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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. ANDREI (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, on the occasion of your election as President of this important forum of States of the world, I have the pleasure to extend my congratulations to you, the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, a country with which Romania maintains relations of close friendship and co-operation.

2. Romania is taking part in this session in the determination to contribute, along with other States, to the debate and to the adoption of just and lasting solutions to the problems which beset mankind in the interests of strengthening peace, détente, understanding and international co-operation.

3. We bring to this forum a message of peace and co-operation from the Romanian people, who are celebrating this year the thirty-fifth anniversary of their revolution of anti-Fascist and anti-imperialist social and national liberation, which was an event of epoch-making importance for our people's destiny and which has opened the way to the democratic and socialist development of Romania. The progress achieved over this period in the many-sided development of our country and in the raising of the material and the intellectual standards of all our people is eloquent proof of the creative capacity of a nation liberated from exploitation and foreign domination, a nation which has committed all its resources to the achievement of profound revolutionary changes, the supreme purpose of which is the full assertion of the human personality.

4. Romania's foreign policy, which is an integral part of this vast work of construction, is consequently dedicated to the goals of peace, security, co-operation and progress and to the establishment of new international relations based on equality and mutual respect, and is aimed at ensuring favourable conditions for the development and prosperity of all peoples.

5. Romania constantly places in the forefront of its

international activities the development of friendship, solidarity and co-operation with all socialist countries. At the same time Romania is developing its many-sided co-operation with the developing and non-aligned countries and is expanding its relations with all States of the world regardless of their social system and is taking an active part in the international division of labour and world exchange of goods and assets.

6. The decisive role in the elaboration and promotion of the foreign policy of my country and in the broad and dynamic development of its international relations falls to the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu, who is persevering in his activities in the service of the cause of freedom and independence, and of security and co-operation among peoples.

7. The international relations of socialist Romania form part of the universal process of the free and independent affirmation of the nations on the world scene, and constitute a contribution of the promotion of the policy of détente, understanding and equal co-operation among all the States of the world. All the international activities of the country are based on a new concept of the foundations of peace, on the strict observance, in the relations among States, of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equality of rights and non-interference in internal affairs, mutual advantage and the non-use of force or the threat of force. These principles are the corner-stone of the establishment of a climate favourable to mutual confidence and respect and to peaceful co-operation among peoples.

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

8. In its approach to the complex problems of international life, Romania is basing itself on current realities, on the fact that vast new transformations of an economic, social and political nature are taking place in the world, as are profound changes in the global balance of forces. The will of peoples to put an end once and for all to imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policies and to all forms of domination and oppression is becoming more and more manifest, as is the determination of peoples to be the master of their own national resources, to choose the path of their social and economic development without any outside interference, and to live in peace, security, friendship, understanding and co-operation. At the same time, international life is being adversely affected by a generalized sharpening of economic, national, social and political contradictions, by an intensification of the struggle for a new division of the world into spheres and zones of influence. These disquieting developments are aggravated by crisis conditions in the fields of raw materials and energy, the acceleration of the arms race, the maintenance and widening of economic gaps, by the revival of old

policies of force and *diktat* and of interference in the affairs of other peoples. All this serves only to increase tension in international life, to create a climate of concern and insecurity, to create grave dangers to peace and to threaten the national independence and sovereignty of States, in particular of small and medium-size States, while impeding the economic and social progress of all peoples.

9. In the circumstances, a guarantee of the independence and sovereignty of every country and of the sacred right of each people to decide freely and independently its destiny, without any interference, coercion or aggression, is an essential requirement of contemporary life. The facts of international life have shown that every violation of the sovereignty and national independence of peoples causes serious harm not only to the peoples concerned but also to the interests and to the yearning of all nations for peace, confidence and security. Strict observance of international law, of the sovereign rights of each people to be the sole masters in their own country, is today a *sine qua non* for the establishment of an atmosphere of genuine international détente and of a relationship of trust and fruitful and peaceful co-operation among all States. Romania believes that it is necessary for all socialist countries and all the developing and non-aligned countries and all States of the world to strive for the elimination from international life of all forms of interference in the affairs of others and of all forms of domination or claim to domination. They should do so by giving pride of place to the principle of freedom and independence for all nations and of the sacred right of every people to determine for itself the course of its social, economic and political development. We firmly believe that it is in the power of States and Governments, on the basis of the aspirations of the peoples and the pressing need to strengthen peace, détente and security, to create the conditions necessary for a constructive settlement of the problems confronting mankind. In so doing they would bring about a drastic shift towards a new pattern of international relations consistent with the requirements of historical progress.

10. Of decisive importance in this respect is the total abolition of the policy of the use or threat of use of force, the elimination of any interference or pressure and the final renunciation of the use of military instruments in relations between States. The particular urgency of this goal is of vital importance for the peaceful future of mankind, and this was recently stressed with the utmost clarity by the President of Romania, when he said:

“In view of the fact that there are many complex problems in the world, that the long imperialist and colonialist domination generated many disputes and conflicts and left them unresolved, we declare ourselves firmly in favour of the solution of all problems between States solely by means of negotiations between the interested parties and for the complete renunciation of the use of military force or the threat of force. This is in keeping both with the interests of the peoples concerned and with those of all peoples and the cause of international peace and co-operation”.

11. More recent developments have confirmed that when the path of negotiation, of direct contacts, has been chosen, it has been possible to find mutually acceptable solutions of the thorniest problems, or at least

to achieve an easing of tension. In actual fact, recourse to force has never led to the settlement of a conflict between States, but has always caused serious loss of human life and material damage, has poisoned the international climate and has created grave dangers to peace in the regions in question and throughout the world.

12. The use of force is in fact the most brutal violation of the elementary principles of international law and constitutes a defiance of the Charter of the United Nations and of the conscience of mankind, and hence it must be eradicated finally and completely from the practice of relations between States. We believe that nothing can justify recourse to force or the threat of force, in any form whatsoever, still less armed intervention in the internal affairs of other States.

