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President: Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM
(United Republic of Tanzania)

AGENDA ITEM 25

**The situation in the Middle East: report
of the Secretary-General**

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning the General Assembly will begin its consideration of agenda item 25 on the situation in the Middle East. In view of the fact that none of the speakers is in the hall as yet, I propose to suspend the meeting for 15 minutes.

The meeting was suspended at 10.45 a.m. and resumed at 11 a.m.

2. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the first speaker, I should like to propose to the Assembly that the list of speakers on this item be closed this afternoon at 5 o'clock. If I hear no objection, I shall consider that the Assembly adopts this proposal.

It was so decided.

3. Mr. KANE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): In the past the Middle East has always been a region of tension. It is still one today, and that is why, in beginning the debate on this matter, we cannot fail to recall certain events which have been a constant feature of relations between the West and the Middle East.

4. First of all, there were the religious wars and the crusades in the Middle Ages, followed by the colonial expeditions of the nineteenth century carried out in the name of a certain "civilization". Today there are all the ideological confrontations and strategic considerations that find their chosen ground in this part of the world. Adding to this the problem of petroleum, of which the Middle East is at present one of the largest producers in the world, it is easy to understand the games, the ulterior motives, which are at the root of the events and the disturbances that periodically agitate the Middle East.

5. Those who have had occasion to experience or to study the history of the Middle East since the last world war will recall that when Nasser, then President of the

United Arab Republic, nationalized the Suez Canal, at a time when the West was on the point of strangling his country economically, he was called all sorts of names in Europe and declared an enemy of the people. However, if Nasser were alive today, he would appear to be a moderate in comparison with certain present leaders of the region. Why is that so? Why is there this endemic lack of understanding by the Western mind of events in the Middle East?

6. In seeking solutions to problems that may appear simple, there is always found at the heart of the matter an unavowed but enduring desire for Western domination of peoples considered "backward" and "retrograde" because they do not have the same philosophy and concept of life as the West.

7. Obviously, there is no longer any Western political or economic grip on those countries and their wealth; but in its place there is Israel, which the West uses as a pawn to perpetuate domination over these countries and exacerbate discord among their leaders. The Camp David agreements¹ are today the best illustration of the discord and dissension prevailing among those peoples. That dissension has even spread to the League of Arab States, whereas everything, including culture and religion, should on the contrary have led the Arab world to arrive at understanding and unity.

8. Put in those terms, the dimension of the problem of the Middle East and its repercussions throughout the world can be more easily understood.

9. For more than three decades now the General Assembly has had the problem of the Middle East before it—three decades in the course of which numerous efforts have been made to find a solution to this grievous problem.

10. How many peace missions, how many attempts at mediation, have been tried without ever settling this conflict? In spite of everything, tension has always remained very high and violence has persisted, and the peoples of the Middle East are still victims of great suffering and destruction.

11. Four Israeli-Arab wars have already brought mankind to the brink of catastrophe. Today, the bombing of Palestinian refugee camps by the Israeli air force, with the ensuing reprisals, are a permanent threat to international peace and security. The violation of the independence, integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon by Israel has compelled our Organization to send a peace-keeping force there.

¹ 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.

12. At the present time no State and no people can be indifferent to the conflict in the Middle East, not because of its military or economic repercussions but, above all, because it is essentially the result of fundamental injustice: the violation of the rights of an entire people and the denial of the principles that constitute the moral basis of the international community, as well as the principles of the United Nations Charter.

13. After 30 years of deadlock, there is a glimmer of hope that a settlement of the conflict in the Middle East can be achieved. Attempts are being made to solve this problem, and today that is perhaps the most significant development of the question of the Middle East since the previous session of the General Assembly.

14. With regard to the Camp David agreements, Senegal believes that it is not for us to declare them null and void, because they were concluded in exercise of their full sovereignty by Egypt, Israel and the United States. Of course, it could be said that these agreements, to the extent that they have not been accepted by the Palestinians through their legitimate representative the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], will not enable us to resolve the Palestinian dilemma. That is what we too think.

15. Nevertheless, we must face the fact that, if Israel had respected its commitments and displayed the good will that the entire world expected of it on 26 March 1979,² those agreements would not have provoked the recrimination to which they are giving rise in the Arab world today. It must none the less be admitted that, from a purely Egyptian point of view, those agreements, which made it possible for that African country to recover two thirds of Sinai—whose petroleum fields are considerable and whose religious sites have Biblical significance—represent the most important development since the 1967 war. Senegal, for its part, cannot fail to recognize that this is an important gain for the Egyptian people.

16. Therefore, our Assembly must speak of these agreements with circumspection and caution, and try to see things in their true perspective.

17. My country has always stated that it is in principle in favour of any dialogue between the parties to the Middle East conflict aimed at finding a just and lasting solution on the basis of the principles enunciated by the United Nations on this matter. We are convinced that respect for these principles is of paramount importance, for it makes it possible for attempts to reach a settlement to win the consensus necessary for their credibility.

18. If so far no tangible result has been obtained, it is because we have been losing sight of the central nature of the Palestinian issue in the Middle East conflict. Our Assembly was for some time the victim of a mistaken approach, consisting in leaving aside the question of the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people in the search for a settlement in the Middle East. Today it has corrected that error by defining the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and also reaffirming the central nature of the question of Palestine.

19. Unfortunately, the Security Council remains the victim of this erroneous and incomplete approach to the Middle East problem. Resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, which is indeed a major contribution in the search for peace in the Middle East, remains inadequate in the case of the Palestinian problem, which it approaches from the humanitarian angle only. Such an approach is today largely obsolete and, in any event, unlikely to lead to peace.

20. At a time when man is trying to discover other planets, at a time when science has revealed hitherto unfathomable mysteries, how can a people be left to itself, floating like a bottle on the sea, buffeted by the waves, at the mercy of tempests and subject to the whims of the leaders of the world?

21. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, over which my country has had the privilege of presiding and which, since its inception, has been working to correct this wrong approach, has always met with obstruction in the Security Council on the part of one of its permanent members.

22. During the latest meeting of the Security Council on the question of Palestine, a draft resolution was submitted by Senegal,³ on behalf of the members of the Committee. That draft resolution, which only requested the Security Council to reaffirm principles that were universally recognized, aroused a completely hostile attitude on the part of that permanent member, an attitude whose expression ranged from attempts at obstruction to open threats to exercise the right to veto.

23. The General Assembly, however, cannot continue to see the Security Council prevented by one of its permanent members from playing its main role, which is to define the basic principles underlying peace in the Middle East. That central body, in which the Charter has vested responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, should, if it is not to disappoint the peoples and the nations met here, return to a way of thinking that is more in accordance with the spirit of that Charter.

24. Moreover, if this situation continues, the General Assembly should plan to hold a special session, in accordance with the wish expressed by the overwhelming majority of the Member States of this Organization and by the sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979 [A/34/542, annex, sect. VI A, resolution No. 2].

