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President: Mr. Ismat T. KITTANI (Iraq).

AGENDA ITEM 20

Admission of new Members to the United Nations

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): I draw the attention of the members of the Assembly to the positive recommendation by the Security Council for the admission of Belize to membership of the United Nations. In this connection a draft resolution has been submitted in document A/36/L.4 and Add.1.

2. Mr. CASTILLO ARRIOLA (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): This is the first time the delegation of Guatemala has spoken at this session, and we take this opportunity, Mr. Kittani, to congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. Your personal qualities, talent, skill and prudence guarantee that our deliberations will be conducted with care and wisdom, which will ensure success.

3. I should also like to refer to the President of the thirty-fifth session, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, who conducted our debates wisely and proved that his election was indeed a good choice. He has our appreciation.

4. We are now discussing, under agenda item 20, the admission of Belize to membership in the United Nations, in accordance with resolution 491 (1981), adopted by the Security Council at its 2302nd meeting, on 23 September 1981, recommending to the General Assembly that Belize be admitted as a Member of the United Nations.

5. At that meeting of the Security Council, Guatemala expressed its opposition to the admission of Belize, but before that, in a step authorized by the Charter, we had requested the Security Council, in our letter of 10 September 1981,¹ to deal with the territorial dispute between Guatemala and the United Kingdom over the Territory of Belize. Instead of fulfilling its obligations under the Charter and dealing with the dispute, instead of making recommendations to resolve the conflict and seeking ways to avoid international tension in the Central American area, the Security Council did not comply with the Charter and informally told us that consideration of a dispute could

not stop the procedures relating to the admission of a new State. That act was grossly improper, for what we requested was investigation of the dispute and our action was not directed against the admission of Belize, for the independence of Belize, and still less the procedures relating to admission, were not matters that had been initiated in the Security Council.

6. In limiting our rights, incomprehensibly, under Articles 34 and 35 of the Charter and rule 3 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the Council forced us to enter a protest, which appears in the letter of 18 September² and which has been circulated as an official Security Council document. In the circumstances, we had no choice but to return to the Security Council to express our absolute opposition to the admission of Belize, inasmuch as procedures had already been initiated in the Council.

7. In view of the Council's decision to recommend to the General Assembly the admission of Belize as a new Member of the United Nations, the delegation of Guatemala is fulfilling its duty to state its position on the application for admission by Belize, which we are now considering. We should like briefly to state the most significant aspects of the background to the dispute over the Territory, and especially the events of the past few years, during which Guatemala has always tried to find a settlement that would be just and satisfactory to all the parties to the territorial dispute.

8. In 1859, Great Britain, in order to validate its usurpation of the north-eastern part of the Republic of Guatemala, known as Belize, a legal part of Guatemalan territory, forced Guatemala to sign a Convention which, although called a convention on boundaries, involved the actual cession of the territory unlawfully occupied by Great Britain, with no more title than a limited usufructuary concession for the cutting of wood, a concession granted by Spain many years earlier, in the Conventions of 1783 and 1786, signed at Versailles and London, respectively, over an area that covered less than 5,000 square kilometres, stretching only from the Yucatán border to the Sibún River.

9. Later, with Guatemala already independent from Spain and its territory including the area from the Sibún River to the south, Great Britain occupied more than 15,000 square kilometres of Guatemalan territory, up to the Sarstún River. The Convention of 1859, imposed on Guatemala, involved the hidden cession of more than 15,000 square kilometres of Guatemalan territory and, as an inducement, a compensatory clause was offered whereby Great Britain undertook to build a highway in Guatemala. But that pledge was never kept and the Convention was therefore null and void, since the conditions on which Guatemala entered into the contract were not fulfilled.

10. For many decades Guatemala presented its claims to Great Britain without any result. It was a dispute between a small State and a great Power. Accordingly, in 1946 the Government of the Republic declared that the Convention of 1859 had lapsed, and the Constitution of the Republic declared that Belize was a part of its territory.

11. To avoid the commitments in the 1859 Convention, Great Britain in 1958 exercised its enormous influence in the United Nations to ensure that this part of Guatemalan territory was irregularly made subject to the Trusteeship System, over the open opposition of the representatives of Guatemala. The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples then granted to Great Britain administration of the Territory, which was not a colony in the correct sense of the Charter and was certainly not subject to the Trusteeship System.

12. In 1962, through the good offices of the United States of America, there was a round of direct negotiations between Guatemala and Great Britain in San Juan, Puerto Rico, culminating in a Declaration whereby both parties recognized that Belize was a territory in dispute. The British delegation included representatives of the local Government of Belize, one of whom was Mr. George C. Price.

13. There have been more and more direct negotiations at all levels: foreign ministers, high officials, technicians and so on, always on the basis of reasonable proposals from Guatemala to settle the territorial dispute. But Great Britain always took an unreasonable and unacceptable attitude accompanied by intimidating displays of military force on land, sea and air in Belize, unnecessarily creating a permanent source of insecurity in the area and unjustifiably inducing hostility towards Guatemala among certain segments of the Belizean population, fostered by certain politicians interested in local power. Guatemala was and still is moved by a firm desire to promote sincere friendship and co-operation with the people of Belize in order to create conditions of fraternal and fruitful coexistence for our common well-being, peace and security.

14. Guatemala and Great Britain, as the sole legitimate parties to the territorial dispute, are firmly convinced that its continuation could endanger the maintenance of peace and security in the region, especially if it is made worse by the interference of other States in the area that have nothing to do with it. Therefore, in accordance with Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations, they have, over the past two years, increased by mutual agreement their efforts to arrive at a settlement that is just and honourable for all the parties, with the determination to do so before the independence of Belize, so that independence would be granted with the consent of both parties, and not unilaterally granted solely by the Power ruling the Territory.

15. From the beginning of the Government of General Fernando Romeo Lucas García, the Republic of Guatemala has repeatedly set forth a clear and open policy for a peaceful settlement of the dispute. The negotiations that have taken place since that time have included a meeting in London from 5 to 11 March 1981 between the Foreign Ministers of Guatemala and the United Kingdom, with the participation of the Prime Minister of Belize.

There a basic document was signed, known as the Heads of Agreement, containing 16 general points for the settlement of the dispute, which the parties undertook to develop as explicit rules which would constitute an integral part of specific treaties.

16. Once again, the United Kingdom and the representatives of Belize who were part of the delegation failed to abide by the solemn and serious commitment assumed in the Heads of Agreement, which were approved unanimously and without any reservations. They used every device to distort and avoid compliance with the obligation to conclude the treaty to implement the Heads of Agreement, which was to include the termination of the dispute and acceptance by both sides, Guatemala and the United Kingdom, of the independence of Belize, provided the other agreed Heads were complied with, their being all equally valid, as demonstrated by their being part of the same document.

17. The United Kingdom intends to leave unresolved the territorial dispute with Guatemala, using General Assembly resolution 35/20, which is legally just a recommendation of the General Assembly subject to prior compliance with Article 33 of the Charter, because the dispute with Belize is a matter under negotiation, which is a procedure for the peaceful settlement of disputes that has led to a formal commitment by the parties.

18. In this respect, I would remind the General Assembly that Guatemala is a country that has consistently defended the self-determination of peoples, and we therefore regret that this lofty political principle has been distorted and that attempts have been made to transform it into something that violates every rule of law. This is simply an aberration born of enthusiasm. We understand that the majority of the nations represented here see, in the exercise of self-determination and in Article 73 of the Charter, providing that the interests of the inhabitants of colonial Territories prevail over everything else, the body of rules that has made their independence possible and that has brought the Organization increasingly close to the great ideal of universality. Nevertheless, we must not confer on these principles any meaning that could lead to the destruction of fundamental legal norms that have been promoted by this Organization. Thus General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which refers to the independence of peoples subject to colonialism, safeguards the territorial integrity of States. If now there is an attempt to say that the principle of self-determination is a rule of *jus cogens* and as such does not require any proclamation or acceptance, but has value of its own and takes precedence over any other norm of international or domestic law, that will bring chaos to international life and will be defended, egotistically, only when the rule applies to other States.

19. This confusion between principles and political ideology as opposed to the rule of law will inevitably lead to arbitrary action and serve as a pretext for the use of force. The exercise of force and violence arises from the attitude of the United Kingdom, since it has turned its back on the controversy, unilaterally granting independence to Belize and refusing to deal with the consequences of its actions.

20. This way of reasoning is not only absurd, it is outrageous and Guatemala cannot be expected to accept it. The General Assembly can vote as it sees fit; it may be

led by its enthusiasms or its prejudices; but that will not change the facts, for the dispute exists and the new nation, Belize, is located within Guatemalan territory.

21. To accept the declaration of independence of Belize before the dispute has been settled, because of the arrogance of the United Kingdom, is tantamount to authorizing a Power to violate its obligations under Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations, which says:

"1. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.

"2. The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means."

22. Negotiations between the United Kingdom and Guatemala have reached a final-settlement stage as a result of the commitment undertaken in the Heads of Agreement, which are to be raised to treaty level. But the United Kingdom's refusal to go along is an avoidance of its responsibilities, is detrimental to the rights of Guatemala, and is an abuse of its status as a great Power. It also means passing the burden of the claims in the dispute to Belize after its independence, when the United Kingdom could have negotiated with Guatemala in good faith, in accordance with its international responsibility, and terminated the dispute, implementing the Heads of Agreement and raising them to treaty level before the unilateral concession of independence. Thus Belize is being deprived of the friendship and co-operation of Guatemala, which undoubtedly would have been beneficial to Belize's development. Moreover, this has created in the area a situation that is dangerous to international peace and security.

23. I stated earlier that we should consider whether Belize, gaining independence in the way it did, can belong to the United Nations. We do not wish to enter into an in-depth analysis of Article 4 of the Charter. That has already been done by the International Court of Justice in advisory opinions. What we do wish to say is that this entire conceptual construction is based on a fundamental premise, namely, the existence of a State, and the General Assembly must direct its attention to that precise aspect.

24. One of the most elementary characteristics of a State, the *sine qua non* element, is a territory. In the case of Belize, it does not have its own territory. It exercises jurisdiction over an area, but this is solely the result of force and for that reason it cannot be said to have firm rights over the territory. The territory of Belize is part of the territory of Guatemala. This is set forth in the Constitution of the Republic of Guatemala, and consequently, here in this forum, we wish to enter the clearest claims regarding Guatemala's rights over the entire territory which it is now claimed belongs to the State of Belize. For these reasons we believe and proclaim that Belize is not qualified to become a Member of the United Nations, for it does not fulfil the requirements of Article 4 of the Charter since it is not a State because it does not have its own territory.

25. Since Guatemala is a Member State whose Constitution has been adopted by the will of the people, declarations of any kind by States or organizations, including the possible admission of Belize as a State Member of the Organization, are in violation of Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter and cannot modify the Constitution of Guatemala. That fundamental law of my country will continue to state that Belize is part of Guatemalan territory, and all Guatemalan authorities will continue to do whatever is in their power to claim that territory. That means that, in accordance with our laws, our jurisdiction extends over the Territory of Belize, and it is only because of the use of force that that territory does not now respect and execute the laws of Guatemala. We should like to recall that Guatemala, under the Heads of Agreement, stated that it was prepared to use the necessary means to consult the people of Guatemala in a democratic and legal manner regarding reform of the Constitution in regard to Belize. But because the Heads of Agreement have not been abided by, through the fault of the United Kingdom, that opportunity was missed and the people of Guatemala, in exercise of its sovereignty and under its governing Constitution, continue to maintain sovereign rights over the Territory of Belize.

26. The position of Guatemala has been made abundantly clear and was set forth in the 16 Heads of Agreement adopted by Guatemala, the United Kingdom and Belize on 11 March 1981, with no reservations having been entered by those countries on the agreement as a whole. Specifically, there was no reservation on the first point, which states:

"Guatemala and the United Kingdom shall recognize the independent State of Belize as an integral part of Central America, and respect its sovereignty and territorial integrity in accordance with its existing and traditional frontiers subject, in the case of Guatemala, to the conclusion of the treaty or treaties necessary to give effect to these Heads of Agreement."

27. As no treaty or treaties have been concluded to give effect to the Heads of Agreement, Guatemala does not recognize the State of Belize, either as an integral part of Central America or as a Member of the United Nations. Nor do we recognize that it has sovereignty, territorial integrity or the boundaries maintained by the British expeditionary force. We shall not recognize these until such time as the dispute is settled by the peaceful means provided for in the Charter of the United Nations.

28. For these reasons, we now wish to reiterate most categorically the most complete and express claim regarding all rights of the Republic of Guatemala over the Territory of Belize. There is not and there has not been any act which can alter the Constitution of our country. The people of Guatemala alone have sovereign rights over that territory. The Heads of Agreement not having been complied with, the situation remains as it was before they were signed, and the consequences are the responsibility of the colonial Power, which proved incapable of keeping its word.

