



CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 9

	<i>Page</i>
Agenda item 125: Question of Cyprus	287
Agenda item 9: General debate (<i>continued</i>): Speech by Mr. Ghobash (United Arab Emirates)	287
Speech by Mr. Khaddam (Syrian Arab Republic)	289
Speech by Mr. Rithauddeen (Malaysia)	293
Speech by Mr. Cortina Mauri (Spain)	297

President: Mr. Gaston THORN
(Luxembourg).

AGENDA ITEM 125

Question of Cyprus

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Members will recall that, at the 2355th plenary meeting on 22 September 1975, the General Assembly decided that this item would be considered directly in plenary meetings and requested the President to continue his consultations on the procedure to be adopted for the debate.

2. I would like to say that we have now reached a consensus—similar to last year's—which reads as follows:

“The General Assembly, when it considers this item, will invite the Special Political Committee to meet for the purpose of affording representatives of the Cypriot communities an opportunity to take the floor in the Committee in order to express their views. It is understood that the General Assembly will then resume its consideration of the item, taking into account the report of the Special Political Committee.”

3. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): As I have indicated earlier, the procedure for the last year is acceptable to us. I would just like to say, on behalf of the Turkish delegation, that we welcome the consensus you have just outlined. I would like to clarify our position and say that in view of this development, we are no longer opposed to the inclusion of the question of Cyprus on the agenda of the General Assembly. I would like to add my thanks for all the efforts you have made in this direction.

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): May I take it that the Assembly agrees to this procedure?

It was so decided.

5. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Chairman of the Special Political Committee will be informed accordingly.

General debate (*continued*)

6. Mr. GHOBASH (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of the United Arab Emirates, I would like to express to you our sincere congratulations on your election to this highly esteemed office, the presidency of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. We highly appreciate your well-known competence and long diplomatic experience, and we are confident that the work of the General Assembly will fully succeed under your wise chairmanship.

7. I would like to seize this opportunity to extend our congratulations to Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, for his wise and successful leadership of the last session.

8. We would like also to express our thanks to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his tireless efforts aimed at strengthening the United Nations and furthering its role in the maintenance of international peace and security. His visit last February to our country and other Gulf countries was most successful. He was able to see closely the efforts of our Government in promoting economic and social development. His visit provided us with the opportunity to discuss with him all matters pertaining to the strengthening of the United Nations and the enhancement of its role in the solution of international problems.

9. It gives me great pleasure to extend our warmest congratulations to the new Members of our Organization, namely, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Cape Verde, and the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe. We are confident that the admission of these States will add to the vitality and universality of our Organization. We are prepared to co-operate in all spheres with these States for the mutual benefit of our peoples and the world at large.

10. As did the twenty-ninth session, our present session faces problems and challenges of serious dimensions. The peoples of the world look to our Organization with high expectations for the solution to these problems and for the complete elimination of the causes of war and total destruction.

11. Needless to say, the question of Palestine is one of the most important and urgent problems that requires serious and immediate consideration. We noted with satisfaction the positive way the previous session dealt with this question. The inclusion of the question as a separate item on its agenda, and the adoption of the two resolutions, one emphasizing the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine, including the right of return and the right of self-determination [*resolution 3236 (XXIX)*], and the other

granting the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] observer status to the United Nations and other international organizations [resolution 3237 (XXIX)], were of great historical significance. The inclusion of the item and the adoption of the two resolutions reflected the achievements of the people of Palestine in their arduous struggle. Furthermore, it symbolized the support given by the Arab States, the countries of the third world and other freedom-loving countries to the Palestinian people in their struggle for justice and liberation.

12. One year has already elapsed since the adoption of the resolution on the rights of the people of Palestine. Yet Israel has not taken any steps whatsoever to facilitate the return of the Palestinians to their lands and properties. Rather, it continues to deny the very existence of the Palestinians as a people, and stubbornly refuses to recognize the right of the Palestinians to enjoy their inalienable rights, including the right to self-determination. It persists, not only in the usurpation of that people's material possessions, but also in deliberately attacking their spiritual and cultural heritage, by abolishing the religious and cultural monuments in Palestine created by the Palestinian people over a long period of history. Nothing could more starkly illustrate this policy of Israel than the continuous threat to which the Islamic and holy places in Jerusalem and Al-Khalil ("Hebron") are subjected.

13. In order to preserve its values and to prevent the deterioration of the present situation which is fraught with imminent dangers to world peace and security, the international community should not tolerate Israeli disregard and defiance of the United Nations resolutions. The proper response by the international community to such defiance of the international will would be in line with the recommendations recently adopted by a great number of States, members of the family of nations, at the Conference of Islamic Foreign Ministers, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Non-Aligned Countries.

14. In view of Israel's persistent defiance, the three Conferences recommended measures for forcing Israel to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions, including the application of sanctions as laid down in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. Hence, it is imperative that the General Assembly at this session should adopt resolutions that go beyond mere reiterated support of the rights of the Palestinian people, and the urging of Israel to implement United Nations resolutions. We should adopt resolutions which include both an unequivocal order to Israel to implement the resolutions, and in case Israel persists in its policy of refusal and defiance, a clear reference to the implementation of the sanctions laid down in Chapter VII of the Charter.

15. Among the questions that concern us and cause us anxiety is the question of the continuous rule by the racial minority in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia. Once again, we reiterate our view that the continuing application of the policy of *apartheid* by the racist Government of Pretoria against the non-white majority of the population in South Africa is immoral, contravenes the principles of justice and

equity, constitutes a defiance to human conscience and values, and violates the Charter of the United Nations.

16. Our delegation participated in the Security Council's recent discussion of the questions of South Africa and Namibia. Our participation was motivated by our great concern and deep conviction that the perpetration of such inhuman and illegal situations in those two countries threatens peace and security in Africa, and consequently endangers international peace and security.

17. We, like our brothers in Africa, sincerely hope for a peaceful settlement of this problem. In the absence of such a settlement, we cannot but support—materially and morally—the African liberation movements that lead the struggle of their peoples to win back their dignity and to achieve their noble goals of freedom and independence.

18. As regards Western Sahara, we hope that Spain—our friend—will respect the resolution of the General Assembly which provided that no action be taken with regard to that territory until the handing down of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice [resolution 3292 (XXIX)].

19. One of the international problems awaiting urgent settlement is the question of Cyprus. We support the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. We appreciate the sincere efforts made by the Secretary-General to mediate between the two communities with a view to reconciling their differences. We attach great importance to the maintenance of peace and security on the island. This feeling is not only due to its geographical proximity to our Arab region, but also because of the historical, humanitarian and cultural bonds which we share with the parties to the dispute—both Greeks and Turks.

20. As a small developing country, we are deeply concerned with the maintenance of peace and security in our region. Thus, my country warmly welcomed the settlement of disputes between our two neighbours, Iraq and Iran. We congratulate them on this achievement. We also hope that all pending disputes in the Gulf region will be resolved in a constructive spirit of co-operation.

21. We also wish to reiterate our support for the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)]. It is of the utmost importance that this zone, of which we are a part, be free from big Power rivalries. Our goal is to see the Indian Ocean a zone where constructive and co-operative relations exist among its States, based on equality of rights and duties and free from interference by any State in the internal affairs of another. The States of this zone need to mobilize their resources and energies for the development of their national economies and to secure basic necessities which constitute the prerequisites for emerging from the economic and social backwardness from which they suffer.

22. My Government has also supported the United Nations resolutions regarding the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East. We believe that the best method for the establishment of such a zone is for all parties concerned to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex].

23. As regards the situation in Indo-China, we warmly welcome the restoration of peace in that region. We wish the peoples of Indo-China every success in their efforts to rebuild what the war destroyed and to develop their national economies.

24. On the international level, we support the efforts aiming at the easing of tensions among the big Powers. My country considers the results achieved at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held in Helsinki, as positive and useful. The wise steps taken by the two super-Powers to bring an end to their accelerating arms race are well received and supported by us. It is indeed deplorable that this international trend towards the protection of mankind from the scourges of the modern war machine does not find a similar response among the rulers of Israel.

25. The recent press reports on the pending acquisition by Israel of highly sophisticated weapons of great destructive capability, to be added to its arsenal, are of great concern to us. Indeed, further aggrandizement of Israel's oversaturated arsenal by such lethal weapons would cause apprehension and alarm in all parts of the Arab world. Needless to say, the supplying of the Israeli war machine with such weapons could only lead to the threatening of international peace and security.

26. This session comes after the successful conclusion of the deliberations of the seventh special session of the General Assembly and in the wake of the adoption of the resolutions of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned countries, held at Lima in August. The resolutions adopted at Lima reflect the new spirit of change which is beginning to find its way into the arena of international relations. The old concepts, based on discrimination among the peoples of the world and on inequality in their relations, have been shaken to their roots. As a consequence of centuries of colonialism, the peoples of the third world, after achieving political independence, have found themselves in a situation of backwardness and are engulfed in an international economic order which does not correspond to their aspirations for advancement and their goals for development.

27. The individual experience of each people, and the similarity of the problems confronting all developing countries, have led the peoples and the Governments of these countries to search for new avenues in international relations. In their endeavour to establish a more equitable and logical world order that properly reflects their real needs, the countries of the third world have refused to join blocs or alliances, and instead have searched for means of co-operation among themselves, as well as with the other States of the world, based on the respect for sovereignty, democracy in international relations, and the struggle against aggression, colonialism and exploitation in all its forms.

