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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, before starting to address the Assembly I have the honour and the pleasure to congratulate you most warmly on your unanimous election to the presidency of the General Assembly during its thirty-third session. Your election is both a recognition of your skill and wide diplomatic experience and a tribute to your country, Colombia, for the constructive role it plays in world affairs.

2. I also seize this opportunity to pay a tribute to Mr. Lazar Mojsov, Deputy Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the sister nation Yugoslavia, with which my country maintains strong ties, for the skilful and wise manner in which he presided over the thirty-second regular session as well as the ensuing three special sessions.

3. I also wish to join other delegations in expressing to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, my deep appreciation of his dedicated and unremitting efforts to promote the role of the United Nations and of his firm commitment to the spirit of its Charter.

4. I extend my congratulations, too, to the people and Government of Solomon Islands on their independence and I welcome them into the community of nations. Their independence will, without doubt, add to the triumphs of the third-world countries and will represent a positive step in implementing the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter.

5. Egypt will spare no effort to give every support and assistance to the peoples striving to achieve their freedom and independence, in particular the peoples of Palestine, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia.

6. Owing to its strategic position in the region, Egypt is considered to be one of the most important economic areas in the world; Egypt has been compelled to shoulder responsibilities, which it has undertaken with conviction and sincerity, whether within the Arab, Islamic, African or

non-aligned group. Indeed, Egypt has had to make sacrifices of immense magnitude in discharging those responsibilities. Egypt is motivated by a strict commitment to the principles and philosophy emanating from the conscience and from the deeply-rooted values of the Egyptian people, who are a product of their ancient civilization. But regardless of its sacrifices, both in the past and in the present, Egypt is proud of its role in what has been positively achieved within the third world, and will continue its determined efforts, along with all peace-loving countries, to promote the role of the United Nations.

7. Egypt's foreign policy stems from the philosophy of the non-aligned movement, a philosophy based on a keenness to abide by the principles of international legitimacy, mutual respect, respect for sovereignty and free will, and openness with all nations. The non-aligned movement is a fundamental and essential element of global stability, and Egypt, as a founding member of the movement, endeavours to restore to it its original perspective. If the movement is to continue to play this role of paramount importance, it must be protected against outside interference.

Mr. Maina (Kenya), Vice-President, took the Chair.

8. Egypt, in its persistent quest for the promotion of peace, believes that the international community should develop a new approach in solving political problems. Such an approach should be more courageous and pragmatic as regards confronting difficulties. There must be a determined will to uproot envy, intolerance and hatred, for the sake of establishing a society in which peace would prevail.

9. In this context, the Egyptian peace initiative constitutes a new approach in international relations. In fact, this initiative aims at breaking the vicious circle which plagues our area and at restoring amity and peace to a region that was the cradle of the three heavenly religions.

10. The African scene is fraught with developments which provoke our deep concern. Africa, having only recently rid itself of colonialism and foreign domination and having embarked with all vigour on the arduous task of reconstruction and development, finds itself subjected to malicious foreign conspiracies which aim at diverting it from the attainment of its goals and aspirations.

11. Egypt most strongly condemns all attempts to transfer big Power conflicts to the African continent. It is precisely these developments that make it all the more pertinent to revive the principle of the non-alignment of Africa. Only when such sinister plots and conspiracies are ended will the African nations be able to pursue their development and attain their lofty goals and aspirations.

12. The racist régimes in southern Africa persist in their acts of aggression and violation of the human and other legitimate rights of the African people in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

13. The racist régime of Ian Smith in Rhodesia has recently resorted to a new manoeuvre by announcing an internal settlement;¹ but this so-called settlement is, in fact, only one more link in the chain of attempts to perpetuate the rule of the racist minority under a new facade. In this connexion, Egypt will continue its unwavering support of the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe and their patriotic forces under the leadership of the Patriotic Front. Egypt also lends its support to the genuine efforts undertaken to achieve a peaceful settlement that would ensure the exercise of their legitimate rights by the people of Zimbabwe.

14. On the other hand, Salisbury's racist twin in Pretoria continues to practise its policies of *apartheid* and the ugliest forms of oppression against the people of South Africa. Not surprisingly, it does not confine its practice of abominable policies to the people of South Africa, but arrogantly and unlawfully extends its jurisdiction beyond its territory. It continues its illegal occupation of Namibia in unabashed defiance of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

15. It should not escape us that it was only when the Government of South Africa realized that the people of Namibia, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]—their sole legitimate representative—were on the verge of realizing their legitimate goals that Pretoria reluctantly accepted the five Western countries' proposals for the independence of Namibia.² These proposals received international endorsement, and thereby legitimacy, when they were approved by Security Council resolution 431 (1978) and welcomed by both the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], at its session recently held in Khartoum and by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries in Belgrade.

16. Yet the ink had hardly dried on that resolution of the Security Council when the Pretoria Government rejected what it had pretended to accept. This leaves no doubt in our mind that that racist régime is simply manoeuvring in order to gain time to proceed with its designs and impose an internal settlement in Namibia by setting up a puppet régime that will ensure South Africa's continued domination over the Territory. It was those manoeuvres that prompted the Security Council to adopt resolution 435 (1978), in which it approved the Secretary-General's report³ on the role of the United Nations in supervising the processes of election and the transfer of power to the people of Namibia upon the attainment of their total independence.

17. Neither is it new for the Pretoria Government to ignore the United Nations and its resolutions, nor should

we expect the Smith régime in Rhodesia to respond in good faith to the efforts made for the transfer of power to the African majority.

18. Accordingly, we must stand firm against the defiance of the international community by those racist régimes. We should stand ready to increase their isolation and impose further sanctions against them. This may bring them back to reason, thereby ensuring the realization of the legitimate aspirations of the people of that area.

19. Another problem looms to the north of the African continent—namely, the problem of Cyprus. That problem, too, calls for a just and speedy solution that will preserve the independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the island. Such a solution should be based on the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions. The concerted efforts of both the Greek and the Turkish communities and all the parties concerned and the resumption of negotiations in good faith are required in order to achieve a lasting and peaceful solution.

20. The increased instability in the international economic situation and the exacerbation of the problems of development and international economic co-operation are matters of great concern to my country. The over-all picture of the international economic scene is still gloomy, in spite of some initiatives undertaken in the past few years. Unless effective and substantive measures are taken, the remaining years of the Second United Nations Development Decade will prove to be a wasted opportunity. The debt problem, inflation, the persistent deficit in the balance of payments and mounting protectionism have become salient features of the present international economic picture. This situation has invariably produced negative effects on the development process in the developing countries.

21. The decisions that this Assembly adopted at its sixth and seventh special sessions [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI), 3202 (S-VI), and 3362 (S-VII)*] and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] contain the elements of a fair and equitable system in which inequalities will no longer exist. But this in itself requires profound changes in the present economic order. We are convinced that it is necessary to establish a new international economic order that will ensure prosperity and guarantee a better standard of living for everyone. Injecting minor changes into the present international economic order will not enable us to realize our cherished goals.

22. In spite of the adherence to the concept of greater interdependence between the developed and the developing countries and the need to promote and to create a general framework to solve the problems that we face, it is regrettable to note that the results of the efforts undertaken in this direction have been disappointing. Many problems remain unresolved, such as the problems of commodities, external debt, balance-of-payments deficits, transfer of real resources and access to the capital markets and consumer markets of developed countries. Therefore, it has become necessary to concentrate all efforts on creating the appropriate climate in order to achieve more progress on these matters. More political impetus is needed to permit the resumption of the work of the Committee

¹ See document A/33/23/Rev.1, chap. VII, annex, paras. 58-63.

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12636.

³ *Ibid.*, *Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, also known as the Committee of the Whole, with appropriate functions to negotiate and reach agreements.

23. The establishment of the new international economic order depends to a large extent on the political will of the developed countries. In the meantime, the developing countries bear the main responsibility for the development of their economies. In addition, their genuine freedom, in both the individual and collective sphere, constitutes a fundamental feature of their development. Furthermore, we attach the utmost importance to economic co-operation between developing countries. In this connexion we view with satisfaction the results achieved at the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held in Buenos Aires. That Conference adds new dimensions to the framework of the new international economic order and to the action programmes adopted by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Colombo in 1976⁴ and the Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries held in Mexico City in 1976.⁵ Thus the international community has reached a critical stage, and it has become imperative to seek practical and effective solutions to the economic ills of our world.

24. I should like to refer to another issue which is of the utmost importance at the present time and has been one of the most crucial issues discussed by the United Nations during the past 20 years: that is, the question of general and complete disarmament—a problem closely linked to the international political, economic and social framework. Egypt has been persistently calling for general and complete disarmament and has worked with the non-aligned group to develop the necessary measures that would achieve our objectives. This is based on our intrinsic belief that any miscalculation by a big Power which possesses weapons of destruction and annihilation could bring our civilization to an end. The continuance of the arms race has drained the economic and human potential of our planet.