13. The attempt to settle disputes by means of military intervention or by the use of force is typical of the old imperialist policy, which was based on the right of the strong against the weak, on the violation of the principles of international legality, on the defiance of the principles of justice and of the sacred rights of peoples to freedom and national independence. The path of force and armed aggression constitutes a grave anachronism in our day that must be totally eradicated from international life if we really want to establish a world of justice and equity on this planet.

14. In the light of the close interdependence of the world today and the most complex circumstances of the present international situation, recourse to force in any area of the globe and the outbreak of military clashes and conflicts are likely to jeopardize not only the tranquillity, security and life of the peoples concerned, but also the peace and security of the whole world. The facts are such that the slightest spark can lead to a tremendous conflagration capable of engulfing mankind in a new world cataclysm. That is why all peoples, all mankind, have a vital interest in the final abolition of military action as a means of settling disputes and in the solving of all disputes and outstanding problems that may exist between States exclusively by peaceful, political negotiations. Experience has shown that there are no problems, no matter how complex, which cannot be solved if reason prevails and if there is forthcoming a sense of responsibility for the tranquillity and security of peoples and for the general cause of human progress, of international peace and détente.

15. In proposing the inclusion in the agenda of this session of an item entitled “Settlement by peaceful means of disputes between States” [A/34/143], Romania has based itself precisely on the need to focus attention and mobilize the efforts of Governments, public opinion and all peoples on these problems vital for the peace of the world. We are convinced that a thorough debate of this proposed item will lead to a clearer identification and utilization of the possibilities provided by the United Nations and its Charter to act more vigorously and more effectively in the prevention and settlement of disputes and conflicts between States, on a just and lasting basis. In this regard, it is our belief that it would be of the utmost importance to agree on the drafting of a General Assembly declaration on the peaceful settlement of disputes, as a first step towards the conclusion of a treaty on the subject.

16. Romania, as it has already pointed out on other occasions in this world forum, also considers that the

idea of setting up a permanent commission of the General Assembly for good offices and conciliation is as topical as ever. The establishment of such a commission, which would not act independently but, rather in close connexion with the Security Council, would provide our Organization with an effective instrument for the better implementation of its role with regard to the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security.

17. Romania stands ready for consultations and active co-operation with all other States in order to ensure that the consideration of this item results in the adoption of measures which would lead to an increased capacity of the United Nations to fulfil its important prerogatives of contributing to the just and equitable settlement of disputes, on the basis of respect for the legitimate interests of each people, of peace, good understanding and international co-operation. We trust that the delegations participating in this session will take account of the importance of the intensification of efforts to settle all international problems by negotiations and will bring their valuable and indispensable contributions to bear in ensuring a thorough examination of the proposed item, and to finalizing it with results which would respond to the common interests of all States and the expectations of peoples.

18. Romania, as a European country, naturally places among its main preoccupations the strengthening of security, peace and co-operation among the European States. Although certain positive steps have been taken in the right direction in the relations among the States which signed the Final Act of Helsinki¹, nevertheless we note with concern that the feverish arms race continues, that huge quantities of ever-more destructive weapons are being accumulated on our continent, that foreign troops and military bases are still present on the territories of many European States, and that it is in Europe that the two opposed military blocs, heavily armed, face each other.

19. Therefore, we consider that it is of utmost importance to start without delay a sustained effort for the thorough preparation of the Conference's second review session, to be held at Madrid in 1980, which is aimed at accelerating the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act and at giving further impetus to the process begun by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. To this end, Romania is determined to continue broad and detailed consultations with all States participating in the Conference. Furthermore, we are of the view that the organization of a multilateral consultative meeting, with the participation of all States signatories of the Final Act, for a broad exchange of information and opinions concerning the substantive problems of the Madrid meeting, would contribute effectively to the adequate preparation of that meeting and to a better understanding of the positions and preoccupations of the participating States. It would help also in the definition and selection in advance of the main problems and in their constructive consideration.

20. It would be of particular importance for the success of the Madrid meeting—as has been pointed out in a series of consultations which have taken place so far—for it to be held at the Foreign Ministers level.

¹ Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

21. Such an approach to the preparation and ordering of the coming Madrid meeting will create propitious conditions for the adoption of concrete measures concerning the wide and unrestricted development of economic, scientific and cultural co-operation, and, in particular, concerning military disengagement and disarmament, without which the strengthening of peace and détente and the establishment of genuine security cannot be conceived.

22. Since the military budgets of the States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe represent a large part of world military expenditure, agreement on practical measures of disarmament on the continent not only would have great importance for the European States, but also would constitute a substantive contribution to the promotion of the cause of disarmament, security and peace throughout the planet.

23. To bring about disarmament, and primarily nuclear disarmament, has become a vital need of all mankind. The ceaseless accumulations of armaments and the race in the development of new types of weapons of ever-growing destructive power have reached levels which cannot be justified. They far exceed the defence needs of the respective States and have increasingly become a factor of insecurity for all nations and a direct threat to the independence and free development of peoples and to the destiny of peace and civilization.

24. The size of military expenditures, the huge wastage of fuel and raw materials and the squandering of an immense scientific potential for destructive purposes all contribute directly to the aggravation of the phenomena of economic crises, to the widening of gaps and to the perpetuation of under-development, and all these factors are felt as a growing burden by all the peoples of the world.

25. At present it is necessary as an objective of the utmost urgency and importance to concert the efforts of all States in order to ensure the cessation of the armaments race and the transition, without further delay, to the adoption and implementation of effective measures for disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament.

26. Romania considers that the conclusion of the Treaty resulting from the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] between the USSR and the United States,² together with its ratification, constitutes an event of political importance in international life, a positive step that could open the way for disarmament measures with the participation of all States.

27. Romania stands also for the cessation of the production and further improvement of nuclear weapons; for the destruction of existing stockpiles and for the outlawing of these weapons. Measures to be taken in this area should in no way diminish the access of all States to the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. The balance, the guarantee of equal security for all States, should be brought about not by an increase in armaments, but by a reduction.