25. There is now a broad consensus regarding the components of a just and lasting peace. First, Israel should withdraw from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967. Secondly, the Palestinian people should be able to exercise its inalienable right to return to its country and its rights to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State in Palestine. Thirdly, there should be respect for and recognition of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of each State in the region, and the right of each to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries, including the State of Israel.

² Date on which Peace Treaty between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel was signed at Washington.

³ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1979, document S/13514.

26. Senegal, which adheres to these fundamental principles with respect to the settlement of the Middle East problem, considers that they must be enshrined in a resolution and, at all events, should serve as the foundation for any negotiations which are aimed at resolving the Middle East conflict.

27. The obstacles to peace in the Middle East do not only derive from the tendency of certain parties to the conflict not to take account in their talks of all the principles considered by the United Nations to be essential to a settlement. There is also the policy of the Government of Israel to deny to the Palestinian people its right to self-determination, to refuse to negotiate with the PLO, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and to continue illegally to occupy Arab territories.

28. In this connexion, my delegation would like first to dwell on the situation of the Holy City of Jerusalem, which Israel declares it has annexed. Senegal, most of whose population is Moslem, attaches considerable importance to safeguarding the Islamic nature of the Holy City of Jerusalem.

29. According to the report of the Security Council Commission which was established pursuant to resolution 446 (1979),⁴ since 1967 the Arab population of Jerusalem has declined by 32 per cent. On the other hand, a dozen residential areas with 50,000 Israeli inhabitants have been created on the hills which surround the Arab quarters. Those measures have been accompanied by the requisition of the Arab quarters and the expulsion of their inhabitants. Those acts are gradually turning Jerusalem into an Israeli city, in flagrant disregard of the aspirations of millions of Christians and Moslems for whom Jerusalem must preserve its threefold nature—Islamic, Christian and Judaic.

30. Senegal, for its part, does not recognize Israel's attempt to annex the Holy City and firmly advocates the unconditional return of the eastern part of the city to Arab sovereignty. In this connexion, we should like to express our gratitude to the Government of Canada, which has abandoned the idea of transferring its Embassy to Jerusalem. That action shows that the Canadian Government has not lost sight of the rights of the Arab countries as well as the rights of the millions of Moslems and Christians throughout the world and will not forget them as long as the problem of the Middle East in general has not found a durable and equitable solution.

31. The Israeli Government's policy of faits accomplis in Jerusalem is only the most striking example of its policy of annexation and colonization of Arab territories, of its contempt for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and its systematic violation of international law.

32. In fact, the Israeli leaders have never made any mystery of their refusal to accept the principle of the non-acquisition of territories by force. Did they not declare that they would never again withdraw from the

Golan Heights? Did they not announce that the West Bank of the Jordan was a liberated territory which should be rebaptized according to the biblical name of Judaea and Samaria? Is it not at the very least astonishing that a State which was in fact created by this Organization should today stubbornly and systematically oppose its principles and resolutions?

33. The international community has seen that these are not simple declarations of intent. Israel has in fact followed a policy of establishing settlements, which makes it possible to transfer its nationals to Arab territories in the hope of creating an irreversible situation. Thus, according to the Commission established by the Security Council, Israel has established 113 settlements in the occupied territories. The number of Israelis residing in those territories today has reached 90,000. In order to achieve this, the Israeli authorities have seized by force 27 per cent of the land on the West Bank of the Jordan and almost all the land of the Golan Heights.

34. This process of the illegal acquisition of Arab lands, far from ceasing, is being intensified despite the negotiations which are under way to settle the Palestine question. The Begin Government, unlike its predecessor, has thus authorized the establishment of settlements in densely populated areas. Furthermore, it has legalized the purchase of Arab lands by Israeli citizens. More serious, it has decided to increase the acquisition of Arab lands. Those settlements are now established according to a well-known procedure: people settle without any authorization and the Israeli Government, somewhat later, simply legalizes the colony. But that is merely a subterfuge in order to circumvent the provisions of international law.

35. As we see it, that policy is a permanent source of tension, and consequently it is an obstacle to finding a peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict. The settlements policy has, in fact, been greeted with total hostility on the part of the Arab populations. The Mayors of the West Bank have severely criticized that policy and a number of strikes and demonstrations have created an atmosphere of agitation on the West Bank and that has led to increased repression on the part of Israel.

36. The recent affair of the Mayor of Nablus, arrested and threatened with expulsion from his country for having expressed the feeling of the population of the West Bank with regard to the causes of the prevailing tension, is an indication of this deterioration of the situation. It is a curious way for a so-called democratic country to respect democracy, which, as we know, is the manifestation of the will of the people through the institutions with which they have endowed themselves.

37. Israel's policy of systematic violation of human rights can have only negative repercussions on any attempt to find a solution to the problem of the Middle East.

38. The recent resignation of the Israeli Minister for Foreign Affairs is a prime illustration of the contradictions in that country's policy.

39. On the one hand, Israel is asking responsible Palestinians to become involved in the ongoing negotiations and, on the other hand, it is daily taking over their

⁴ Security Council Commission established under resolution 446 (1979) to examine the situation relating to settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem. For the report, see *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1979*, documents S/13450 and Add.1.

land, installing its own nationals and expelling all who resist it.

40. Thus we must not be surprised at the endemic violence on the West Bank of the Jordan. The Arab Palestinian people are today fully conscious of their rights. They no longer allow themselves to be treated as a lesser people. They are demanding the right to negotiate the settlement of the question of Palestine freely, on an equal footing, through their freely chosen representatives.

41. Israel, however, still seems reluctant to treat the Palestinian people on an equal basis. This has led to military adventures such as the invasion of south Lebanon in March 1978. The undeclared purpose of this flagrant act of aggression, as in the case of the numerous bombings of Palestinian refugee camps, is to attempt to break the will to resist of the Palestinian people. By such actions, the Israeli leaders reveal that they have learnt nothing from past colonial wars. It is a recognized fact that people struggling for their right to self-determination can never be vanquished by the mere deployment of brute force. Those leaders should bear in mind what happened in Algeria, in Viet Nam and, most recently, in Nicaragua, where the people's will and resistance overcome domination, exploitation and aggression.

42. The only result Israel will achieve is the weakening of Lebanese unity. At the present time, Israel continues to occupy by proxy the southern fringe of that country. It is an open secret that Major Haddad's men are receiving aid, assistance and protection from Israel.

43. Senegal, which participated in the peace mission of UNIFIL, strongly objects to this attempt to set up an obstacle to the re-establishment of the Lebanese Government's authority in the southern part of the country. Such acts tend to perpetuate the presence of UNIFIL in the region. But worse, they encourage the return of violence to the region and weaken the prestige and authority of the United Nations.