25. We cannot live under the constant threat of nuclear terror, nor can we acquiesce in the circumstances which have led to the stockpiling of nuclear weapons and the increase of military arsenals under the pretext of maintaining international strategic equilibrium.

26. While we cannot belittle some arrangements that have been pursued on a bilateral basis between the two super-Powers or on a regional level to curtail the arms race, the fact remains that these measures have not contributed effectively to curbing the escalation of the arms race; nor have they provided better safeguards for international peace and security.

27. We all know that, at the present time, there are numerous difficulties on the road leading to general and complete disarmament. But the fact remains that until we achieve that objective we must intensify our efforts by adopting concrete and balanced measures to end the stockpiling of nuclear weapons, to stop both horizontal and vertical proliferation and to halt the production and

development of those weapons. We believe that the major Powers must assist in these collective efforts to a degree commensurate with the role they have played in increasing armaments in the whole world. All this must be done under effective international control.

28. Egypt still requests the implementation of a mutually acceptable balance of rights and obligations between nuclear and non-nuclear States, for the world cannot accept the limitation of arms in one region or its disarmament and the exemption of another. However, disarmament and non-proliferation measures must never impede the exercise of the legitimate right of States to utilize nuclear technology for peaceful purposes under effective international control.

29. Egypt was one of the first States to call for the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones, in accordance with the provisions of article VII of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex]. Egypt has also called for the establishment of zones of peace, taking into consideration the regional circumstances of each zone. The process of the establishment of these zones must be concomitant with the provision by nuclear Powers of guarantees that they will respect the status of such zones and refrain from the introduction of nuclear weapons into them and from the use or threat of the use of nuclear weapons against them. It is still the solemn objective of Egypt to establish a zone free of nuclear weapons in the Middle East. Genuine peace will never prevail in that strategic area unless Israel puts an end to its acquisition of nuclear weapons and until it accedes to the non-proliferation Treaty—a treaty which we have signed and will immediately ratify if these conditions are met.

30. I should like now to turn to an important event that took place during the past 10 months—namely, the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament. It had been the fervent hope of the non-aligned countries that at that session concrete and specific results would be reached in the domain of disarmament so that all human and natural resources could be channelled towards development and the restructuring of the new international economic order.

31. Although that session produced modest results and the Assembly did not manage to resolve the basic problems involved, particularly those related to nuclear matters, it is our view that it did give impetus to disarmament efforts aimed at achieving tangible and substantial progress in that area. The session also showed the importance of the role which could be played by the United Nations and its main organ, the Security Council, in the field of disarmament, especially in facing any attempt to obstruct the establishment of zones free of nuclear weapons. The special session also paved the way for both France and China to participate in disarmament efforts within the framework of the new negotiating body. It strengthened the link between the United Nations and that negotiating body.

32. The consolidation of international peace and security can be accomplished only by building international confidence and by establishing principles affirmed by measures binding on all Members. The non-use of force in international relations, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force—in principles laid down in the provisions

⁴ See document A/31/197, annex III.

⁵ See document A/C.2/31/7, part I.

of the United Nations Charter—and the peaceful settlement of disputes on a just basis are all principles complementary and parallel to disarmament efforts.

33. The United Nations celebrates this year the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. I should like to commend the efforts exerted by the United Nations in this field, even though we are all aware of the many difficulties surrounding this sensitive issue. Egypt, for its part, has exerted much effort, at both the national and international level, to ensure and protect the fundamental right of individuals to freedom in all its forms, whether political, economic, social and cultural.

34. As members are well aware, some people are still deprived of their fundamental and legitimate rights. The anniversary we are celebrating provides a great opportunity for the peoples of Palestine and southern Africa to regain their rights. In this connexion, we consider the role of the United Nations essential and important. The realization of the rights of the peoples of Palestine and southern Africa would be a crowning of the efforts exerted by the United Nations since its establishment in the field of freedom, independence and human rights.

35. The people of Egypt are profoundly agonized by the present sufferings of the Lebanese people. Egypt, led by its President, Anwar El-Sadat, was the first to warn against the deterioration of the situation in Lebanon caused by foreign intervention. President El-Sadat has called upon all parties to keep their hands off Lebanon.

36. President El-Sadat has followed with great interest and concern the recent developments in Lebanon. In outlining Egypt's position on the deplorable events in Lebanon and what should be done to save the situation there before it gets out of hand, the President laid down the following principles. First, Israel should desist forthwith from supporting and strengthening those who are defying the legitimacy of Lebanon and the legitimate Government of President Elias Sarkis. Those violators are represented by the militia forces of Haddad and Camille Chamoun. The Lebanese army should be allowed to extend its control over all Lebanese territory, including the south. Secondly, parallel with the cessation of this Israel support, Syrian forces must be withdrawn in order to create the proper atmosphere for all the parties to the conflict in Lebanon to conduct a dialogue among themselves in peace. Thirdly, the Lebanese leaders, both Moslem and Christian, should join together in a peaceful atmosphere to formulate a charter for the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon to replace the 1943 charter.

37. Egypt is fully prepared to contribute to any effort to achieve this end. It supports, therefore, the initiative of the President of France, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing, concerning the settlement of the Lebanese crisis. We also call on all parties concerned to respect and abide by Security Council resolution 436 (1978) of 6 October.

38. For the past three decades our part of the world has been subjected to many wars, which led to much destruction and suffering for its people. This situation impeded our development and endangered international peace and

security. The Arab nation, and especially the Palestinian people, have been the victims of those wars, as well as of Israeli occupation.

39. In fact, the Secretary-General was right when, in his latest report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization during 1978, he stated:

“The Middle East situation, for a mixture of compelling reasons, vitally affects not only international peace and security, but the interests of the world community as a whole.” [*See A/33/1, sect. III.*]

The Secretary-General went on to say:

“... we cannot afford to relax for a moment the attempt to find a peaceful way forward. It bears repeating that in the Middle East time is not in favour of peaceful developments.” [*Ibid.*]

40. There is no doubt that in its concern with the situation in the Middle East the General Assembly is fully aware of the dimensions of this situation and its possible consequences, as well as the obstructionist manoeuvres facing the drive towards peace. Hence, the General Assembly is undoubtedly conscious of its responsibility to express, on behalf of the international community, its categorical rejection of anything that could lead to the perpetuation of the Israeli occupation, to impeding the achievement of a solution or to continued disregard of the purposes and principles of the Charter. It must also be aware of the need to take the necessary initiative, at the appropriate time, if no progress is made towards a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

41. The international community is quite familiar with Egypt's policy and objectives, which it has consistently pursued before and since the October war of 1973. This policy affirms Egypt's sincere desire and persistent search for a just peace. This is also confirmed by Egypt's participation in all the efforts geared to this end, in order to spare the area the conflicts and the scourges of war by which it has been afflicted since the people of Palestine were denied their legitimate right to exit. This holds true particularly in this era in which the United Nations Charter constitutes a landmark in the march and progress of mankind. Peace, to be worthy of its name, must be based on justice, and will be devoid of meaning if it is not.

42. This is a factual description of the situation in the Middle East, and this is the cause of the trouble. It means that if this situation continues it will inevitably lead to an explosion the dimensions of which will far exceed anything that has occurred in the area before. In this eventuality, the entire world will suffer the moral, spiritual and material consequences of such an explosion.

43. I should like to recall here what President Anwar El-Sadat declared in his address to the Egyptian Parliament on 9 November of last year before his historic initiative:

“Our nation was sincere when it engaged in the glorious battle which took place four years ago. It continues to be sincere in advocating peace and in its desire to establish it throughout the region. Our ultimate objective is to have

all peoples of the area living each in its homeland, secure within its boundaries, free from any threat to its sacred places, capable of contributing abundantly to the progress of mankind and mobilizing all its energies to meet the challenge of development and progress.”

44. This concept has served as the basis for Egypt's actions and policy in the past. It is also the source of Egypt's historic initiative undertaken by President El-Sadat on 19 November last when he visited Jerusalem, which was the culmination of many Egyptian initiatives during the previous few years, as witnessed by the international community. Egypt has faced the battle of war and with the same courage it now faces the battle of peace. To any rational observer the battle of peace is much more arduous than the battle of war. It is easy to touch off a war, even though it entails many horrors and sufferings. But to launch a battle for peace, with all the continuous historical responsibility it requires, is much more difficult and calls for the same capability, energy and courage as are needed for a battle of war. In both cases Egypt has proved its faithfulness as well as its willingness to shoulder its responsibility.

45. Egypt has been working patiently and tirelessly to restore Arab rights and to rid the Arab territories of the Israeli occupation. There is no doubt that the entire world community followed the efforts which resulted in the Camp David documents⁶ and appreciated the positive role played by the President of the United States, Mr. Carter. I should like to emphasize there that these documents are not in themselves the end of the road but only the beginning. They serve as the framework for the just and lasting peace to which we all aspire and towards which we have been working. They constitute, as President El-Sadat has said, a significant step in this direction.