28. Being firmly in favour of the cessation of the arms

² Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979.

race and of the organized transition to a reduction in military budgets, arms and armed forces, Romania considers that a priority measure, for which the United Nations should work more determinedly, is the freezing and reduction of military expenditures by 10 per cent to 15 per cent in the initial stage. The funds so released could be used both for the progress of each country and to assist developing countries. In this respect Romania will submit appropriate proposals to the General Assembly at this current session.

29. My country supports the adoption of measures to strengthen coexistence among States and to reduce tension and conflicts. We have in mind the withdrawal of foreign troops, the dismantling of military bases installed on the territories of other States and the reduction of the military activities of blocs and the liquidation of such blocs. We attach particular importance to the promotion by all States of mutual relations of good neighbourliness, understanding and co-operation at regional levels and we will submit to the General Assembly a draft resolution on the development of relations of good neighbourliness among States.³

30. Romania is working for the development of co-operation among Balkan States, for the intensification of their bilateral and multilateral collaboration, for the peaceful settlement of existing disputes and for the transformation of that region into a zone of peace and good neighbourliness, free from nuclear weapons, as an element of security and co-operation in Europe.

31. In its concept of the establishment of lasting peace and real security Romania includes, along with the cardinal problem of disarmament, the increasingly acute problem of erasing under-development and the anachronistic division of the world into rich and poor countries—the bringing about of the new international economic order.

32. Mankind can no longer ignore a situation in which almost two thirds of the world's population lives in conditions of under-development as a consequence of a long period of colonial exploitation and the perpetuation of unequal relations which enables the few rich to accumulate even more wealth while the poor become poorer. It is unacceptable that there should be hundreds of millions of human beings suffering from hunger, malnutrition, disease and poverty, prey to ignorance and isolated from all the achievements of civilization, while the great explosion of the scientific and technical revolution is placing at the disposal of mankind new means of mastering nature and improving the environment and life on our planet. Such a state of affairs defies the most elementary ideals of justice, equality and humanity, and this cannot but constitute a grave factor for tension and serve to generate profound contradictions in international life, as well as impeding the progress of all mankind. It is obvious that we cannot speak of political and economic stability, of peace or progress unless this situation is adequately solved within a short period of time, and unless means are found to assist energetically the eradication of under-development through the strenuous efforts of each country, as well as through a more active assistance by developed countries and by establishing new economic relations based upon equality and equity.

33. In spite of the resolutions and recommendations adopted by the United Nations, and in spite of the persevering efforts of the developing countries, the negotiations that have taken place so far, including those at the fifth session of UNCTAD, have not been marked by any significant progress, primarily as a result of the position of the developed countries. At the same time, the economic inequalities among States have become more acute, and the economic and financial difficulties of the developing countries have increased, primarily as a consequence of the economic, raw material and energy crises.

34. In view of the great importance we attach to the international framework which should ensure the support of the developing countries and to the crystallizing of political measures for the establishment of a new international economic order based on equality and equity, Romania considers that the special session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1980 has a special role to play. Romania attaches great importance also to thorough preparation for that session so that it may mark a turning-point in the adoption of practical measures towards the eradication of under-development, ensuring the more rapid progress of the developing countries and promoting the establishment of a new international economic order.

35. It goes without saying that, in the eradication of under-development, the intensification by the developing countries of their own efforts, and the mobilization and full deployment of their human and material resources, is essential. At the same time, the strengthening of solidarity and co-operation among the developing countries, both for their economic and social development and in their negotiations with developed countries to enable them to reach solutions which will ensure the more rapid progress of the developing countries and contribute to the achievement of general economic development and stability, is of great importance.

36. International action aimed at the development of agriculture, industry, communications, free access to modern technology, the regulation of the activities of multinational corporations in developing countries, and increasing the flow of financial resources and technical assistance to those countries—all these have a very important role to play.

37. In order to facilitate broad access by all countries to the achievements of advanced science and technology, the Assembly should at this session adopt appropriate measures for implementing the decisions of the recent United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development.⁴

38. Within the context of the settlement of international economic problems, priority attention should be given to the conclusion of an agreement, with the participation of the developing countries, the oil-producing countries and the industrialized nations, to establish balanced relations in the pricing of oil and other sources of energy, raw materials, manufactured goods and food products. Such agreements should ensure stability and price control in order to avoid chaos and disorganization, which is damaging to all States, particularly the

³ Subsequently circulated as document A/C.1/34/L.54.

⁴ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, Vienna, 20-31 August 1979* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.I.21 and corrigendum).

non-oil-producing developing countries. It is only through such means of negotiation and agreements—and not through recourse to force—that one can bring about a solution that will promote the stability of the world economy in the interest of all peoples in the light of the grave economic problems confronting mankind.

39. In the circumstances of the increasingly close interdependence which characterizes contemporary developments, support for the developing countries, the achievement of substantial progress in building a new international economic order, and the establishment of new international co-operation based on equality and mutual advantage are in the interests of all States, including the developed nations, and of peace and world economic stability.

40. As a developing socialist State, Romania is determined to spare no effort to these ends, working together with the other States members of the Group of 77, and with all States of the world.

41. There is profound concern over the continued existence, in various parts of the world, of tension and conflict and of armed confrontation between States, which endangers general peace and security. Romania is firmly convinced that in the present international situation there is a real possibility of replacing force by reason and by respect and concern for the rights and interests of each nation.

42. It is in this spirit that Romania supports solution of the Cyprus problem by political means on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, while ensuring the peaceful coexistence of the two Cypriot communities.

43. The present situation in the Middle East requires an intensification of efforts at a comprehensive solution of the conflict by political means for the attainment of a just and lasting peace, which should lead to Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in 1967, the implementation of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination—which includes the establishment of their own independent State—and the ensuring of the independence and sovereignty of all States of the region.

44. The recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, including the creation of their own independent State, constitutes the core of the problem, upon which a just and lasting solution of this conflict depends. The interests of peace require the convening of an international conference under United Nations auspices, with the participation of all concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], as well as the two Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East—the Soviet Union and the United States. We must also put an end to the military actions against Lebanon to ensure that country's integrity and independence, as well as the achievement of national reconciliation which would make possible its independent, democratic development.