44. The Middle East is now more than ever at a crossroads. Various opportunities for settlement have arisen, but as we have tried to emphasize, they are constantly threatened by the Israeli policy of denying the Palestinian people their right to self-determination.

45. Senegal, for its part, sees no lasting peace without the Palestinian people's attainment of that sacred right. Therefore, we will continue to support with the same firmness the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the creation of an independent State. That is why we associated ourselves with the resolutions adopted by the Assembly yesterday [83rd meeting] on the question of Palestine [resolution 34/65 A and B]. My country will likewise continue to lend its support to the struggle of the Arab States by all the means permitted under the Charter to recover the occupied territories.

46. As long as a just and lasting solution to the Middle East conflict and, consequently, the Palestinian problem, which lies at the heart of that conflict, has not been achieved in a manner acceptable to all parties, our Organization will have to shoulder its primary responsibility. Today more than ever, the international commu-

nity must choose the just path, the path that is in accordance with its principles and its resolutions. We have every confidence that our Organization will not fail in this mission.

47. Mr. CORREA da COSTA (Brazil): The increasing attention devoted by the United Nations to the situation in the Middle East reflects the very real and legitimate interest of the international community as a whole in the urgent promotion of a comprehensive settlement aimed at the establishment of a just and lasting peace in a region that has suffered for much too long.

48. There is widespread recognition of the fact that the situation in the Middle East poses a threat to international peace and security. The maintenance of this situation is, above all, a constant and potentially explosive factor of mistrust, tension and conflict, both in the region and world wide. Consequently, all Member States should support the relevant resolutions of the United Nations to ensure the solution of the problems impeding a just, lasting and comprehensive peace.

49. As the Brazilian Foreign Minister, Ramiro Saraiva Guerreiro, stated at the opening of the general debate at the present session of the General Assembly [5th meeting], the world can no longer afford delays in the adoption of effective measures directed towards a future of good understanding, peace and justice in the Middle East. He also indicated that the developments of the past year did not appear to have improved the prospects of true peace in the region.

50. The continued occupation of territories taken by force is apparently being transformed by the occupying Power into a deliberate national policy aimed at consolidating, on a permanent basis, its illegal hold on those territories. This grave and deplorable development is reflected in the pursuance of a settlement policy in the West Bank that is being implemented in defiance of basic principles of international law and repeated appeals and condemnations by the international community.

51. Besides the withdrawal of forces from the occupied territories, another basic condition of peace in the region is the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of return and the right to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty, in accordance with the United Nations Charter. Until these rights are attained and fully exercised, and until the provisions of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) are thoroughly implemented, peace and security within recognized boundaries will continue to elude the countries and peoples of the Middle East.

52. Likewise, a comprehensive settlement of the problems of the Middle East, if it is to be enduring and equitable, cannot be brought about without the participation of the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people. In this connexion, we note the growing international recognition of the role played by the PLO, a trend which, it is to be hoped, may facilitate the creation of political conditions conducive to the participation of the PLO in the peace negotiations.

53. In conformity with the positions it has taken concerning other international problems, Brazil takes into

account the importance of the regional aspects of the situation in the Middle East. Accordingly, the resolution of the question of the Middle East must envisage the legitimate interests of all the peoples in the region. And in this connexion Brazil supports an intensive diplomatic effort with a view to dissipating the tensions that affect Lebanon and safeguarding its sovereignty and territorial integrity. The cessation of military attacks against Lebanese territory is essential for the attainment of the desired goal. We hope that peace and tranquillity will soon be restored to that troubled country.

54. The PRESIDENT: We shall have a short recess and then continue with the discussion.

The meeting was suspended at 11.30 a.m. and resumed at 11.40 a.m.

55. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the Assembly at its 77th meeting, on 26 November, I shall now invite the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States to address the Assembly.

56. Mr. KLIBI (League of Arab States) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The region of the Middle East is now going through a very critical and very dangerous stage in its history. The crisis which besets this region and which was brought about essentially by Israel's persistent attempts to defy the world community and violates international laws, and conventions makes the discussion on the question of the Middle East more urgent and necessary than ever if the bases for a just and equitable peace are to be laid.

57. This crisis prompted the tenth Arab Summit Conference held at Tunis from 20 to 22 November of this year, to establish broad guidelines for defining the conditions for peace [see A/34/763, annex], which should be based on the restoration to the Palestinian people of their rights, which have been repeatedly recognized and consistently supported by the Assembly.

58. We are not too pessimistic about the serious situation in the Middle East, because almost all countries are beginning to understand that the peoples of the region, and first and foremost the Palestinian people, have legitimate rights.

59. Mr. President, I should like to take this opportunity, on behalf of the League of Arab States, to join in the congratulations expressed to you by the international community on your election as President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. We should like also to join in the expressions of gratitude to you for the innovative initiatives you have taken in organizing and leading the discussions at this important session. That is not at all surprising because you are well known for your wisdom, a quality characteristic of the authentic struggle of your people and of the African peoples—you are the best representative of their experience and aspirations.

60. I should like to say how deeply grateful our nation is for the invitation extended to the Secretary-General of the league of Arab States, as the body responsible for expressing the collective will of the Arab countries. The League of Arab States, which I have the honour of representing, is the framework of that nation and the

expression of the fact that the Arab countries belong to that nation historically and practically, and in relation to the fate of those countries. Apart from the fact that that invitation represents a development in the understanding of the role of the League of Arab States, it bestows on us an even greater responsibility vis-à-vis the international community. Within the Arab nation, we have always regarded the world as a part of our national conscience. Hence, our legitimate causes are part of the commitment of the conscience of the world. That is symbolized by my participation in the present debate from this rostrum. The General Assembly is showing ever greater understanding of the just causes of our nation.

61. It is my duty to take this opportunity to inform the General Assembly—and, through it, various sectors of world public opinion—of certain matters on which the Arab nation as a whole is unanimous, and thereby to contribute to the discussion in the General Assembly of the agenda item concerning the Middle East.

62. The resolutions adopted at the Tunis Conference are a crystallization of our convictions and in themselves constitute the directives that impart energy to our action, guide our movements and determine our policies. The Tunis Conference was the tenth summit conference of the Arab countries and, consequently, its resolutions represent a continuation of over-all Arab policy. But we regret to have to say that the meeting at Tunis was the second meeting since the one in Baghdad⁵ that was held within the framework of the new era of the League of Arab States. We say this because the temporary absence of Egypt, as a State, from the work of the League has given a unique character to our resolutions and created a situation which, to a very large extent, constitutes a challenge that we must take up in order to shorten the period during which Egypt will remain on the sidelines in regard to its national obligations to the Arab nation.

63. In that context, I wish to assure the international community that the countries of the League, and in particular the secretariat of the League, desire to establish conditions that will enable Egypt to regain its essential role in the nation's struggle and to contribute to the fulfilment of the aspirations of the peoples of that nation.