29. The creation of Belize in the aforementioned circumstances has not only undermined the integrity of the State of Guatemala but could also create a real threat to the other States of the region. The feverish activities of the Belizean politicians, who travel the world in search of

support and friendship, could harm all the peoples of Central America. It is not only Guatemala that can be harmed but all the States of the region, whose relations, equilibrium and bonds are now being affected by the introduction of this new State, which has no traditions in the area.

30. In conclusion, Guatemala wishes to state from this rostrum before the General Assembly that it deplores the fact that the Heads of Agreement signed in London on 11 March 1981 have not been put into effect. This irresponsible attitude is not the fault of Guatemala, for we have always remained faithful to the clear, literal meaning of the document that we signed in London. Those who have strayed from the letter and the spirit of the agreement are the United Kingdom and, with it, the members of the Government of Belize who were part of the negotiating delegation. They have in this way failed to abide by the categorical obligation of international conduct to negotiate meaningfully and in good faith.

31. Guatemala declares that the territorial dispute regarding Belize has not been terminated, and that therefore this territory remains part of Guatemala. This is stated in our Constitution and in our laws. Every Guatemalan citizen, every official, every public employee or person performing functions of any kind in Guatemala swears allegiance to the Constitution of the Republic and is therefore bound to promote and work towards the reincorporation of Belize into the homeland and its submission to the laws of Guatemala.

32. Guatemala declares, however, that it will continue to seek the settlement of the dispute by the peaceful means recognized in international law.

33. Finally, Guatemala declares that in the light of all this the Assembly should reject the recommendation of the Security Council for the admission of Belize. Guatemala will vote against that recommendation.

34. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): The General Assembly is meeting to consider the application for membership in the United Nations submitted by the Prime Minister of Belize [A/36/533] and the recommendation of the Security Council contained in its President's letter of 23 September [A/36/551].

35. Before embarking on the substance of my statement, I should like to make one or two very brief comments on the statement just delivered by my colleague from Guatemala.

36. The representative of Guatemala launched a series of animadversions against my Government, including charges of irrationality, intimidation, reneging on agreements reached, arrogance, bad faith, and so forth. I naturally reject those charges and can assure the Assembly, as I assured the Security Council a couple of days ago, that I shall not myself in my statement be drawing on that type of vocabulary.

37. But I was most gratified to hear my colleague from Guatemala state the desire of his Government for friendship with the people of Belize and the determination of the Government of Guatemala to continue to seek a settlement of their dispute by peaceful means.

38. For many years Belize was a dependent Territory of the United Kingdom. For almost as many years, the neighbouring State, Guatemala, advanced a claim to the Territory, but successive British Governments never accepted those pretensions in any way. As in the case of other British dependent Territories which have come to independence in recent years, our guiding principle has been that of self-determination. By the early 1960s the people of Belize had developed their own representative political institutions. The Constitution adopted in 1964 provided for full internal self-government as a prelude to the granting of independence.

39. The Government of Belize which was formed at that time came to office as a result of free and fair elections in which the people of Belize were free to express their wishes for the future. Their major political party was elected to office on the platform of achieving independence as soon as this was possible. The Government of the United Kingdom indicated its willingness to start the constitutional procedures leading to independence whenever the Government and people of Belize wished. However, as members of the Assembly know all too well, the people of Belize were unable to achieve their goal of independence until very recently. They were inhibited from achieving self-determination and independence as a consequence of the dispute with Guatemala. Throughout the 16 years since 1964, the governing party was consistently re-elected with a programme calling for early independence for the Territory.

40. In 1975, the General Assembly took up the question of Belize and adopted by an overwhelming majority resolution 3432 (XXX), supporting the right of the people of Belize to self-determination. Subsequent resolutions of the Assembly confirmed the support for that principle. General Assembly resolution 35/20 contained a new element in calling on the United Kingdom as the administering Power to grant independence before the end of the current session. In each of the resolutions the General Assembly also called for negotiations in order to achieve the earliest possible resolution of the differences. In response, the British Government put forward proposals in September 1978 which were designed to meet the primary concerns of the Guatemalan Government, but those proposals did not prove to be acceptable.

41. In the autumn of 1979, a new round of negotiations was initiated by the new British Government which had come to power earlier that year. In those negotiations, representatives of the Government of Belize took part. They and the British delegation made every effort to meet Guatemala's difficulties. It was, however, made clear that the independence of Belize could not be postponed indefinitely and that there could be no continuing veto by Guatemala since independence had been repeatedly demanded by the people of Belize and endorsed by the General Assembly.

42. The British Government was above all aware of its responsibility to the people of Belize and to the United Nations. It therefore set in train the procedures necessary to bring about the independence of Belize, while still trying to bring about a comprehensive settlement with Guatemala before the date fixed for independence.

43. On 11 March 1981, the Heads of Agreement were signed with Guatemala, which we considered would pro-

vide a satisfactory basis for a final settlement of the dispute. In the subsequent negotiations in New York this summer, designed to translate the Heads of Agreement into definitive treaties, the British and Belizean teams made it clear that they remained fully committed to the Heads of Agreement. Unfortunately, it was not possible to conclude the treaties in view of substantive differences which could not be resolved.

44. It remains the hope of my Government that negotiations will be resumed on the basis of the Heads of Agreement, but the role which my Government should now play will clearly be different following Belize's independence. We remain ready to co-operate with those concerned in the continued search for a settlement if that is their wish.

45. Guatemala in recent days has sought to restate its legal position in a series of public statements. As I have already stated, no British Government accepted any of the claims to sovereignty over Belizean territory made by Guatemala. With effect from midnight on 20 September 1981, the United Kingdom has recognized Belize as a fully independent sovereign State. We recognized all the Territory of Belize which the United Kingdom administered before that date as now coming under the sovereignty of the new State. The Government of Belize has been constituted as a result of elections in which the people of Belize took part. It is a democratic Government in the true sense of that word. There has been, in other words, a genuine act of self-determination. The choice was independence. Independence has now come.

46. The Charter of the United Nations states in Article 4 that membership is open to peace-loving States which accept the obligations contained in the Charter and are able and willing to carry out these obligations. There has never been any doubt that once Belize became independent it would fulfil the requirements. Belize is a peace-loving State and it is both able and willing to carry out the obligations of the Charter, as has been indicated in the telegram from Prime Minister Price [see A/36/533]. The fact that the dispute with Guatemala could not be settled this summer did not constitute a bar to independence nor does it today constitute a bar to Belize's admission to membership of the Organization.

47. In the Security Council, the vote in favour of resolution 491 (1981) was unanimous and all members of the Council spoke in welcome of Belize's application. It is the earnest hope of my Government that the international community represented in the General Assembly will now endorse this recommendation and adopt the draft resolution sponsored by 75 delegations, including my own.

48. The PRESIDENT: We shall now vote on draft resolution A/36/L.4 and Add.1. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

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

Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Romania, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: Guatemala.

Abstaining: None.

The draft resolution was adopted by 144 votes to 1 (resolution 36/13).³

49. The PRESIDENT: I therefore declare Belize admitted to membership in the United Nations.

The delegation of Belize was escorted to its place in the General Assembly Hall.

50. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure to welcome a new Member of the United Nations, the State of Belize, represented here today by Mr. George C. Price, the Prime Minister, who is accompanied by Mr. Vernon Courtney, Minister of State, and Mr. Robert Leslie, Permanent Secretary.

51. It is always a happy and memorable occasion when we welcome a new Member into the United Nations and thus take another step towards our goal of full universality of membership. Every new Member State brings its own particular qualities, history and experience to the Organization and makes the work of the United Nations ever more relevant to the problems of mankind. With the admission of Belize our membership now stands at 156.

52. This event is all the more gratifying because it follows so closely on the admission of Vanuatu only 10 days ago and thus marks an important new step towards the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It means that the process of decolonization which has been going on for over 20 years is now nearing its conclusion.

53. In welcoming the delegation of Belize to our midst, I know that I am expressing the sentiments of the Assembly when I say that it is my sincere hope that outstanding

problems will soon be resolved in a spirit of peaceful co-operation, thus strengthening international peace and security and assuring the people of Belize future happiness, prosperity and peace, in friendly co-operation with all its neighbours.

[The speaker continued in English.]

54. I now call on the representative of Algeria, who will speak on behalf of the African States.

55. Mr. BEDJAOU (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, I would like to state that Algeria was a sponsor of the draft resolution that we just adopted by such an extraordinary and wonderful majority.

56. A few days ago we gave a warm and fraternal welcome to our midst to the representatives of Vanuatu, which had just taken its place here as an independent and sovereign country.

57. Today, on behalf of the group of African States, which I have the honour of representing, it is once more my pleasure and privilege to testify from this rostrum to the joy of Africa at this solemn moment when our Organization has been enriched by the admission of its one hundred and fifty-sixth Member.

58. Africa has its eyes focused on Belmopan, the capital of Belize, and joins that country in celebrating an independence that is particularly dear to its citizens as the fruit of a long struggle. Africa is gratified to see the consummation of the aspirations of the people of Belize to liberty and independence after three and a half centuries of colonialism.

59. The land of Belize, bathed by the Caribbean Sea, is dear to us because it is one of the heirs to the ancient and prestigious Mayan civilization. That meeting-place is all the more dear to us because of the African contribution made during a tumultuous colonial history and it is my pleasure to stress that here as chairman of the African group. That African contribution has been absorbed over the centuries in the melting-pot of the history of the Belizean people and their great cultural values.

60. Our joy is all the greater today because Belize, at the same time it joins the great family of the United Nations, is also joining that of the non-aligned countries, in which the people of Belize have found natural solidarity and consistent support for the achievement of their national aspirations. In these happy circumstances, all peoples that cherish peace and justice are gratified both by the proclamation of Belize's independence and by its admission to the United Nations and to the non-aligned movement because they see in this further evidence that the sacred right of peoples to self-determination, independence and freedom cannot be indefinitely ignored. Africa is particularly sensitive to such a message, which can only sustain and comfort it in its determination to put an end to colonial and racial domination.

61. We hope that the problems that are still outstanding in Belize and the surrounding area will be settled by peaceful means, in restored confidence and fraternity between Belize and one of its neighbours, so as to usher in an era of peace and prosperity in the whole region.

62. Yesterday it was Vanuatu; today it is Belize. We are convinced that the long march of the Organization towards the consummation of the principle of universality will not slacken when we are so near to our goal. Other nations, indeed, are awaiting freedom from the yoke of oppression so that they can join us in the struggle for a better, more just and more equitable world.

63. In extending a most fraternal and warm welcome to the delegation of Belize, it is a particular pleasure for me to assure that delegation of the whole-hearted readiness of Africa to render that country, individually and collectively, our broadest and most spontaneous co-operation.

64. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): I call upon the representative of Mongolia, who will speak on behalf of the Asian countries.

65. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia): Exactly 10 days ago, speaking on behalf of the group of Asian States on the admission of the Republic of Vanuatu to the United Nations [1st meeting], I stated that the time was near when other peoples still deprived of their right to self-determination would exercise their inalienable right to freedom and independence, and expressed the hope that we should soon witness other such happy and moving occasions.

66. I am happy today once again to perform a pleasant duty, that of most warmly congratulating on behalf of the Asian States Members of the United Nations the delegation of Belize on its admission to the United Nations as a full-fledged Member.

67. The delegations of all Asian countries voted in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/36/L.4 and Add.1. By so doing, the Asian countries have expressed their full support of the aspirations of the people of Belize to live in peace as an independent sovereign State.

68. The attainment of independence by the people of Belize and its admission to the family of sovereign nations are the result of the unceasing struggle of nations against colonial domination and for freedom, national independence and social progress, and represent another important step towards the implementation of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)], which states, *inter alia*, the following:

"Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

69. We hope that that important provision will be strictly observed by all with regard to newly independent Belize. It is our firm belief that Belize in its turn will with honour fulfil its duties as a State Member of the United Nations and make a worthy contribution to the efforts of the Organization and the realization of its noble aims.

70. While welcoming Belize as the one hundred and fifty-sixth Member of the United Nations, the Asian States wish the people and Government of Belize every success in the further consolidation of their national independence and sovereignty and in the advancement of their country along the road of social progress and prosperity.

71. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of the German Democratic Republic, who will speak on behalf of the Eastern European States.

72. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): As chairman of the group of Eastern European States, it is an honour and a genuine pleasure for me cordially to congratulate the delegation of Belize on the admission of that country to membership of the United Nations. We are convinced that that young State will conscientiously discharge the obligations it has assumed under the Charter of the United Nations in the spirit of the purposes and principles of the Organization, and will make a contribution to the performance of the fundamental task of the Organization: the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security.

73. The admission of Belize to membership in the United Nations is a further step towards the total elimination of colonial domination in the world and thus towards the implementation of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Dedicated, as we are, to the unrestricted implementation of the noble aims of that Declaration, the members of the Eastern European group have always stood for, and will continue to stand for, its total implementation. The admission of Belize to the United Nations is a further step towards the universality of the Organization, for which we have striven from the very outset.