28. In the economic field, these States called for the establishment of a new economic order, one that is more equitable and closer to meeting the needs of development and improving the living standards of the majority of the human race. The Lima resolutions embodied in their provisions the gamut of this historical experience.

29. My country, a faithful adherent to the principles of the non-aligned movement and a partisan of peaceful international co-operation, has generously contributed to alleviating the suffering of developing countries and to supporting their efforts to advance their peoples and to develop their economies. Immediately after the restructuring of oil prices and the availability of an apparent surplus, my country decided to allocate a large portion of our earnings from our only natural resource, oil, to the support of developing countries, despite a weak and newly created administrative apparatus. In purely numerical terms, our aid has amounted to over a quarter of our gross national product. In real terms, however, when the vast needs of our people for education, hospital facilities, urban development and culture are taken into account, the ratio of our aid to our gross national product greatly outweighs the significance of these numbers in absolute terms.

30. We also support the positive results achieved by the seventh special session, which we consider as a first step on the road towards full equality in economic relations among States. Though the decisions adopted at that session do not fully meet all the demands presented by the developing countries, we consider readiness to implement them as the yardstick for measuring the good intentions of the developed nations.

31. We are looking forward with great expectation and optimism to the next meeting, to be held in Paris, on energy, raw materials and development. It gives us great pleasure to serve as host for the next round of the Arab-European dialogue, to be held in November of this year, to further explore areas of co-operation between the two regional groupings. We shall do our utmost for the participants and for the success of the meeting.

32. Despite the complexity of the problems of our contemporary world, the successes achieved by mankind in the context of the United Nations during the last three decades strengthen our hope and increase our optimism about the future of co-operation and friendship among nations. My country pledges itself to fulfil sincerely the objectives of the Charter.

33. Mr. KHADDAM (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, allow me first of all to congratulate you on your election as President of this session of the General Assembly. I am confident that you will carry out your task in the best possible manner in view of your experience, knowledge and wide renown. We earnestly wish you success.

34. It also pleases me to extend thanks to Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Foreign Minister of Algeria, for the efforts he exerted during his presidency of the twenty-ninth session, which greatly contributed to the significant results achieved by that session. To him and to our sister State of Algeria I convey my greetings.

35. Significant events have occurred since the last session in the area of the struggle of peoples for liberation and independence. The Vietnamese people have achieved victory and were able to realize their will after a fierce war for which they sacrificed millions of lives. The Cambodian people won victory also and realized their wishes of selecting the system and

path they wanted. The struggle of the peoples of Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe was crowned with victory, and I welcome the admission of these countries as active members of the international community and expect them to play their part in supporting the forces of freedom and progress. I denounce the policy aimed at preventing the admission of the two parts of Viet Nam to the United Nations. We consider that this admission would be an enrichment of the heroic human experience.

36. Despite these victories, there are peoples still suffering from the yoke of colonialism and still subject to the most abominable forms of racial oppression. I find it my duty from this rostrum to hail the just struggle waged by the people of Angola, Namibia, Rhodesia and South Africa, as well as the various liberation movements in the world, for their freedom and for the eradication of the vestiges of the racial colonialist régimes that are still exploiting their lands and resources. I also declare our full support for the just struggle of the Korean people in realizing their national unity.

37. In Cyprus, that neighbourly island which was the scene of sanguinary events, we demand the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions and the safeguarding of its unity and territorial integrity. We view with great concern the imperialist attempts and manoeuvres aimed at transforming the island into a base of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

38. Since I am still talking about the right of peoples to self-determination, I find it imperative to refer to the Western Sahara, which is part of Arab soil, whose fate concerns the whole Arab nation, and which is still being occupied by Spanish troops. I appeal to the friendly Spanish Government to expedite its evacuation of this Arab territory. I declare my support for the efforts made by the Moroccan Government to solve the dispute involving the future of the Sahara in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the decisions of the Conference of Arab Heads of State or Government, held at Rabat in October 1974.

39. The policy of international détente achieved a significant positive step when it succeeded in convening, at Helsinki, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which laid down principles to be adopted by the participating members for enhancing the prospects of peace in Europe. While supporting and welcoming this significant step, may we ask what peace can be achieved when a neighbouring region, namely, the Middle East, is a flaring hotbed of tension? May I also remind the Assembly of the strategic location of this region and its deep bearing on European security?

40. The October war of liberation of 1973 was a strong proof of such a link. Any talk about international détente and European security will remain idle unless the causes of tension are eliminated. Such elimination can be achieved only through the evacuation by the Zionist forces of all the occupied territories and through the realization of the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine, including the right to return and to self-determination. I shall revert to this subject later.

41. The suffocating economic crisis suffered by the capitalist world economy and its impact on inter-

national trade and the world monetary system have been reflected in the economies of the third-world countries, as if these countries have always had to pay for the mistakes of others.

42. It is high time for the international Organization to deal with these problems seriously. The peace aspired to in the United Nations Charter cannot be secured as long as there are rich countries and poor countries, dominating countries and exploited countries; unless the gap between the rich and the poor countries is narrowed; and unless the exploited countries are allowed to recover their full rights and their sovereignty over their wealth and resources.

43. For the sake of propagating the international justice we all seek it is essential to establish a new world economic order that would make it possible to improve the machinery of the prevailing trade exchanges and allow the developing countries to sell their raw materials at remunerative and stable prices proportionate to the prices levied by the advanced countries when they re-export such materials in the form of manufactured goods. Such an order would help the development plans of the developing countries. Another means that would help these countries economically and socially would be for the advanced countries to provide the developing countries with financial and technological assistance, while leaving them free to select the course they want to pursue for their development.

44. In this connexion, we support the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its sixth and seventh special sessions, and those adopted by the non-aligned Conference at Lima. We point out in particular the Programme of Action adopted by the Assembly at its sixth special session [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*], which was reaffirmed by the seventh special session and the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], and we demand the implementation of their provisions.

45. I find it imperative to refer to the fact that any international economic conference whose agenda is limited to discussing the energy crisis and does not extend to discussing all raw materials, as provided for by the resolutions of the Conference of Developing Nations for Raw Materials held at Dakar in February 1975, shall be doomed to failure as was the fate of the attempt made last spring.

46. Another subject that requires a quick solution is reforming the current international monetary order that was shaken as a result of the inflation and recession in the industrialized countries in recent years, a situation which caused major fluctuations in the exchange rates of the main currencies and the floating of most of them. This has had an adverse effect on world trade, particularly on the economies of developing countries, and this order has become incapable of handling international payments in a stable and equitable manner.

47. The major shifts that took place in the balance of power in the world during the last 10 years and the liberation of many developing nations and their emergence on the international scene make it necessary to reconsider this order, so that the developing countries receive the standing they deserve within the international monetary and economic establish-

ments. Any reform in the international monetary order must take into consideration the stabilization of the main currencies of the international payments system in order to secure stable sources of such currencies for the developing countries which export raw materials.

48. The explosive effects of the tense situation in the Middle East region may not be confined to that region alone. The situation, rather, threatens world peace at large, for the following reasons.

49. First, the Middle East region is in a strategic position. It is the cross-roads of three continents and is situated on two oceans and three seas; through it pass the most vital international communications routes. Secondly, there is the intertwining of international interests in this region. All of us remember how the war of October 1973 placed the super-Powers on the brink of a devastating nuclear war. Thirdly, there is the economic significance of this region due to the enormous quantities of oil stored therein. All of us remember the great crisis suffered by the world economy because of the October war.

50. Since one of the main purposes of the Charter is to deal with anything that jeopardizes world peace and security, the tense situation in the Middle East ranks foremost among the problems to be solved. It is high time for the international community to put an end to Israel's acts that are based on domination, expansion and challenge to the Charter of the United Nations and the flouting of United Nations resolutions.

51. When Balfour made his declaration in 1917 promising the Jews a national homeland, the Jews then residing in Palestine did not own more than 2.5 per cent of the total area of Palestine. The partition resolution adopted in November 1947 [*resolution 181 (II)*] gave them 56 per cent of that area. They are at present dominating the whole of Palestinian soil.

52. The Jews residing in Palestine in 1918 did not exceed 56,000 persons, that is, 8 per cent of the total population. Owing to the immigration organized and encouraged by world Zionism and the Government of the Mandatory Power, the number soared to 31 per cent in 1947. The population of Israel today is about 2.5 million, while immigration to Israel is still continuing.

53. In view of the increase in population and the small area of land, Israel has committed the worst and most heinous crimes against the Arab inhabitants by forcing them to leave their lands and properties. Accordingly, the largest exodus known in history has taken place: a whole people has been forcibly driven from its homeland and replaced by other people.

54. I mention these facts to prove that they are an extension of the past and highlight Israel's expansionist and aggressive nature, which has not changed but has rather been reinforced. Israel's determination to keep its hold on the Arab territories occupied following the 1967 war is proof of what I am saying.

55. Israel's history is a series of challenges and defiance of the Charter of the United Nations and contempt for its resolutions, starting with resolution 181 (II) and the resolutions relating to the return and compensation of the refugees to those relating to

Jerusalem, protecting the Holy Places and prohibiting any changes in the archaeological sites in the occupied territories. Israel recently took steps to change the features of the Al-Ibrahimi Mosque in the city of Al-Khalil and divided it into two parts, getting a hold of the larger part, thus proving once more its disdain of spiritual and human values.