64. We emphasize that point because we consider that the Egyptian régime's signature of a treaty with Israel is a violation of the charter of the League of Arab States, undermines the efforts of the United Nations and enables Israel to persist in its violation of rights and its illicit appropriation of land, and to extend its occupation and aggression. Since the signing of that treaty, Israel has felt authorized to increase its acts of aggression in occupied territories, defying all the resolutions of this Assembly, the unanimously expressed will of the international community and rules of all civilized nations.

65. The Camp David agreements, which paved the way to what is called the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty, were the result of a decision to side-step the role and legitimate influence of the United Nations in the achievement of a just and comprehensive solution to the Middle East crisis. There is no need for us to refer to

⁵ Ninth Arab Summit Conference, held at Baghdad from 2 to 5 November 1978.

the historical background of those Agreements or their aims, or even the ways and means used to implement them; in all its discussion and most of its resolutions the General Assembly has shown that it understands the imbalance that has been created in the search for a just peace in the region.

66. We need only mention that these agreements can be compared to a "raid", the aim of which is to attack the central character of the Palestinian cause, which is the essence of the Middle East crisis. In other words, those Agreements have displaced the cause of the Palestinian people from the central position it occupied in the Middle East, to put it in a marginal position, and have placed secondary problems in the foreground which now occupy the major part of the international community's efforts.

67. The Camp David agreements have enabled Israel to persist in its disregard of the will of the international community and United Nations resolutions. That total indifference has become typical of Israel's behaviour.

68. The General Assembly has repeatedly condemned that attitude, to the point of even adopting a resolution in which it went to the heart of the Zionist doctrine by equating it to racism [*resolution 3379 (XXX)*]. How could Israel's persistent violation of the Charter and United Nations resolutions and its continued policy of aggression and expansion be explained if its doctrine did not incarnate racism in its purest form and clearest meaning? Indeed, the racist entities consider themselves as basically freed from international obligations and the need to respect the rules and laws of civilization. Any régime or entity that enshrines racial discrimination regards itself as freed from the rules that form the bases of contemporary international relations and recognized moral obligations.

69. In view of all these facts, it has become possible to find out the reasons behind Israel's continued disregard of the international community; mere condemnation of Israel is no longer sufficient. Consequently, the international community and the United Nations, in particular, must seriously consider imposing sanctions on Israel as stipulated in many Articles of the Charter of the United Nations.

70. Had Israel's aggressive and expansionist attitude been a rare one, condemnation would have been sufficient and effective, as it had been with certain Governments which were deterred from pursuing their policy of aggression. Israel, however, is systematically pursuing its policy of aggression and expansion, not by chance but in accordance with a well-established plan. This is not merely capricious action by that régime but is part of the Zionist ideology itself.

71. An analysis of these established historical facts, and of the statements submitted by the fact-finding missions that were sent to the area and of the various United Nations documents, would reveal all the activities we had expected Israel to undertake. Therefore, it is incumbent on the international community to stop Israel and see to it that Israel suffers serious repercussions morally, materially, politically and strategically if it continues its policy of expansion and aggression.

72. We must understand that it is only natural for the

Israeli entity to persist in its defiance of the United Nations resolutions, even those concerning southern Lebanon.

73. Lebanon, which was one of the founders of the League of Arab States, throughout its history has contributed to the rebirth of the Arab nation, and has always been the site of revolutionary reactions of various cultures and religions, is now living through an indescribable tragedy, the basic elements of which we must understand in order to understand that the changes brought to the area by Israel were wrought by a retrograde doctrine backed by technical advance. Israel is practising hegemony by sowing division between the Lebanese people and the other Arab peoples.

74. Israel has attacked Lebanese territory and sovereignty and has considered Lebanese air space and territorial waters as its vital space, and in so doing imitates the South African and Rhodesian racist entities, making Lebanon the victim of its passions, violating its sovereignty and independence by striking at the unity of its sons and daughters, which unity has always been the civilized response to Zionist intransigence and doctrine.

75. Israel has always claimed that its aggression against Lebanon was caused by the presence of Palestinians on Lebanese territory; the existence of Palestinian camps in Lebanon or elsewhere is due, as is known, to Israel's open contempt, since its creation, for United Nations resolutions stipulating that the Palestinian people must be allowed to return to their homeland. If the Palestinians, who under the heel of occupation have had to flee to refugee camps, have understood that the only way to recover their homeland and their rights is to struggle and to offer organized resistance, it is because they have become aware of the results of the struggle of the peoples of Asia and Africa against colonialism and racism. If Israel and some of its champions blame Palestinian resistance for resorting to measures of legitimate self-defence, our response is that such violence sometimes accompanies national liberation movements in the third world and elsewhere; it has been and still is a last resort, after all other possibilities have been exhausted. On the other hand, the violence practised by colonialism and racism has always been at the heart of plans aimed at domination, aggression and the pursuit of colonialist and racist objectives.

76. The heads of Arab States have grasped the full dimension of Israeli plans for the south of Lebanon and have done everything they can to thwart the expansionist and aggressive aims. The Tunis Conference expressed in their resolution the commitment of the Arab nations regarding Lebanon; it seeks to allow Lebanon to reconstruct the southern part of its country and to overcome these trials so that it may resume its traditional place as a meeting point and as the source of a new spirit.

77. The PLO and Lebanon have understood Israel's aim and that is why the resolutions of the Conference have been aimed at facilitating co-ordination between the Palestinian leadership and the authorities in Lebanon, in order to make it possible for Lebanon to give greater support to the legitimate Palestinian struggle.

78. For a long time now—in fact, since the very creation of the United Nations—this body has been seized

of the question of Palestine. That question has been on the agenda of the Assembly for such a long time because Israel has persistently violated the rights of the Palestinian people. Just as Israeli violation of those rights has increased, so has international recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people recently grown. International proposals which recognize the natural, historical and legal rights of the Palestinian people show how isolated Israel is at present in the international community, and this is striking proof of the growing awareness of all peoples of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

79. For this reason the international community thought that simply proclaiming its attitude on the Palestinian issue would perhaps be sufficient incentive to impel Israel to recognize the rights of that people. But if the Arab countries have in fact responded to those resolutions, Israel has not; it has continued its aggressive policy of expansion.

80. The Assembly's view of the bearing of its resolutions on Israel has met with the reality of Zionist behaviour and doctrine, just as we described it. The international community has also encountered the mentality of those who see the Palestinian people as a human barrier to their aim of creating a racist entity which has been the dream of Zionism since its birth.