74. We wish the young independent State and its people prosperity and success in the course of its national development. A most important precondition for that is, of course, peace. To promote the maintenance and strengthening of peace is the obligation of all Member States.

75. On behalf of the Eastern European group I should like to express the conviction that the activities of the delegation of Belize within the Organization will be successful, and I should like from this rostrum to assure that delegation of our readiness for fruitful co-operation in the struggle for the cause of peace, détente, freedom and independence.

76. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): I call upon the representative of Jamaica, who will speak on behalf of the Latin American countries.

77. Mr. GALLIMORE (Jamaica): I have been requested to speak on behalf of the group of Latin American States, with the exception of Guatemala.

78. In Prime Minister George Price, Belize has chosen for itself a leader of fierce personal integrity and spotless character, an example to its youth and a comfort to its men and women, a leader who is steeped in the highest traditions of parliamentary democracy.

79. We congratulate the people and Government of Belize on this auspicious occasion in their national life, and we are pleased to welcome them into the universal community of nations.

80. It is an occasion for some measure of sadness that for so many years this community has been deprived of the association of a long practising democracy such as Belize has shown itself to be.

81. In Prime Minister Price we find a man of great courage and leadership. We congratulate him on the firmness, patience and yet friendliness with which the negotiations with his neighbour and the United Kingdom leading up to Belizean independence were conducted. We are convinced that he has succeeded in making it easy for those who were involved with him in those disputes to receive Belize as a free and equal partner in a spirit of friendship and co-operation when all problems have been settled.

82. We congratulate the Belizeans as a people for which the non-aligned movement, anxious to receive it into its ranks, made special arrangements. We would happily welcome Belize into the association of Caribbean States, as, I am sure, it would be welcomed into the association of Central American States if that should be its choice.

83. We look forward to many years of close and happy co-operation with the Government of Belize in the Organization. Speaking as a Caribbean neighbour, we stand ready to offer Belize fraternal assistance in social and economic affairs and we want all its other neighbours to understand that should it need any other type of assistance we would be ready to offer that also.

84. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Denmark, who will speak on behalf of the group of Western European and other States.

85. Mr. ULRICHSEN (Denmark): The countries of the group of Western European and other States wish to extend a most cordial welcome to Belize as the one hundred and fifty-sixth Member of the United Nations. We also wish to extend our warm congratulations to the Government and people of Belize on their attainment of independence on 21 September 1981. The group of Western European and other States welcomed Belize's immediate application for membership of the United Nations.

86. On this occasion we wish also to recall that the new Member State is a country which has benefited from the United Kingdom's efforts in the achievement of its independence.

87. The admission of Belize to the Organization is a further step towards universality, which is one of the basic principles of the United Nations.

88. It is always a most important occasion—and, let me add, a very moving moment—when a new Member joins the Organization. This year two new nations have joined the United Nations during the first two weeks of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

89. The group of countries for which I am speaking is confident that Belize will discharge all its responsibilities connected with membership and will make valuable contributions to the work of our Organization. In this spirit, the group of Western European and other States looks forward to close co-operation with the delegation of Belize in working towards the ideals and objectives which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

90. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): I call on the representative of the Sudan, who will speak on behalf of the group of Arab States.

91. Mr. ELFAKI (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation is honoured today to speak on behalf of the group of Arab States to welcome and congratulate Belize on its accession to independence and admission to membership of the United Nations. Belize's independence and admission to the international family is fresh evidence that the undaunted will of peoples will always prevail, that the genuine and inalienable right to independence and self-determination cannot be denied or obstructed and that colonial domination is about to reach its inevitable end in keeping with the objectives of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

92. Today the Organization is proud to settle one of the many issues concerning decolonization and the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which it has been considering for a number of years.

93. Belize's independence and admission to the international family are an affirmation of the universality of the Organization, and support for all peoples suffering from colonialism, occupation and oppression, foremost among them being the peoples of Palestine, Namibia and Azania. Their day of victory and the exercise of their legitimate right to independence and self-determination is coming, regardless of the might of the colonizers and usurpers and the enjoyment they get from depriving peoples of their inviolable and genuine right to self-determination and independence.

94. The process of decolonization, one of the major pre-occupations of the Organization, should be accorded the highest priority so that all colonial countries and peoples may be free. A just and comprehensive peace cannot be achieved in this world until all the colonized and oppressed peoples have been enabled to exercise their right to freedom, self-determination and the establishment of their own independent, sovereign countries, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and international law.

95. In welcoming today the admission of Belize into the international family as the one hundred and fifty-sixth Member State, the group of Arab States hopes that the contribution of this newborn republic will enhance the efforts of the Organization to eradicate colonialism, end the occupation of territories by force and allow peoples to exercise their inalienable rights to independence, self-determination and the creation of a more just and peaceful society.

96. The group of Arab States, which voted in favour of the resolution on the admission of Belize, takes this opportunity to promise that newborn country its full support. It calls on the whole international community, especially Belize's neighbours, to co-operate with the people and Government of that country in order to achieve the common objectives of development, stability and peace.

97. The PRESIDENT: I wish to apologize personally to the representative of the United Kingdom for inadvertently calling on the second speaker first. He was the first speaker on the list after the vote. I apologize, and now call on him.

98. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): You need not have apologized, Mr. President. It was a happy accident. It would have been very dispiriting for representatives to hear me twice with no break in between.

99. It is with great pleasure that I take the floor again this morning to welcome Belize as the one hundred and fifty-sixth Member of the Organization and to extend the warmest congratulations of my Government, as the former administering Power, to the Government and people of Belize on this achievement.

100. Independence came to Belize at midnight on 20 September. On that date the transfer of power took place and the new State came into being at a moving and impressive ceremony. My Government's role as administering Power came to an end and full sovereignty passed to the people of Belize. They were able to celebrate their new independence and to welcome as distinguished guests the representatives of many nations.

101. It was a source of great satisfaction to my delegation that the Security Council unanimously recommended that Belize be admitted to membership of the Organization. We are now doubly satisfied that this recommendation has been endorsed by such an overwhelming majority this morning. For all those in the Government of Belize as well as in my own Government who have worked so hard to achieve the goal of independence and membership of the United Nations, the road has been long and strenuous. But the ending has been a happy one, and our warmest good wishes and hopes go forth to Belize on the new road on which it is now embarked.

102. Belize will have much to offer the Organization. It is a country of many peoples, many languages and many diverse cultural traditions. And, within that diversity, the people of Belize are united by their belief in the democratic process and in the political traditions and institutions which have been established in their country.

103. I should like to say a particular word of welcome to this chamber to Mr. George C. Price, who was the Chief Minister of Belize from 1964 and who is now the Prime Minister of his country, and also to his colleagues, Mr. Harry Courtenay and Mr. Bobby Leslie, who are with him today. That the goal of independence was at last achieved was in large measure due to the patience and statesmanship of Mr. Price and his colleagues. They did not waver through the long years of uncertainty. They have had to bear the burden of a dispute which was not of their making. They have shown vision and good sense in the many attempts that their Government and mine have made to achieve solutions. I have been proud to know and work with them personally over the past two years.

104. For my Government, Belizean independence is the culmination of a long association with Belize which goes back some 200 years. Independence has come about in the spirit of close friendship which has characterized the relations between the United Kingdom and Belize over the whole of these two centuries. And this is not the end of relations between our two countries. It is, as I told the Security Council at its 2302nd meeting on 23 September, the beginning of a new and even more fruitful phase. The Government and people of Belize know that we stand ready to give any help that we can in achieving definitive and peaceful solutions to the problems that remain. In this forum, we extend to them the warmest possible welcome, and we share the satisfaction evident throughout this chamber that Belize is at last taking up the seat in our midst which its Government and its people so richly deserve.

105. The PRESIDENT: I call now on the representative of the host country, the United States of America.

106. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): As Permanent Representative of the host country, I take great pleasure in welcoming Belize as the one hundred and fifty-sixth Member of the United Nations. The people of the United States extend sincere congratulations to the Government and people of Belize on the achievement of their independence and membership in this body.

107. As I noted last week on the occasion of Vanuatu's admission to this body [*1st meeting*], independence, self-determination and self-government are the dearest collective goods that a people can enjoy. We rejoice when a new people achieves the full enjoyment of these great benefits.

108. I should like to extend a personal welcome to Prime Minister George C. Price.

109. The United States looks forward to close relations with Belize in bilateral, regional and global affairs. The people of the United States and Belize have enjoyed close and cordial relations for many years. Our ties go back more than 200 years, when trade links were established between our two countries. Those ties remain strong and active today.

110. Thousands of Belizeans have made the United States their home, and more than 1,000 citizens of the United States now reside and work in Belize. In the years preceding independence, Belize and the United States worked together on many programmes that have created better understanding and have promoted development in Belize and in the region. One of the earliest Peace Corps programmes was established in Belize, and an active programme continues today, to our mutual benefit. This cultural and social interchange has naturally contributed to the establishment of a special relationship between our peoples, which is reflected in the many common traditions and values that we share.

111. We hope that representatives of Belize and Guatemala will be able soon to resolve their differences. This type of difference, as we in this hemisphere know, is a common residue of the colonial era, and persistent effort, patience and above all mutual goodwill are required to overcome it.

112. Belize enters into its independence with democratic institutions, a free press and all the associated liberties. We, the United States, the first independent democratic nation in this hemisphere, welcome with special warmth our newest democratic neighbour. We are confident that the Government of Belize and its people will continue to support and enjoy the basic principles of freedom and democracy which guide us all.

113. Mr. Prime Minister, I extend to the people, the Government and the delegation of Belize to the United Nations my warmest welcome to this Hall, to New York City and to the United States.

114. Mr. CASTAÑEDA (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Following a long and complex process in which the people and Government of Belize have demonstrated with courage, patriotism and boldness their determination to become an independent State, a process in which the international community played a role of prime importance,

particularly in adopting General Assembly resolution 35/20, we now see with great pleasure that those efforts have culminated in the birth of a new State, which is politically free and enjoys territorial integrity and regional support.

115. It is a source of great pleasure that the efforts of the General Assembly have been completely successful and that, because of its support for the cause of independence of Belize, the decision to work little by little towards the goal of decolonization in the world is now being implemented. It is now incumbent upon the international community to guarantee that the decision of the people of Belize to achieve sovereignty and political independence should not be subject to any threats.

116. As far as Mexico is concerned, my Government wishes to offer its support and its utmost co-operation and assistance in the tremendous tasks which will have to be carried out in order to achieve the goals of economic and social development.

117. We salute in the people of Belize a young, vigorous nation which we are sure will ably occupy its rightful place in the concert of nations at the regional, continental and world level. We believe that the international community will be enriched by the presence of this new nation and its determination to play its part in the tasks of regional and international co-operation and in the efforts to promote peace, peaceful coexistence and solidarity in the region to which it belongs.

118. The people and Government of Mexico feel that the people and Government of Belize are brothers, and we wish to express our special pleasure at this great event which signifies their political emancipation. We offer our sincere and cordial greetings also to Mr. George C. Price, the Prime Minister of Belize.

119. Mr. D'ESCOTO BROCKMANN (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I shall have occasion in the general debate to extend further congratulations to you on your election as President of the General Assembly. On this occasion, may I merely express our conviction that your experience and diplomatic skills will ensure the success of our work.

120. It is an honour to express the sincere jubilation of the people and the Government of Nicaragua on the occasion of the admission of the sister nation of Central America and the Caribbean, Belize, to membership in the United Nations. I am sure that our satisfaction is shared almost unanimously by the international community as one more nation joins the concert of nations, reaffirming the commitment that we have all entered into to ensure the right of peoples to self-determination and independence.

121. But Nicaragua's joy is very special, because this is the birth of one more free nation in Central America. Once again in our strife-torn part of the world a people has won respect for and recognition of its inalienable rights, and the march towards democracy in Central America is reaffirmed by the assertion of these rights, which in turn strengthens the independence of Nicaragua.

122. My country was represented at the highest level on the historic day when the British flag was lowered and Belize proudly became a sovereign State. We are prepared to demonstrate whatever solidarity is desired by the Govern-

ment of the brother people of Belize. We are prepared to join the international community in working with the people and Government of Belize to further their development and defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

123. This is not mere rhetoric. The painful problems preceding the independence of Belize have indicated that there are forces opposed to its sovereignty. Nor can we ignore that the location of Belize in a part of the world in a state of social upheaval, where there is an attempt to deny the representativeness of peoples, to undermine the independence of States, to bring about an East-West confrontation, and where there is furthermore a serious economic crisis, suggests that there are difficult days ahead for Belize in its first steps as an independent nation.

124. Nevertheless, we believe that the desire for peace of the nation of Belize, together with the vigilance of the international community, will make possible the attainment of the lofty ideals which inspire the people and Government of free Belize. Furthermore, the fact that a Central American country has achieved liberation by peaceful means has historic significance, because there has been none of the revolutionary violence that some peoples have had to use when they have been systematically denied the opportunity of satisfying their legitimate aspirations by peaceful means.