56. I am not here to list the resolutions violated or disregarded by Israel; these are facts of which all representatives are aware and which our people are witnessing every day.

57. Another matter that is no less dangerous than the former is Israel's violation of human rights. Israel is exercising the worst type of oppression and racial discrimination against the Arab inhabitants residing in Palestine. Such practices exceed by far those pursued by Nazism for eliminating its opponents. This policy, which is deeply embedded in the souls of Israeli rulers, is even being applied against the oriental Jews residing in Israel.

58. Throughout the history of the United Nations no State has flouted the Charter of the United Nations and resolutions as Israel has. Until when can this silence be maintained? Does not this silence towards Israel constitute a dangerous precedent that will encourage other States to follow suit? What would be the situation in such a case and what would be the fate of the United Nations and world peace?

59. Israel's case is different from that of the other Members of this Organization. Israel's admission to the United Nations, based on General Assembly resolution 273 (III) of 11 May 1949, was linked to two conditions: first, an undertaking to honour the obligations of the Charter of the United Nations from the day it became a Member of the United Nations; and secondly, implementation of resolution 181 (II), of 29 November 1947, and resolution 194 (III), of 11 December 1948, relating to the need to allow the Palestinian refugees to return to their homes.

60. The then Israeli Minister for Foreign Affairs solemnly pledged to accept those two conditions. But, needless to say, Israel has not fulfilled either of them. The undertaking to honour the obligations of the Charter was a false undertaking. The resolution on the return of the refugees has remained mere ink on paper, although the United Nations has been reaffirming it every year since 1950. The same applies to resolution 181 (II). Israel occupies areas equalling four times the area granted to it under that resolution.

61. Israel, which was admitted to the United Nations by resolution 273 (III) and under the two conditions I mentioned, does not deserve to be a member of the international community. It is constantly violating the United Nations Charter and resolutions; hence, the conditional resolution endorsing Israel's membership must, after an experience of over a quarter of a century, be reconsidered in the light of Israel's non-compliance with the obligations of the said resolution.

62. In 1967 Israel perpetrated a new aggression and occupied territories belonging to three States, including the Golan Heights. It is refusing to withdraw from the Heights under the pretext of its need for "secure boundaries". It is very strange to talk about secure boundaries in the age of missiles and sophisticated weaponry. Did those "secure boundaries" prevent

the Egyptian and Syrian armies from penetrating the occupied Arab territories during the October war? Which of the two sides needs secure boundaries? Is it Israel, whose history abounds with aggression, or the Arabs, who have always been the victim of aggression? What would become of the political map of the world and what would be the fate of world peace if each State advanced the pretext of secure boundaries to commit aggression against its neighbours and acquire territorial gains?

63. The slogan of secure boundaries raised by Israel is in reality a slogan behind which it conceals its expansionist intentions in order to keep hold of the occupied Arab territories.

64. We have tried on many occasions through the United Nations to compel Israel to withdraw from those territories. We have exerted strenuous efforts towards the implementation of the United Nations resolutions, especially those relating to Jerusalem and the securing of the national rights of the people of Palestine. The majority of world public opinion stood on our side in support of our just struggle. However, all those efforts were in vain. Israel has persisted in its intransigence and determination and keeps pursuing its aggressive and expansionist policy, building colonies and chasing the Palestinians to exterminate them.

65. In the face of all this we had only one recourse: the October war, which we fought with willingness, honour and courage. We were determined not to stop until we realized the objective of liberating our territories and securing the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine. Certain factors emerged during the war which led to the adoption of Security Council resolution 338 (1973). Our country accepted it in a telegram that I sent to the Secretary-General in which I stated that our understanding of the resolution was based on the following two principles: first, Israel's complete withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied since June 1967; and secondly, the recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people.

66. Many thought that the Israelis learned from the lessons of the October war. However, the facts disprove that belief. The Israelis have once more begun to talk in the same manner and to use the same language they used prior to the October war. They are reaffirming their unwillingness to withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories, notably the Golan Heights, which the Israeli statements and declarations are considering a "part of Israel". The Israelis are adamant in refusing to recognize the Palestinian people, thus ignoring not only the existence of that people, but also the international will that recognizes their existence, as manifested in General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX).

67. I find it important to point out that the Arabs who refused to accept the consequences of the 1967 war refuse today to lose what they achieved in 1973. They are determined more than ever to safeguard and defend their rights, depending on the Organization's support and backing. Thus, it would not be safeguarding the Arab rights only, but also the Charter, its principles and the principles of freedom and dignity.

68. We are not warmongers; rather, we are working for peace. The peace we want is one that would ensure

a comprehensive solution for our cause on the basis of the United Nations resolutions. Our view proceeds from the fact that any attempt that does not deal with the core of the problem—that is, the people of Palestine and their expulsion from their homeland—would be doomed to failure and would, in any case, be no more than a temporary truce.

69. It was with this understanding that we signed the disengagement agreement concerning the Golan Heights. We made a point of mentioning explicitly in the agreement that the agreement is only a step towards implementing Security Council resolution 338 (1973). We have never believed in the soundness of partial steps or the "step-by-step policy", as designated by its initiators, because such a policy ignores the unity of our cause and represents the situation as a border dispute between Israel and Egypt, or between Israel and the Syrian Arab Republic, or between Israel and Jordan, while the situation in fact is between the Arabs as a whole and Israel, for an indivisible cause, namely, the restoration of the national rights of the people of Palestine and the recovery of all the occupied Arab territories.

70. It is for that reason that these steps are fraught with danger and are moving us far from peace, not bringing us closer to it. They give the impression that peace in the region is within reach, while actually the stalemate and calm that prevail bear the seeds of a new flare-up. The peace we are striving to attain with the help of this Organization and with the support and backing of all peoples is that just peace that restores to us all our occupied territories, and to the people of Palestine their national rights. We reject any attempt to impose settlements that impair the rights of our people. Accordingly, we view the recently signed Egyptian-Israeli agreement as moving us farther from the road to peace. Besides, any consideration of that agreement as a step forward implies an attempt to mislead or means that the ingredients of peace in the region are not fully comprehended.

71. I find it necessary to declare from this rostrum that attempts to face us with the alternative of either accepting the continuation of the stalemate—which eventually would lead to war—or accepting partial and individual agreements concluded at the expense of the rights and interests of our people will be doomed to failure and will not distract or hinder us from seeking the means leading to a real, just and durable peace. Irrespective of the circumstances, we shall not fall into the trap of the recently concluded Sinai Agreement. That agreement is merely one of those attempts to mislead. It is a move to force our people to surrender to the will of the aggressor. That agreement has given the aggressor everything, while it has given the victim of aggression nothing more than a feeling of bitterness and injustice, with all the dangers intrinsic in the accumulation of such feelings—dangers that would inevitably lead to the tearing up of all covenants and agreements, thus bringing the region to the brink of a new war. The world will then realize that such an agreement was not a step towards peace, but was rather a temporary truce in a situation that threatens the whole region with explosion.

72. The search for a just and durable peace in the Middle East must be made outside the deceptive framework of the Sinai Agreement and the ensuing

commitments and undertakings given by its godfathers to supply Israel with the most destructive weapons. How can our people believe that that agreement will bring peace closer, while part of it is designed to supply Israel with missiles which bring within range the capitals and towns of the Arab countries surrounding the centre of aggression? How can we be convinced that this agreement is a step towards peace when Israel is receiving for it, through blackmail, billions of United States dollars?

73. What sort of peace can such Agreement bring about, since it was concluded outside the framework of the United Nations? How can that agreement be a step towards peace when Israel is still occupying our national soil, and when there is a party that is enhancing its offensive forces in order to become the mightiest striking force in the region and thus carry out its expansionist and aggressive policy? How can we consider that agreement a step towards peace when it has paved the way for a United States presence in the area and when it has made the United States a main party to the conflict, with all the dangers implicit in such presence—dangers that threaten the future of our people, who can clearly recall how the United States became involved in Viet Nam?

74. We are against that Agreement because it is against the will of our people. The agreement is an attempt to undermine the solidarity of our people, impair its unity and isolate it as a preliminary to doing away with all the gains achieved by the October war of liberation. We are against that agreement because it permits the aggressor to persist with its expansionist and aggressive policy and gives it security in Sinai, so that it may throw all its weight, and practise its terrorist acts, against the other Arab fronts. We are against that agreement because it ignores the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine to self-determination and the establishment of its national entity in its homeland. We are against that agreement because it was concluded outside the framework of the United Nations. We are against that agreement because it boosts Israel's arrogance and intransigence in not complying with the United Nations resolutions, and above all because it was concluded against the will of our Arab people.

75. We have recently been hearing talks about possible negotiations concerning the occupied Syrian territories. I declare from this rostrum that any talk on this subject within the framework of the step-by-step policy is not founded on a practical and realistic basis. The reason is that the occupied Syrian territories are part of one cause, namely the cause of Palestine and the occupied Arab territories. We refuse to be dragged into the policy of dividing the cause. We want a just and durable peace. However, such a peace can be realized only within the framework of the following two principles: first, Israel's unconditional withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied during the June 1967 aggression; and secondly, Israel's undertaking to carry out the United Nations resolutions relevant to the Palestinian cause, notably General Assembly resolutions 3236 (XXIX) and 3237 (XXIX).