46. I should like to expound before this Assembly the following points concerning the Camp David documents.

47. First, ever since the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries in 1967 and the subsequent occupation of the territories of three Arab States, the world community and the United Nations have been consistently calling for the full implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) in all its parts. They have been affirming the right of the Arab people to use any and all means in the struggle to terminate Israeli occupation of the Arab territories, to restore the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and to establish a just and lasting peace in the area, in conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. Therefore, the first Camp David document, entitled “A Framework for peace in the Middle East”, states in its preamble that the agreed basis for a peaceful settlement is United Nations Security Council resolution 242 (1967) in all its parts. The crux of that resolution is the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war. The preamble also states that the achievement of peace in the Middle East must be guided by

the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and other accepted norms of international law and legitimacy, which constitute the accepted basis for the conduct of relations among all States. There is no doubt but that such a provision in the document strengthens and corroborates the Arab position. Furthermore, the document refers to Security Council resolution 338 (1973), which has been accepted by all the parties concerned.

48. Secondly, the international community has on many occasions expressed its grave concern over the stagnation and the perpetuation of the *status quo* in the Middle East, and has urged greater efforts to create the necessary momentum to overcome the obstacles and difficulties which Israel had attempted to force on the international community. It has also reaffirmed that a just peace in the Middle East can be achieved only on the basis of total Israeli withdrawal and the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

49. Thirdly, that concept has dictated Egypt's policy, and since 1967 Egypt has been working and struggling by all available means to achieve these goals in order to secure the fulfilment of these two fundamental principles. This policy has been pursued since the adoption of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), through the mission of Mr. Gunnar Jarring, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, to the four-Power talks in New York, and the many deliberations in various international forums. Then came the October 1973 war, which altered the situation drastically and moved it from the stage of deadlock which had prevailed because of the intransigence of Israel.

50. Fourthly, Israel tried to contain the results of the October war and to resort to its previous method of procrastination and obstruction. Then came President El-Sadat's peace initiative of November 1977 to reactivate the efforts towards a just and lasting peace in the area.

51. Fifthly, with that background in mind, I should like to emphasize two basic principles: that the two Camp David documents represent a framework and a basis for the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East; and that Egypt is seeking, not a separate solution, but a comprehensive settlement which takes into consideration the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and ensures the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, which is an integral part of the West Bank. This fact, which is not open to interpretation, has always constituted Egypt's policy, and it will continue to do so in the future. Egypt's position is that Israel cannot claim sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza, because sovereignty belongs to the Palestinian people who live in those territories. We recognize that a long way lies ahead before the conclusion of final peace treaties. The success of this process will depend largely on the amount of sincerity shown by the parties in carrying out their obligations.

52. Sixthly, a close and objective consideration of the Camp David document entitled “A Framework for Peace in the Middle East” clearly shows that: first, it contains the general framework for the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) in all its parts and on all fronts; secondly, it emphasizes respect for and implemen-

⁶ A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978, See *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office; 1978), vol. 14, No. 38, pp. 1523-1528.

tation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the general rules of international law and legitimacy; thirdly, the general principle is that a comprehensive settlement requires the participation of all the parties concerned; fourthly, it confirms the principle of mutuality in security arrangements to be agreed upon, and this means that security is not the exclusive privilege of one party only, which could insist on security measures for itself and deny the other party the same right.

53. Seventhly, the articles concerning the West Bank and Gaza are intended to create a new situation that will lead gradually to the nullification of the Israeli designs and to the achievement of just Arab aspirations to the following: first, the participation of all the parties concerned in the negotiations to resolve the Palestinian problem in all its aspects, and the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, and this has always been a basic requirement for Egypt and the whole international community, which have emphasized that the core of the problem is the Palestinian question; secondly, the ending of the Israeli military occupation through the termination of the military rule in those two areas, and the withdrawal of the Israeli civil administration and Israel military forces, with the stationing of what is left of them in specified security posts; thirdly, the creation of Palestinian institutions consisting of a self-governing authority established through elections and taking the form of an administrative council for the West Bank and Gaza, the formation of local police forces and the participation of the elected Palestinian representatives in the permanent committee of four to negotiate an agreement concerning the final status of the West Bank and Gaza, and providing for the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza to participate in the determination of their own future; fourthly, the freezing at the present time of the establishment of settlements in the occupied Palestinian territories, the destiny of which will be resolved in the negotiations in which the representatives of the Palestinian people will participate—all Members recognize the importance Egypt attaches to this problem and the initiatives it has undertaken with the support of the Security Council and the General Assembly which considered Israeli settlements illegal and determined that they constitute an obstacle to peace; fifthly, the elimination of the sufferings and oppression of the people in the West Bank and Gaza, inflicted upon them by Israeli occupation and military rule; sixthly, the regulation of the mode of the return of persons displaced from the West Bank and Gaza since 1967, in accordance with Security Council resolution 237 (1967) in this context; and lastly, the conclusion of an agreement concerning the implementation of a just and immediate solution to the problem of the refugees.

54. Eighthly, the principles and framework for Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai are a confirmation of the principle of withdrawal to international boundaries which could also be applied to the Golan. This reinstates the Arab interpretation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) concerning a complete withdrawal from all the occupied territories and not just from part of them. Also, the implementation of the principle of the removal of Israeli settlements from Sinai could be utilized on the Golan, the West Bank and Gaza.

55. Ninthly, with regard to Jerusalem, Egypt has reaffirmed its long-standing position which comprises the following points: first, Arab Jerusalem is an integral part of the West Bank, and legal and historical Arab rights in the city must be respected and restored; secondly, Arab Jerusalem should be under Arab sovereignty; thirdly, the Palestinian inhabitants of Arab Jerusalem are entitled to exercise their legitimate national rights, being part of the Palestinian people in the West Bank; fourthly, relevant Security Council resolutions, particularly resolutions 242 (1967) and 267 (1969) must be applied with regard to Jerusalem; fifthly, all the measures taken by Israel to alter the status of the city are null and void and should be rescinded; sixthly, all people must have free access to the city and must enjoy freedom of worship and the right to visit and travel to the Holy Places without distinction or discrimination; seventhly, the Holy Places of each faith may be placed under the administration and control of the representatives of that faith; and eighthly essential functions in the city should not be divided and a joint municipal council composed of an equal number of Arab and Israeli members could supervise the performance of those functions. In that way the city would remain undivided.

56. Those are the principles which Egypt accepted and by which it will be guided in its efforts. Our adherence to the aims and principles of the Charter and the consensus of the international community regarding the establishment of a just and lasting peace is clear. We consider that what has been achieved is only part of the comprehensive framework for peace.

57. I am happy to state that the overwhelming support extended to Egypt in its efforts for the establishment of a just and lasting peace, support which has not diminished in recent years, crowns the tireless efforts and sacrifices which Egypt has made in order to restore Arab rights. It is also a manifestation of the belief of theirs in Egypt's responsible role in the world. On behalf of the Egyptian people I should like to express our deepest thanks and gratitude to all those who stood and still stand by Egypt in its endeavours to liberate Arab lands and to establish a just peace in the area. Only a tiny minority does not participate in this overwhelming support. That tiny minority prefers to continue to oppose any peace effort. It is high time to put an end to such manoeuvres and political overbidding. Egypt hopes that all those concerned will study the two documents carefully before passing any judgement on them.

58. The whole world is witness to our intentions. Our aim is a just peace for the entire Middle East area. We do not aspire to peace at any price; we want to achieve the kind of peace that would restore to the Palestinian people its inalienable rights and to the Arab nation its occupied territories. Any initiative by Egypt is undertaken from a position of strength, not weakness, from a position of courage and not hesitation; it is intended to achieve peace, not to wage war. The road to peace is open and all concerned must contribute with the utmost sincerity to these efforts, otherwise in the area there will be a sliding back to the risks of war and destruction which will endanger international peace and security.

59. Throughout its history Egypt has consistently shouldered its national responsibilities and has endured

much suffering. It stood firm during crises and spared no sacrifice, including that of its dearest possession—its sons—who died as martyrs. Egypt refuses any tutelage from any source. It does not try to tutor anyone and does not accept any lessons from anyone. It will place itself always above slander and petty attacks.

60. In conclusion I should like to reiterate what I declared last year from this very rostrum, namely, that Egypt has faced four battles of war, so let us devote the fifth battle to the cause of peace.⁷

61. Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I take pleasure at the outset in extending to the President of the General Assembly, on behalf of the delegation of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, our congratulations on his election to preside over the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. I am confident that, under his leadership at this session, the Assembly will go a long way towards realizing the aims and aspirations of the peoples of the international community who struggled hard for the establishment of this international Organization in the hope that it would become a means to achieving justice, establishing peace and to putting an end to the injustice, colonialism and oppression which have plagued mankind.

62. I cannot but express to his predecessor, Mr. Mojsov, the gratitude and appreciation of the delegation of the Jamahiriya for all the efforts he exerted in pushing the Organization one step forward towards the attainment of those same objectives.