45. Romania supports the constructive initiatives and proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the peaceful, independent and democratic

reunification of Korea and for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the peninsula, such action being in the interests of the Korean nation and of peace and stability in Asia and the whole world.

46. Romania wishes to declare its active solidarity with, and to lend its full support—political, diplomatic, moral and material—to, the just struggles of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe for their national independence. We stand firmly and militantly in favour of the total elimination of the policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* in South Africa and condemn the attacks committed by the racist régimes against the front-line States. The meetings and fruitful discussions held by President Nicolae Ceaușescu with the leaders of the front-line States, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and the African National Congress of South Africa, both in Romania and in Africa, all evoked a reaffirmation of our constant position.

47. In the present circumstances, the United Nations should take more energetic action in support of the earliest possible liberation of the peoples of southern Africa to put an end, once and for all, to all violations of their freedom and lawful national rights.

48. The abolition of colonialism and of all forms of domination by one nation over another, and of the imperialist policies of force and *diktat* are a *sine qua non* for the social and economic development of every people and for the effective realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

49. We believe that international concern in the social and humanitarian fields should be precisely in keeping with these requirements, so essential for ensuring the political, economic and social rights of peoples, which in turn are indispensable for the full assertion of the human personality.

50. It is in this spirit, we believe, that the human right to peace, security, work, education, health care, participation in the solution of the problems of society, as well as the right to have the opportunity to develop and fully use one's creative potential, is of the highest priority.

51. In particular, we consider that the General Assembly can make an effective contribution to the universal implementation of the right to education through the development of an educational system and the training of national personnel in all spheres of activity, particularly for the developing countries, in keeping with the requirements of their multifaceted progress.

52. Along the same lines, we advocate the proclamation of an International Youth Year. The activities connected with such a year would significantly contribute to the intensification of national and international efforts to create better educational, working and living conditions for the younger generation and broaden its participation in the over-all development of society and in the creation of a world of peace and understanding.

53. The solution of the complex problems facing mankind today requires the democratization of international relations and the creation of conditions conducive to the full and equal participation in international

life of all States, regardless of their size or social system. In particular, the greatest significance must be placed on the more active participation in international life of the small and medium-sized countries, the developing States, and of the non-aligned countries, which can and should have their say on all international issues.

54. Romania places great value on the role played by the United Nations, in keeping with the purposes and principles of the Charter, in the democratic solution of all international problems in the interests of all peoples. The United Nations offers the most appropriate framework and the only forum for in-depth debate and the finding of lasting solutions to all problems facing mankind, with the participation of all States, regardless of their size or social system, on terms of equality.

55. Experience has shown that it is not possible to solve major international problems within a limited circle of States, however great and powerful they may be. The strengthening of the role of the United Nations, its improvement and the democratization of its activities in conformity with the demands of today's international life are therefore major factors in the strengthening of international peace and security and in the development of co-operation among all nations.

56. It is here in the General Assembly, where all the States and nations of the world are represented, that we should democratically and equitably debate and solve all grave, difficult and thorny problems facing mankind today, and through our concerted efforts find judicious solutions, which could ensure that world politics will develop in keeping with the aspirations of every people, the general interests of peace and with the easing of tension. It is only through the active and responsible contribution of all nations that the serious difficulties and grave tensions and conflicts which still persist in international life can be overcome, that further steps and concrete measures towards disarmament, towards the establishment of a new economic and political order, towards détente, and towards security and peace, can be ensured. It is to this goal precisely that the work of Romania is aimed in the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization. My country's contribution is aimed at identifying ways and means of raising the level of the United Nations to that of the tasks with which it has been entrusted in this world.

57. This summer, we had the opportunity to welcome to Romania the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who at that time held fruitful talks with the President of Romania, Mr. Nicolae Ceaușescu. I should also like to take this opportunity to express the appreciation of the Romanian Government for the Secretary-General's contribution to the promotion of the goals and principles of the United Nations and for his endeavours to find negotiated solutions for the major problems of the day.

58. The Romanian delegation is ready to contribute together with all other delegations to the search for just and equitable solutions to the problems which the United Nations General Assembly is to consider. Let us hope that this session may bring us closer to the objective of ensuring the advent of a new international life marked by détente, national independence, progress and peace.

59. Mr. ZAMBRANO VELASCO (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of my Government, I extend to the President my most sincere congratulations on the high honour conferred upon him on his election as President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. His personal endowments, his experience, and his important contribution, as head of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, to the policy of decolonization, constitute a guarantee of what we are certain will be his effective contribution in presiding over this session. In action taken for decolonization, Venezuela and the United Republic of Tanzania—represented by the President of the Assembly—have made a constant effort, which causes us to welcome Mr. Salim with great pleasure as leader of this Assembly session.

60. At the outset, I should also like to greet the President of the last session, our distinguished friend, Indalecio Liévano Aguirre, whom I congratulate for his brilliant performance during the previous session.

61. We congratulate the Secretary-General, who has excelled in his devotion to the solution of the problems affecting the maintenance of international peace and security.

62. We also greet the new Members of the United Nations and, in particular, the young Republic of Saint Lucia, to which we are united by geographical and historical ties which are destined to become closer in the future.

63. I bring sincere greetings from Venezuela to all the peoples of the world represented here.

64. The Government of President Luis Herrera Campíns is formulating its international actions on the basis of a realistic policy founded on principles.

65. We know, from our own history, the political vicissitudes of the peoples of developing countries. We are striving intensely to set up in our country a participatory democracy, where political freedom, social justice and economic progress will find full expression.

66. To this end, President Herrera Campíns is carrying out a vigorous programme designed to realize in Venezuela the principles of an active State which, in a democratic setting, will promote the pluralistic expression of all the creative forces of mankind's freedom. We also zealously promote respect for human dignity and the institutionalization of spiritual, political and economic freedoms in both internal and external policy. The defence and advancement of these principles are essential corner-stones of a democratic State and are the basic objectives of our international policy; they are already deeply rooted in the way our people feel.