76. Any talk of peace in any other sense is nothing but an attempt to delude world public opinion and deceive the international community. While on the

subject of the Sinai agreement, I wish to recall the fate of the agreements on Indo-China, particularly the Paris agreements on Viet Nam. The peoples of the world cannot allow the aggressor—regardless of the material force he owns—to persist in imposing his will.

77. Peace depends on the ardent desire of Member States to see that the resolutions they have adopted are fully implemented. It is their duty to lend us their support and backing, and thus enhance the prestige of the United Nations in the interest of such peace.

78. Mr. RITHAUDDEEN (Malaysia): Mr. President, allow me on behalf of the Government and the people of Malaysia, to congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of this session. Your admirable qualities, tact and understanding will serve you well as you lead us through our deliberations in the months ahead. In welcoming your appointment, I should like also to pay a tribute to your illustrious predecessor, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Foreign Minister of Algeria, President of the twenty-ninth session and seventh special session, for his leadership during those sessions.

79. Allow me, on behalf of my Government, to take this opportunity to extend a warm welcome to our new friends, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Cape Verde and the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe on their achievement of independence and on their new status as sovereign nations, taking their rightful place in the United Nations. We should also like to congratulate Papua New Guinea in anticipation of its admission into the United Nations soon. As we see it, the presence of these countries among us represents not only the inevitable triumphs of peoples struggling against colonialism but also another big step towards complete universality in the United Nations.

80. This year is a momentous one for the United Nations, as it celebrates its thirtieth anniversary. As our Organization stands on the threshold of another decade, we feel that it is relevant for us to ponder upon the path it has taken in the last 30 years and the direction which we hope it will take in the years to come. This is surely the time for frank assessment, for the searching of minds and, most of all, for a fearless look at reality.

81. We are all aware that the United Nations, with its limitations and weaknesses, is far from being a perfect Organization. This is understandable especially when one considers that the world in which the Organization was fashioned was different from the one we have today. It was created then by a small minority to ensure that mankind would be spared the scourge and devastation of another world-wide conflagration. The high ideals and principles upon which the Organization was founded have not found expression in our desire to have an effective instrument for maintaining peace and security and for economic and social justice.

82. The challenge before us as we stand on the threshold of the next decade is whether or not we shall be able to rise above narrow selfish interests and perceive the world in a larger context and in its human and often vulnerable entirety. Are we going to remain indifferent to the cries of the majority of mankind, which still lives ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed,

and are we going to be helpless in the face of the great gulf that separates the well-to-do minority from the poor, the deprived and the disadvantaged majority? To allow the situation to drift as we have been doing is hardly conducive to a stable, secure and peaceful world. The onus is therefore on us as to whether we leave a legacy of peace, equality and prosperity or chaos, devastation and grief.

83. There are those who are sceptical or cynical about the worth or the achievements of this Organization. Yet, if the past 30 years have taught us anything, it is that the United Nations is a durable and living Organization and that the principles and purposes for which it was founded are as relevant today as they were when the Charter was drawn up in 1945. That we should look to the United Nations to solve the problems of disarmament, decolonization and development, of food and population, of trade and industrialization, of the environment and the seabed, of human rights and the plight of women is indication enough of the importance we attach to the Organization. These problems are global in nature and they require global solutions. The United Nations provides us with the best means to discuss these problems and search for acceptable solutions. If the solutions have fallen short of our aspirations—and this has often been the case—it is not the fault of the United Nations itself, but our own. The ability of the United Nations to grapple with these problems depends very much on us. It is only our political will that can make the United Nations succeed as an instrument of peace and a catalyst for change. It is, therefore, the common responsibility of all of us, especially the big Powers, to fulfil our obligations in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. In this respect we think that it is opportune to look into the restructuring of our Organization and to review the Charter so that the United Nations can be an effective force in the resolution of the problems that we face.

84. We are, of course, not blind to political realities. We are aware that we can only do so much in calling for a more constructive and sane world order. What is essential is still the co-operation and concurrence of the big Powers. However, at the moment this is not yet forthcoming. While we initially welcomed the super-Power détente as offering brighter prospects of peace, we viewed it with some caution. Our caution seems to be justified, for what we have seen so far is a mutual accommodation of big-Power interests. For détente to have real meaning, there must be a perceptible movement towards meeting the aspirations of all countries, especially the developing countries, for a more just and equitable economic and social order, and towards solving some of the intractable problems that continue to bedevil us. Therefore, détente should not merely be a convenient formula for mutual consultations in the continuing game of big-Power politics. We in Malaysia, however, are still hopeful that in our generation we shall live to see a radical change in the policies of the big Powers so that these Powers will direct their energies towards more constructive and beneficial ends.

85. We can make a fresh start here at this session by seriously devoting our attention and our efforts to those problems that have continually appeared on the agenda since the first session of the Assembly.

Problems relating to disarmament, *apartheid*, the search for a peaceful and just solution in the Middle East, the Korean question, and the problems of economic advancement, trade and aid, are in urgent need of attention and solution. If we can at this session display the willingness and ability to consider them seriously without having the sterile debates and recriminations of the past, then we shall have achieved something we can be proud of. What is needed is a fresh start and a fresh look at these problems. There are signs that the international community is ready to enter into an earnest dialogue in the search for a consensus on these issues.

86. One of the first problems that need our attention is that of disarmament. The Secretary-General, indeed almost all the speakers before me, have rightly emphasized at various times the seriousness and the danger inherent in the escalation of the arms race and the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Some nations now have the capability to inflict far greater and more irreversible damage than militarists ever dreamed of in the last war. The arms race, both in conventional and nuclear weapons, has continued unabated. What is even more disturbing is the fact that the arms-supplying countries are using their hardware as a political weapon of "divide and rule" among nations. The global expenditure on armaments in a year has amounted to \$300,000 million. The increase in the level of armaments, both quantitative and qualitative, not only poses a constant threat to our survival, but is also as senseless as it is wasteful. Only a fraction of the amount spent on the arms build-up would be needed, for example, to stabilize the prices of primary commodities of export interest to developing countries. This would have a great regenerating effect on our economies and benefit both developed and developing countries. Our sense of security is not going to be enhanced by a rise in the arms build-up, nor can any edifice for peace last if this trade in the merchandise of death is not halted. The United Nations should do all it can to mobilize world public opinion and bring its moral weight to bear on this issue.

87. We reiterate our position that lasting peace can be achieved only through general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control, and not through a mutually agreed balance of armaments. We affirm our support once again for the convening of a world disarmament conference under the auspices of the United Nations. This session should also seriously consider the recommendation of the Lima Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries for the convening of a special session devoted to disarmament matters [see A/10217 and Corr.1, annex, para. 114]. We are most concerned that midway through the Disarmament Decade we have barely begun to touch upon the vital issues. The Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons that was held in May this year in Geneva ended with no commitments from the nuclear Powers that vertical or horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons would be stopped, that all forms of nuclear weapon-testing in all environments would be banned, or that the world disarmament conference would be convened. At the same time, the non-nuclear-weapon States parties to the Treaty have had no firm assurance that their security would be guaranteed

in case of the use, or threat of the use, of nuclear weapons, or that the benefits from the peaceful application of nuclear energy would be made available to them. We hope that these issues will be discussed at this session in a true spirit of co-operation and constructive debate.

88. On the Middle East question, Malaysia's position is clear. We note that some tension has been removed as a result of the latest negotiations. However, the problem will remain unresolved as long as Israel occupies Arab lands and refuses to comply with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). We deplore the acquisition of territories by the use of force and the changing of the geographical and demographic aspects of the occupied territories. Another aspect of the Middle East conflict is the question of Jerusalem and Israeli acts of desecration in transforming the religious and historical character of the city and the Holy Places. Malaysia has joined the Islamic countries in calling for the withdrawal of Israel from Jerusalem and has condemned its acts of desecration. The solving of the Palestinian problem is also indispensable to peace in the Middle East. The people of Palestine must be granted their inalienable right to self-determination and their right to return to their homeland. Malaysia recognizes the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and we fully support the PLO in its struggle to realize the aspirations of the Palestinian people.

89. Another of the problems I mentioned earlier is that of *apartheid*, which has been on our agenda in one form or another since 1946. Together with this is the general situation with regard to southern Africa. The General Assembly cannot allow both the Pretoria régime and the illegal racist-minority régime in Salisbury to continue ignoring and flouting United Nations resolutions with impunity. The Pretoria régime must end its illegal occupation of Namibia. The people of Namibia must be given the opportunity to determine their own future. The people of Zimbabwe must also be granted their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence. These oppressed peoples should no longer be subjected to any uncertainty regarding their prospects for freedom and independence. The United Nations should give full support to the people and the leaders of the liberation movements in their just and legitimate struggle.

90. One of the major achievements of this Organization has been in the field of decolonization. As the records will show, Malaysia has always given its unqualified support to peoples struggling to free themselves from colonial subjugation and domination. More than ever before, the time appears appropriate for peoples to be really free to exercise sovereignty over their own country and to shape their own destiny. A residue of colonial presence under any guise detracts from the real significance of independence. That is why we are concerned at the pockets of colonialism that still exist in many parts of the world, including our own. Consistent with our firm policy, Malaysia fully shares and supports the desires and aspirations of all subject peoples to attain self-determination and independence.

