution was not adopted for procedural reasons, because an identical number of votes was cast for and against the draft resolution. The delegations of those countries which prevented the adoption of this very just decision, which is in accordance with the interests of the Korean people, have incurred a very grave liability for the preservation in Korea of the present abnormal situation and for the stationing in South Korea of foreign troops and consequently for the continuation of foreign interference in the affairs of the Korean people and for the covering-up of this interference under the flag of the United Nations.

46. The discussion of this question in the First Committee enables one to draw certain important conclusions.

47. First, the votes of half the delegations in favour of the draft resolution on the withdrawal of the foreign troops from South Korea convincingly testify to the growth of support in the United Nations for the just cause of the Korean people, who are demanding the withdrawal of foreign troops and the provision of an opportunity to the Koreans themselves, without interference from outside, to resolve the problem of the reunification of their country by peaceful means.

48. Secondly, the discussion of this question, with the participation of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, headed by Mr. Ki Jung Mok, the Deputy Foreign Minister, made it possible for many delegations to form a better understanding of the substance of this problem and to clarify the authentic reasons for the present anomalous situation in Korea, which is caused by the presence in the south of the country of a foreign army, and also made

it possible for them to understand more clearly the means which the United Nations must use in order to give real support to the Korean people in the creation of the necessary conditions for the peaceful reunification of its country.

49. Thirdly, when the interests of a socialist State are concerned, certain countries of the third world have been in the past and are now prepared to stand with the developed capitalist countries and vote for their unjust proposals, even though those Powers are now accusing the countries of the third world of exercising in the United Nations what they have called "the tyranny of the majority". It is sufficient in this respect to recall such countries of the third world as the Philippines, Colombia and others.

50. Fourthly, it is important to draw the attention of members to one other interesting and very important point, namely, that many of those very countries which voted in the First Committee for the unjust decision on the Korean question directed against a socialist country are, at the same time, the most outspoken partisans of a review of the United Nations Charter and even favour eliminating the principle of unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council, known as the right of veto.

51. If one collates the facts of the past and those of the present, then one inevitably arrives at the conclusion that the socialist countries would find it difficult, or even impossible, in the United Nations to count on the objectivity of that part of the third-world countries comprising those which supported in the past and now support those who in the United Nations oppose the interests of the socialist States.

52. At the same time, it is obvious to all that the right of veto for the Soviet Union and its friends, the socialist countries—and not just the socialist countries—was the main means to counter the tyranny of the "mechanical majority" in the past, in the years of the cold war. It is the main weapon of defence in the United Nations of the interests of those countries now, and will be in the future, taking into account the real state of affairs, the actual deployment of forces in the United Nations and the fact that in the vote on resolutions directed against socialist countries a part of the third-world States steadfastly votes in favour of such resolutions.

53. Consequently, the abolition of the principle of unanimity, the right of veto in the Security Council, would mean nothing other than throwing open the doors for the use of the United Nations through the Security Council against the socialist States, with the active participation of precisely that part of the third-world countries. That has happened in the past, it is what happened at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly on the question of Korea, and there are no guarantees that the same thing will not happen in the future.

54. In the light of these well-known facts, it becomes increasingly obvious that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries cannot agree with a review of the Charter and cannot fail to oppose the views of those who are actively seeking to destroy the Charter. For us, the delegations of the socialist countries, it is perfectly obvious that a radical revision of the existing Charter of the United Nations would inflict suffering partic-

ularly on the socialist States, because they would find themselves placed in an unequal position vis-à-vis the capitalist countries of the United Nations. There is also another clear truth which one must realize, namely, that if damage were done at the United Nations to the interests of the socialist States that would hardly be likely to benefit the countries of the third world.

55. In the light of these facts and this real state of affairs in the United Nations today, the delegation of the Soviet Union in this plenary meeting of the General Assembly will vote against the draft resolution on the revision of the Charter of the United Nations. It will also vote against this unjust draft resolution on the Korean question. We appeal to all those who are truly opposed to colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and interference in any form or manifestation in the internal affairs of other States, to vote against the unjust draft resolution on the question of Korea, which is being foisted on the Assembly with the participation of certain third-world countries. That draft resolution is contrary to the interests of the Korean people; it is harmful to the cause of the strengthening of peace on the Korean peninsula; and it is directed against the interests of a socialist State, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

56. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee in paragraph 23 of its report [A/9973]. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll call.