125. Belize has attained independence with an awareness of its responsibilities as a member of the concert of nations. We hope that the agencies and Members of the United Nations will respond speedily and substantially to the needs set forth by the Government of that country. We support the Belizean proposal to take part in all governmental organizations promoting co-operation in Central America.

126. Belize has now become a force for peace in Central America, both because of its desire to extend the hand of peace towards Guatemala—and let us hope that this will be received with maturity and understanding—and because the international community has been made aware of its duties both before and after the independence of this country. In extending a warm welcome to Mr. George C. Price, Prime Minister of Belize, we wish to reaffirm our solidarity with Belize and to express our thanks to the international community. Belize has become independent during a time of crisis, but it is also a time of hope in Central America.

127. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): On this occasion I wish to speak on behalf of the countries of the Commonwealth Caribbean to extend a fraternal and heartfelt welcome to the Government and people of Belize and to congratulate them on their membership in the Organization. Belize holds a special place in the hearts of the Commonwealth Caribbean people, for we have for years been participating in regional organizations with Belize as if it were a full and sovereign member. We have kept a vigil with them, as over the years they have had their march to independence frustrated by an absurd and unjust claim to their territory by Guatemala. And now that they have achieved independence many of us in the Commonwealth of the Caribbean have publicly expressed our willingness to consult in the event that there is any threat or aggression against the territory of Belize.

128. Belize is both a Central American and a Caribbean country. It is therefore a link between two peoples, a link between two civilizations. I suspect that Belize from this unique position can be an interpreter of one area to the other, and it is my hope that Belize will bring to bear its unique

talents in this regard, its talents as interpreter and conciliator, its manifest of peaceful intentions, its desire to live in peace within the Caribbean and Central America, having completed its act of self-determination and having secured the integrity of its territory. We believe that Belize will play a full and constructive part in the work of the Organization.

129. The countries of the commonwealth of the Caribbean welcome Belize to the Organization and wish it every success in its task of nation-building.

130. Mr. CHADERTON (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Venezuela wishes to express its friendly and fraternal greetings to the delegation of Belize, whose country has just been admitted to membership in the Organization.

131. Venezuela has traditionally enjoyed excellent relations of friendship and co-operation with Belize, and in view of these close ties we would express the hope that the territorial disputes, which are the result of colonialism, will be resolved in a peaceful and practical way through direct negotiations between the parties concerned.

132. At the same time, we would express our sincere best wishes for well-being, social progress, economic development and democratic life for the new State that has joined the international community.

133. The PRESIDENT: I take pleasure in inviting the Prime Minister of Belize, Mr. George C. Price, to address the General Assembly.

134. Mr. PRICE (Belize): Thank you, Mr. President, for your kind words of welcome. We share the congratulations extended to you on your election as President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

135. The State and people of Belize thank all of you for the welcome and assurances we have received in the United Nations, and in particular for the kind expressions of welcome and assurance of the representatives of the regional groups of the United Nations. We thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his welcome and assurances and for setting the record right. And we address thanks for the welcome and assurances to the host country, the United States of America; to Mexico, our nearest neighbour; to Nicaragua, a Central American neighbour; to Guyana, a fellow member of the Commonwealth of the Caribbean; and to Venezuela, a State of the Caribbean basin.

136. Belize attained its independence on 21 September 1981, and today becomes, with the support of delegations here, the one hundred and fifty-sixth member of the international community. Please accept the deepest gratitude of the people and Government of Belize for this solid support.

137. As we become a member of the world community we hear the question asked: What are Belize and its people, and how will they fit among the Members here? My reply is that Belize is a Caribbean and Central American nation, which works and lives a revolution that is peaceful, constructive, new, progressive and Belizean. It is our own, with all our national attributes, our land and our resources.

138. Belize is a people with all the attributes of nationhood, having one flag, one Government, one Constitution. Our mind imbues the democratic process. Our hands work a

mixed economy. Our heart beats with social justice and our soul cherishes treasures of the spirit.

139. Belize accepts the duties and obligations of the Charter of the United Nations and will live in peace and friendship with our neighbours in the Americas and in the world.

140. We remain steadfast in our determination to secure our independence with all our territory intact and we continue our work not only to build Belize to yet greater levels of economic growth and social progress, but in doing so to remove causes of conflict and to co-operate in the economic development of the region with all our neighbours in friendship, harmony and peace, but with equal status as a sovereign nation.

141. There is a threat to this peace because a neighbour, to whom we extend the hand of friendship and the offer of economic regional co-operation, has not yet responded to our invitation. Yet we stand ready to pursue the formula for peace agreed upon by the United Kingdom, Guatemala and Belize in a determined endeavour to search for a peaceful solution of the dispute between the United Kingdom and Guatemala, without prejudice to our sovereignty and territorial integrity.

142. To all who helped bring Belize to a secure independence with all its territory and to the membership of the United Nations, we extend our deepest thanks.

143. Belize, with the help of God and the support of its people, will stand upright and will do its duty to help bring peace, stability and prosperity to our region and to the wider circles of our planet Earth.

144. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank the Prime Minister of Belize for the important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

145. Mr. HUQ (Bangladesh): The members of the delegation of Bangladesh bring you the warm greetings of the Government and the people of Bangladesh. The Bangladesh delegation also welcomes the admission of Vanuatu and Belize as new Members of the United Nations, thus adding to the strength of the United Nations and of the free world.

146. Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Bangladesh and also on my own behalf, I extend to you our warmest congratulations on your assumption of the high office of President of the Assembly. We fervently hope that your outstanding personal qualities and wide-ranging experience will be of immense benefit to the Assembly in its deliberations.

147. To our esteemed friends who reposed their confidence in Bangladesh by voting for the Bangladesh candidate, we express our gratitude. However, we assure the new President of our full co-operation and support.

148. I should also like to convey our deep appreciation to Mr. von Wechmar for his valuable contributions as

President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

149. I also wish to record our sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General for his dedicated and untiring efforts in upholding the objectives and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and for the courage and perseverance with which he continued to work towards our shared goal of international peace and security.

150. This is the fifth occasion on which I have had the honour of addressing the Assembly as the leader of the Bangladesh delegation. But on this occasion I am performing my duty under the shadow of the tragic death of President Ziaur Rahman. I take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude to our friends who shared with us our grief and sorrow.

151. World leaders paid many rich and well-deserved tributes to him, but the richest tribute came from his own people, to whose well-being the late President had dedicated himself. During this national calamity, the people of Bangladesh showed a rare sense of unity and determination in upholding the democratic principles and values in which the late President had an abiding faith and in carrying forward his unfinished task of raising the quality of life of the people of Bangladesh and serving the cause of international peace and security.

152. The representatives who had the opportunity of listening to his statement to the General Assembly at the eleventh special session in September 1980 [3rd meeting], will recall his objective and analytical exposition of the problems that bedevil the contemporary world. That statement was widely acclaimed for the courage, vision and statesmanship it reflected in underlining the interdependence of nations and the interrelatedness of their interests. In stressing the indivisibility of political and economic security, he made a stirring call for concerted action and united efforts on the part of all nations, North and South and East and West, members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] and non-members of OPEC alike.

153. The purport of the message of our late President found reaffirmation in many of the illuminating statements by my colleagues who have preceded me during the current session of the General Assembly. As I listened to those admirable, comprehensive and insightful analyses of the dynamics of our changing world, I felt heartened to see an emerging consensus among the nations of the world, cutting across geographical, racial and ideological boundaries.

154. Instead of being repetitive, I shall try briefly to highlight some of the major elements of that consensus which reflect the realities of the contemporary world and are of crucial importance to its future.

155. Speaker after speaker has rightly stressed that the United Nations can be only as strong and effective as its sovereign Member States would like it to be, that, despite the many constraints inherent in the present structure of the world political and economic order, its role in reducing tension and containing armed conflicts has been commendable and that without the United Nations our world, divided and polarized as it is, would have been much

worse, and not better. Bang'esh fully endorses that view.

156. Bangladesh also shares the concern and anguish expressed over the deteriorating world political and economic situation. But, this is essentially the outcome of the lack of political will to respect the principles of the Charter, to which all Member States are solemnly committed. For example, peace can be restored in the Middle East through implementation of the United Nations decisions requiring Israel to withdraw from all illegally occupied Arab territories and restoring to the Palestinians their inalienable national rights, including their right to a State of their own. In a similar manner, peace can be secured in Afghanistan and Kampuchea by the withdrawal of all foreign troops from those countries, leaving their peoples free to determine their own destiny without external intervention in any form.

157. Bangladesh also endorses the view that the framework for a just and peaceful solution of the problem of Namibia and for ending racism and *apartheid* in southern Africa is contained in the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. In like manner, Bangladesh believes that a just and honourable settlement of the Cyprus problem to the mutual satisfaction of both the communities involved can be found through talks between the leaders of the two communities initiated by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

158. The views expressed on the role of the non-aligned movement as a positive force in promoting international peace by checking great-Power rivalry and safeguarding the sovereign equality and territorial integrity of nations showed a striking unanimity. Bangladesh firmly believes in strict adherence to the principles of non-alignment, which form the cornerstone of our foreign policy.

159. Bangladesh also subscribes to the view that peace and stability in various regions contribute to world peace and are an essential precondition for development. It has therefore been the consistent endeavour of Bangladesh to maintain and promote friendly relations with our neighbours. As a logical corollary to that foreign policy objective, Bangladesh is vigorously pursuing in co-operation with other countries in the South-Asian region the proposal mooted by its late President for a South-Asian forum for regional co-operation.

160. Bangladesh fully agrees that the world economic scene is indeed most disquieting, with the poor countries engaged in a grim struggle against hunger, disease and mass unemployment and the rich industrialized countries also battling, against inflation, recession and unemployment. Such political and economic problems are compounded by a decline in human and moral values.

161. Those problems are, however, not to be viewed as isolated phenomena. They fall into a pattern as interlinked parts of a larger and wider crisis, with its causes rooted in the present world order embracing the whole gamut of our inherited concepts, attitudes, values and institutions. The present world order tends to divide and polarize nations and breeds fear, distrust and power rivalry. It is a world that is in great disarray. The newly emergent nations find their position highly vulnerable, with declining respect for the rule of law and increasing use of armed

might. Peace hangs tenuously on the so-called balance of power.

162. The concept of balance of power has, however, proved to be an anachronism. An inevitable by-product of that concept is the alarming escalation of the arms race. The annual expenditure of over \$500 billion is more than 10 times the amount that is now available as assistance to the developing countries. With an existing stockpile of deadly weapons capable of destroying our planet many times over, such a staggering expenditure on arms is totally irrational. The reality is that it has diminished, rather than increased, the sense of security of the great Powers and has bred more distrust and more fear. Such wasteful use of an enormous volume of the world's precious resources is also clearly immoral, when millions die of starvation and many more millions are struggling for their very survival. It has also unleashed a whole chain of frightening reactions: inflation, recession, unemployment and social and moral decline, posing a serious threat to the delicate balance of the life-supporting system on our planet, the Earth.

163. It is more evident than ever before that the problems facing the contemporary world cannot be solved if we remain captives of concepts, attitudes and institutions of a bygone era. Nor can we expect them to be solved in isolation or through confrontation. Happily, there are clear signs of a new awakening of the world community to the need to adjust itself to the new realities. One of those new realities is the emergence of the new independent sovereign States and their aspiration to make their independence meaningful through rapid economic and social development.

164. Another reality is that we are members of an interdependent international community transformed by advances in science and technology and that we need a concept of peace based on mutual trust, harmony and co-operation. We have the needed resources and technology to ensure a good life for all the members of the family of mankind.

165. It is also a reality that an enormous productivity potential still remains undeveloped. The paramount need of the hour is for a clearer perception of mutual needs and a more rational application and management of the world's resources in developing the productivity potential on a global basis, thus generating more productivity, more employment, more income and wider markets, with more goods and services to be shared by all nations.

166. The world order, which allows the world to be perpetually divided into segments of rich and poor, with 800 million of its population in constant fear of starvation, is clearly irrational and preposterous. Through a global approach based on mutuality of interests and co-operative efforts, the world can be rid of the scourges of hunger, disease and illiteracy that plague two thirds of its population and of the inflation, recession and unemployment that bedevil the remaining third.

167. We firmly believe that political and economic security for the entire family of mankind is a goal that can be achieved through a concrete action programme, as follows:

168. First, all States Members of the United Nations, including the great Powers, must honour their commitment to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

169. Second, they must observe the rule of law in international relations, respect the sovereign equality and territorial integrity of all nations and renounce the use of force in the settlement of disputes.

170. Third, they must implement their commitment to the goal of disarmament, with the great Powers themselves setting an example in checking nuclear proliferation and the production of new nuclear weapons and in gradually reducing the existing stock of such weapons.

171. Fourth, the non-aligned countries must strictly adhere to the principles of non-alignment and reactivate the movement as a moral force in resisting all forms of expansionism, colonialism, hegemonism and racism.

172. Fifth, the principles of creating zones of peace, for example in the Indian Ocean, South Asia, South-East Asia, the Pacific and Africa, must be followed.