81. That is why Israel is seeking today to increase its settlements in the occupied territories, in violation of the Geneva Conventions and of the norms of international law. International condemnation has been unanimous concerning the establishment of settlements. Nevertheless, Israel defying the international community, has continued to create new settlements, claiming that they are extensions of existing ones. This policy of Israel, the policy of the *fait accompli* aims at the preparation of the next phase of expansion, of Judaizing, distorting the very demographic, national and historical nature of Palestine, undermining the unity of the Palestinian people and its ability to resist. Is it not paradoxical and indeed bizarre that Israel is alone in the world in refusing to define its own frontiers? This is only because, should it define them, this would mean that it recognized that there were limits to its ambitions.

82. We all know how Israel violates international law and the resolutions of this body. Those violations must be seen as deriving directly from the very nature of the Zionist entity and that is why the Arab nations feel that for Egypt now to seek to stand aloof from Arab unity creates an extremely dangerous situation. It is for that reason that we must close our ranks, as was indicated in resolutions of the two Conferences held at Baghdad and Tunis. We unanimously condemned the Camp David agreements and the international community, in its turn, has very quickly understood that the agreements are futile, in fact they tend to foster instability in the area. Our Arab convictions have been at one with international convictions about the agreements and the Treaty which followed.

83. Events in recent months have demonstrated the futility of the policies pursued in the Middle East, because Israel has in fact continued to defy the international community. Even the United States condemned Israeli misdeeds. But it must be emphasized that it is American policy that has made it possible for Israel to

pursue its own policies. It is not enough for the United States to criticize only certain aspects of Israel's scandalous conduct. It is much more important for the American Administration to understand the true dimensions of Israel's aggressive policy. Otherwise, the United States will remain committed to Israeli purposes and willingly or unwilling continue to encourage Israel to achieve its ends.

84. In political circles in America we now hear certain criticisms of American policy in the Middle East. It is regarded as a vain policy, prejudicial to American interest.

85. The circumstances which led to the resignation of Mr. Andrew Young as Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations should warn us that the "special relationship" between America and Israel may lead the United States to find itself in a critical situation that would prevent that State from pursuing a policy of peace in that area.

86. It is essentially because of the special relationship between the two countries that it was not possible for the United States fully to understand the real situation in the Middle East. That is why efforts have been sporadic and have led only to piecemeal solutions. The Treaty between the Israeli and Egyptian Governments have simply enabled Israel to sow discord among the Arab countries, thereby treating the Palestinian question in a way that will undoubtedly lead to its dissolution.

87. The negotiations on the so-called autonomy for the Palestinians are simply aimed at helping Israel to gain time so as to pursue its well-known ends. That is why the resolutions of the Tunis Conference opposed and criticized this policy squarely to convey to the responsible Americans the dangers inherent in it to Arab-American relations. At the same time we tried to intensify our efforts to reach American and world public opinion, emphasizing how indignant we were about certain aspects of American policy in the Middle East. The Arab nation is certain that American society will have the necessary wisdom to correct the situation when all the facts are known. That is why the Tunis Conference realized that greater efforts had to be made to inform American public opinion.

88. Since the Baghdad Conference adopted resolutions condemning the Camp David agreements and imposing sanctions against Egypt, the United States and a number of Western States wondered what sort of strategy could be used as a substitute for them.

89. First we should mobilize every effort, including all our resources, among them petroleum, in order to effect the emancipation and liberation of all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, so that Jerusalem could be a meeting place for all religions, the very soul and spirit of militant Palestine.

90. Secondly, we decided that the United Nations should revert to its proper role, thus making it possible for an equitable solution to be found to the Middle East problem, for the pertinent resolutions of the Assembly and the Security Council to be implemented and, thereby, for the Palestinian people to establish their independent homeland.

91. Thirdly, we decided to wage an intense campaign in order to persuade the United States to revise or to call into question its policy regarding the Treaty between Egypt and Israel. We have also made an appeal for a greater effort on behalf of preserving peace by world public opinion, particularly by public opinion in America, which as one of the two super-Powers has a particular role to play in the re-establishment of peace in the Middle East. The campaign should be of interest also to all peace-loving States.

92. It is high time for the United States to cease its policy of disregarding the PLO, since the Palestinian problem cannot be properly resolved unless the PLO is recognized. The entire international community must recognize the PLO as the sole and authentic representative of the Palestinian people because such recognition would further the cause of peace. Everything seems to indicate that the United States itself would stand to benefit were the PLO to be involved in the peace effort—that is if it were to entertain relations with the PLO.

93. Since the world began to grasp the dimensions of Arab strategy, an attempt has been made to obtain the support of some Arab States by tempting them or intimidating them. Despite the fact that the resolutions of the Baghdad Conference were quite clear in defining the Arab attitude, efforts have continued to break the circle of isolation around the separate agreements. The resolutions adopted at Tunis were also of great importance as a continuation of the efforts made at Baghdad to bring about a lasting peace in the Middle East. The Tunis resolutions showed quite clearly the developments that have taken place in the Arab countries.

94. I should like to say that what President Carter of the United States said on his talks with certain Arab leaders was most significant. I should like to say that Arab heads of State have committed themselves to respecting the resolutions adopted at Baghdad and Tunis and supporting the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

95. The Arab nation is aware of the fact it possesses considerable petroleum wealth, which has meant that our region has a particular responsibility regarding the economic needs of all countries throughout the world and the energy requirements of the industrialized world. Certain industrialized countries are acting as if those Arab resources belong to them. They seem to think that the investment of Arab wealth in the service of Arab priorities is to the detriment of something that they consider as their absolute right. The deliberate attempt to disregard the rights of developing countries was what originally led to the failure of the dialogue between the industrialized countries and the third world.

96. We have frequently demonstrated that we appreciate our responsibilities towards the international community. Nevertheless, we are also wedded to our Arab priorities. While still being aware of the ties that bind the Arab nation in solidarity with the other countries of the world. We are aware of our responsibilities, and for that reason it is up to the industrialized world to understand our aspirations and legitimate national goals. It is through a common effort of collective responsibility that the Arab States will be

able to achieve healthier relations with the West in general and with the United States in particular.

97. Two very important facts are relevant here. First of all, zionism is attempting to distort the Arab image and the actions of the Arab countries. This is a process that is designed to instil a spirit of rancour against the Arab countries in the industrialized world, making some people believe that it is the Arabs who are responsible for the rise in oil prices, as if the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries was comprised only of Arab countries. The petroleum-producing countries are not trying "to raise" the price of petroleum; such increases are dictated only by our need to cope with inflation.

98. That is the reason the non-renewable resources of the third-world countries must be husbanded in order that they may be used wisely. The League of Arab States, aware of the nature of the challenge, are determined to play a leading part in this process, so that the entire world may be aware of the purposes of our nation and of their heritage and that co-operation between the Arab countries and other communities may be furthered.

99. Secondly, the falsification campaign that has been launched by Israel and by its champions in the United States and in certain Western countries has not only falsified the facts about Arabs but has been insulting to Islam as a religion and as a civilization. This campaign is a tissue of lies, since we know that Islam is firmly grounded in world civilization and has always promoted solidarity among the countries of the world, particularly between Arab countries and the other countries of Islam.