91. In Cyprus we face a complex and a dangerous situation that we cannot ignore. The problem is just as serious as the ones I have mentioned and requires

a speedy solution. Since the main parties to the conflict are the Greek and the Turkish Cypriot communities, they should be encouraged to seek a peaceful and amicable settlement through negotiations. It is our view that, to succeed, these negotiations must give expression to the rights, the interests and the concerns of both communities. There must be a spirit of accommodation. We would like to congratulate the Secretary-General for his role in the talks that have been held between the two communities both in Vienna and in New York. His task is by no means an easy one and he has our best wishes as he continues with his efforts.

92. The question of Korea is another one of those issues that has been before us for a long time and is of special concern to us. We feel that every effort should be made to encourage the two Governments to continue the dialogue between them and undertake confidence-building measures so that, under an improved climate, more substantive discussions can be held. The main problem, as we all know, is one of peaceful reunification of the two parts of Korea. In this respect, we feel that we should take a realistic view and promote a solution that will be acceptable to both the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea.

93. I now turn to our part of the world where significant changes have taken place since we last met. I refer to the events in Indo-China. We are happy indeed to see the end of the cruel and protracted war and the return of peace in the area. We look forward to working closely with the countries of Indo-China in a spirit of friendship and mutual co-operation. We deeply regret that the applications of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam for full membership in the United Nations were rejected in the Security Council. We express the hope that this time the Council will take into account the overwhelming support the two applications received from this Assembly and reconsider the applications favourably.

94. The Governments and people of the National Union of Laos, Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and the Republic of South Viet Nam face a formidable task in their efforts to rehabilitate and reconstruct their countries. In this they deserve all the support and assistance we can give. The United Nations, through the Economic and Social Council, has made an urgent appeal for aid and relief assistance to these countries. At the same time, the Lima Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries established a solidarity fund in aid of these countries. It is imperative that these measures be implemented quickly. I renew the pledge I made in Lima that Malaysia stands ready to extend all assistance to the people of Indo-China. We offer this in a gesture of friendship and neighbourly concern. Malaysia has always underscored the importance of regional co-operation, harmony, and solidarity. Together with the countries in the region, we hope to build a strong, stable and neutral South-East Asia, free from outside interference.

95. Malaysia, together with her neighbours and partners in the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN]—namely, Indonesia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand—are now actively pursuing the objective of establishing in South-East Asia a

zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. This proposal, as reflected in the Kuala Lumpur Declaration of 1971,¹ seeks to protect the region of South-East Asia from being an arena for big-Power conflict. This Declaration also seeks to ensure that the countries in the region will be able to proceed with their national development in a climate of regional harmony and co-operation, free from disruptive elements engendered by foreign designs. It is our hope that the other countries of South East-Asia will come in time to see the merits of the neutralization proposal and join with the ASEAN countries in a common endeavour to make the region a safe and better place for the peoples in the region to live in. We are optimistic that the big Powers will come to realize that this order that we seek is really to their advantage as well. Indeed, a neutral South-East Asia would eliminate the prospect of expending energies on power play which often leaves no room for mutually beneficial activities.

96. It is heartening to see that more and more countries appear to find the idea of neutralization a commendable one. We are encouraged by the creation of nuclear-free zones and zones of peace on both land and sea. Malaysia firmly supports moves in this direction. We strongly feel that for such proposals to succeed they need to have the prior and unqualified support of the countries in the regions concerned. At the same time, we hope the nuclear Powers will respond to the call made by the Secretary-General and co-operate to ensure the success of these zones.

97. If the economic events and the debate of the last few years have revealed anything about the international economic order, it is surely the need for changes to be made to it. Our debates and negotiations, as the Secretary-General of the United Nations stated so succinctly in his closing address to the seventh special session, "... is about change; it is not about a smoother management of the *status quo*".² The reasons for changes to be made have been rehearsed so often, most notably at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, and I need not repeat them here. The kind of changes that need to be made have been fully articulated for many years by the developing countries and are fairly contained in the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolution 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)] and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)]. These documents and the cry for a new economic order are not slogans. They embody the directions and the measures that the developing countries believe the community of nations must take if the development of the developing countries is to be accelerated, and a more just and rational world economic and social order is to be realized.

98. The deliberations and conclusions of the seventh special session have pinpointed the issues and directions that the international community must take up in the days ahead. The importance of implementing the decisions that have been agreed upon regarding these issues cannot, I believe, be overemphasized; nor, for that matter, the importance of maintaining the momentum towards finding solutions and arriving at decisions on those issues that have not been agreed upon. Let me take this opportunity to state yet again

some of those issues upon which we believe it is vital that agreements should soon be reached.

99. First and foremost, we must reach agreement on the issues relating to international trade, particularly the trade in commodities. The importance of this matter to both developed and developing countries alike is too plain to bear recalling here. Selective and isolated solutions to the problems are no longer enough. Only a comprehensive and concerted approach to the problems, as indicated in the integrated programme for commodities as proposed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, would suffice.

100. Secondly, measures to liberalize trade and to facilitate access to the markets of developed countries for the commodities, manufactures and semi-manufactures of developing countries must be urgently implemented. Improvements of general system of preferences schemes through wider coverage and deeper tariff cuts can and should be undertaken promptly. The multilateral trade negotiations in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade should conclude the considerations of tropical products as soon as possible.

101. Thirdly, solutions should be found to the issues that have yet to receive full consensus under the heading of the transfer of real resources and the reform of the international monetary system.

102. As we are well aware, the disparity in terms of the standard of living, wealth, technology and socio-economic structure between the developed and developing countries is deep. Only by an integrated and comprehensive approach to the problems of the developing countries can this disparity be diminished. The task of restructuring and creating a just, rational and equitable economic order that would provide a fair opportunity for all countries to progress and prosper, is a complex one. The restructuring of the international economic order, demanding as it does, changes in the economies both of the developed and developing countries, requires the political will to sacrifice and compromise all countries, particularly the developed countries.

103. For far too long, the dialogue between the developing and the developed countries has been characterized by a submission of proposals by the former and its consideration and subsequent rejection or, on the rare occasion, acceptance by the latter. The seventh special session has set in motion a new dialogue based, we believe, and certainly we hope, on co-operation and a commitment to change. It is in the interest of both the developed and the developing countries that this dialogue be fostered and furthered in the negotiations that lie ahead.

104. With this in view, and on the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations, we would like to leave in the minds of this Assembly the simple concept of our inseparable destiny. We firmly believe that if recognition is given to this concept in the conduct of our national and international policies, an immeasurable step will have been taken towards the resolution of our conflicts and struggles. It is an irrefutable fact that we have evolved into a very complex earth society. Today, we have accepted the reality of economic interdependence. It is equally valid to recognize the

undeniable crystallization of a political symbiosis. Our political decisions affect each other, whether directly or indirectly. We are inseparably linked. Therefore, it behoves us all to ensure that our policies and actions do not set off a chain reaction of dissatisfactions and conflicts that may eventually engulf mankind.

105. We will have achieved much, if we can come away from this thirtieth session of the General Assembly with the clear realization that we are all fellow travellers on this planet earth and that it is essential that we enjoy our journey together in a spirit of goodwill, co-operation and understanding. Not least, we should also make sure that we preserve the beauty and structure of the landscape so that future travellers can enjoy an equally rewarding journey.

106. Mr. CORTINA MAURI (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, first of all, I should like to express my satisfaction at seeing you preside over the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. Your skill as a leader and a diplomat, your sensitivity in dealing with international and European problems, are a guarantee of the effectiveness of this session of the Assembly.

107. May I also take advantage of this opportunity to repeat my sincere congratulations to Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, who brought to bear his well-known abilities in presiding over the twenty-ninth session and the seventh special session.

108. I am also happy to welcome to this Organization, on behalf of the Spanish Government, the new States which have recently joined the United Nations—Cape Verde, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe.

109. When making up the balance sheet of the work of the United Nations during this thirtieth anniversary, we can note, despite certain flaws that can be corrected, a positive evolution towards a greater harmonization of national interests which, since they become daily more interdependent, call for increased co-operation.

110. Thus, in the year that has elapsed since the last session, international events have taken place that are of great importance—the overcoming and ending of a conflict which affected an entire generation, the holding of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe—to which I shall refer later—and a series of international meetings on subjects of the greatest importance such as food, population, industrialization and the International Women's Year. All these point to a positive trend towards such co-operation.

111. However, among the aspects of the international situation which merit particular attention at this thirtieth session, there are some which are testing the capacity of the United Nations to carry out effectively the goals which the Organization has set for itself. These include economic problems, such as raw materials, the energy crisis, matters of development and monetary reform, and also certain political problems which, by giving rise to concerted stands by Member States, affect the efficient functioning of the United Nations and its organs. It would be easy to yield to the temptation of thinking that the answer might lie in a procedural reform of the Organization, but I believe that it would be better to seek the roots

of these difficulties, and to think less about the methods of this Organization, since the polarization of attitudes is due largely to the lack of the proper substantive solutions.

112. Perhaps it is in the economic field that these points of difference between different countries have been most obvious, since they have given rise to positions that conflict with the general interests.