63. My delegation would also like to extend its congratulations to Solomon Islands on the attainment of its independence and to welcome it to membership in the United Nations. We are confident that that young State, together with the other countries of the third world and this world Organization, will contribute actively to serving the human race.

64. It is also gratifying for the delegation of my country to see the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, continuing to discharge his responsibilities successfully and with a high degree of efficiency and the utmost dedication and impartiality. Despite all the difficulties that he has encountered he has, through the years spent at the head of this international Organization, been able to achieve a great deal. On behalf of my country, I assure him of our full backing and support in the performance of his noble tasks and reiterate our complete endorsement of the efforts he exerts in the service of mankind through this world Organization.

65. More than 32 years have elapsed since the establishment of this Organization and the signing of its Charter. No one doubts that it has done and achieved a great deal in the attainment of its objectives under the Charter to which our States and peoples have subscribed. Yet, despite all its achievements, whether in the area of international peace, in the field of decolonization or in the economic realm, one quick look at the current international situation confirms

to us all that the delight of the peoples of the world with the establishment of this Organization is beginning to give way to despair and that pessimism is replacing optimism in the face of the serious events that the international community is experiencing.

66. We ask, and appropriately. What is the role of this Organization and what is its future? Or, conversely, what are the reasons for its failure to achieve peace and the freedom of oppressed peoples in many parts of the world? Why has prosperity not been achieved by the peoples of the international community in a just way instead of there being increased poverty and misery in many parts of the world and increased prosperity in others, at the expense of the peoples of the world? The question is whether the fault lies with the Organization and its inability to face up to international events by achieving its objectives and implementing its Charter, or whether it is due to the non-adherence of States, and in particular the major colonial Powers, to the Charter and objectives of the Organization, except to the extent that this satisfies their greed and helps in their exploitation of the peoples of the world. The answer is self-evident: the powers of evil, as represented by imperialism, colonialism, exploitation and monopoly, are the main reasons behind all the tragedies and wars that the world faces. The United Nations is but another victim of those powers, much as is the case with the poorer countries and weaker peoples.

67. A quick glance at the current international scene will confirm the seriousness of this situation and the possibility of war inherent in it. The continued existence of such hotbeds of war, though now limited to certain parts of the world and contained as a result of the powers of terror and doom, will eventually lead to an over-all general war, the victim of which will be the whole human race.

68. Thanks to the struggle of peoples, the emergence of national liberation movements, the political struggle within the United Nations and its decolonization efforts, colonialism has begun to see the end of an unfortunate and painful era, its own, and is today making a desperate attempt to preserve its domination and its monopolistic, exploitative corporations in various parts of the world, even though that could cause the total destruction of the human race.

69. The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, being part of the African continent as well as part of the Arab homeland, its people being connected with both the Mediterranean and the peoples of the third world, is devoted to this Organization and to its objectives and principles. In fulfilment of its responsibilities to the international community as a whole, the peoples of Africa, the Arab homeland and the third world in particular, it cannot but face the truth and state in all candour its opinion that the deteriorating situation in the African continent is a result, as is apparent to all, of the recent direct acts of colonialist intervention and the existence of racist régimes which perpetrate acts of aggression against the peoples of that continent and continue to violate the principles of this Organization and its Charter and to disregard human rights, in pursuit of racist policies.

70. There is no doubt that much has been achieved in recent years by the peoples of the African continent in the

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 79th meeting, para. 64

field of national liberation and the independence of peoples. However, that prompted imperialism and colonialism to attempt to reimpose their domination and control by resorting to unethical means, ranging from the political assassination of African leaders to the use of white mercenaries to overthrow progressive Governments—whose only crime was trying to raise the standard of their peoples and to pursue a policy that served the interests of their peoples—and ending with military intervention and with the use of armed force in order to reimpose colonialism on the peoples of the continent.

71. The presence of the racist régimes in Rhodesia, South Africa and Namibia and their persistence in pursuing a policy of suppression, mass extermination and violation of human rights would not have happened or continued but for the support they receive from the imperialist and Western colonialist Powers, led by the United States of America. The soothing attempts made by the major colonialist Powers, in particular the United States, by proclaiming policies purportedly designed to help the peoples of those countries will not deceive us Africans. Nor will they, I believe, deceive this Assembly or the peoples of the international community. Our peoples cannot forget that it was colonialism that created those régimes and that it was colonialism that helped them, and is still helping them, to survive by supplying them with lethal weapons and providing them with various kinds of aid and assistance. Colonialism, therefore, cannot be a mediator but is rather a direct enemy of the African peoples.

72. The solution of the Namibian problem lies only in enabling the Namibian people, under the leadership of their national movement SWAPO, to attain independence fully and speedily. The continued attempts of the racist régime in South Africa to hinder the efforts of the United Nations and the OAU in this respect are something for which the Western colonialist Powers, which created and continue to assist that racist régime, should be held responsible. Also not unconnected with those colonialist Powers is the continued presence of the racist régime in Zimbabwe—that of Ian Smith. There again the only solution lies in supporting the people of Zimbabwe, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, in their legitimate struggle for independence and the elimination of that abhorrent racist régime. The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, being a part of the African continent, emphasizes its determination to continue to provide all peoples under the domination of racist régimes with every possible kind of support until those régimes are liquidated.

73. The colonialist attempts at intrigue aimed at changing the course of history, together with their use of political stratagems designed to weaken the national liberation movements in Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia, will only end in failure similar to that experienced by colonialism in Angola, Mozambique and other parts of the continent. Such attempts by the colonialist Powers or their direct military intervention in the continent will only increase the determination of our peoples in Africa to fight until the last bastions of colonialism and colonialist monopolies vanish. This fact has been confirmed by the resolutions of the OAU Assembly in Khartoum [see A/33/235 and Corr.1]. Thus all the attempts by colonialism to sow seeds of dissension and discord among

African States or to create alliances loyal to it failed because of the will of the peoples of the continent and their determination to liberate themselves.

74. The time has come for the United Nations to play a more positive role in assisting the peoples of the African continent fighting against the racist régimes in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia or, as in the case of the Saharan people, struggling for their right to self-determination. It is time the United Nations adopted practical and effective measures to implement its resolutions calling for the application of sanctions against the racist régimes in the continent. Only such action by the United Nations will lead to the achievement of peace in Africa.

75. We cannot view the events taking place on the African continent in isolation from what is happening in the Arab region. It was the same British colonialism as that which created the racist régimes in Africa that created the Zionist racist régime in Palestine. American imperialism, the successor to British colonialism, now supporting the racist régimes in Africa, is the same imperialism as that which is supporting the Zionist racist régime in Palestine, providing it with funds and arms not only for the entrenchment of its occupation of Palestine but also for its continued aggression against the Arab nation and its expansion at the expense of that nation. More than 30 years have passed since the occupation of Palestine and the uprooting of its people—a period equal to the age of the United Nations—without the international community's taking any practical action that would re-establish their rights, put an end to this injustice and enable the Palestinian people to return to their homeland. Indeed, hundreds of resolutions have been adopted by this Organization condemning the Zionist racist régime in Palestine and demanding that it implement the resolutions of the United Nations and abide by international statutes. What was the fate of those resolutions, why were they not implemented, and why does the régime of the Zionist gangs disregard them? Each and every one of us knows that colonialism and American imperialism bear the primary responsibility in this respect. The Zionist enemy has continued to occupy since 1967—or, rather, since 1948, when this Organization proclaimed, under certain international circumstances which we all know, its recognition of the Zionist gangs régime—and to occupy by force Arab lands bordering on Palestine; and it continues to commit terrorism and mass genocide against the inhabitants, in total disregard of the resolutions and appeals of this Organization.

76. Every one of us here talks of peace in that region, and we as part of that region together with the whole Arab nation, are more keen on peace than any other peoples since we know more than others the consequences of war. In the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya we suffered Fascist colonialism, against which we waged a war of liberation that continued for more than 30 years at the cost of more than half of the inhabitants of our country. Other Arab countries suffered virtually the same fate. Therefore, no one is keener than we are on the establishment of peace. The question is, What is that desired peace? Peace cannot mean the continuance of occupation, the dispersal of the people of Palestine and the prevention of the exercise of their right to self-determination, unless that peace is in accordance with the concepts of Zionist

racism and the concepts of its ally, the United States of America. In their view, peace means agreeing to occupation and accepting humiliation. This will never be accepted by the Arab nation or the Palestinian people. In no way can the United States of America, supporting as it does the Zionist enemy with funds and arms and participating directly with that enemy in its continuing aggression against the Arab nation, be a mediator in the search for peace unless the objective of that peace is, as I have already said, the continuance of occupation, the perpetuation of the dispersal of the Palestinian people and the prevention of self-determination.

77. We have all followed to recent developments in the Arab region, beginning with the capitulatory steps and dubious contacts that took place and culminating in the Camp David agreements. The whole Arab nation realizes that the policy adopted by certain reactionary Arab régimes as regards the Zionist enemy under the aegis of the United States of America will have dangerous consequences, as was emphasized by the statement of the National Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation in Tripoli and Algeria. This is in fact what happened with the signing of the so-called Camp David agreements. These agreements, signed between an occupying Power, namely, the Zionist enemy, and its natural ally, the United States of America, on the one hand, and a reactionary régime, also an ally of the United States of America, on the other has no legitimacy and is not based on any law except the law of the jungle and the law of occupation. Why?