100. Israel's purpose is to undermine the unity of the Arab States and to falsify the facts. Although this campaign was successful for a time, most of the Western leaders have now developed a much more acute awareness of the situation, and because of this such campaigns are no longer successful.

101. Before concluding, I cannot fail to emphasize the fact that in the League of Arab States we understand that Israel's usurpation of the Arab territories of Palestine entails complications which are not confined to the Arab States. This has been shown quite clearly in recent days as we have seen certain military movements in the area and elsewhere. These have inflamed the situation and caused feelings to run high.

102. It is our hope that the crisis in the relations between Iran and the United States will be only temporary and will be settled before it leads to further complications. We also hope that through the efforts of the United Nations the legitimate rights of both the Iranian people and the United States will be assured. It is only in this way that we shall be able to resolve the problem of the Middle East and make it possible for the situation to be viewed in a fresh context.

Address by Mr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo, Member of the Revolutionary Junta of the Government of the Republic of El Salvador

103. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have

pleasure in welcoming Mr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo and inviting him to address the Assembly.

104. Mr. UNGO (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It gives me great pleasure, on behalf of the Revolutionary Junta of the Government of El Salvador and on my own behalf, to congratulate you on your election to preside over the deliberations of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

105. Your well-deserved election is also a recognition of your country, the United Republic of Tanzania, which has made such valuable contributions to the cause of developing nations.

106. May I also pay a special tribute to Mr. Indalecio Liévano Aguirre, a distinguished citizen of the Americas, for the able way he led the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

107. I also wish to take this opportunity to pay a tribute, on behalf of the Government I represent, to the Secretary-General of this Organization, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who has so tactfully and diplomatically accomplished his difficult tasks, clearly demonstrating his impartiality, objectivity and dynamism.

108. My country greets the delegation of Saint Lucia and welcomes it to the United Nations, an international body which aspires to comply with the concept of universality; a concept which entails respect for the systems of government of every State, regardless of its size or power.

109. The Government of El Salvador wishes to reiterate its faith in the United Nations as the most competent vehicle designed by human genius for the purpose of eradicating war and poverty and promoting international co-operation and just economic relations among all States.

110. As the principal political body for the discussion, negotiation and analysis of world problems, it has dealt positively with the most acute areas of tension and confrontation, and the world has progressed from the cold war to détente, a progress that has paved the way for co-operation and fruitful dialogue.

111. We cannot foster the illusion of imagining a future without conflict; and it is precisely because of this that we must tackle the construction of a common destiny for mankind with a dynamic and open outlook and convert such conflict into a positive factor for change for the good of all peoples.

112. Since this is the first time that the Revolutionary Junta of the Government of El Salvador has presented its views, through me, to the General Assembly, allow me to refer to the sound bases and the essential political purposes which will guide its conduct.

113. These were established when social sectors that were ready to change obsolete systems of exploitation and correct conditions of structural backwardness attained power in the State. The purpose was to attain in our society a level of development characterized by the existence of a genuine economic, social and political democracy.

114. We believe in democracy as a system of government based on the popular will, both in terms of its political approach with respect for fundamental freedoms and on the economic and social levels, as symbolized by the efforts to build a just community in which every human being will be treated equitably in accordance with individual productive capacity and basic needs.

115. The changes required by the present system in my country are being effected as part of a broad process of transformation to enable our people to attain a standard of living in keeping with its dignity and in an environment where the values of justice, freedom and collective well-being prevail.

116. My Government also wishes to set forth its basic foreign policy lines, which contrast with the timid policies of the past that were characterized by dependency. We have come here to support the militant positions of the third world and the non-aligned countries vis-à-vis the industrialized countries, the just causes of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the causes of freedom, equality, just treatment and respect for sovereignty and the aspirations to freedom of the peoples subjected to colonialism and domination by foreign Governments.

117. We draw our inspiration from the principles and norms of international law governing relations between countries, in particular the principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, mutual respect, ideological pluralism, the right of peoples to self-determination and their right to decide on their own systems of government.

118. The new Government of El Salvador, which demands respects as it conducts its affairs, accords similar respect to other countries in the conduct of its international relations. As an essential pre-condition for the preservation of harmonious relations, we must always bear in mind the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, a principle with a respected American tradition which has, furthermore, been embodied in the United Nations Charter, which all countries here today have engaged to follow. Its observance as a cardinal principle must guide relations between States. Of course, such observance must go hand in hand with States' compliance with other international commitments which they have accepted and agreed upon. In making that reference I have in mind, essentially, the full application of human rights.

119. In this regard the Government of El Salvador declares that it grants priority to the universal observance of human rights. In this connexion it considers that this, by its very nature, must be an unceasing crusade in which all peoples and Governments should participate. The present Government of El Salvador, which has pledged absolute respect for human rights at the national level, cannot but fully endorse any programme or international instrument promoting the basic human values. Thus, at the ninth session of the General Assembly of American States, held at La Paz, from 22 to 31 October 1979, El Salvador played an active part in improving inter-American instruments in this field. The result of this effort was the adoption of important documents of the Inter-American Court on Human Rights and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

120. Today is of particular importance to our country, since a few moments ago the Government which I have the honour of representing formally deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations the instruments of ratification of the basic covenants of this great Organization in the field of human rights. I am referring to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex], the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [ibid.], the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 2106 A (XX), annex] and the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex].

121. In summary on this question, El Salvador has by that act declared its solemn commitment to comply faithfully with international agreements and, consequently, with their universal and humanitarian principles, since these duly serve as guidelines in our governmental administration.

122. The problems and conflicts besetting the world today have an inescapable impact on each and every one of our countries. This impact is naturally greater in some cases than in others. Our common destiny brings all peoples together in the search for solutions which, thanks to their zeal for justice, may bring peace, well-being and international security. States without distinction are morally bound to contribute to such a search. By virtue of this joint responsibility we all also share the blame for the failure to find equitable solutions and for the perpetuation of problems.

123. That is why no Member of the United Nations may consider the question of *apartheid* as alien to its own affairs. That system, imposed by force in southern Africa, lies beyond international law and all ethical considerations. Following that line of thinking, my Government censures the fact that that evil has not been eradicated, considering that the conscience of the world has condemned that abominable practice time and again. Similarly, the United Nations has rejected the so-called "bantustanization", disguised as national homelands, which aims at the separate development of the races. How many more times shall we have to resort to that expedient before freedom and law prevail?

124. The unanimous rebellion of peoples against *apartheid* and its various forms is evidence of the moral falsity of the concept of racial supremacy. The continuance of that ruthless policy is not only an affront to the dignity of man but also represents a serious threat to the stability of the African continent and the security of the world in general.