67. My Government is striving to achieve the ideal of human freedom, of men free from fear and poverty, by creating conditions which will enable each person fully to enjoy all rights in all fields.

68. I hope to outline this afternoon in specific detail

Venezuela's point of view on some of the problems of concern to the international community.

69. I think it would be appropriate to take up, in the first place, questions pertaining to our region, essentially the Caribbean and Andean region. I shall also refer to matters jeopardizing peace and world security, such as the situation in southern Africa, human rights and the new international economic order. I shall pay particular attention to subjects linked with development and international co-operation.

70. This international Organization is the expression of social and political forces. Its reality and vigour are obvious. Between the level of the international Organization and that of the Member States there are also regional subsystems and organizations which have become very important and a means for co-operation and for controlling conflicts. The strength of these regional organizations and subsystems contributes in turn to the vitality and strength of the United Nations.

71. Venezuela, at the regional level, has proposed consistent and outward-looking diplomacy and is prepared to do the same at the world level. Co-operation and the prevention and control of conflicts should be the objectives of this outward-looking diplomacy in an interdependent world.

72. Latin America must perform the role which traditionally belongs to it in the concert of nations. By seeking a Latin American consensus, without a trace of intolerance or exclusiveness, we shall contribute to the strengthening of the United Nations.

73. Within a realistic perspective, we cannot overlook the specific and peculiar situation of Central America and the Caribbean, of the Andes region and of the north and the south of the continent.

74. In Central America and the Caribbean a new vitality has been gathering strength, the evolution of which should guarantee for all the world to see the right of every country, no matter how small or weak, freely to choose its own path to prosperity, free from pressures or attempts to establish hegemony or spheres of influence.

75. In the area, we wish to see the establishment of régimes which are the true expression of the will of the people and which will advance the social and economic progress of the countries there. For us, the means to the institutionalization of freedom is representative democracy, and we believe that no effort should be spared to permit the necessary transformation to proceed by non-military and peaceful means.

76. It is our conviction that, for a representative democracy to function, it is necessary to delve into the field of social reforms which will lead to real popular participation. These objectives are shared by the Andean group of countries and by others in the area. We have begun our concerted action and we are determined to develop it with them. With those who do not entirely share these objectives, we wish to seek areas where we are on common ground and to prevent those matters on which we differ from generating tensions or difficulties.

77. Venezuela is an essentially Caribbean country.

We are not indifferent to anything that happens in that area, because therein lies our political and economic security. We have made and shall continue to make major economic efforts to co-operate with the countries of that area. Our financial assistance, in the Caribbean alone, already is in excess of \$360 million a year, particularly in the financing of the oil supply to these countries. These figures do not include our contribution to the special fund of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC], whose replenishment and subsequent consolidation and expansion Venezuela will seek at the meeting of that organization next December in Caracas.

78. Venezuela is aware of the role which history expects it to play in the geopolitical sector where it lies, as a consequence of the stability of its democratic régime, its status as an oil-exporting country and its participation in the Andean group.

79. In the Caribbean, muffled sounds are being heard which seem to augur the emergence of other ideologies that might make sister nations pawns in strategic power-plays, against their will. Venezuela is prepared to promote measures conducive to the political normalization of the area. As already stated, we are convinced that in our foreign policy we must proceed with the utmost realism and must develop with all nations constructive relations on the basis of sincerity, reciprocity and tangible demonstrations of goodwill.

80. We welcome and support the decolonization process in the Caribbean. We wish to emphasize that our objective is to develop the best relations with the new countries.

81. For us to have a fruitful dialogue, in our opinion, we must necessarily first achieve Latin American integration. We have left behind us the rather naive illusions which ruled our first attempts at integration, which we imagined could be immediate and general. Nevertheless, today Venezuela is convinced that Latin American integration is feasible provided we act with realism, with respect for the magnitude and complexity of the problems to be surmounted for integration to be achieved; provided that we realize that our people will need to make an effective mental and psychological effort; and provided that this process is approached, in the light of experience, as a concentration of efforts at integration by the various subregions which make up Latin America.

82. A start has been made on a new phase which I feel is important and beneficial for the Latin American community and for the inter-American system. I am referring to the concerted action by the Andean countries with regard to foreign policy, which was agreed upon by the Presidents of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela at Cartagena, Colombia, on 28 May of this year. This initiative was taken on a purely experimental basis. Having noted the solid progress we had made in our economic integration, we decided to explore the possibilities of acting jointly in the political field, without any formal obligations or commitments.

83. At first sight, it seems surprising that consensus among us should have been reached so easily and naturally on all the matters we have taken up. But if we stop to think about it, we shall realize that there is nothing surprising in our coming to the same conclusions, we

who share a deep-rooted and sincere faith in the principles which are the foundations of the regional system: Latin American solidarity; our vocation for the effective application of democracy; and our conviction that the primary responsibility of every State is to promote social justice and well-being for all its citizens in freedom and with their participation.

84. I believe that the initiative I have mentioned contributed to clearing the way for the solution of the conflict in Nicaragua.

85. I do not claim to draw conclusions from a process which has only just begun; yet I cannot help thinking that, since we have been able to prove that the united voice of five Republics carries far more weight than the sum of those voices, then how much more weight would a united Latin American voice carry. I hope the day is near when that voice will resound within these walls.

86. Time and again we have witnessed an almost reflex reaction, namely, invoking the principle of non-intervention by way of exorcism to silence any mention of the principles of the Charter. I would not wish to leave the slightest doubt as to the paramount importance of the principle of non-intervention, which Venezuela recognizes, since it is the essential basis for the civilized coexistence of States and the defence of the weak when confronted with the whims of the powerful. It is our firm conviction that no country, nor any group of countries, has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of others or to try to impose ideologies or forms of government on another. But we cannot assent to this principle being falsely bandied about in an attempt, by silence or ambiguity, to make us accomplices to the suppression of freedom or the trampling of human rights or to prevent this Organization, with all its authority, from supporting the historical processes and the social forces which are moving towards the attainment of the principles proclaimed in their own fundamental instruments, towards democracy, equality and economic and social justice.