173. Sixth, the International Development Strategy must be implemented through a more rational use and distribution of world resources and technology for full exploitation of the productivity potential on a global basis.

174. Seventh, a food security system must be developed in order to ensure a supply of food from food-surplus regions to food-deficit regions and to ensure the flow of adequate inputs to countries with potential for rapid agricultural development.

175. Eighth, immediate and appropriate steps must be taken for the implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries, adopted at the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held at Paris in September 1981.⁴

176. Ninth, within the framework of economic co-operation among developing countries, surplus funds of OPEC should increasingly be invested in other developing countries, with priority assigned to the special needs of the least developed ones. In like manner, the more developed among the developing countries should also assist the development efforts of the less developed ones.

177. Tenth, in view of the energy crisis, an international consortium should be formed with assistance from both the industrial and the OPEC countries for exploration and development of energy in the developing countries.

178. Eleventh, recognizing the importance of the seabed resources of the developing countries, the development and codification of an international law governing the ocean régime should be expedited, in order to ensure a just and equitable sharing of those resources, including the sharing of international river waters.

179. Lastly, the democratic principle of equal and full participation of all countries in the formulation and implementation of decisions in all international forums should be followed.

180. On behalf of the delegation of Bangladesh I should like to conclude by a reaffirmation of our faith in the vision of a new future for the family of mankind, the vision which inspired the founding fathers of this body. In that vision is reflected the most important heritage of mankind, namely, man's undying spirit, which has blazed its trail through the ages, surmounting obstacles in the search for peace, freedom, justice, equality and human dignity, and opening up new frontiers of progress. We fervently hope that that spirit will inspire and unite the nations of the world in their efforts to move forward towards their common goal of a better future for all mankind.

181. Mr. FISCHER (German Democratic Republic):* Mr. President, please accept my warm congratulations on your election to this responsible office. I wish you and the Secretary-General success in your endeavours.

182. We also thank the President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, Mr. von Weizsäcker, for his work, which was certainly not an easy task.

183. Our good wishes go to Vanuatu and Belize, as new Members of the United Nations.

184. International events since the preceding session of the General Assembly have alerted the peoples to the urgent need to defend world peace with all determination. A wave of escalating armament and militarization in international affairs is flooding the world and is threatening to wash away the still uncompleted foundation for a stable peace. War has become a real danger again. Reactionary quarters are taking even nuclear war into consideration as an aspect of their policy. It is therefore imperative for all peace-loving people and for the United Nations to steer international developments into the calm waters of dispassionate and mutually beneficial co-operation in the interests of coexistence and of humanity's survival.

185. Today there is nothing more important than the prevention of a global conflagration, which would be a nuclear one. That means stopping the arms race, reducing tensions and, through patient dialogue, seeking solutions to the complex problems facing humanity.

186. The German Democratic Republic remains committed to peace, peaceful coexistence and international détente. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, said at the Party's tenth Congress:

"The peoples . . . should not have to go about their daily business under the threat of war, but in a secure atmosphere of peace, which should finally become their normal way of life."

Thus, my country's position is in harmony with the Charter of the United Nations and the fundamental resolutions of the Organization.

187. There is no acceptable alternative to the policy of détente. That is borne out by contemporary developments. Détente stood its practical test in the 1970s; it

* Mr. Fischer spoke in German. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

proved useful to the peoples and put neither side at a disadvantage. Confrontation and preparation for war make all States and peoples suffer, irrespective of their social system.

188. In the late 1960s and during the 1970s, international relations moved towards normalization on the basis of an approximate military balance between the States of the Warsaw Treaty and those of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]. That balance, born out of a need for equal security, continues to exist and it is an irresponsible and dangerous exercise to seek strategic nuclear superiority. It is well known that socialism sees the guarantee of world peace not in the accumulation of more and more horrible weapons, but only in the reduction and elimination of armed forces and armaments as a result of determined negotiations.

189. In view of the fact that stockpiles of nuclear weapons now exist with a destructive power 1.5 million times that of the bombs the United States dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, the decision in favour of a responsible policy that will strengthen peace should not be difficult to take. Indifference would be fatal.

190. The magnitude and diversity of the challenges require great efforts and comprehensive approaches by the United Nations. Particularly now, the specific significance of political dialogue on all levels and in all fields is highlighted. Meetings of statesmen at the top level are desirable and useful. For a long time it has been proved that that is the suitable way to reduce distrust, to gain confidence and to find understanding. The socialist countries are prepared for that, as they have always been, provided there is respect for sovereign equality.

191. Now, more than ever, the peoples expect the United Nations to exploit all the potential of the Charter to settle international problems. Hence the German Democratic Republic supports the Soviet Union's proposal that a special session of the Security Council be convened at the highest level. We believe that it would be rewarding to all sides and all peoples for there to be frank discussion in the Security Council of the global political issues.

192. It should be stated here that the willingness of States to strengthen international peace and security by way of negotiations and international agreements is not and cannot be a favour by one side to the other, and therefore it cannot be the object of any deals, let alone a means of extorting accommodating conduct. The point is to fulfil a legal duty which flows from the Charter of the United Nations and a host of international instruments. Negotiation is the highest moral imperative for everybody who does not want to shoot.

193. Dialogue and negotiation should primarily be oriented towards halting the arms race in all its dimensions. This means ceasing to develop and produce nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and reducing the existing arsenals of weaponry; this means preventing the geographical spread of armaments and reducing them in the individual regions. Finally, this requires the strengthening of the confidence between States and the buttressing of international security politically and legally—for instance, by concluding a world treaty on the non-use of force, which has been on the agenda for a long time.

194. Regrettably, all pertinent negotiations are interrupted or stalled at present. That is no wonder, because he who calculates nuclear war as a means of his policy, he who undertakes the manufacture of the neutron bomb, he who intends to keep increasing his arsenals of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, will reject even partial agreements such as the complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. He who claims large parts of the world as his exclusive sphere of interest and acts accordingly, he who converts entire regions into military staging areas, he who seeks hegemony, obviously lacks the genuine will to strengthen regional and international security by establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones or zones of peace.

195. Driving up military expenditure to unprecedented levels, as is done in this country, means obstructing international agreements on the reduction of arms budgets. That is the logic of things, and it is reflected in all disarmament negotiations.

196. By contrast, the proposals of the socialist countries say what needs to be done and what can be done at this moment. They are a solid bridge for understanding, an offer of goodwill and an indication of readiness to negotiate. Thus socialist foreign policy lives up to the supreme responsibility, that is, the responsibility for peace. Fresh and convincing proof of this is the Soviet proposal that has been expounded in this forum [see 7th meeting, para. 116] that the General Assembly should adopt a declaration solemnly proclaiming that States and statesmen who would be the first to use nuclear weapons would commit the gravest crime against humanity. The Soviet Union's proposal that the arms race not be extended to outer space [see A/36/192, annex] also underscores that commitment to world peace. We view it as a new chance to prevent the outbreak of a nuclear war and to establish an international legal barrier to territorial arms proliferation. Therefore the General Assembly should at this session work with all its authority for such an agreement.

197. The German Democratic Republic considers that at its thirty-sixth session the General Assembly should moreover make every effort to ensure that the SALT process will be continued, safeguarding all the positive achievements made; that military doctrines apt to facilitate nuclear war will be outlawed; and that the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva will reach agreement on the cessation of all nuclear-weapon tests, the prohibition of chemical and radiological weapons and the strengthening of security guarantees for non-nuclear-weapon States, thus providing a solid basis for the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament.

198. What is necessary is to check the arms competition, to reduce the danger of war by establishing nuclear-weapon-free peace zones, to halt the arms build-up in the world's oceans and to prevent the militarization of outer space.

199. Steps against the danger of nuclear war in Europe are a matter of particular urgency. It is a historic accomplishment of the States of that continent that they have set in motion the process of détente, though what has been achieved is now seriously jeopardized. The planned deployment of the most modern United States medium-range nuclear missiles which, it is proposed, are to be equipped with neutron warheads, is, whatever the pretext,

calculated to acquire the capability to attack socialism in Europe, practically without any advance warning.

200. Hence the goal is to attain a so-called first-strike capability. The concept is to nourish the belief that a nuclear war is not all that terrible, that it can even be won. That is an illusion, but an extremely dangerous one because it imperils mankind's existence. For this reason, more and more people are opposing that arms mania. Across political and ideological boundaries, they share a deep sense of responsibility for the destiny of nations and a firm will to avert a nuclear holocaust. This movement has our full respect.

201. The deployment of new medium-range missiles would force the Warsaw Treaty States to take the necessary military countermeasures. To avoid that necessity and to avert a new boost in armaments, the arms drive must be halted and negotiations that will yield tangible results held without delay.

202. It would be good if things were seen as realistically everywhere and if constantly repeated declarations of intent to engage in a dialogue were finally followed by deeds, as the socialist countries, as the Soviet Union, have demonstrated again and again. We welcome the joint Soviet Union-United States communiqué on the talks held on 23 September and expect tangible results.

203. The moratorium proposed by the USSR on the deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles would facilitate such negotiations. Freezing the existing capability for an agreed period of time would not result in disadvantages for anybody; the climate for negotiations would be improved and the possibility of achieving tangible results increased.

204. My country's profound commitment to peace is self-evident. The German Democratic Republic now finds itself faced with immense stockpiles of all kinds of death-dealing weapons, and the territory to the west of my country's frontier already has the highest concentration of nuclear weapons in the world. There are plans to expand and modernize this capability and to increase the personnel and move them even closer to our western frontier. That this will not serve détente is obvious. Only with political goodwill on all sides is a dynamic continuation of the process of détente possible. For this reason the German Democratic Republic expects that the Madrid meeting will agree to convene a European conference on confidence-building and disarmament.

205. Stable security in Europe includes a reasonable relationship between the two German States; peaceful coexistence alone can provide the basis for it. That is the purpose of the German Democratic Republic's policy.

206. Ideas that are unrealistic and incompatible with international law, as have also been pronounced here from this rostrum, are not helpful to a good-neighbourly relationship. On the contrary, they are bound to encourage revanchist and right-wing extremists to disturb—indeed, to poison—the atmosphere. This is bound to put obstacles in the way of the necessary normal relationship.

207. A sense of realism in the conduct of policy has nowadays become essential for international security. In the national interest, that means above all respect for the

legitimate concerns of other States, dependability, a responsible attitude in fulfilling accepted international obligations and correspondence between words and deeds.

208. A realistic and calculable policy means, first and foremost, a policy serving mankind's life and objectives, that is, a policy which promotes peace. He who wishes to work for peace in Europe must not erect walls of superarmament against the possibility of coexisting in peace based on sovereign equality and in prosperity. Furthermore, he must not contribute to the establishment of a staging ground for a devastating nuclear war. Such policies will not be welcomed by the peoples.

209. The improved political climate of the 1970s also visibly invigorated international economic exchanges. Is it not remarkable that in the last decade East-West trade more or less quadrupled? Regionally and globally, common concerns were being addressed, the beginnings of solutions were emerging and new forms of mutually beneficial co-operation were proving their worth. But in this area, too, reactionary forces resorting to boycotts, embargoes, economic pressure and threats now intend to extend their confrontationist course into international relations. This impedes a democratic restructuring of international economic relations. No one who wants to exploit economic exchanges in the interest of power and a policy of strength can be interested in settling those problems on the basis of sovereign equality.

210. The German Democratic Republic's policy is to contribute to prosperous international economic co-operation. All States should base their actions on the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [General Assembly resolution 3281 (XXIX)].

211. The German Democratic Republic's position, based on principle, invariably implies support for the developing countries in their struggle for the new international economic order and against neocolonialism and foreign exploitation.

212. We have always promoted to the best of our ability the extension of détente to all regions of the globe, as the United Nations has urged. To that end we have also worked as a member of the Security Council. Certainly not all the conflicts were eliminated in the 1970s, but conditions for further progress became more favourable. The confrontationist course and the territorial spread of the arms race, however, jeopardize those achievements and encourage anew aggression, terrorism and subversion, which in the case of Israel and South Africa, with the support of certain other States, have been declared State policy.

213. Strengthening the international authority of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] is therefore all the more important. The right of the people of Palestine to establish a State of its own is being increasingly recognized. A lasting Middle East peace settlement will be possible only if any action is based on the notion that no solution is possible without or against the PLO.

214. In southern Africa, the racist régime is increasing its efforts to make Namibia a neo-colonial satellite State. While the group of five Western States has been showing understanding for South Africa's position, it seeks to force the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] to

capitulate. There is an effort to invalidate Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

215. The German Democratic Republic declares its solidarity with the decisions on the question of Namibia adopted by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] at its meeting at Nairobi [see A/36/534, annex I]. It voted in favour of General Assembly resolution ES-8/2 adopted at the eighth emergency special session, condemning the continued occupation of Namibia and calling for mandatory sanctions to be taken against South Africa. SWAPO can be sure of our continued firm support.