125. We see the emancipation struggle of the African peoples, and of the peoples of the third world in general, to free the world of racial discrimination as imbued with a sense of justice and impatient to arrive at the moment of glory, but with indomitable courage. My Government is also concerned at the fact that total liberation has not yet been attained by the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe. However, that end can be seen on the horizon. Through the solidarity of the countries that cherish peace and justice, the colonial yoke will be eliminated.

126. The democratic principle of the longed-for majority rule will become a reality throughout southern Africa. The writing can be seen on the wall. El Salvador

would like the international community to know that, in keeping with what I have just said, it has severed diplomatic relations with the Government of South Africa.

127. The international community, faced with the threat of an atomic holocaust, has reacted favourably, although it is far from attaining the most desired goals. Not only the non-nuclear countries but also the atomic Powers themselves understood the need to control weapons of mass destruction. With regard to conventional weapons, the fact that \$1 million per minute is spent to acquire them shows unequivocally that, despite the enormous contrast between that amount and the amounts devoted to development, the merchants of terror continue to amass wealth, disregarding the fate of mankind.

128. We must bear in mind the relatively limited focal points of tension and conflict in areas other than the traditional ones that are potential sources of major confrontation. Here I must say that El Salvador views with concern the fact that in some areas there are signs of a return to the "cold war", which history has shown is an obstacle to the attainment of the objective of international peace and security pursued by this Organization and is harmful to the interests of the developing countries, since its designs and goals include bloc alignments for the benefit of centres of power.

129. The international community must be alert to new and sophisticated means of annihilation, which are being improved both quantitatively and qualitatively, so that such sophisticated technology is not used in such a way as to lead to unpredictable consequences. The fact that technology in an organized world should be at the service of peace and development must be reiterated by all nations, regardless of their political and social system.

130. I should like now to refer to the critical situation in the international economic system. There is no doubt that the deepening of the economic crisis in its various manifestations is the result of structural maladjustments, together with the absence of the political will on the part of industrialized countries to apply remedies and to accede to the just demands of developing countries.

131. The gap continues to widen, especially for the net importers of oil. Dependency, exploitation and inequality, which work against the developing countries, become more serious every day, and no one can deny the dramatic nature of this situation, the inflationary impact of which doubly affects the developing countries.

132. There is a marked contradiction between the economically affluent and wasteful countries and the nations with economies increasingly impoverished by exploitation and subjugation. The deterioration in the terms of trade can be seen in the continual rise in the prices of manufactured goods imported by the developing countries together with the fluctuations, with a declining trend, in the prices of basic commodities exported from the poor countries, all of which results in a scarcity of food-stuffs, in hunger and in disease.

133. The scarcity of food-stuffs for developing

countries is now at the level of 20 million tons a year and is worsening at an astronomic pace. The food supply for each person in the developed countries is 50 per cent greater than those for each person in the developing countries. Given that basic balance, it is easy to see the just nature of the struggle of the poor countries to establish a new international economic order and the imperative need to bring together all the countries of the third world, united and active in the Group of 77, as the co-ordinating entity for the stabilization of commodity prices in the world market.

134. The failure of the negotiations held during the fifth session of UNCTAD⁶ and in the Committee of the Whole⁷ has injected a note of pessimism about the future. The new international economic order is seen as a mirage unless the attitudes of the wealthy nations can be changed.

135. The United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development⁸ achieved very modest results that left the structural situation unaltered.

136. These few examples furnish convincing evidence that the promised spontaneous collaboration was an illusion, that it has no basis in reality and that the poor countries are faced with a lengthy struggle if they are to create a more just world as far as international economic trends are concerned.

137. Faced with the negative attitude of the industrialized countries, which is impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*], the developing countries must respond by going ahead with systems of mutual economic co-operation, establishing in order to combat dependency the principle of collective economic self-reliance so strongly advocated in the Economic Declaration of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries [*see A/34/542, annex, sect. IV*].

138. The conclusion of the Second United Nations Development Decade and the beginning of the third decade find us in an uncertain situation and facing extremely difficult prospects. However, we must not relinquish our attempt to establish an international development strategy that can outline pragmatic models of co-operation on various levels and that will include the systems of financing necessary to do away with inequality and to bring about the democratization of international economic relations.

139. El Salvador has a priority interest in the items discussed at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea because of their deep implications for the establishment of a legal order that will uniformly regulate the activities of States on the seas, which constitute two thirds of the surface of our planet. My country wishes to state that this new law of the seas is an integral part of the new international economic order and that it will establish a balanced system of exploitation of natural resources, living and non-living, found in the seas, in contrast to the disorder that now prevails.

140. The eighth session of that Conference ended with

some slight progress. The long drawn-out negotiating process is nearing its final stage, since agreements now exist in principle on almost 90 per cent of the first revision of the Informal Single Negotiating Text.⁹ While we all know that there are still important problems awaiting solution, a firm step has finally been taken towards our common goal. The complexity of the matter is enormous, with philosophical concepts, national economic interests, projections on world mineral demand and already tested sophisticated technology, with enormous financial implications and, finally, with legal and administrative questions all forming a mosaic of oftentimes conflicting interests.

141. My country reaffirms its opposition to the proposals put forward by certain countries to adopt unilateral measures for the exploitation of the mineral resources of the sea-bed.

142. El Salvador believes that such measures would have a deep impact on the work of the Conference, which could fail were they to be applied. The defence of the principle of the common heritage of mankind is the catalyst of the Group of 77, which has given a decisive impetus to progress in the work of this Conference, a conference that has been called the most significant of all those held under the auspices of this Organization.

143. In concluding this subject, El Salvador wishes to emphasize its position with regard to the defence of the principle of State sovereignty over coastal waters to a 200-mile limit, especially for purposes of exploration and exploitation of resources.

144. International peace and security are still being threatened by localized conflicts that have world-wide repercussions.

145. The situation in the Middle East continues to be of supreme gravity, owing to its many facets and complexities. At the crux of this problem, we find the illegal and persistent occupation by Israel of foreign territories in violation of the Charter and of many resolutions of this Organization.

146. In like manner, the so-called question of Palestine lies at the heart of the conflict, and there can be no definitive solution to this question that is not based on recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to build a sovereign State.

147. A third indispensable aspect of any comprehensive and lasting solution to the problem is undoubtedly recognition of the right of Israel to exist as a State.

148. The efforts at negotiation carried out by Egypt and Israel under the aegis of the United States of America are a positive step and have resulted in initial formulations which are embodied in agreements and are already in force. However, El Salvador maintains that a comprehensive solution to this problem would naturally require the participation of all the parties concerned, including representatives of the Palestinian people, in the process of negotiating and adopting agreements.

149. The United Nations has an important role to play in the search for ways of settling this dispute, a more

⁶ Held at Manila from 7 May to 3 June 1979.

⁷ Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174.