113. Among such positions we may note the protectionist stands that seek to improve the net foreign trade position of certain countries, as if the only way out was to export more and import less; the stand that fails to relate the energy problem with the fact the energy is a requisite for development; the stand that tries to dictate to the countries that are solely producers of raw materials, abandoned to their fate and deprived of any other financial resources than those they can themselves provide; the stand that supports a monetary system which primarily serves the needs of trade. We could give many more examples of this type of opposed stands.

114. The interdependence that has grown up in recent decades, and the inevitable osmosis between national economies, make it necessary to seek solutions at a world level. Such solutions will not be possible if all parties are not prepared to yield something of their respective positions so as to emerge from this situation by means of genuine co-operation. The technical machinery for such implementation is not a matter for this body, but the expression of the political will that can make it possible is our concern. For if such determination is lacking and is not transmitted to the specialized bodies and conferences, it will be difficult to find solutions to our existing problems. We have reached a point at which it is not possible for everybody to benefit, because there is no basis for a general and immediate gain. We must look to future gains, which will be possible if we are all prepared to sacrifice something, the greater sacrifice being made by those who can make it most easily, for at this time there is more truth than ever in the old saying that you must know how to lose in order to win. By giving up something of our respective economic ambitions in order to rebuild a more harmonious world economy, we may be able to ensure victory for peace, a peace which may be endangered by growing economic tensions. Such tensions can only be dissipated by effective co-operation that will permit an economic readjustment based on a transfer of income that will have similar effects on a world-wide basis to those achieved in national economies.

115. In other words, the institutional disagreements which we often deplore might be overcome if a united stand were adopted by all. Thus we would be able to eradicate one of the most important root-causes of these disagreements, and we would not feel called upon to look for procedural means as a solution, when what is required is effective and genuine international co-operation among all Members of the Organization.

116. Pursuant to this line of reasoning, I wish to express the will of my country to take part in this effort, as we have repeatedly stated, and most recently at the seventh special session.

117. Spain is a country still in the process of development. In certain important aspects of our efforts to

obtain and ensure a steady supply of raw materials we are suffering financial deficits. Yet we have already undertaken the same commitments as the more developed countries, by forgoing certain advantages or benefits in order to help countries less developed than ourselves. We believe that by so doing we have given adequate proof of our will to co-operate.

118. Out of a spirit of true international co-operation we have begun the process of decolonizing Western Sahara in order to allow the population freely to decide its own future and to permit fruitful co-operation with the other countries of the Maghreb so as not to upset the stability of the region and thus to maintain peace there.

119. The decolonization of the Sahara may well stand as an example of how to overcome a situation of dependency through the strict implementation of the principles and norms set forth in the Charter concerning Non-Self-Governing Territories, and the determination of the Spanish Government to act in conformity with the provisions of the Charter and the General Assembly resolutions which complement it.

120. This is because the events that have occurred in the course of this year, and the key role played by the population, have confirmed the need to take the latter into account if the process of decolonization is to be continued. In a word, we are trying to ensure the population's protection so that they can freely exercise their right to self-determination, since it would be absurd if, by a mistaken assessment of the elements involved, we were to give paramount importance to the desires of third parties over the true interests of the indigenous population, which, in all circumstances, are protected by the universal right of dependent peoples to determine their own fate.

121. These remarks would have been unnecessary had the decolonization of the Sahara not given rise to so much misunderstanding. Hence a slight clarification is necessary here in order to shed some light on the confusion created. Yet the facts could not be simpler.

122. Spain settled in Western Sahara without requiring the agreement of anyone but the indigenous population, which was organized in its own autonomous, traditional institutions that were not dependent on any State sovereignty whatsoever. The independence of the population was an indisputable fact and its acceptance of the administering Power's rule confirmed the exclusive nature of the latter's presence in the Territory. Thus the establishment of Spain's authority over the Sahara created solely and exclusively a relationship between Spain and the said population. Hence in the exercise of that authority Spain was not called upon to solve any problems with foreign State authorities, and no so-called rights of third parties over the Territory disturbed the normal development of those relations. Consequently, when the time for decolonization came, we felt that nothing should stand between the administering Power and the population.

123. The fact that Spain, as a Member of the United Nations, has complied with the procedures set forth in the Charter regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories and with the relevant resolutions on Western Sahara, does not alter this context. I do not overlook

the fact that, within this context, some countries have been termed "interested parties". This term has been applied exclusively in relation to the holding of the referendum in order to ensure the fulfilment of the principle of self-determination, but it can in no way affect the relationship between the administering Power and the population. On the contrary, out of a desire to uphold the principle of self-determination, it serves as a further guarantee rather than as an obstacle.

124. Now, the efforts of certain "interested parties", which at first appeared directed towards giving impetus to decolonization through self-determination, as we might have concluded from the communiqués of the tripartite conferences of the Maghreb countries, finally became a series of claims. This change in position became most obvious when on 20 August 1974 the Spanish Government informed the Secretary-General of its decision to apply self-determination to the Territory by holding a referendum in the first six months of 1975. That was promptly followed by Morocco's attempts to invalidate that decision, or at least to delay its fulfilment. That was the purpose of submitting the question of the decolonization of Western Sahara to the International Court of Justice for adjudication, as though this were a dispute among States, whereas all that was at stake was the ending of the Territory's dependent status. When that attempt failed, Morocco proposed that the Assembly should request that the International Court of Justice to hand down an advisory opinion and postpone the referendum, and that proposal was adopted as resolution 3292 (XXIX).

125. Although this placed further responsibilities upon the administering Power, Spain did not hesitate to put before the International Court of Justice the documentation it had available, and made the situation in that Territory, in all its historical vicissitudes, perfectly clear to the Court. Actually the requested advisory opinion was unnecessary, because the formula for decolonization through self-determination had already been set forth in all the relevant resolutions of this General Assembly, including that resolution in which the advisory opinion was requested. Therefore, the Court could not ignore such a fundamental factor. Nevertheless, if that consultation of the International Court of Justice had been intended only to postpone self-determination, the matter would not warrant any comments from me, because at least the Assembly would have further elements on which to base its judgement, since it would then have the advisory opinion from the supreme legal body of the United Nations.

126. But succeeding events did not go smoothly. While on the one hand self-determination had been postponed pending the advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice, on the other hand peace in the Sahara was being upset by repeated acts of violence and harassment tolerated from abroad, and thus an insecurity was created that was incompatible with the obligation incumbent on each and every Member of the United Nations to maintain peace, in particular on the neighbouring States calling themselves "interested parties".

127. But it was precisely because of the risks flowing from outside actions and the additional responsibilities

that were then heaped on the administering Power that the Spanish Government was forced to make a statement and to inform the Secretary-General of its contents on 23 May last. In an effort to avoid creating a power vacuum, and in order not to jeopardize the decolonization process, Spain pointed out that, if the situation continued to deteriorate, it reserved its right to take whatever measures might be required in this Organization and, if necessary, to terminate its presence in the Territory. At the same time, it urged the neighbouring countries to assume their responsibilities for the maintenance of peace in order to allow an orderly process of decolonization to take place. Accordingly, we invited them to a conference which, if not convened by the administering Power, could be held under the auspices of the United Nations and thus be a positive step towards a regional agreement aimed at facilitating decolonization.

128. The Spanish Government, by agreeing to let the referendum take place under the auspices of the Organization as originally planned, and by trying to hold, under the same auspices, a quadripartite meeting to maintain peace in the Sahara and to facilitate the decolonization process through dialogue among the interested parties, has given repeated proof of its willingness to co-operate actively with the United Nations in the fulfilment of one of its noblest tasks, the emancipation of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Further proof of that good will lies in the support and assistance given the International Court of Justice by us in the fulfilment of the requests of the General Assembly and the facilities given the United Nations Visiting Mission to carry out its own tasks in the Territory.

129. These are clear proofs of the nature of our conduct, which is intended only to give back to the Saharan people the trust that they had placed in Spain. Regardless of the results of this referendum of self-determination, the Saharan people themselves, and only they, can decide on that matter, because the idea of subjecting them to an imposed solution would, if carried out, create a very dangerous uncertainty for the entire future of decolonization.

130. Be that as it may, on behalf of the Spanish Government I must declare that my country will continue to shoulder its responsibilities as the administering Power until the process of decolonization is concluded, so long as other States, and particularly the neighbouring States, respect the peaceful evolution of that process and do not allow the premises on which the process rests to be upset, because they have been set up in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. If any alteration in the situation takes place that might threaten peace and increase our responsibilities, the Spanish Government reserves its right to draw the attention of the Security Council to the necessary measures that should be adopted to maintain peace and also to undertake whatever necessary action might be called for to finalize the process of decolonization. This reservation is intended only to confront neighbouring or interested States with their responsibility and to re-establish the principle of equality in the fulfilment of those obligations which the Charter has made incumbent upon all.

131. To this end the positions adopted by the countries neighbours of Western Sahara regarding the decolonization of the Territory—positions which at times coincide and at other times contradict one another—far from being incompatible with respect for the rights of the people of Western Sahara, should be harmonized so that they can lead to the achievement of a positive agreement, in order that decolonization can be carried out in such a way that the prosperity of the region will be strengthened and peace and security assured. In drawing inspiration from this objective, Spain advocates consultations and a search for understanding with the neighbouring countries.