216. Also from this rostrum, the German Democratic Republic condemns the attack of the South African racist régime on sovereign Angola and demands the immediate cessation of all military aggression.

217. The arms race has now also reached the Indian Ocean. Concerned at this development, and because of the naval presence and feverishly reinforced systems of bases, the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean are striving to set up a zone of peace. The German Democratic Republic supports that effort and holds that the planned conference on that subject should be convened very soon. We have made proposals for its proceedings in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean, and we hope that they will be helpful in the matter.

218. The German Democratic Republic resolutely supports the demand for the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and is in favour of the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the country's reunification.

219. The peoples of the Middle East and of South-East Asia are making great efforts towards collective security in their regions. We are in accord with Afghanistan's proposals for the solution of the situation around that country, and sympathize with its struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces that are being steered and armed from outside. The willingness of that country's Government to have the United Nations participate in relevant negotiations is fresh evidence of a constructive accommodation in the interest of a political solution to the problem. Important proposals have come from the USSR for détente in the Gulf area.

220. We have great respect for the people of Kampuchea and its Government. The German Democratic Republic strongly rejects all designs of imperialist and hegemonist quarters to disturb peaceful reconstruction. The seat in the Organization belongs to the representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which has amply demonstrated its constructive policy by making far-reaching proposals to the States in the region.

221. It is necessary, we believe, to intensify the struggle against the mass violation of human rights by imperialism, colonialism and fascism. Moreover, the Organization should do everything in its competence to promote solutions to basic social problems.

222. The German Democratic Republic submitted at the previous session of the General Assembly a draft resolution against ideologies and practices of fascism and neo-fascism.⁶ I wish to take this opportunity to thank all the delegations that supported it.

223. I trust that representatives will agree with me when I say today that meanwhile a great deal of new evidence of Fascist terror, in El Salvador and elsewhere, has come forth. The interrelation between that phenomenon and the described negative trends in international affairs is evident.

224. The German Democratic Republic therefore believes that it is essential to take appropriate measures in order to oppose with even greater determination the extremist proponents of war and hatred between nations.

225. Finally, let me assure the Assembly that the German Democratic Republic is firmly resolved to contribute in a businesslike and constructive spirit to such results of this session of the General Assembly as will help promote world peace and preserve the détente process as the dominating trend in international life in the 1980s.

226. Mr. TSERING (Bhutan): On behalf of the delegation of Bhutan, I should like to offer our warmest congratulations to you, Sir, on your election as President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. With your long and intimate personal association with the United Nations, both as representative of your country and as an official of the Secretariat, you are eminently suited to guide the deliberations of this august body. We wish you, and the other members of the General Committee, all success in your endeavours during the busy and difficult period that lies ahead.

227. My delegation has great pleasure in welcoming Vanuatu and Belize as the two newest Members of the United Nations. The admission of every new Member adds to the vitality and vigour of the Organization, and also takes us one step closer to attaining complete universality of membership, a goal we all earnestly desire.

228. I should also like to take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for the able and dedicated manner in which he has consistently endeavoured to promote the manifold objectives of the Organization. We are indeed fortunate to have such a distinguished personality at the helm of our affairs at a critical juncture in international relations.

229. The present global scene is not a happy one. The cardinal principles of non-interference and non-intervention in the affairs of sovereign States which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations continue to be violated in many cases. The use of force has been glaringly resorted to in some cases as a justified means of attaining political objectives.

230. As we have stated repeatedly in the past in this and other forums, we are opposed to interference and intervention in the affairs of sovereign States and the threat or use of force in international relations. We are therefore, purely as a matter of principle, fully committed to the view that foreign troops in South Asia and South-East Asia must be withdrawn, and the independent, non-aligned status of the countries concerned restored.

231. My delegation had hoped to see seated amongst us at this session the representatives of a free and independent Namibia, occupying its rightful place in the comity of nations. However, in spite of resolute attempts made during the course of the year by the international community, Security Council resolution 435 (1978) could not be imple-

mented. We hope that good sense will prevail with the South African Government and that, in their own long-term interests, as well as in the interests of the Namibian people and the international community, they will concede the inevitable with good grace. My delegation, which participated in the emergency special session of the General Assembly on Namibia, held early this month, reiterates its full support for the resolution that emerged from that session and calls for its immediate implementation.

232. The situation in the Middle East continues to pose a serious threat to international peace and security. The nations in the area continue to vie with each other to acquire sophisticated weapons, and, paradoxically, this has increased, rather than diminished, instability and insecurity in the region. It appears to us that the solution to the problem does not lie in sabre-rattling, but in acknowledging the fact that the question of the Palestinian people lies at the heart of the problem. In our view, there can be no durable peace in the Middle East unless the grave injustice done to the Palestinian people is rectified and they are permitted to return to their homeland and establish their own State. There should also be a complete restoration of all territories occupied through conquest. Simultaneously, there must be full recognition and appropriate international guarantees of the right of every State in the region to exist within secure and recognized boundaries. My delegation hopes that all the countries concerned, and especially the great Powers, will work to bring all the contending parties to the negotiating table and effect a solution on the basis of pragmatism and mutual accommodation. Recent experience has amply demonstrated that piecemeal attempts to resolve the differences among the parties concerned are likely to yield meaningful or long-lasting results, and in fact are likely to make the problem more intractable.

233. The recent deterioration in the relations between the power blocs have made efforts towards disarmament more difficult. With loss of faith in détente, the concept of negotiating from positions of strength has once again gained ascendancy. The inevitable result will be the production of ever more sophisticated weapons of mass destruction which, ironically, will not decrease but increase the chances of conflict, especially through proxies. At the same time, the diversion of tremendous resources to such unproductive purposes would diminish further the already inadequate resources available for combating widespread poverty in the developing countries, and poverty, in the ultimate analysis, represents the real threat to a stable world order.

234. We are at the threshold of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. At that session, we hope to see the emergence of concrete measures for implementing the Final Document of the tenth special session, contained in resolution S/10-2. Any meaningful progress towards disarmament can only be achieved if the bigger nations, and particularly the super-Powers, demonstrate the necessary political will.

235. After years of arduous negotiations, my delegation had expected consensus on the final draft text of the Convention on the Law of the Sea at the resumed tenth session held recently in Geneva. The enacting of such a law would minimize potential conflicts and prove equitable, at least to a degree, to all the members of the international community. We must realize that the law cannot take everyone's interests fully into account. There must be an element of sacrifice, of give and take, for the sake of consensus and the larger

interests of the international community. For instance, the land-locked countries which can least afford it have made major concessions during the course of the negotiations. We hope that all countries will now take expeditious steps to approve the final draft of the convention.

236. The international economic situation presents a grim picture. Today, more than 800 million people in developing countries, about two-thirds of them in South Asia, live in conditions of abject poverty. This situation can be attributed largely to the structural maladjustments of the existing international economic system. Unless the present system is restructured, there can be no durable solution to the fundamental economic problems facing the third world. The establishment of a new international economic order is in the interests of the entire international community, for unless remedial measures are taken in time, the seeds of tension and conflict inherent in poverty will one day engulf the world in a conflagration from which no country, developed or developing, can escape.

237. My delegation is concerned at the continuing deadlock in the talks for launching the global negotiations. Economic problems will continue to plague both the developed and developing countries unless these problems are tackled in a co-ordinated manner and on a global basis. *Ad hoc* and short-term palliatives provide no remedy for such problems. It is in the interest of all countries to make an urgent and serious attempt to tackle the causes of frequent disruptions in the world economy. A glaring example of what can occur was demonstrated by the sharp rise in petroleum prices during recent years, and the disastrous effect this had on the economies of many non-oil-producing developing countries. It is, therefore, imperative that global negotiations are launched without further delay. We hope that all the developed countries will demonstrate the necessary wisdom and political will in this regard.

238. Along with 30 other least developed countries, Bhutan placed considerable hope in the outcome of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris recently. Although concrete and time-bound commitments were not made by the majority of the developed countries during the Conference, we appreciated their positive approach to the question of promoting rapid economic development of the least developed countries during the 1980s. The Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries was adopted by consensus at the Conference. My delegation hopes that the international community will provide necessary assistance for the effective implementation of this programme. It is only through such concerted action that the least developed countries can hope to overcome the serious obstacle to development inherent in their economies.

239. Turning to our part of the world, an undertaking of great promise was launched last April in Colombo when the Foreign Secretaries of seven South Asian countries met to consider the feasibility of regional co-operation. The venture was the brainchild of the late President of Bangladesh, Mr. Ziaur Rahman, whose untimely death deprived our region of an outstanding leader. Owing to historical circumstances, the countries of South Asia had so far been unable to initiate any move for regional co-operation. As a result of the Colombo meeting, and further follow-up steps, the outlook for regional co-operation is distinctly brighter now and we hope that the next meeting of foreign secretaries of South Asian countries, scheduled to be held in Katmandu

later this year, will make the goal of South Asian co-operation a concrete reality rather than a distant dream. In the present circumstances, regional co-operation in South Asia has become an imperative necessity. My country will continue to support this venture as we are of the view that regional co-operation would contribute to the peace and well-being of the peoples of our region.

240. ⁹ In Bhutan we have just launched our fifth Five-Year Plan for the social and economic development of our kingdom. The main elements of our new development policy are attainment of economic self-reliance, decentralization of administration, curbing of expenditure on establishment, increase of revenue, especially through mining and industry, and greater participation of the people in developmental projects. With the generous financial and technical assistance of our friendly neighbour, India, and of other bilateral sources, as well as from bodies of the United Nations system, such as UNDP, UNICEF, WFP, IFAD, UNFPA and UNCDF, we are confident that the main objectives of our fifth Plan will be achieved. UNDP not only has a highly effective programme in Bhutan, but it has served as a useful channel for other United Nations agencies assisting Bhutan. Our fifth Plan differs from the preceding plans in that it is the personal handiwork of our wise and dynamic monarch, His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuk, who has toured the length and breadth of our country consulting our people and finding out what they want, rather than letting the Government decide what the people should have. It is planning from the bottom upwards, and with the great enthusiasm that this plan has generated we are hopeful that it will be successfully implemented and will bring about a marked improvement in the living standards of our people.

241. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Sir, at the outset I should like to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that you will preside over our work with the experience and wisdom for which you are well known. I should also like to take this opportunity to convey, through you, to the brotherly people of Iraq the greetings of the Arab people of Egypt and their best wishes for a bright future, progress, peace and prosperity.

242. I also wish, on behalf of my Government, to pay a special tribute to the outgoing President of the General Assembly, Mr. von Wechmar. I particularly wish to commend him on his wisdom and experience in presiding over the work of the Assembly and also for the impeccable manner in which he represented his friendly country, the Federal Republic of Germany, and its great and industrious people.

243. It gives me great pleasure, on behalf of the people and Government of Egypt, to welcome the admission of Vanuatu to the United Nations. I wish to convey to the people and Government of Vanuatu our heartfelt congratulations.

244. I also wish, on behalf of the people and Government of Egypt, to congratulate the people and Government of Belize on their independence and their admission to the international community of the United Nations.

245. It has been a year since we met here at the beginning of the last session of the General Assembly, in September 1980. It has been a year crowded with serious political

developments, ranging from political problems to economic crises to human tragedies, the result of which is the deterioration of conditions in many areas of the world in a way that now threatens the accomplishments of our civilization. There has been no distinction between one continent and another or between one society and another. All these ominous developments, which seem to be minimal when compared to the problems of poverty and underdevelopment of the third world, place on the Assembly the responsibility of pausing and assessing the international situation and the destiny towards which we are moving.

246. Members will recall that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt stated in his statement to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session [*16th meeting, paras. 41 and 42*] that the existing international political order requires serious scrutiny. He stated that:

"The recent alarming developments that have challenged the Charter and the international order that we have subscribed to and adhered to since 1945 have not only created a perilous situation of political upheaval sometimes even bordering on chaos, but have also accentuated the disparities between the powerful and the weak countries. Moreover, such challenges have resulted in the continuance and exacerbation of racist policies and ideologies, the use of force in international relations, the acquisition of territory by war, the denial of legitimate national rights—foremost among them the right to self-determination—and last but not least the aggravation of the situation which has caused the efforts to achieve disarmament to become locked in a vicious circle.

"The continuance of such policies and the situation resulting therefrom have had a negative impact on the conduct of international relations. The time has therefore come for us to intensify our efforts to put an end to the problems posed by such policies and to explore means of satisfying the requirements of the international community and therefore the interests of the peoples and nations."

247. A close examination of the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, presented to the current session [*A/36/I*], reflects an identical view and urges that appropriate measures should be undertaken to address the situation with courage and a constructive spirit.