87. Only a few days ago Venezuela, as an observer country, attended the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.⁵ There, in Havana, I had occasion to express the hope of my Government that the non-aligned movement would continue to preserve its unique features which have been characteristic of it since the African-Asian Conference, held at Bandung in 1955, and the first non-aligned Conference, held in Belgrade in 1961.

88. As the spokesman of a people that prides itself on having no race, because we are of all races, I then pledged—and I confirm it here—the unrestricted and unqualified support of Venezuela for all actions designed to eradicate the abominable aberration of racism. I therefore consider that our repudiation and condemnation of racism in all its forms must be expressed with added vigour and more categorically than ever, especially against that crime which adds insult to injury by presuming to institutionalize racism as a system, as is happening in South Africa with *apartheid*.

89. This is also an appropriate occasion to confirm Venezuela's absolute support for the aspirations to

freedom and dignity of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe.

90. History has shown us that freedom is rarely a gift; it almost always comes after a constant battle to win it and defend it. In that battle there can be no respite for us who, because we are not super-Powers, can ensure our freedom only by our joint effort and with our resolute opposition to the predominance of hegemonies, imperialisms or blocs, which would attempt to suppress our sovereignty and our national identity, as well as our solidarity with and support for all peoples that are striving to acquire, preserve or retrieve their right to freedom, independence and self-determination. Only on this basis will it be possible to solve the conflicts and tensions which in the Middle East, South-East Asia, Africa and anywhere else in the world bar the way for mankind to advance in its quest for peace and the well-being of all.

91. We think that a human being cannot be coldly considered in terms of the antagonistic systems which brought about the crystallization of the policy of blocs.

92. We know that political freedom is illusory when there is economic exploitation. So far, regrettably, the efforts we have made as third-world countries to attain a more just situation in our economic relations with the industrialized countries have been frustrated by their short-sightedness and intransigence. They are seemingly determined to demonstrate to the developing countries a truth of which Venezuela is already convinced: that significant concessions can be won only from positions of power and that the only form of power in the hands of countries that are producers of raw materials and consumers of industrial products is concerted action and solidarity, as the experience of the oil-producing countries has shown.

93. Such action inspired by solidarity is more forceful and proves to be more effective when the request of justice from the outside world is borne out by a climate of genuine social justice at home.

94. As regards the subject of energy, it is reassuring to observe that there is an increasingly better understanding of the difficult situation in which the international community finds itself. Airy and even irresponsible accusations against OPEC have lost credibility. The Governments of industrialized countries are beginning to concentrate their attention on measures to reduce excessive consumption, thereby being able to act on the demand for oil. As a country member of OPEC, Venezuela views this as a highly positive evolution and as the best point of departure to devise instruments for effective conservation policies which will allow for an extension of the transition period to alternate sources of energy which are renewable and non-polluting and also to speed up scientific research for their swift use.

95. The Government of Venezuela realizes that many developing countries are undergoing a particularly difficult situation in the present circumstances. It has acted and is prepared to act so as to contribute, in keeping with the requirements of the moment, to ensure oil supplies for those countries and lessen the financial burden due to its higher cost. This is a fundamental premise of the foreign policy of my country, one which has always had the widest national consensus. On the

⁵ Held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979.

other hand, it is evident that the problems of those countries are essentially the results of structural imbalances which affect the world economy. Compliance with the doctrine of international social justice carries with it an obligation to support the less fortunate developing countries in the improvement of their international bargaining position. The individual weakness of the developing countries vis-à-vis the industrialized nations causes us to take a firm stand in the collective struggle of our countries to secure a just participation in the world economic system.

96. Venezuela has reiterated in various forums its support for the idea of holding within the United Nations a new round of international economic negotiations including the subject of energy. This new dialogue must avoid the pitfalls along the way. The ability to do that will depend on the extent to which the industrialized countries show a positive political will to achieve concrete and meaningful results in the improvement of international economic relations.

97. The deep-seated economic disarray that affects the international economy provides us with an opportunity to build a new international economic order in which the legitimate claims of the developing countries will be fully met. We must face our common problems with courage, seeking just and rational solutions. The gravity of the present crisis and economic interdependence make this necessary. The alternative is that we shall be forced into accelerated and irreversible deterioration with unforeseeable consequences.

98. Some of the negotiations under way, such as those concerning the Common Fund for the Integrated Programme on Commodities⁶ and those on science and technology, have produced results that, unfortunately, still appear on the whole to be very slim and almost imperceptible in terms of the establishment of the new international economic order.

99. At the recent session of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, there was again evidence of a lack of the political will that could have enabled us to reach genuine agreements on the issues included in its programme of work. In this context, the proposal of the Group of 77 [A/34/34, part III, annex I]—based on a resolution of the Sixth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries—acquires particular significance in the new global North-South negotiations.

100. Present circumstances demand that we establish an atmosphere of mutual trust and proceed with a sense of urgency. The 1980 special session of the General Assembly must achieve a break-through in the North-South negotiations by bringing about substantive results for the start of the new international economic order. While such results would provide real opportunities to the developing countries by establishing interdependence based on justice and equity, the entire community of nations would also unquestionably stand to gain from the new impetus given the world economy, as has been fully recognized.

⁶ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10 and corrigendum), part one A, resolution 93 (IV).

101. We of the developing countries are prepared to assume our responsibilities. We trust that the developed countries will also assume theirs. We are determined to intensify our co-operation on the basis of collective self-reliance. Efforts we have made among ourselves, particularly in Mexico City, Buenos Aires, Arusha, Manila, Havana and now here in New York, have been given a vigorous and growing impetus to produce meaningful and concrete results without delay. This does not exempt the wealthy countries from their obligations to the developing countries; on the contrary, it emphasizes them. South-South co-operation is an indispensable complement to North-South co-operation and must help the latter acquire effectiveness and innovative strength.