132. But decolonization of the Sahara is being unduly delayed. I should like to take the liberty of reminding the Assembly that the Government of Spain communicated to the Secretary-General its desire to hold a referendum for self-determination as urged by the resolutions of the General Assembly during the first six months of this year. The incidents to which I have referred have made it impossible for the administering Power to complete the decolonization of the Territory as planned. My Government considers it to be imperative—not only for the truth and respect of this Organization for the principles of the Charter, but for the peace and security of the entire region—that this process of decolonization be allowed to be concluded as soon as possible. We trust that the General Assembly at this session will adopt a resolution setting a time-limit as soon as possible.

133. Gibraltar has not as yet been decolonized, despite the last resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its last session [*resolution 3286 (XXIX)*], which once again urged the United Kingdom and Spain to conclude their pending negotiations. The negotiations have not progressed, however, in such a way as to allow us to report any satisfactory results to the Organization.

134. The position of the United Kingdom not to go ahead with the pending negotiations rests on the argument that the preamble of the law approved by Parliament granting a Constitution to Gibraltar makes it impossible for it to negotiate on the return of the Rock of Gibraltar until the acquiescence of the inhabitants has been obtained. But the United Kingdom seems to have overlooked the fact that the resolutions are not addressed to the United Kingdom Government or to any of the other organs comprising the British State, but are addressed by the United Nations to the United Kingdom as an international subject, considered as a whole, having international relations and being a Member of this Organization. The attitude adopted by Englishmen in positions of responsibility implies that they are disregarding the fact that the internal structure of the State must not prevent compliance with its international obligations, because the way in which the United Kingdom determines its actions is irrelevant to third parties.

135. But to accept this argument, which is the only reason that is adduced to block the negotiations, would mean that the inhabitants of Gibraltar are to be allowed to play a role beyond that agreed upon by the parties at the time of the cession.

136. But Her Majesty's Government acquired ownership of Gibraltar under article X of the Treaty of Utrecht, the only instrument upon which it can

base its presence on that segment of Spanish territory. The internal development of the fortress carried out by the occupying Power to serve its military and commercial requirements, allowing the establishment of an artificial population, has not altered the relationship between the giver and the receiver, particularly if we take into account the fact that sovereignty was transmitted under specific limitations regarding communications, the origin of the residents, the import of goods and the presence of certain vessels in the harbour.

137. Furthermore, the main limitation agreed to concerning the powers transferred to the United Kingdom was the condition accepted by the British Crown that Spain would always enjoy preferential rights in the case that the British Sovereign decided to give away, sell or in any way change the ownership of the Rock. In other words, the United Kingdom has no right to give up Gibraltar or to transfer its sovereign powers without giving Spain the opportunity to exercise its option.

138. If we were to accept the role that the inhabitants of the Rock are being given, the Treaty would be breached, since the population is being granted powers of decision which restrict the freedom of action on the part of the British and presupposes a transfer of sovereignty. Therefore, either the law approving the Constitution of Gibraltar is irrelevant, since it is in violation of a previous international treaty or, if not, it reflects the true will of the United Kingdom that it has decided to transfer its sovereignty over Gibraltar. In the latter case my Government should be given its preferential right to recover the territory, as was recognized in the Treaty of Utrecht.

139. This shows what the end result would be if an Act of the United Kingdom Parliament were allowed to prevail, a law governing the sovereign powers of Her Majesty's Government adopted without consulting the inhabitants of Gibraltar, and one which can therefore be abrogated in the same way, without the inhabitants having the slightest right to raise legal obstacles. The granting of a charter of this nature cannot be claimed to be an exception, and if this happens, the Spanish Government will take it that it is being faced with an evasive action the sole purpose of which is to avoid considering the substance of the matter.

140. However, I must recall that these substantive legal considerations do not stop my Government, as they did not stop the General Assembly, from bearing clearly in mind the fact that the process of decolonization of Gibraltar contains two very distinct elements: the territorial integrity of Spain, which must be safeguarded, and thus the spirit and letter of the Treaty of Utrecht would be respected, and the interests of a population which, even though alien to the territorial problem, must nevertheless be protected. The Spanish Government has always understood this to be the case and has at all times been ready, and is ready, to offer the most generous conditions.

141. From this standpoint, a number of conversations have been held between officials of the two Governments, and in the past few days I myself had a talk with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Her Majesty's Government. I should very much wish to be able to inform this Assembly next year of the development of negotiations that will fulfil the provi-

sions of resolution 3286 (XXIX) and of other concordant resolutions and contribute to the solution of a problem which is extremely grave and distressing, even though very old. But I do sincerely believe that the example that the two Governments can give by solving this dispute through mutual agreement would be a true contribution to the spirit of peace which should govern our work.

142. As I indicated at the beginning of my statement, one of the major events of 1975 was the holding in Helsinki of the final phase of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, a matter to which my Government attaches the greatest importance and which opens the door to confidence and trust, if conduct is in keeping with promises, and will allow a closer and more peaceful interrelationship among the States of Europe as well as deeper and wider contacts across our continent, thus giving a dynamic meaning to détente.

143. Security in Europe, based on a military balance, was given a new impetus in Helsinki aimed at consolidating it in accordance with the 10 principles approved, respect for which implies recognition of the existing situation. We have tried to normalize relations among the participating States and thus allow an increasing co-operation as a result of that recognition.

144. Furthermore, the Conference also concerned itself with negotiations on the limitation of strategic weapons on a world-wide scale and those relating mutual and balanced reduction of forces in Europe, in order that political détente might be complemented by military détente aimed at putting a stop to the arms race and laying the bases of a possible progressive disarmament. If these efforts prove successful we might achieve one of the greatest objectives of our Organization.

145. The Conference dealt almost exclusively with the political balance because there was a military balance already and that balance was present throughout its work, based on the prevailing pluralism. However, certain groups and tendencies, counting on a blind eye being turned, have tried to condition the future of other countries through ideological offensives that are nothing more than interference in the domestic affairs of those States. It would be vain to try to disguise that danger since the polemics to which these offensives give rise make it more obvious every day.

146. I think that this extreme position warrants some comment because the so-called decalogue of Helsinki has been called the continuation of the Principles of the Charter of the United Nations and respect for the fundamental rights of States contained in that Charter. But we cannot adduce some principles while overlooking others or apply them out of context; nor can we expect a national interpretation of an international rule to serve as a criterion for some to impose their own views on others, thus violating the very structure of the international society composed as it is of equally sovereign, independent States. Along this correct line of conduct I can from this rostrum state the active willingness of the Spanish Government to put into practice all that the Final Act of the Conference embodies and contains.

147. But, as of this moment, we must watch carefully to see how the rules of the Conference are going to be applied by the participants. We will have to assess how the parties are complying with the contents of the Final Act and thus avoiding tensions which are no less dangerous to the maintenance of peace simply because they are of ideological origin. I believe that this clarification is of major importance because, on the pretext of so-called political doctrine, in the course of history not a few interventions in some States have been perpetrated by others. And now under its umbrella certain interventions are being planned, designed to impose a policy of preponderance by one State over another, that the circumstances of our period cannot accept. The principle of non-interference set forth in the decalogue of Helsinki, which is the expression of one of the fundamental aspects of the independence enjoyed by all sovereign States, must serve as a block to such efforts.

148. This forum, whose principal duty is to maintain peace, is undoubtedly the most appropriate place to draw attention to this new type of threat to understanding and concord among nations which must primarily be based on mutual respect for their national entity and the political solutions that each has decided upon to safeguard it. Only a mutual tolerance and universal pluralism can lead to true peace and security for all.

149. To return to détente and in so far as it means peaceful coexistence, since it implies a more advanced stage of possibilities of understanding and dialogue among the different systems, we must stress the present international situation and its positive and promising aspects. But it would be erroneous to overlook the fact that détente—understood as the expression of balance among different systems—has been unable to avoid and at times has even permitted local conflicts. Nor at the price of détente can we give tacit or explicit agreement to a distribution of zones of influence that would take into account only the security needs of the main protagonists at the expense of the vital interests of the smaller States. That is why the Final Act of the Conference sets forth the major requirement of respect for the security of all participating States.

150. With reference to the same geographical area, we must stress the way in which the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, in the course of its negotiations and in its Final Act, stressed the fact that there can be no security in Europe without security in the Mediterranean and that the process of improvement of security cannot be limited to Europe but must be extended to other parts of the world and in particular to the Mediterranean region.

151. To include in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe views and talks on the Mediterranean is no whim nor does it imply a concession. The Mediterranean region is deeply embedded in the life, history, culture and events of Europe, and it is in that sea where very often the very fate of the most important European matters have been decided.

152. The security of the Mediterranean therefore meets the same motivations as those of Europe and is based upon the same premises. But because of the conditions of the region and the heterogeneity of the political situation that exists there it may be more

difficult, particularly in regard to a common interest such as that of the maintenance of peace. And so it is important that it be discussed at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe because the neighbouring States which are not European are equally concerned with the sea being safeguarded from any possibility of confrontation and conflict.

153. The interests of all the coastal States require foreign Powers to stay away from the region and not air their own problems within the Mediterranean, thus maintaining the security necessary to preserve peace in the region. This is a great task because this means of communication through which the East and West meet has in the past been most vulnerable to confrontations. To counteract that constant danger is the work of all the parties concerned, since their mutual and general understanding would contribute in no small measure to preventing localized conflicts from taking place in the Mediterranean and thus disturbing the peaceful daily life of all the coastal States.