78. First, those agreements, which were rejected and condemned by all Arab States without exception, were signed, under the shadow of occupation of the vanquished by the victor and hence cannot be considered anything but void and illegal.

79. Secondly, those agreements addressed themselves to the issue of the Palestinian people but were signed by an Arab official who has neither the legitimate right nor the eligibility to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people, in accordance with the various resolutions of the League of Arab States, the OAU and the United Nations, all of which recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

80. Thirdly, those agreements affected other Arab front-line States that clearly reject any eligibility or legality that that Arab official may have assumed in signing on their behalf.

81. What took place at Camp David was a theatrical farce which, at the same time, could set a serious precedent in international relations, in that a super-Power—namely, the United States of America—was directly involved in an act that approves occupation by force and contradicts all the resolutions of the United Nations and of other international organizations. The fact that a super-Power like the United States should intervene to support occupation by force and to impose the signing of agreements to that effect on a defeated State that was offering concessions is, in itself, a serious precedent in international relations, the effects of which on such relations can only be negative. The whole Arab nation has rejected the Camp David agreements and condemned them and their consequences. What was signed

at Camp David cannot be regarded as a basis for peace in the area since it can only increase tension there and threaten international peace and security. The consequences of the Camp David agreements have begun to appear clearly. What happened at Camp David was a new and abnormal alliance between American imperialism and the racist régime that aims at the liquidation of the Palestine issue and threatens the peace and security of the African continent. After the Camp David agreements were signed there was one who claimed that his country had an African role to play. What is that African role? The days to come will show that there is none. Yesterday we listened to the representative of the Zionist gang clearly and arrogantly rejecting and defying this international community and saying that Jerusalem would remain under Israeli occupation. And Israel is one of the States—if one can call it such—that signed the Camp David agreements. We listened a short while ago to someone who spoke about Jerusalem. It is clear that that agreement is a dubious one and that it can never be acceptable. We heard the representative of the Zionist gang say that the settlements will remain, and today we listened to one who called for the elimination of those settlements.

82. Anybody who scrutinizes the so-called Camp David agreements must realize that they are the result of a dangerous Zionist, reactionary and imperialist alliance that will have its consequences. The consequences of Camp David have already begun to appear clearly in the events currently taking place in Lebanon and in the war that Israel is waging directly there, whether by having its warships bombard Beirut, as it has during the last two days, or through its agents in southern Lebanon, who are impeding all the efforts of the United Nations to establish peace in implementation of the Security Council resolution, or through the isolationist lackeys whom it backs and supports. The blood that has been shed is but the beginning of the serious consequences of the Camp David agreements. After trying to put pressure on both Syria and Jordan to accept the Camp David agreements, the United States took the initiative of reigniting the war in Lebanon with the intention of creating a state of tension in the area and thus diverting the attention of the Arab nation and the world in general from what it had done at Camp David. The request of the United States for a Security Council meeting on that subject was an attempt on its part to make the problem of Lebanon an international one and a direct attempt to partition Lebanon and deal a blow at the forces which rejected its policy in the Arab region. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya supports the legal Government of Lebanon and requests that Lebanon be established as a zone of peace and remain Arab, free and independent. We believe that the time has come for the international community to adopt measures to make the Zionist gang cease their activities in Lebanon.

83. The events taking place in the Arab region represent a threat not only to peace in that area but also to the peace of the whole world. The time has come for the United Nations to do its duty and for the international community to adhere to its resolutions. The time has also come for the international community to tell the United States of America openly that what it is embarking upon is not a peace effort but an act that would cause tension to escalate and is inconsistent with all the resolutions of the United

Nations and the responsibility of the United States as a super-Power. Peace cannot be achieved except through enabling the Palestinian people to return to their land and to exercise self-determination in the same way as the rest of the peoples of the world. Peace cannot be established through occupation, dictating conditions, threatening peoples or attempting to suppress them.

84. At a time when the United Nations is working towards disarmament and devoting special meetings to that subject in an effort to establish peace and security in the world, the big colonialist Powers are increasing their armaments and sending arms and equipment to racist régimes in order to create more hotbeds of tension in support of the hegemony of colonialism and occupation. Thus, the fact that the United States continues to supply the Israeli enemy with lethal weapons can only be viewed within this framework. The United States decision to build two military bases in occupied Palestine, in accordance with the Camp David agreements, at a cost of over \$2 billion, should be the object of our condemnation. The continued support given by the United States and its allies to the racist régime in South Africa and its purveying to that régime and the Zionist régime of weapons and nuclear technology contradict all our efforts on behalf of world disarmament. Also, the continued arming of South Korea by the United States and the latter's use of the United Nations as a cover for the presence of its military forces in South Korea can only be construed as but one line in a chain of events that has led to increased armaments and aggravated the hotbeds of tension in the world.

85. It is the view of the delegation of my country that the time has come for the international community to exert pressure on and attempt to persuade the United States to withdraw its forces from South Korea, leaving the Korean people free to achieve their unity. In this respect, we can only acknowledge the great efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to achieve the peaceful reunification of Korea, free from foreign intervention, and the removal of the colonialist American force, which is an obstacle in the way of Korean unity.

86. My country's delegation cannot but pay a tribute to the non-aligned group for its policy and its efforts to achieve international peace and security. The non-aligned countries have proved that the policy of their movement is the only one capable of achieving peace. The Jamahiriya, which pursues a policy of neutrality and is an active member of the non-aligned movement, will spare no effort to strengthen that movement and help it to achieve its aims, for the prosperity of the peoples of the whole world.

87. We also fully support the establishment of zones free of nuclear weapons, whether in the Indian Ocean or in the Mediterranean Sea. We belong to the Mediterranean region and we are working together with its peoples in order to make the Mediterranean Sea a lake of security and peace, isolated from spheres of tension and foreign influences. In this connexion my delegation commends the announcement by the Maltese Government, under the leadership of the Maltese Labour Party, of Malta's neutrality and of the dismantling of foreign bases on the island. I reiterate the determination of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to continue to assist Malta and provide it with aid in

order to achieve its non-alignment and economic prosperity.

88. As for the situation in Cyprus, which belongs to the Mediterranean basin, is a member of the non-aligned group, and is a country with which we have strong ties, the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya trusts that the efforts now under way will result in an agreement that can protect the rights of both the Greek and the Turkish communities, and maintain the unity, sovereignty, independence and non-alignment of the country.

89. The delegation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya commends the great efforts of the United Nations to establish a new international economic order that would take into consideration the interests of all peoples, and especially the peoples of the third world that have suffered most from the unjust economic order now prevailing throughout the world. The realization of that new order will not become a fact until colonialist monopolies have been abolished and the peoples of the third world have been enabled to exploit their wealth and are assured of the freedom to dispose of and control their resources.

90. The new economic order cannot be realized until the peoples of the third world are able actively to participate in its implementation, and peace in the world cannot be achieved as long as the world is divided into two parts—a majority that gets poorer and a minority that gets richer at the expense of the majority.

91. The manner in which the colonialist industrialized States cling to their monopolies and continue to exploit the riches of the peoples of the third world, together with their intransigence regarding the irritations of a constructive dialogue, are an obstacle to the establishment of a new international economic order. Through the deliberations that took place within the framework of the General Assembly or that of the North-South dialogue, those States proved that they reject even the principle of fairness. However, we must not give in to despair and should persevere in our efforts aimed at achieving that objective, which we consider to be in the interest of the peoples of this planet, be they rich or poor.

92. For five years the international community has been making exhaustive efforts to arrive at a convention on the law of the sea, which, if completed in a manner that took into consideration the interests of developing countries, would be a remarkable event in the history of mankind, since man would have been able for the first time peacefully to agree on the sharing of the riches of vast areas of our planet.

93. However, we and the rest of the world were recently surprised by the fact that one developed State took unilateral measures to exploit the resources of the sea-bed, an approach that, in addition to the ambiguity of its significance, particularly at this stage, we fear will adversely affect the current negotiations on the few remaining subjects and hinder the work we began years ago.

94. My country declares its rejection of any unilateral action, regardless of its origin, designed to exploit the resources of the sea-bed. It supports and backs the position

of the Group of 77 stated by that Group in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.⁸ My country also appeals to those who have taken that approach, and those who are tempted to follow suit, not to defy the will of the international community but to resort to prudence and patience.