102. As the President of my country Luis Herrera Campíns said when he addressed a recent meeting of the Latin American Economic System, at the very beginning of his term of office:

“Despite its difficult economic situation, its precarious social stability and its slow democratic progress, Latin America today is in fact the part of the developing world where there is the widest agreement on goals, more convergence towards them and the greatest probability of success in achieving those ends, at least in part. In spite of the distances that separate us from the industrialized world, there is a kind of premonition that the tide of progress of Western civilization, which at one time had begun to flow in a circle from the Mediterranean to the West, is today bearing in a clear southerly direction, towards Latin America.”

103. The menace of the crisis that occurred in 1914, which Churchill with keen perspicacity called a “world crisis”, continues to threaten us. Hope for its disappearance is deep-rooted in the thinking of all mankind, of men of every rank and condition, seeking ways for peaceful and useful coexistence.

104. Between the two World Wars, mankind, far from realizing the dream of peace, witnessed the emergence of the two most powerful dictatorships the world had ever known, dictatorships that made their influence felt on men's bodies and on their souls.

105. Despite the fact that nearly half a century has elapsed since the 1945 peace and the foundation of the United Nations, we are still hoping for the establishment of a just and necessary new order.

106. The conflict did not end in 1945, nor did it begin in 1914. Its causes and tensions came from the past. They did not end when the guns were silenced, nor were they resolved. A new consciousness prevailed, foretelling a new political and social objective. Already then there was an obvious need to replace the old world order with a new order that would be more sincere and stable, more just and provident.

107. Recent times have witnessed continuous commotions, ruptures, violence and wars, blatantly revealing just how precarious the situation was and how stubborn the basic facts, tensions and divergencies.

108. After undergoing two terrible periods of global war, mankind knows therefore that it is not possible to

secure peace by means of mere military, political and economic might; it knows that international order cannot be guaranteed by the hegemonies of the super-Powers. There are no perpetual hegemonies in the history of man. Predominant Powers come and go; they have been and are the products of their times. The new international order can be built only on just relations among peoples. As long as the nations that benefit from the present international order because of their might fail to realize that such a situation is not eternal, the world will continue to live under the burden of the threat of war.

109. This Organization, it is often said, came into being because of the grief of a world devastated by war and as a response to the universal aspiration for peace.

110. It is a contradiction in terms to seek a genuinely new international order while maintaining the existence of hegemonies.

111. International social justice must be the foundation of the new order. Basically this implies two things: first, a realization that greater power does not confer greater rights, but rather increasing duties that entail the correction of existing imbalances in the present international order, secondly, a larger share for the developing countries in the decision-making process in international affairs.

112. Venezuelan policy, as I said at the outset, is inspired by a profound respect for human beings and peoples. The essential characteristic of human dignity is freedom—the greatest gift of the Creator to human beings in the natural order of things. Freedom is realized by means of the social organization of people and by democracy which guarantees and secures the most varied participation as is necessary. The essential characteristic of the dignity of nations is independence, which, in the international order, means that peoples are not there to be made into instruments but to be respected, regardless of their military or economic power, because sovereignty is not divisible, nor does it depend on the size or wealth of nations, but on the courage which in any part of the world is used with honest sincerity to defend justice.

113. Venezuela was the cradle of the emancipation of Latin America. Our continent has been and is the continent of hope. To all the peoples represented here and to grieving mankind anxiously yearning for freedom, peace and justice, I leave the brotherly solidarity of Bolívar's country.

114. Mr. FITOURI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of Tunisia is happy at Mr. Salim's election as President of the thirty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly. We feel sure that his wide experience and high efficiency are the best guarantee for the success of the work of the current session of the Assembly, which is meeting at a time when international relations are passing through critical circumstances. We are also sure that he, as one of the great sons of the African continent will contribute to solving the problems that face the international community in general and the peoples and countries which are still suffering under the yoke of colonial hegemony and foreign occupation, in particular. This is not surprising, because he, like his great country, has always been in the vanguard of those who have served the cause of

these peoples inside and outside Africa and, in particular, the cause of the Palestinian people. I would like to assure him that the delegation of Tunisia will exert every effort and make every fraternal endeavour to assist him in carrying out the great tasks that he will assume during this session.

115. Allow me also to express my appreciation to his great predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano Aguirre, who presided over the work of the previous session with great dedication and efficiency.

116. It is with great pleasure that we reiterate our expression of appreciation and thanks to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, who, with constant enthusiasm and great intelligence, has restored to the United Nations its natural role in dealing with international causes and managing them.

117. However much we try to have hope we cannot consider that the international situation justifies even the most cautious optimism. In fact, the major problems that we face, far from finding a solution, are becoming more complicated because of unfavourable developments which have diverted them from, rather than drawn them closer to, their correct solution.

118. This is the case in the Middle East where tension has been maximized, threatening international peace and security more and more directly and continually. Though the Arab countries have affirmed their desire for peace and have exerted every effort to that end, Israel continues, without fear, to carry out its policy which is based on occupation, aggression and expansion, without any heed to right and justice and the resolutions of the United Nations. In addition to its acts of aggression and repression against the Palestinian people, and to the measures that Israel takes to entrench its roots in Palestine and to Judaize Jerusalem, it continues also, in spite of general reprobation, to set up settlements in the occupied territories prior to their total annexation by means of a tested method, that of the fait accompli.

119. Israeli leaders have given their unjust ambitions free rein and do not even trouble anymore to camouflage their deliberate intentions, overtly declaring that they are entitled to claim sovereignty over the West Bank and deciding that the Holy City of Jerusalem will remain the "Eternal Capital of the State of Israel". Thus the whole world can see that Israel is asking for much more than its right to exist. In addition to the fact that it can conceive of its existence only in the denial of that of others, it claims in fact and in particular the alleged right to continue to carry out its Zionist strategy of total and systematic occupation and expansion according to a plan that was prepared a long time ago.

120. Obviously, the behaviour of Israeli leaders, whether in the occupied territories, in the south of Lebanon or in other areas, aims at nothing less than breaking the determination of the Palestinian people to exist, and thus annihilating it morally and physically.