248. Egypt's position of the use of force in all its manifestations—war, aggression or occupation—has been made abundantly clear. We resolutely oppose what has befallen the sister State of Afghanistan, what is being perpetrated against the fraternal people of Lebanon and what has occurred in Kampuchea. We also view with deep regret the fratricidal wars which have taken place and are still taking place around the world. It is for these reasons that I wish to reiterate once again this year the proposal made by my Government in its statement during the general debate at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

249. The Egyptian Government will propose, at the appropriate time, the convening in the near future of a special session of the General Assembly to assess the role of the existing international machinery and its potential, in particular the role of the collective security system in the maintenance of international peace and security. The fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations may be an appropriate occasion for the convening of such a special

session. Meanwhile, it is incumbent upon us to utilize fully the possibilities afforded by the existing machinery. In this connection, I wish to propose the revitalization of periodic meetings of the Security Council with the participation of ministers or special representatives, as envisaged in Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter. We all recall that periodic meetings of the Council at the ministerial level were held at the beginning of the 1970s. It may therefore be timely for similar meetings to be held in the near future, now that we are at the beginning of the 1980s and the challenges we face are greater and more urgent and pressing.

250. Towards this objective, it is important that the Security Council have a clear and permanent set of rules of procedure that unambiguously stipulate the majority required for decisions on the various issues before the Council, along the lines of Article 18 of the Charter which deals with decisions of the General Assembly on the same matters. This will make the legal system of the United Nations more competent to deal with the many developments that have occurred in the international system and with the requirements inherent in the pursuit of an order based on freedom, equality and fraternity.

251. I address myself particularly to the non-aligned nations, with whom we share our ideals and objectives, and ask them to play the role expected of them in supporting these proposals. For there is no one more competent and more able than the countries of the non-aligned movement to sustain that initiative so as to ensure that we do not deviate from our objective. The movement was established as a vigorous and universal movement dedicated to the liberation and independence of peoples and as a shield against the cold war and instability in the relations between the super-Powers. At present the movement is, without a doubt, better equipped to undertake that role. Egypt, as a pioneer of the non-aligned movement and a firm believer in its ideals and objectives, is gratified to see the movement proceed along its correct path, regaining its vitality by ridding itself of many of the factors which during the past decade contributed to its polarization and deviation from its true course and to its sabotage from within. The ministerial meeting of the non-aligned movement held at New Delhi last February was a milestone on the road back towards the true and constructive course of non-alignment and good sense.

252. I have spoken with candour on the international political order. I shall speak in the same way about the international economic order, a subject that has been considerably debated, particularly the question of a new international economic order as a possible alternative. Although seven years have elapsed since the sixth special session of the General Assembly, held in 1974, the international community has not been able to reach an agreement on the establishment of a new international economic order based on justice and equality.

253. The limited results generated by various United Nations conferences towards obtaining effective solutions to the problems that we face have been, to say the least, a matter of great disappointment and dismay. The inability of the international community to resolve such an impasse will no doubt heighten tension and instability and thus endanger world peace.

254. One of the most serious problems confronting the developing countries is the food crisis. Statistics show that between 400 million and 500 million people, the majority of

whom live in Africa and Asia, are threatened with famine. Such a problem, in its manifold economic, political, social and humanitarian dimensions, requires urgent and radical remedies.

255. There is a solid and firm conviction within the international community of the need to reconsider the present pattern of international economic relations so that they may be based on justice, co-operation and international solidarity and interdependence. That is the only way to arrive at a comprehensive and global approach to solving international economic problems. Such an approach was adopted by the Group of 77 in its untiring efforts to conduct international global negotiations between the North and the South. It is our hope that such negotiations will be launched during this session, after such a long period of inaction.

256. Egypt calls upon the international community and in particular the developed countries to redouble their efforts in order to understand the problems of the developing world and to exhibit more flexibility in their positions so that those negotiations may yield positive results that would ultimately benefit all parties concerned and would thus form the foundation for the establishment of equitable and balanced international relations. In this connection, we are closely following the efforts undertaken by a number of developed and developing countries, foremost among which is the International Conference on Co-operation and Development to be held at Cancún. In spite of our appreciation for any effort to promote international co-operation and foster mutual understanding between developed and developing countries, we see no alternative to international global negotiations within the framework of the North-South dialogue.

257. At the same time, Egypt is actively participating in the efforts undertaken by the developing countries to achieve individual and collective self-reliance. We participated effectively in the High-level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries held at Caracas, which succeeded in laying down a framework for the co-ordination, monitoring and implementation of economic co-operation among developing countries. This constitutes not only an important step towards fostering greater co-operation between the North and the South but also a turning-point from the planning to the implementation stage. It is relevant to point out in this regard that the African countries, for their part, have adopted a programme for autonomous development contained in the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa.⁷ That step is worthy of encouragement and support so that the objectives of the Plan of Action may be fully realized.

258. Political stability in this world is primarily dependent on economic stability. That is equally true for the first, second and third worlds. Whereas developing countries should exercise more effort towards autonomous economic and social development, the responsibility towards those who possess fewer resources and are encumbered with greater burdens falls upon the entire international community.

259. Egypt is an intrinsic and major part of a region of the world that is plagued with an immense tragedy: the tragedy of the Palestinian people.

260. At the risk of repeating what has previously been stated by my Government, I wish to reiterate that the Pal-

estian question is the core of the Middle East conflict. The solution of this problem is understood by the entire world to be central to total peace in the Middle East. No settlement of the Middle East problem is possible without the just solution of the Palestinian problem on the basis of the realization of Palestinian national rights.

261. Egypt does not consider the Palestinian problem to be a humanitarian problem that requires merely moral and material support, but rather it is a problem that is closely intertwined with the problems of the Egyptian people themselves. Anything that affects the Palestinian people and their security finds an echo in Egypt, and the Egyptian people cannot but respond.

262. Egypt is fully aware that the continuation of the Palestinian problem without a speedy and just solution will heighten the tensions and aggravate the instability that already plague our region. Thus it will not only obstruct the efforts that Egypt is undertaking for development and progress, but also usher alien ideologies and unwelcome foreign interference into our region. President Sadat undertook his historic initiative against that background, fully aware that the continuation of the Palestinian tragedy would deal a heavy blow to the aspirations of the Arab nation to progress, rendering it incapable of developing and forcing it to remain static, a prisoner of empty slogans and unrealistic dreams.

263. Egypt sustained a 30-year war in order to regain the rights of the Palestinian people, during which it became a victim of aggression on more than one occasion and suffered the loss of much of its material and human resources because of its support of the Palestinian people. Egypt will continue to maintain its commitment to the Palestinian cause and in particular to the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination without foreign interference. It is our conviction that the right to self-determination is a natural right that cannot be forfeited or derogated and that comprehensive peace cannot be realized until the Palestinian people regain their rights within the framework of a comprehensive settlement that also recognizes the right to security of Israel and all other concerned parties, foremost among them the Palestinian people.

264. It has proved futile for Egypt to continue on a dead-end road, merely bearing the slogan of Palestine and soliciting endless resolutions, as advocated by some, as though such resolutions were an end in themselves, representing victory and the fruit of success. In fact, such slogans and resolutions merely serve to fuel the auctioneering and outbidding that plague the Arab arena, drowning out the Palestinian problem.

265. Egypt has struggled both in peace and in war. It spearheaded the struggle for the resolution of the Palestinian problem. It played a principal role in supporting the creation of the PLO. The universal recognition accorded to the PLO was a direct result of Egyptian diplomatic efforts and the granting of observer status to the PLO was the outcome of efforts in which Egypt played an instrumental part. When the time came—even before the 1973 October war—for the General Assembly to pronounce itself on the Palestinian problem and the rights of the Palestinian people, the first proposal in that regard since resolution 181 (II) of 1947, which contains the Plan of Partition of Palestine, was that of Egypt in 1970. During the 1973 October war, when President Sadat issued his historic statement calling for the convening of a peace conference, he emphasized the need for

the full participation of the representatives of the Palestinian people. Our efforts to reconvene the Geneva Conference focused on the importance of the participation of the Palestinian people in any meeting or conference to be held on the Middle East problem. All those efforts constituted one phase, preparatory to the subsequent phases in our struggle. For us, failure to proceed along those lines would have meant dropping into the abyss of stagnation and becoming a victim of our own policies, thus reverting to our starting point.

266. In full cognizance of that fact, Egypt considered the circumstances prevailing in the final months of 1977 to be conducive to this new phase—a difficult phase, but one that could generate practical results towards a comprehensive settlement. That was the background for President Sadat's statement before the Israeli Knesset, a statement aimed at putting an end to the *status quo* situation, which Israel was trying hard to impose, and at initiating a new phase. Egypt's historic position, as reflected in President Sadat's statement, was based on the premises that constitute the international consensus for the resolution of the Palestinian problem as laid down by the international community at the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity and in the non-aligned movement. First and foremost among those premises is the right to self-determination, a right which Egypt played a major role in evolving and upholding.

267. Egypt's signing of the Camp David accords in 1978 stemmed from that conviction, as well as from its firm belief that the accords constitute an important step towards the full implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and all its principles and provisions. The accords, we believe, also represent a transitional phase setting the stage for the exercise of self-determination by the Palestinian people. Thus, if supported in good faith by the concerned parties, they would open the door towards Palestinian-Israeli co-operation and coexistence, which would lead to mutual recognition that would enable each party to realize its legitimate rights without adversely affecting the rights of the other.

Mr. Adjoyi (Togo), Vice-President, took the Chair.

268. The framework for a comprehensive peace, as set forth in the Camp David accords, is based, as far as the Palestinian aspect is concerned, on the following five elements, in which we believe: first recognition by Israel of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the necessity to negotiate with them; second, the establishment of an interim Palestinian authority to replace the Israeli military occupation administration; third, the establishment of transitional arrangements; fourth, the commencement of the withdrawal of Israel forces from the West Bank and Gaza; and fifth, security for all parties concerned.

269. The purpose of the negotiations on full autonomy that took place over the period of one year, from May 1979 to May 1980, was to attain those objectives. However, little progress, if any, has been achieved to date. It was our hope that such a transition period would contribute to alleviating the plight of the Palestinian people and to enabling them to establish their authority over their territory. However, conscious that the door to the attainment of their national rights by the Palestinian people has been irreversibly opened, the Israeli authorities have tried to prevent the success of the negotiations on autonomy. This policy has dealt a considerable blow to the chances of establishing full autonomy in the

West Bank and Gaza. Egypt responded by suspending the autonomy negotiations. In fact, that Israeli policy can only be compared to the vilification campaign waged by the rejectionists in the Arab world, who have yet to produce a single positive contribution for the benefit of the Palestinian people.

270. In spite of Egypt's condemnation of both the Israeli policy and rejectionist schemes, we continue to maintain that a possibility for tangible progress exists. Egypt is convinced that the Palestinian people should not be forced to forfeit an opportunity because of the obstructionist policies of one party or the other. In the next few weeks intensive efforts will be made and it is our hope that they will lead to substantive progress in the area of confidence-building measures and the establishment of the interim period, which constitutes the essence of the present phase of the peace process.

271. In undertaking these efforts to pave the way to the resolution of the Palestinian problem we do not propose to monopolize the task of finding a solution or to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people. That is not our position at all. The Palestinian problem has its own principals, and our commitment is to prepare the ground for a just solution. It is a commitment that does not deny and is not negated by the fact that the Palestinian people have their own representative. It merely confirms the organic relationship between Egypt and the Palestinian problem. In saying that, I wish to affirm that the Palestinians—a principal component of whose structure is the PLO—should be present at all consultations and negotiations concerning their problem, for it is inconceivable that the Palestinian problem should be discussed without the participation of the representatives of the Palestinian people, who are entitled to recognition and consultation.

272. In this context, Egypt welcomes any initiative that would contribute to the real solution of the Palestinian problem. In this spirit we welcome the efforts undertaken by the European Community and the proposals for the convening of an international conference by the Secretary-General, the President of Romania, Mr. Ceausescu, and the President of the Soviet Union, Mr. Brezhnev. Nevertheless, we consider that the proposed international conference should be the final, not the first, step in establishing a comprehensive peace. We are also following with great interest the efforts undertaken by a number of African leaders. We are open to any initiative, regardless of its origin, that seeks to give a new impetus to the search for a just solution of the Palestinian problem. However, I wish to reiterate before the Assembly that any initiative, proposal or idea must take due account of the following considerations: first, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to their own State, as an inalienable right, equal to that of all other peoples, in freedom and independence; secondly, the right of all States in the region to live in peace; thirdly, the need to complement and enforce the efforts already under way for the peaceful solution of the problem; fourthly, the need to contribute towards mutual recognition by Israel and the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people.

273. I wish to take this opportunity to convey to the Assembly the proposal of President Sadat that the Palestinian people establish a Government in exile as the nucleus of the international identity of the Palestinian entity and that there be mutual recognition by it and the Israeli Govern-

ment, contributing to the peace process and preserving the impetus necessary for a just settlement of the Palestinian problem.