95. The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, which, after the Great First of September Revolution, began to control its own economy and devote it to the benefits of its peoples, today works in accordance with the third international theory in all its political, economic and social aspects, seeking the happiness of man, wherever he exists, and the end of injustice and exploitation. Now that direct democracy according to this theory has been achieved and the people are able to govern themselves by themselves through grass-roots conventions and people's committees, my country is currently engaged in the application of the economic aspect of this theory, by achieving the principles of participation under the motto "Partners and not servants", which is designed to abolish the exploitative system and the slavery of the paid worker to capital. Workers in the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya have become partners in production, and it is time we all worked together in the implementation of this principle, in which the happiness of mankind and the individual lies. It is high time the worker became a partner and not a servant or slave of capital and the employer. The success of this experiment in the Jamahiriya will be only the beginning of the freedom of the workers of the world and of the oppressed everywhere.

96. The responsibility of the United Nations is a big one. The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, which affirms its continued support of the United Nations and its adherence to its resolutions, considers that the time has come for this Organization to play a more positive role in the achievement of its objectives of establishing peace, realizing the freedom of man and ending injustice and colonialism. It may even be time for us to re-evaluate the role of the Organization and to work towards eliminating any obstacle impeding its effectiveness or its participation in the search for solutions to international economic and political problems. In this connexion, the delegation of the Jamahiriya considers the amendment of the Charter of the United Nations a necessity, since the Charter, written during a period in which the membership of the United Nations did not exceed one third of its present membership, and in international circumstances of which we are all aware, is neither appropriate for, nor compatible with, present political conditions. The retention of the so-called veto rights of a few States is a key factor hampering the Organization and preventing it from playing its required role. Therefore, it is time for the Charter to be revised in such a manner as to ensure the achievement of equality among States, regardless of their material, human and economic capabilities, so that the Member States can effectively participate in establishing peace and prosperity in the world. It is also high time for us to implement the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the thirtieth anniversary of which we shall soon be celebrating.

⁸ See *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. IX (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.V.3), 109th plenary meeting.

97. The continued existence of racist régimes in Africa and Palestine is a violation of human rights. Human rights are indivisible. Blacks should not have rights that are different from those of whites, and the achievement of human rights for the Palestinian people and the African people cannot differ from their achievement in other parts of the world.

98. Yesterday we listened to the representative of the Zionist gangs speaking of human rights. His presence in this Organization is in itself a violation of human rights, because that representative, if we can so describe him, came here over the dismembered corpses of the people who were dispersed from their own homeland. If human rights were respected, it would be the Palestinian representative who would be sitting here and not he.

99. Within the framework of human rights, the Zionist representative spoke about immigration as if it meant only immigration from the Soviet Union. But according to the theory of the racist Zionists, expelling and annihilating a whole people is in line with the observance of human rights. That representative also pointed to violations of human rights in other parts of the world. The representative of the Zionist gangs should more correctly speak of its own human rights practices that have been denounced by the United Nations. There exists in the United Nations the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories.

100. Proceeding from this premise, we should oppose the law of the jungle and work towards preventing and combating terrorism. The Jamahiriya, on the basis of its Islamic principles and its belief in human rights according to these Islamic rules, will spare no effort in working with this Organization to combat terrorism, be it individual terrorism such as "sky-jacking" and the taking of hostages, or international terrorism such as that perpetrated by major Powers, when they intimidate the smaller nations or try to impose their supremacy, dictate conditions or intervene militarily. Is it not terrorism to disperse an entire population? Is it not terrorism when war planes are sent to strike at the African peoples? Is it not terrorism to have foreign bases and to use colonialist fleets to threaten those peoples?

101. Despite this bleak picture of the international situation, the peoples of the whole world still view this Organization with optimism, since it is their only available means for achieving peace and prosperity, in spite of all its defects and short-comings. However, their hope may turn into despair if we fail to work together and to concentrate our efforts on joint constructive action for the establishment of a just peace, the realization of prosperity for all peoples and the attainment of happiness for man wherever he may exist, regardless of his colour, of his physical characteristics or of where he lives.

102. Mr. MOLAPO (Lesotho): The Lesotho delegation wishes to add its voice to the congratulations of previous speakers on the unanimous election of Ambassador Liévano Aguirre of Colombia to preside over the deliberations of this session. This unanimity is an expression of the confidence this Assembly has, not only in him as a person,

but also in the Government which he represents. We feel particularly honoured, because Colombia is a country which has established a commendable record in the United Nations struggle to right the wrongs which plague humanity.

103. I should also like to congratulate the other members of the General Committee and express the hope that, in the fulfilment of the various responsibilities entrusted to them, they will collectively contribute to the success of our deliberations. Their vast experience and desire for the betterment of the human condition will indeed be of valuable assistance to the President of the session.

104. We are indebted to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose profound wisdom has guided the work of the United Nations, and to the Secretariat, which has, in more ways than time permits me to enumerate, advanced the work of this world body.

105. Since the founding of the United Nations, more than half the membership present today has been elevated to the glory of independence. It is in the light of this awareness that the Lesotho delegation welcomes Solomon Islands as a new Member of the United Nations. This is further proof of the success of the decolonization process, the subject of an item [item 24] of which this Assembly remains seized.

106. This session of the General Assembly is taking place against the background of an increasing international awareness of basic human rights. In my view this is appropriate, particularly as this year marks 30 years of the endurance of the profound vision that led to the authorship by the United Nations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The concern for the rights of man at this particular stage of international relations is a development that has further aided the efforts of this Organization to awaken international outrage against the intolerable perversion of social justice, represented by the harsh poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy that afflict a large segment of humanity, and the equally intolerable nonchalance that has been for so long the hallmark of the attitude of a large part of the world community towards rights of the people of Palestine and the victims of white racist minority rule in southern Africa.

107. This Assembly must spearhead concrete action that will ensure that the vast resources of this world are not utilized to create weapons for the destruction of man but for the betterment of his condition. We must protest in clear terms against the irrational tendency of those States that have become the merchants of death and not the guardians of humanity's survival.

108. We are deeply concerned about the enormous over-all capacity of the existing nuclear arsenals and the qualitative improvements they are progressively undergoing. We are equally alarmed by the ever increasing stockpiles of conventional weapons and their widening distribution, which has added fuel to localized skirmishes and wars. The big Powers must be told in no uncertain terms that their spiralling arms race is no less than a race for the extinction of humanity and that their exploitation of local conflicts to advance their traffic in lethal weapons lacks the vaguest vestige of any sense of morality and is more than a tacit

conspiracy to ensure that those already on the verge of death because of poverty are indeed assured of a speedy end through fratricidal battles and mutual destruction.

109. The continent of Africa is beset by numerous problems—social, political, economic and racial. While we appreciate, and are thankful for, the assistance we have received from various quarters, we agree with the views recently expressed before this Assembly by Mr. Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri, the President of the Democratic Republic of Sudan and the Chairman of the OAU, that:

“... the solution of African problems is the responsibility of the Africans themselves. African determination and wisdom have seen the continent through many a difficult time before.” [10th meeting, para. 33.]

110. We therefore appeal to all our friends, wherever they are, to help us to help ourselves—that is, to assist us along lines that will reduce our dependence on international aid and handouts. Given the means, we are prepared to shoulder the responsibility for our own development. We do not wish to be used as pawns in the ideological struggle between East and West and, by the same token, we do not want to be economically exploited under the guise of assistance.

111. My Government's development plans are aimed at the elimination of ignorance, poverty and disease, particularly in the rural areas. We have therefore noted with perturbation the annual report of the World Bank regarding agricultural production and food supplies.⁹ Quoting the FAO, the report indicates that the 1977 *per capita* food production index was 10 per cent below the level of the period 1961-1965. The report further shows that the food deficit in developing countries, including Africa, is likely to rise to 145 million tons by 1980. This is sad news for the peoples of Africa, who saw political independence as the key to social justice and economic progress. It is our duty and responsibility to see that present trends in the agricultural field are reversed, if we want peace and political stability in our respective countries. According to FAO:

“Africa has the potential to attain and sustain rates of food production increases which will lead to higher but not necessarily full sufficiency over the next 10 to 15 years.”

112. In the light of the foregoing remarks, we hope something positive will come out of the Tenth FAO Regional Conference for Africa, held last month in Arusha, in the United Republic of Tanzania. As far as food production is concerned, it behoves us all to strive for individual and collective self-sufficiency. Unless we achieve our food production targets soon, our economies will continue to falter as a result of rising food imports which, according to FAO, nearly trebled in value during the period 1963-1973. In this regard, we pledge our full support for the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development to be held in Rome in July 1979.

113. Like other economically backward regions, Africa stands to benefit greatly from the promising outcome of

⁹ World Bank, *Annual Report 1978* (Washington, D.C., 1978).

the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held in Buenos Aires, Argentina, last month. Provided it is faithfully implemented by all participating countries, the Buenos Aires Plan of Action,¹⁰ which was adopted by consensus, could give impetus to the third world's demands for a new international economic order. As in the political field, the pooling of technical knowledge and experience by non-industrialized countries could have a tremendous impact on international economic relations.