154. Spain has therefore advocated the maintenance and widening of the contacts and dialogues started at Helsinki and in Geneva in order to contribute to peace, to reduce the armed forces in the region, to strengthen security, to ease tensions and to widen the scope of co-operation. To achieve that goal, we welcome the initiatives of the Mediterranean States and are ready to co-operate actively in the achievement of these purposes. This would mean that we should consider, among other possibilities, the holding of a conference on security and co-operation in the Mediterranean.

155. The United Nations can make a considerable contribution along these lines and should therefore encourage any peaceful activity conducive to the creation of a feeling of solidarity among the coastal States. The Intergovernmental Conference for the Preservation of the Environment in the Mediterranean moved along these lines when it was held in Barcelona this year, and served to prepare for the diplomatic conference which will also be held in the near future under the auspices of the relevant United Nations programme. But to its technical aspects there is added a no less significant political aspect because the will to work together presupposes the conviction we will act in common in order to evade the new dangers brought by the development of technology. That will create an attitude of solidarity which, in itself, constitutes a stabilizing factor that will effectively assist in maintaining peace in the region.

156. Year after year, the representatives of Spain have reaffirmed from this rostrum the long-standing and constant friendship between our country and the Arab nations, the result of the historical coincidence of our civilizations and of the continued existence of a dialogue born of a true spirit of co-operation far removed from selfish interests.

157. That affinity led Spain to advocate at all times anything that might contribute to a peaceful, just and lasting solution to the situation in the Middle East which, bearing in mind the legitimate interests and rights of the Palestinian peoples and of the countries of the region, will keep away from it any threats of tension and conflict and thus ensure peace.

158. Nor can we overlook the fact that in the decolonization of the Western Sahara the future of a people who are part of the Arab nation is at stake; they are linked to it by ties of blood, religion and culture. Respect and support by sister nations of the right of the Saharans to determine their own future, will attest to that true solidarity of the Arab nation in which Western Sahara will achieve its vocation and take its proper place.

159. Thus, in this statement I arrive at the world of Latin America to which we are tied by bonds of such a special nature flowing from a common origin, tradition and culture which have always led to privileged treatment among ourselves, and on which our foreign policy is predicated.

160. We are convinced that this common heritage, of high and positive value, offers wide scope for joint action in all aspects of international law and international life, whose increasing interdependence, today more than ever, calls for the concerting of individual and collective efforts. The countries of Latin America have understood matters thus and have set in motion a number of regional efforts that Spain is observing very carefully, ready as it always is to co-operate with these peoples in the problems of development.

161. Consistent with this, the Spanish Government has maintained an open and active policy of co-operation on an economic level with Latin America, both bilaterally and multinationally, a co-operation that involves the supply of human, technical and financial resources. The Latin American peoples can be assured that in Spain they will always find a neighbour and companion in the noble and difficult task of development to which they are now devoted.

162. The strict application by my country of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States and our conviction that ideological plurality must not be an insurmountable obstacle to the peaceful coexistence of peoples make co-operation all the more effective and easier.

163. Therefore, Spain, as a European nation, also adds its own unwavering commitment to the Latin American continent as we stressed at Helsinki when we reminded our sister republics on the other side of the Atlantic and, recalling their existence, stated to them that we would always bear them in mind when the time comes to extend the benefits that European co-operation and security may bring.

164. In the last 30 years the United Nations has done great work in the maintenance of peace. There have been many flaws; there have been many difficulties through which the Organization has had to pass, but the best guarantee that we have overcome these is its continued existence and its remarkable capacity to undertake new tasks and to adapt itself to an ever-changing world. Many of the hopes expressed in the Charter, such as freedom, security and the satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of individuals and of peoples, are as yet still to be achieved.

165. Fortunately, the principles and basic concepts contained in the Charter are also gaining ground daily in the minds of peoples and of their leaders. As the Secretary-General, in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/10001/Add.1], pointed out, although there is still some old and lasting

mistrust and concern, we do possess the encouraging hope that the United Nations will be able to take the decisive step towards the achievement of true co-operation among its Members which will allow it, with equity and justice, to solve the many problems confronting it. In a world in which to the dangerous accumulation of warlike instruments is now added the threat of economic chaos, solidarity is necessary in order, in due course, to solve the problems raised by the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of all peoples to international social justice.

166. Spain has a universalist calling which is embedded in its history as well as in the thinking of its men, and it is ready to continue to co-operate in this great international undertaking and, through this Organization, we hope to advance along the road to co-operation and peace.

167. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Egypt has asked to exercise his right of reply. Knowing the difficulties which make it impossible for the representative of Egypt to be present at this afternoon's meeting, and having considered the decision taken at the 2353rd meeting, the President sees no difficulty in having the representative of Egypt exercise his right of reply at the end of this morning's meeting. If there are no objections.—and I hear none—I call on the representative of Egypt but would remind him that 10 minutes is the limit for a right of reply.

168. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): We have listened this morning to a speech from this rostrum by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic in which he criticized and commented upon the policy carried out by Egypt. But by the very wording and language which the speaker has used I can say that he spoke for the greater glory of the Baath Party and that we did not hear the true or official voice of our sister State, the Syrian Arab Republic. That party does not represent the people of Syria, that great Arab people which has struggled for the Arab cause and which has given to Egypt, and received from it, full support since the time when both Egyptian and Syrian soldiers fought together in the liberation struggle of October 1973.

169. We are not here revealing a secret or making false pretences when we say that the speaker, Mr. Khaddam, by his attack on Egypt's policy and on the interim agreement is putting himself into a position outside the official context of Syria, which has given him the honour to speak on its behalf. Syria, as everybody knows, is on its way to negotiating a second disengagement agreement, as it has concluded the first disengagement agreement. But the Syrian Baath Party wanted that disengagement to take place on both sides at the same time, that is, the Egyptian side and the Syrian side, as if Egypt did not itself want or hope for that.

170. That is what did actually take place in the first disengagement agreement. The Baath Party knows very well what we have agreed upon and what we have concluded in our work with the responsible United States authorities. Consequently, if there is any kind of disagreement or dispute on anything, it is a matter of tactics, and does not relate to the strategic viewpoint.

171. It would seem to me that the speaker today in his statement wished to strike a very different note from what has so far been said in the general discussion and expressed by the majority of foreign ministers and heads of delegations who preceded him to this rostrum, who expressed their full support for this agreement and their appreciation for the efforts deployed in reaching it.

172. Had Mr. Khaddam listened to the voices of world opinion, it would have spared me the need to repeat again what has already been put on record. Mr. Khaddam alleges—and insists on his allegations—that the second disengagement agreement is an end in itself and not a first step, whereas the text and provisions of the agreement itself indicate that it is a first step in the progress towards peace and that it will be followed by other steps towards a full, complete and over-all peace. Everyone knows that, together with this agreement, there have been official confirmations pointing out that the second step—after this agreement, which is a partial agreement—will be a new agreement on the disengagement of the forces on the Golan Heights, which will be a second and logical step following the first disengagement agreement that Israel concluded with Syria.

173. Mr. Khaddam continues and builds on his first allegation that the second disengagement agreement is an end in itself, saying that this second agreement is leading us far away from peace. But, as I have already mentioned, the text of the agreement itself says that it is a step towards peace—a permanent and just peace in accordance with Security Council resolution 338 (1973).

174. Mr. Khaddam added a new allegation to a series of allegations by saying that this interim agreement on the Sinai overlooks the rights of the Palestinian people, and that for this reason it is against the will of the Arab people and is breaking up Arab unity and solidarity, thus doing away with the gains of the October war. We do not see any logical sequence or goodwill in Mr. Khaddam's erroneous allegation that the partial interim agreement, of a military nature and a fixed duration affecting only the Sinai, can be described as overlooking the rights of the Palestinian people.

175. The disengagement agreement was arrived at as a step to bring about a favourable climate which would lead to further dialogue and to ensuring that all the rights of the Palestinian people would be upheld.

It is the second agreement whereby Israeli forces withdraw from occupied Egyptian territory, and that is but a continuation of the gains of the October war. What is truly laughable is Mr. Khaddam's insistence on describing the Sinai agreement as being outside the framework of the United Nations, whereas the very text and terms of the agreement confirm that it is a positive step towards implementing Security Council resolution 338 (1973), and here I am using the very same words that Mr. Khaddam invoked in his statement this morning to justify Syria's signing of the first agreement. And this is quite apart from the fact that the Sinai agreement allows for the use of the United Nations peace-keeping forces.

176. If the speaker had wished to be mindful of the Arab cause and Arab welfare, then he should have considered the cause of Arab unity, which today needs no defence. It would have been more worthy to devote his energy and his pen to bringing together a meeting of Arabs at any level and in any place, where he could have stated his views. It would have been better for him not to waste the time of the international community represented here at the United Nations, which Egypt has consulted in various situations, and which well knows that Egypt is committed to principles and ideals, and not to creating suspicion.

177. My country and the international community would like to use the time spent in our deliberations in seeking to bring about a true and just peace without auctioneering and without wasting our constructive energies.

178. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic, who has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

179. Mr. KHADDAM (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like to reserve my right of reply for this afternoon's meeting.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See A/C.1/1019.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 2349th meeting, para. 93.*