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

In favour: Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Khmer Republic, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mauritius, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Oman, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany (Federal Republic of), Greece, Grenada, Guatemala.

Against: Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Hungary, Iraq, Kuwait, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Albania, Algeria, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, German Democratic Republic.

Abstaining: Guyana, India, Indonesia, Jamaica, Kenya, Lebanon, Malawi, Malaysia, Mexico, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Trinidad and Tobago, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, Zaire, Afghanistan, Argentina,

Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Burma, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Ghana.

The draft resolution was adopted by 61 votes to 43, with 31 abstentions (resolution 3333 (XXIX)).

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

58. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria) (*interpretation from French*): The draft resolution that was just adopted under the item "Question of Korea" touches upon two problems. It touches first on the question of the future development of relations between the two divided parts of the Korean nation—between the two Korean States—and then on that of the role of the United Nations in Korea.

59. With regard to the first question, it would no doubt be superfluous to recall in this forum the centuries-old history of the Korean nation, which today has but one wish, namely, to erase from memory the damage wrought by foreign domination, artificial division and a fratricidal war in order to obtain finally the peaceful reunification of the country without foreign interference.

60. Austria has frequently expressed its understanding of the ardent wishes of the Korean people and supported them. We therefore keenly hope that the two Korean Governments will quickly be able to resume the dialogue that began between them so auspiciously two years ago, so that they may solve their problems and draw nearer one to the other.

61. The second question touched upon in today's resolution concerns the United Nations role in Korea. At the twenty-eighth session, the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea was dissolved by a consensus adopted by the General Assembly at its 2181st meeting. We have again this year examined the problem created by the other two forms of the presence of the United Nations in Korea, namely, the United Nations Command and the use of the United Nations flag.

62. The present resolution and the measures proposed in it are perhaps not as clear as many of us, including Austria, might have wished, and we are fully aware of the fact that the General Assembly will quite probably have to re-examine this question at its next session.

63. However, despite the fact that this year the Assembly was unable to reach a consensus—which my delegation deeply regrets—the discussions that have taken place during these past few weeks have brought out common factors of a solution on which a very large number of countries seem to agree. Without wishing to specify these factors here, since I do not wish to re-open the debate, we can at least state that the paramount concern must be the interest of our universal Organization itself. In view of the role that our Organization can play as a mediator to reconcile diverse interests, we feel that it is of paramount importance that this Organization should be accepted by the two parties involved if it wishes to be able

to assist the Korean people on the road to peaceful reunification.

64. As in the past, Austria will continue to follow with the greatest interest and attention the development of the Korean question. As in the past, Austria will not hesitate to support any solution that is in line with the profound desires of the Korean people as a whole and that will hasten the day when the Korean nation will be able to exercise its right to self-determination freely.

65. Meanwhile, Austria will work to maintain and strengthen its relations and co-operation with both the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In this spirit, Austria has been linked for many years by diplomatic and other fruitful relations with the Government of the Republic of Korea, and my Government and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have reached agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations, which should make it possible to develop further, on the basis of common interest and advantage, the relations that fortunately already exist in certain sectors.

66. I believe that, in so doing, my country is behaving in accordance with the demands of the situation both within the framework of the United Nations and in the light of our desire for friendship and understanding with all the countries of the world and with the peoples of the Korean peninsula.

Organization of work

67. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before adjourning the meeting, I wish to consult the Assembly about the date of closure or adjournment of this session. Members of the General Assembly will recall that at its 2236th plenary meeting the General Assembly decided to set Tuesday, 17 December 1974, as the closing date of the twenty-ninth session. However, it appears that the Assembly will not be in a position to keep to this plan and that it will have to meet tomorrow, Wednesday, 18 December. May I take it that the Assembly approves this necessary prolongation of the session by one day? If I hear no objection, it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.

NOTES

¹ The delegation of Togo subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

² The delegation of Togo subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution. The delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as an abstention.

³ The delegation of Kenya subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.