114. It is, however, time that we recognized the affront to the human conscience posed by the increasing disparities in the conditions of life in the developed and in the developing countries. The grim reality of this gap poses frightening risks for the human community as a whole and it is the surest invitation to acts of desperation, instability and the break-down of orderly international relations among the family of nations. The dialogue between North and South represents an appreciation of the risks involved, but not their removal. Dialogue, however welcome, raises expectations among the poor but has thus far provided no escape from the harsh conditions of want in which most of humanity is trapped, conditions that are universally recognized as defying any rational definition of human decency.

115. Those in the developed countries must therefore recognize that it is in their basic self-interest to ensure the speedy attainment of the objectives of the new international economic order, adopted by this Organization. That order is predicated as a minimal basic premise for ensuring social and economic justice for the whole of humanity and peaceful and stable relations between the developed and the developing worlds.

116. Peace continues to be an elusive goal in the Middle East. Events in that region have always presented a sharp reminder to the world that real peace is not necessarily symbolized by the absence of active hostilities. We therefore recognize the urgency of defusing the time-bomb in that area. In this context, the Government and people of Lesotho have observed with concern the critical situation in the Middle East, a situation marked more frequently than not by increasing divisions, antagonisms and hostilities, as evidenced by the civil strife in Lebanon and, as always, by the precarious path between peace and war followed by Israel and its Arab neighbours.

117. And it is because of these difficulties that we in Lesotho are prepared to lend our tentative support to the recent agreements reached at Camp David by the Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. Begin, and the President of Egypt, Mr. El-Sadat, as a step towards peace and security in that all-too-troubled region of the world.

118. We do so, however, in the knowledge that these agreements are merely frameworks, and frameworks by their very nature are fragile and unstable unless they represent genuine political will for peace. It is on the foundations of that political will that we must now build solid foundations.

Many issues still have to be resolved: the precise nature and timing of the Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories; the agreements for the eventual autonomy and self-determination of the Gaza and West Bank by the people of Palestine; and the ultimate fate of Jerusalem and the Palestinians, whose suffering must also be assuaged. Courageous and determined leadership will therefore be needed to foster a spirit that will ensure that the compromises reached at Camp David are not dissolved.

119. In this context, the Government and people of Lesotho appeal to the people of Israel to treat the Camp David accords not as maximum and unwilling concessions but rather as a step forward to the ultimate implementation of the recommendations embodied in United Nations Council resolution 242 (1967), a resolution which the Government of Lesotho has always fully endorsed.

120. We believe that the Camp David agreements have provided for steps towards dismantling the edifice of hatred, bitterness and distrust in which the people of the Middle East have been locked for so many decades, and that they represent rays lighting the way towards relations based on friendship, to the benefit of all the peoples of the Middle East. I can do no less, therefore, than appeal to all parties to show the admirable spirit, understanding and statesmanship that led to the first initiative of President El-Sadat in visiting Jerusalem, and to continue the spirit of Camp David.

121. On southern Africa, my Government welcomes the initiative of the United States and the United Kingdom on Rhodesia and of the five Western Powers on Namibia. It is a fact of political life in southern Africa that the Western initiatives are the direct outcome of the success of the liberation struggle. For too long the West, which has been the bulwark of support for the white minority régimes, has turned a blind eye to the inhuman treatment suffered by the majority of the peoples of Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa. The threat to international peace posed by white racist rule has for too long been dismissed as the hyperbole of African diplomatic rhetoric. We warned while there was time; we urged, cajoled and pleaded for the West to use its clearly recognized influence over the white minority régimes to bring about change; but the Western response was always tardy and at best cosmetic.

122. In particular the United Kingdom-United States proposals on Rhodesia¹¹ seem destined to be buried beneath a bitter welter of blood and chaos as the Smith régime adopts one subterfuge after another to cling to power and follows one atrocity by a yet bloodier one in an attempt to halt the liberation process.

123. At the conference table the Smith régime has epitomized the worst kind of chicanery. It should thus come as no surprise to anyone that the United Kingdom-United States proposals are in abeyance as a result of the attitude of the Smith clique. Indeed Smith's co-called internal settlement is nothing but another futile subterfuge to side-step the United Kingdom-United States proposals.

¹⁰ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, Buenos Aires, 30 August to 12 September 1978* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.II.A11), chap. II.

¹¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12393.

The Smith régime knows better than anyone else that it is witnessing the shreds of the settlement being blown away before its very eyes by the windy gusts of the liberation struggle. And yet it persists in clinging to illusory power.

124. Inside their country the Rhodesians continue their acts of mass murder and indiscriminate killing. Their catalogue of wanton acts of brutality increases with each day. Where they promised freedom of thought and association in terms of the illegal internal settlement, they now resort to mass arrests of leaders of liberation movements. They seek, not accommodation, but the creation of a basis for the destruction of the economic foundations of the country. They offer not a semblance of peace but a recipe for chaos.

125. The racist Smith régime, in yet another act of treachery, is attempting to widen the conflict with the liberation movements by mounting criminal acts of aggression against independent neighbouring States. Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana have become targets of the desperation of the Smith régime, and their innocent nationals the objects of the terror of mass bombings and brutal murder. The strategy of the illegal Smith criminal clique is to embroil the whole of southern Africa in war and inflame the area into the blistering inferno of a racial holocaust.

126. It is to the credit of the three neighbouring States that they have so far resisted the temptation of responding to provocations of the Smith régime and have opted for policies of safeguarding the welfare of their nationals rather than entering into battle with that régime. Their response has been exemplary and they deserve far more support from the international community than the verbal assurances which they have received.

127. The initiative of the five Western Powers on Namibia has closed a sad chapter of 11 years of inactivity to give concrete meaning to this Assembly's resolution 2145 (XXI), which terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia. South Africa deserves little credit for the fact that freedom is now on the horizon for the people of Namibia. For 11 years it vigorously tried to dismember the Territory of Namibia on the basis of its odious *apartheid* policies. For 11 long years the people of Namibia were subjected to South Africa's illegal occupation, and it is only the threat of direct action against South Africa by the international community and intensification of the liberation struggle by SWAPO that has persuaded cool heads in Pretoria to accept South Africa's withdrawal from that Territory.

128. South Africa cannot now demand sympathy for its continuing quibbling over the terms of the hand-over of Namibia. Its *de jure* responsibility for that Territory has long since ceased to exist and its duty is now to end its *de facto* illegal domination of the Territory. After its denial of the rights of the people of Namibia and its destructive military ventures in that Territory, its claim to an individual responsibility for peace in Namibia is flimsy and irrelevant. The responsibility firmly belongs to the international community, and in this context my Government welcomes the Secretary-General's report to the Security Council. That report is fair and balanced. It provides for adequate time for an electoral process to be set in motion in an

atmosphere free of intimidation by the occupation force of 11 years.

129. We support SWAPO's insistence on the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia. SWAPO started its liberation struggle in Namibia precisely because the South African Government insisted on its illegal occupation of Namibia and used its troops and their police counterparts to deny any free political activity to SWAPO and others in Namibia. Thus South Africa's insistence that the strength of the United Nations troops should be minimized while South Africa's troops are retained to provide an umbrella for political activity is farcical. Equally, South Africa's insistence that the electoral process should be advanced is no more than a naked ploy to give political advantage to its creations of the Turnhalle Conference, who, after all, have been allowed free political activity denied to SWAPO.

130. South Africa must not be allowed to add further acts of illegality by imposing on the people of Namibia its own geo-political interests and denying them a peaceful solution to the problem of Namibia. Equally, it must not be permitted to create its own Turnhalle-type internal settlement in Namibia, as that would be a prescription for continued instability in the Territory.

131. SWAPO has displayed its goodwill by declaring its readiness for a cease-fire in Namibia in response to initiatives towards a peaceful solution of the Namibia problem. Lesotho rejects in categorical terms the South African stand in reply to both the report of the United Nations Secretary-General and SWAPO's offer. South Africa has a clear duty to respond by turning away from the bad faith it is showing by its repeated objections to details of lesser impact in the package proposed by the Secretary-General. Pretoria must recognize that it has been the linchpin for the systematic denial of basic rights in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa and that withdrawing its support for the Smith clique and relinquishing its illegal hold on Namibia will at the very least bring forward the promise of liberty for the vast majority of the peoples of these Territories and of creating a more suitable climate for the solution of internal problems, the complexity of which cannot be denied and the potential of which in terms of creating a racial war of frightening proportions must be clear to all. What the people of South Africa demand now is liberation, liberty and majority rule and not cosmetic solutions to the problems of white minority rule.

132. The withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia is an act of reason and an acceptance of the realities of the liberation struggle in southern Africa. That is the lesson that the white minority in South Africa must accept. That minority should not commit the suicidal blunder of interpreting these events as a tactical withdrawal behind the fortress of *apartheid*. For it to do so would be to bury its head in the sand. It would be tantamount to an aberration from the human urge to live in peace and in circumstances that provide for the serene development of the full human person.