⁸ Held at Vienna from 20 to 31 August 1979.

⁹ See document A/CONF.62/WP.10/Rev.1.

decisive role than that which it has played so far. In accordance with the objectives of the Organization, it must intensify its efforts until a just and lasting peace is attained in the region, and thus until the danger of a military confrontation of world-wide dimensions is eliminated.

150. We have said that there is an over-all interrelationship in the world of today. Therefore my Government cannot pass over in silence the current events in Iran, which are affecting and endangering international peace and security. In the light of these circumstances, my Government wishes to express to the parties involved its hope that, after deep reflexion, they will seek through the civilized means available the most appropriate and acceptable settlement of the crisis. We urge them to refrain from mutual threats, since words are usually followed by deeds, and deeds could result in a conflict of unforeseeable dimensions.

151. My Government associates itself with the appeals which have been addressed to the Government of Iran forthwith to release the American hostages, respecting the immunity they enjoy under international law.

152. While focal points of tension and the explosive situations which obtain in other continents are of interest to us, given the common destiny of mankind, we are naturally most concerned about the frictions and the problems which exist in Latin America and, in particular, in the Central American isthmus, where El Salvador is located. Here geography makes our participation inevitable.

153. In this context, we wish to refer, first of all, to the state of the negotiations with the sister Republic of Honduras, the object of which is to resolve the differences which are exerting a negative influence on relations in the area. In this regard, we feel that there are well-founded hopes that the process of mediation to which those differences have been submitted will lead to a conclusion fruitful for both countries. We trust in the abilities and wisdom of the mediator, the distinguished Peruvian jurist, Mr. José Luis Bustamante Rivero.

154. We are certain that the strong historical and human bonds between Honduras and El Salvador will facilitate the attainment of solutions which will satisfy the aspirations of their peoples. In this connexion, the Revolutionary Junta of the Government of El Salvador has set as a priority goal of its foreign policy the speedy attainment of an agreement with regard to the difficulties that unfortunately have impaired the strong fraternal feelings between our peoples.

155. With regard to Nicaragua, the Revolutionary Junta of the Government of El Salvador has expressed its support for the Junta of National Reconstruction and its recognition of the Sandinista Front for National Liberation in its heroic struggle for the liberation of the people of Nicaragua, which ousted the Somoza dictatorship. We should like to take this opportunity to thank the present Government of Nicaragua publicly for its warm reception of statements on matters of common interest made by my Government during a recent visit to that country by members of the Salvadorian Junta.

156. It was in the light of El Salvador's interest in regional affairs that we observed the tribulations of the Republic of Panama in regaining the exercise of its sovereignty over the Canal Zone. After major efforts had finally led to the triumph of reason, we noted with relief the satisfactory solution that finally came into force when the Treaties were signed by Mr. Torrijos, President of Panama, and Mr. Carter, President of the United States of America,¹⁰ thanks to the tenacity and courage of the people of Panama. The Revolutionary Junta of the Government of El Salvador expresses its solidarity with the Government of Panama in its aim of establishing a system of permanent neutrality in the Canal Zone so that free transit may be guaranteed for all States.

157. At the other end of the Central American isthmus, the neighbouring sister Republic of Guatemala is in dispute with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland over the Territory of Belize.

158. My Government recognizes as a fundamental principle the need to free all peoples of the world from colonial subjugation. For this reason, we support the process of the decolonization of that Territory. The specific manner in which decolonization will take place, in our view, should be defined by means of negotiations between the Governments of the two States in the dispute, with the participation of the legitimate representatives of the people of Belize.

159. My country would be pleased if a political formula could be arrived at for an agreement satisfactory to all the parties directly concerned, bearing in mind that it would open paths to subregional and interregional co-operation, with many positive effects in Central America and the Greater Caribbean area.

160. The Revolutionary Junta of the Government of El Salvador, convinced that in this era the joint efforts of nations are the most valuable components in the attainment of economic and social development in the various regions of the world, is promoting, at the Central American level, with all goodwill and interest, specific activities designed to restore to the greatest extent possible all the machinery of Central American integration, and to establish other machinery that might be necessary to ensure that such integration encompassed most of the elements in the life of the peoples of Central America.

161. Proof of my Government's interest is to be found in the statements made recently by the members of the Junta during visits to the brother countries of the Central American isthmus, to whose heads of State and other high government officials they expressed the firm political will of the new Government of El Salvador to co-operate, in a Central American spirit and in a pragmatic spirit, in the search for solutions of our common economic and social problems.

162. On the other hand, my Government has conveyed to other States its position that our efforts should be pooled in order that we may maintain common positions in international forums and vis-à-vis third countries.

¹⁰ Panama Canal Treaty, of 1977, and Treaty concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal, signed at Washington on 7 September 1977.

163. Within the framework of the struggle of the third world to bring about a just and orderly international economic system, we wish to stress the importance of joint action by the Latin American region, through the Latin American Economic System—the body that has been given the task of promoting co-operation and the integration and co-ordination of our countries' positions vis-à-vis the other nations.

164. The Latin American Economic System is the main instrument of the Latin American States for their economic liberation. All the developing countries of the continent participate in it; it is a landmark in Latin American relations, characterized as it is by ideological pluralism.

165. We wish also to emphasize the decisive role that has been played in recent years by the members of the Andean Pact¹¹ in the field of economic integration, as well as at the political level through the promotion of the process of regional democratization. Their unity of goals and their co-ordinated action demonstrate that it is possible for our countries to achieve a sounder international political stand, through a search for joint positions and through regional solidarity with the struggles of the peoples to improve their standard of living in a democratic environment.

166. The new foreign policy of my country, which I have attempted to outline here, is based on positions of principle. We express ourselves clearly and specifically in favour of peace, and we state our firm determination

to contribute to the establishment of a new political, economic and social order based on equality and the democratization of relations among States. We believe in international co-operation as a characteristic sign of our time; and, given the reluctance of the industrialized countries, we express our support for increasing co-operation among the developing countries. We believe in human rights, as the corner-stone of our government policy and as a principle which extends beyond national frontiers—indeed, as a subject of international jurisdiction.

167. We strongly support the struggle of peoples to attain full independence and the exercise of their inalienable rights to determine their own future, free from all forms of foreign interference. In keeping with that line of conduct, we intend to join the non-aligned movement as a full member, in order to make our contribution to the elimination of the various forms of domination in the world.

168. The people of the Republic of El Salvador, inspired by the principles which I have set forth here, greet in solidarity and brotherhood all the peoples of the third world, which you, Mr. President, represent so worthily, and all the nations represented in this forum. We wish you all peace and well-being.

169. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank Mr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo, member of the Revolutionary Junta of the Government of the Republic of El Salvador, for the important statement he has just made.

¹¹ Andean Agreement for Subregional Integration, signed at Bogotá on 26 May 1969.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.