274. I cannot conclude my remarks on the Palestinian problem without referring to the issue of the Holy City of Jerusalem. Egypt, like all other States and international bodies, categorically rejects any attempt to change the geographic, demographic or legal character of Jerusalem. Occupied Jerusalem is Arab territory and must therefore be returned to Arab sovereignty. We must distinguish between the quest for a united city and the quest for annexation. In the first case there are a number of proposals that, while taking into account the need to have a united city, also take account of the rights of all the parties concerned, foremost among them being the Arab right to sovereignty. Concerning the second case, such an approach is totally rejected on the basis that any expansion based on the use of force is illegitimate and therefore cannot constitute a right.

275. I have dealt in detail with the Palestinian problem because it constitutes the core of the Middle East conflict. There are, however, certain matters concerning the situation in the Middle East as a whole that I wish to put before the Assembly. It is a very complicated and intertwined question. I am happy to present to the Assembly a report on the final Israeli withdrawal from Sinai, preparations for which are now being made so that it may be finalized by April 1982, God willing.

276. In conformity with the principles and provisions of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), the Egyptian-Israeli treaty stipulates that all Israeli forces, settlements and civilians will be withdrawn beyond the boundaries that existed between Egypt and mandated Palestine without jeopardizing the Gaza Strip. According to the annexes to the treaty, Israel's withdrawal will take place in two stages. The first stage was completed nine months after ratification of the treaty and the second stage ends no later than three years from the date of ratification, that is on 25 April 1982.

277. We are pleased to inform the Assembly that the withdrawal arrangements are proceeding as agreed upon. We feel sure that in the near future we will be in a position to inform the United Nations of Israel's complete withdrawal from all Egyptian territories occupied since 5 June 1967, which will constitute an important step towards a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem and a model to be followed to ensure Israel's withdrawal from the remaining Arab territories.

278. However, I wish at this juncture to put on record that the Egyptian-Israeli treaty stipulates that the Security Council will be requested to provide the two countries with United Nations peace-keeping forces during the first year after completion of the withdrawal and the total implementation of the treaty. In a letter dated 21 April 1981 from the Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the President of the Security Council, Egypt requested the Security Council to make the necessary arrangements for the dispatch of such forces. However, we regret to say that on 18 May 1981 we received from the President of the Security Council a response to the effect that no consensus existed among the members of the Council regarding Egypt's request.

279. Faced with this unjustifiable attitude of some members of the Security Council, which prevented the Council from meeting its responsibilities regarding the maintenance

of international peace and security, Egypt opted for an alternative approach to implement the provisions concerning security arrangements contained in resolution 242 (1967). Thus we established a multinational force to carry out the peace-keeping functions that we had hoped the United Nations forces would assume during the present stage. Egypt is hopeful that a just and comprehensive peace will prevail throughout the entire Middle East, thereby obviating the need to keep peace-keeping forces in the region.

280. In fact, the liberation of Egyptian territories, in implementation of resolution 242 (1967), from an occupation that lasted nearly 15 years is a success for the United Nations that must be recognized, supported and appropriately assessed. Any efforts to separate the United Nations from that accomplishment must be rejected. It is indeed regrettable that that accomplishment offers the only glimmer of hope in our Middle East region.

281. In Lebanon, many interests are at play behind the scenes, and the Lebanese people are paying the price in terms of their blood, prosperity and unity. The recent Israeli attack against Beirut and against the sovereignty of Lebanon and its people constitutes a link in the chain of policies aimed at imposing Israel's hegemony over its neighbours. Egypt categorically rejects that policy in form and in content. We say that encouragement of such a policy will dim the prospects for a comprehensive peace and will further inflame the Middle East. The starting-point for the resolution of the Lebanese problem is to ensure that the legitimate Lebanese Government exercises its authority over the entire territory of the fraternal country of Lebanon. In this forum I call upon all parties engaged in the hostilities in Lebanon to bring their interference to an end so that the Lebanese people may decide their destiny within the context of Arab solidarity and taking due account of the tenets of the Palestinian question.

282. On the eastern fringes of the Arab world we witness Iran and Iraq locked in a war of attrition that takes its toll of the people of both countries and diverts them from their pursuit of development and progress. The continuation of such a war can only provide an added opportunity for the intensification of super-Power competition and rivalry to create spheres of influence in the area.

283. Egypt calls for an end to that war so that each party may regain its rights in conformity with the fundamental principles that govern international conduct, foremost among which is respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States. At the same time we warn against the utilization of that situation by the super-Powers to further their own interests, thereby threatening the security of the Gulf, an area which represents the eastern approaches to the Arab world. Such a development would threaten the security of Egypt and all other Arab countries, particularly in view of the current dangers inherent in the international situation.

284. In full cognizance of such a situation, Egypt has expressed its readiness to assume its responsibilities, if requested, in conformity with the Arab Joint Defence Agreement of 1950. Egypt stands ready to help defend the people of the Gulf against any attack or aggression, and is also ready to provide facilities that would satisfy the defence needs of the Gulf States in conformity with their respective defence agreements.

285. This position stems from an over-all Arab strategy to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity and the non-aligned and Arab character of all Arab countries. At the same time, Egypt unequivocally opposes Israel's policies that seek to spread anarchy in the Middle East, such as the attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor. Egypt supports all resolutions in this regard adopted by the Security Council, the OAU and IAEA.

286. In addition to its well-known political implications, such an attack has a direct bearing on the efforts to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East, an objective which was a matter of consensus at the last session of the General Assembly [resolution 35/147] and the realization of which is vital to the security and stability of the region. The attack has dealt a blow—which we hope is not fatal—to the efforts undertaken for the establishment of the zone; it has also poisoned the climate conducive to the co-operation required for the establishment of the zone. It is therefore incumbent upon Israel—if it genuinely desires to co-operate towards the realization of this objective—to produce credible evidence of its goodwill by acceding to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. In addition, Israel should declare its readiness to place its nuclear facilities under the IAEA safeguards system and enter into immediate negotiations with the Agency for that purpose. We see no alternative to those steps if Israel wishes to dispel the negative implications of its action and to safeguard the momentum required for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East.

287. Notwithstanding the negative aspects to which I have just referred, General Assembly resolution 35/147 on the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone—which was adopted by a consensus in which all States in the region and the nuclear-weapon States participated—should be considered as the starting-point towards the realization of this objective. We therefore consider the time ripe and the conditions appropriate for the present session of the General Assembly to declare the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East. The broad outlines of the steps required for the attainment of that objective should also be laid down by the Assembly. The Egyptian delegation will submit a proposal in this regard at the appropriate time during the present session.

288. Egypt, a country whose history is an intrinsic part of that of Africa, calls for the intensification of the struggle against the *apartheid* system in South Africa, a régime whose policies pose a serious threat to international peace and security. Therefore, there should be no abrogation of our commitment to fight it. The international community cannot and should not condone the repressive measures undertaken against the national forces in South Africa. Egypt also condemns any collaboration with the Pretoria régime, in particular economic co-operation and co-operation in the field of energy, whatever form it may take. We believe that such co-operation, particularly nuclear co-operation, will make the Pretoria régime persist in its arrogant racist policy and continue to challenge the standards that govern normal relations among nations and peoples. We therefore call for the effective implementation of comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

289. Egypt participates fully in the struggle for the total liberation of southern Africa. My country was a bulwark of the struggle in all its stages and will continue to make available all its capabilities to sustain it until its final vic-

tory. We therefore condemn the continuous threat and acts of aggression perpetrated by South Africa against the fraternal African front-line States, the most recent ruthless attack being that against Angola. That South African policy poses a serious threat to international peace and security as well as to the independence, sovereignty and security of the front-line States and their peoples.

290. The problem of Namibia continues to be a serious and dangerous one. This is so in spite of the fact that the international community has unanimously agreed to its peaceful solution and despite the wisdom displayed by SWAPO and the African countries in accepting Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and committing themselves to its implementation. With the help of a handful of countries, South Africa continues by all means to evade committing itself to the implementation of that resolution and continues to buy time in order to persist in its subjugation and exploitation of the people of Namibia, in violation of the principles of justice and legitimacy.

291. The failure of the Security Council to force South Africa to implement the settlement plan which the Council endorsed in its resolution 435 (1978) and solve the question places on the five Western countries, authors of that plan, increased responsibility to subordinate their immediate interests to the implementation of the plan, which is, after all, the product of their own efforts. In the absence of such an attitude on the part of the five Western countries the situation will explode, not only threatening the interests of all but also endangering the existing international political system.

292. The continuation of the problem of Namibia poses a serious threat to international peace and security and could provoke further blood-letting in southern Africa, as clearly manifested in the invasion of Angola by South Africa's troops last month—an action condemned by all countries and forums. It was therefore appropriate for the emergency special session of the General Assembly which adjourned only a few days ago to call for the imposition of sanctions against South Africa. Egypt calls upon all countries to implement such sanctions in order to completely isolate the racist régime in South Africa.

293. Egypt reiterates its position that the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, as approved by the Security Council in its resolution 435 (1978), sets forth complete, defined and acceptable elements for the solution of the Namibian problem. Any attempt to deviate from the plan or to dilute its provisions constitutes an affront to Africa and a violation of the rights of all its peoples and should therefore be resisted by us and immediately and unambiguously condemned. Egypt condemns any attempt to obstruct the implementation of the United Nations plan, and reaffirms once again its total support for the people of Namibia in their struggle to exercise sovereignty over their entire territory, including Walvis Bay, and to gain independence and their natural right to freedom under the leadership of their legitimate representative SWAPO.

294. In concluding my remarks on the situation in Africa, I wish to reaffirm Egypt's condemnation of any action that threatens peace and security in Africa, particularly the threats emanating from the nuclear activities of South Africa and its nuclear co-operation with a number of States. In 1964, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity adopted the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa.⁸ That historic Declara-

tion, which represents a constructive step on the road to peace and general and complete disarmament, cannot bear results at a time when racist South Africa and those who collaborate with it pose a nuclear threat to the security of Africa and its people.

295. Within the context of the consideration of the security of Africa and the Middle East—two areas which represent an important part of the third world—Egypt wishes to express its deep concern at the growing foreign military presence resulting from super-Power rivalry in the contiguous Indian Ocean area—a development that resulted in the clear deterioration of the security climate of the entire region, which includes West Asia, the waters of the Indian Ocean up to the shores of East Africa, and the southern and eastern boundaries of the Middle East. Egypt therefore supports the establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean region and to that end welcomes the convening of an international conference in Sri Lanka, in accordance with the stated position of the non-aligned countries.

296. Within the context of our consideration of peace and its consolidation, we wish to reaffirm once again the importance that Egypt attaches to the implementation of United Nations resolutions relevant to the national aspiration of the Korean people to unity through negotiation and dialogue.

297. At the outset of my statement I referred to what has befallen the sister State of Afghanistan. In this connection, I wish to confirm our long-standing position on the need for a speedy end to this crucial problem. The continuation of foreign military intervention in the internal affairs of the people of Afghanistan constitutes a flagrant violation by a super-Power of the sovereignty and independence of a small non-aligned country. Two years have elapsed since the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. It is time for all foreign troops to withdraw, so that our brother people of Afghanistan can regain their freedom and independence, and exercise their indisputable right to choose their own system of government and their representatives.

298. Egypt supports and actively participates in the efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament under effective international control, particularly in view of the recent escalation and intensification of the arms race. Efforts aimed at arms limitation and control, as well as disarmament, proceed at a snail's pace and thus generate only meagre results that do not correspond to the desire and effort of the peoples of the world to move towards the objective of general and complete disarmament.

299. Against this background, the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament acquires a special significance. It is the responsibility of the international community to undertake practical and effective measures to arrest the arms race, both in its nuclear and conventional aspects. In parallel with disarmament measures, there should be other measures to strengthen international peace and security, such as confidence-building measures and resolution of international and regional problems in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the rights of peoples to self-determination. Clearly, progress in disarmament cannot be realized in a vacuum. The second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament presents an excellent opportunity that should be fully utilized in order to proceed in an effective and constructive manner towards the realization of disarmament according to agreed timetables and specific

phases. This endeavour must be undertaken against the realization that the world sustains billions of people who long for just peace and security, which in turn cannot be realized unless goodwill and possibilities for development exist. Disarmament can effectively contribute towards this end.

300. The peace and prosperity of the world are what we all wish for. The poor, the sick and the hungry, who constitute the majority of our present world, are not ready to listen to, let alone to be convinced of, what is propagated about strategies of hegemony, expansionism, domination and doctrines of deterrence, as long as they continue to feel neglected, oppressed and discriminated against, on the pretext that they do not understand and have nothing to do with what is happening.

301. To bring the world closer to peace and away from the brink of destruction and disaster, we must arm ourselves

with reason and unite ourselves against racism, exploitation and occupation, and for justice, peace and right.

The meeting rose at 1.45 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981*, documents S/14683 and Add.1.

² *Ibid.*, document S/14699.

³ The delegations of Democratic Kampuchea, Gabon, the Gambia, Nigeria and Rwanda subsequently informed the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour of the draft resolution.

⁴ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1-14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

⁵ See CD/228, appendix II, vol. I, document CD/160.

⁶ Adopted in its revised form as resolution 35/200.

⁷ A/S-11/14, annex I.

⁸ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 105, document A/5975.