133. The Lesotho Government welcomed Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which reiterates that the Council's objective is the withdrawal of South Africa's illegal occupation and administration of Namibia and the

transfer of power to the people of Namibia. My Government calls on the Government of South Africa to co-operate in the implementation of the report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the initiatives of the five Western Powers. Failure to do so by the Pretoria Government will, at this late hour, prove its continued intransigence and exacerbate the growing anger and impatience of the international community. For us, I need say only that our position has always been clear. Our vulnerability is obvious to everyone. Our preparedness to support the United Nations Charter and our readiness to meet our obligations in terms of United Nations Security Council resolutions, however, must be matched by the readiness of the international community to meet its commitments in terms of Article 50 of the United Nations Charter. My Prime Minister said at a recent meeting of the Consultative Assembly of the Group of African, Caribbean and Pacific States and the European Economic Community:

"We have consistently warned South Africa that her actions and policies would sooner or later invite the international community to invoke economic sanctions against them and that she should abandon those policies before the imposition of such sanctions became inevitable. Over the years, Motlotlehi's Government has sought to bring home to the authorities of South Africa that her military preparedness was no guarantee for peace and economic stability in the region. Our warnings have been ignored by the Government of South Africa. At the same time, our support for the liberation and liberty of the majority of the people of southern Africa has not weakened."

I should like to say, in the words of my Prime Minister: "The international community has an obligation to countries such as mine in the event that embargoes are imposed on South Africa". He also said:

"I should like to remind the international community that it is its duty to safeguard the basic interests of countries such as Lesotho which will inevitably be affected, should action against South Africa become unavoidable as a result of her continuing denial of basic human rights."

134. It must be recognized that in the post-world-war era *apartheid* constitutes the single most monumental lapse of the human conscience. This Assembly has quite rightly labelled it a crime against humanity. My Prime Minister, in his opening statement at the Symposium on the Exploitation of the Blacks in South Africa and Namibia, and on Prison Conditions in South African Jails held in Maseru last July, said:

"The people of South Africa have been described as an imprisoned society. A black South African is never more than a step from the prison door. One in every four adults is imprisoned every year. Africans in South Africa are faced with a whole battery of laws that govern every facet of their lives. A stroke of the pen can rob them of their citizenship and dispossess them; the whim of a police official can confine them to jail without trial. Such is the array of *apartheid* legislation that faces Africans that they live in a twilight terror of arrest. Prison life has become part of the black man's experience. There are over 236

prisons in South Africa compared to 70 in the United Kingdom. In 1971 some 40,000 people were imprisoned in the United Kingdom compared to 470,000 in South Africa. South Africa's daily average prison population was 90,000 in 1971. By 1974 it had risen to over 100,000. This is the grim reality of unjust laws applied with unremitting brutality and vengeance."

135. The harshness of the *apartheid* laws and the brutality of their application are most clearly demonstrated in the statements of South African police officials. Colonel J. V. Visser, Chief of the Soweto Criminal Investigation Department, told the South African Sunday *Post* on 17 September 1978 that he was sorry that he had not shot Tsietsi Mashinini when he had the chance. The temerity of that admission is as astonishing as it is typical of the attitude of the South African police towards Africans. The rule of law is no longer in the custody of the courts. The white policeman is the law-enforcement agent, the court, the judge and the executioner. In 1975, 92 prisoners awaiting trial died in prison cells; in 1977, the record was 120. Those statistics do not take into account the numerous detainees who died in prison without trial or any charges being preferred against them. Nationals of my country have been victims of this criminal police attitude. Any claim by South Africa to respect for the law is nothing less than an aberration from truth and a travesty of morality. Colonel Visser was asked by South African authorities neither to explain his remarks nor to justify his apparent disregard of the basic rights of Mr. Mashinini. I owe it to my own sense of justice, and this Assembly owes it to the high ideals of the United Nations Charter, to address a special appeal to South Africa to get rid of its Colonel Visser and the murderers of Steven Biko and other detainees.

136. *Apartheid* remains a blot not only on South Africa but also on the conscience of mankind. Each act of *apartheid*, every incident of brutality, diminishes us all. It is therefore fitting that we should all strive to afford the people of southern Africa better opportunities for self-fulfilment, self-respect, and the dignity and exercise of basic rights due to all men on earth.

137. In my view, that is the basic challenge to which this Organization must respond. It is the agenda for its action not for verbal palliatives. The report of the Maseru Symposium is before the General Assembly,¹² as is the Declaration and Plan of Action adopted at the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination [A/33/262, chap. III], held in Geneva under the presidency of a Lesotho Cabinet Minister.

138. Our willingness to act as host to international conferences on South African issues is motivated by the very deep concern that we feel at the continuation of *apartheid*, coupled with the very direct manner in which it affects Lesotho. We have sought to provide an opportunity to representatives from various regions of the world to make a close scrutiny of the evils of *apartheid*. In 1976 we were host to a meeting of American political and economic leaders and African Ministers and provided them with an opportunity for gaining a deep insight into *apartheid* from

¹² See document ST/HR/Ser.A/1.

the vantage point of Maseru. Last year we were host to parliamentarians from the European Communities and the African, Caribbean and Pacific States and we focused on southern Africa. The Symposium to which we were host this year is part of our continuing effort in the direction of a close examination of what *apartheid* means for us and for our fellow Africans in South Africa. We are caught in the agony of the imprisoned society. We also share its aspirations to liberty. Our people suffer under *apartheid* laws in South Africa. Around the territorial land of Lesotho Pretoria has thrown the noose of a circle of bantustans. On our historic land those bogus States are being constructed to deny us any opportunity for the return of the land. On our present territory further encroachments are being made and, in blatant disregard of our territorial sovereignty, efforts are being made by Pretoria to cede our lands to its bantustans.

139. My Government supported General Assembly resolution 31/6 A which enjoined all Governments not to grant any recognition to South Africa's bantustans. Our support of that resolution was based on our firm belief that bantustans represented a terrible fraud that was being perpetrated on the majority of the people of South Africa by Pretoria. They represent nothing less than the loss of their birthright for that people. The blacks of South Africa are being herded on to 13 per cent of the land surface of South Africa, against their will. They are being stripped of their South African citizenship on the grounds that they belong to the so-called homelands and not to South Africa. They have become aliens in their country of birth. That is the callous face of *apartheid*. Those black leaders who have collaborated with the Pretoria régime in this treacherous and criminal act will not escape the judgement of the oppressed majority of the people of South Africa.

140. The Pretoria Government is not only continuing its policies of depriving the black people of South Africa of their citizenship but also implementing its inhuman policies of displacing Africans from their places of residence. Last year it was the cruel displacement of thousands of Africans from their homes in Modderdam, next to Cape Town, in bitter winter conditions, and the white South African press denounced the Pretoria Government for the bestiality of its actions. This year we have had a repetition of a massive dispossession of Africans who have been driven out of their homes in Crossroads. At the stroke of a pen over 2,000 Africans were removed from their homes in Crossroads. Their protest met with massive police action resulting in the loss of the life of at least one home-owner. That is the brutality of *apartheid*, the inhuman situation that this Organization and all countries which love peace and freedom have a clear duty to deal with.

141. As this Assembly knows, the response of South Africa to our firm rejection of its *apartheid* and bantustan policies was to close the south-eastern borders of Lesotho. My country deeply appreciated the reply of the United

Nations system to that irresponsible action. Security Council resolutions 402 (1976) and 407 (1977) were sources of great solace to the Basotho people. We were gratified by the deep appreciation that the missions sent to Lesotho by the Secretary-General displayed in their reports. To all the countries and organizations which contributed to the recommendations of the report in document S/12315¹³ I wish, on behalf of the Lesotho Government, to pay a special tribute. Naturally, we still hope that the amount outstanding, which has still not been pledged, will be made available to enable us to resist the unfair pressures that are continuously being applied against Lesotho by Pretoria. For our part and as a matter of principle, we pledge to continue our policy of resistance to being a party to the bantustan fraud.

142. Today we are host to over 700 black children from South Africa; that is part of our tradition and custom. We have always provided succour to those fleeing from injustice and persecution. Accommodating those children in Lesotho has inevitably led to special demands on our resources. We appreciate the help that we continue to receive from friendly Governments in this task of ensuring that those children can continue their education and live in circumstances in which their youth and dignity are respected.

143. The international community has a right to know that, even though the refugee community is safe in Lesotho, Pretoria has embarked on a policy of harassment against the people of Lesotho and the refugee community. It has stepped up its espionage activities in Lesotho to such a level that my Government is now left with no option but to respond with firm action.

144. I shall not dwell on the various harsh aspects of *apartheid*. My delegation has instructions to discuss them in depth in the relevant committees.

145. However, I should like to end with a vision of a southern Africa that this Organization must help to create and a vision of man that as we approach the end of the twentieth century we should strive to realize on this planet. In southern Africa, a region rich in natural and human resources, we should strive to banish for ever the myth of racial antagonism and achieve the promise of racial harmony; the promise that will give expression to the truth that no man, no race, no nation, no Government has a right to tamper with what God has bequeathed to us—our common humanity—for man and his condition. Let us make ignorance, disease, hunger and poverty features of a bygone age and create conditions for man to develop his abilities to the fullest.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.

¹³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1977*.