121. The injustice imposed on the Palestinian people has been perpetrated for over 30 years now, giving rise to wars, bloodshed and continued conflicts and problems in a particularly sensitive spot of the world which, because of its strategic position and economic resources, may become the starting-point of a world ex-

plosion, the consequences of which can hardly be measured.

122. In response to this intransigent defiance, the latest initiatives taken and the partial treaties which followed are but a ridiculous and superficial answer to the question. So those who had believed that the Camp David agreements⁷ might be a potential starting-point for the progressive restoration of peace, have been compelled to face the reality and retreat from the illusion they harboured. Indeed, the obvious position taken by the Government of Tel Aviv and the clear statements made by official Israeli authorities leave no doubt as to their intention to pursue and reinforce their aggressive policy against the neighbouring Arab States and their total denial of the rights of the Palestinian people to exist and exercise its sovereignty.

123. In fact, I have several unavoidable questions in mind. To what extent can we trust such an unequal negotiation in which one party offers to disarm, whereas the other party strongly persists in its preparation for war? What may be the result of a negotiation in which the possibility of contact with the official representatives of the Palestinian people is denied and repressed? And, finally, how effective can such a negotiation be if it is applied to the outer shell with no heed to the core of the dispute, which is, above all, an Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

124. Tunisia believes that this initiative was an error resulting from a confusion and an erroneous analysis.

125. As early as 1965, President Habib Bourguiba, in an historic speech delivered in Jericho before Palestinians, drew attention to the core of the Palestinian issue and to the necessity of a settlement on the basis of a return to international legitimacy and the recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to their homeland and to independence.

126. Following the defeat of 1967, the President of the Republic of Tunisia repeated his condemnation of the confusion that was prevailing and that tended to make of the Palestinian problem a marginal issue.

127. Events and developments that followed the signing of the Camp David agreements have proved once again that any endeavour for peace in the Middle East which did not tackle the core of the problem, that is the recognition of the PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and of the right of that people to self-determination and to live in sovereignty and dignity within an independent State—was doomed to failure because it ignored the reality and true nature of the facts.

128. Speaking of avoiding crisis, tension and aggression, I should say that Africa has not been more fortunate in this respect. Still dragging the heavy heritage of the colonial era, entangled sometimes in serious problems issuing from the chaos of the post-colonial period, it has not always succeeded in overcoming the major handicaps which hampered its stability and its development, with a view to severing once and for all the bonds of external dependence. Those bonds have become

stronger over the years and throughout the successive crises, aggravating the fragility and the vulnerability of the African States.

129. While we witness in the south a type of virulent and hard-to-beat colonialism that is alien to our age, and where racism, and its most hideous manifestation, *apartheid*, are imposed with unprecedented violence and persistence, the African continent is shaken from north to south and from east to west by the tremor of instability and tension which dangerously threatens its security and world peace.

130. The numerous conflicts among African nations offer favourable ground for external intervention. Unfortunately, Africa, already the victim of rivalries stirred up by foreign interests, has become the arena where foreign influence and greed abound.

131. In South Africa, the Pretoria Government is reinforcing its policy of oppression and exploitation, with its racist laws, and is trying to extend its *apartheid* policies to Namibia, which it continues to occupy illegally. Supported by its relations with certain countries and by the secret assistance it continually receives, it is increasing its military and nuclear potential and planning a long-term strategy, by launching a so-called southern community with a view to making its domination of the region irreversible and killing the aspiration of the people to dignity and freedom.

Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania) resumed the Chair.

132. In Zimbabwe, Ian Smith continues with his manoeuvres in order to maintain illegal power and the privileges of the white minority through an alleged internal settlement, a biracial, fake Government and sham elections. We believe that these manoeuvres seriously impede the normal process of decolonization and the assumption of power by the black majority. The so-called legitimacy, to which the colonialist system has often tried to give credit by bestowing the seal of legitimacy on worthless attempts, cannot be misleading when the repressive war continues to be so cruelly waged against the people of Zimbabwe, together with aggressive actions against neighbouring countries.

133. After long hesitation, and as a result of the pressures put upon it by the African and Asian countries of the Commonwealth, the United Kingdom Government, it seems, has now decided to recognize the Patriotic Front, as the sole party qualified to discuss the future of Zimbabwe and the fate of its people. By accepting the London assignments, the leaders of the Patriotic Front have once more affirmed their will to settle the problem by the most peaceful means. It is now for the United Kingdom Government to live up to the responsibilities vested in it as the Administering Authority.

134. The United Nations cannot proclaim the termination of the British Mandate over Zimbabwe until that country is given the real attributes of national sovereignty according to international law and in line with the legitimate aspirations of its people.

135. In Namibia, the settlement that was arranged under the supervision of the United Nations, with a view to putting to an end the illegal administration of that Territory by South Africa and enabling the Nami-

⁷ A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

bian people to achieve independence, is at an impasse as a result of the changing manoeuvres of the Government of Pretoria, whose delays and hesitations unmask its true intentions. It is regrettable that the five Western countries do not seem eager to impose the settlement plans, though they were its initiators. However, the decisive contribution the Security Council ought to bring to the solution of this problem should not divert anyone from the urgent obligation to support the resistance of the Namibian people and its heroic liberation movement, SWAPO.

136. Generally speaking, faced with the deteriorating situation in the southern part of the African continent, and with such negative developments, the international community and the United Nations have the duty to affirm their solidarity with the peoples of the area with a view to strengthening the heroic struggle those peoples continue to wage under the leadership of their respective national liberation movements and to enabling them to realize their legitimate aspirations to freedom, dignity and sovereignty.

137. Our concern for and attention to international economic affairs are not less serious than those we pay to political matters. In this field, too, the present outlook does not leave much room for optimism. The current year has not yet witnessed any noticeable improvement in the international economic situation.

138. The advanced countries continue to be troubled by their problems, which have now become common matters, such as the slackening of the growth rate, unemployment, and the persistence of sky-rocketing inflation, with all the resulting consequences for the economies of developing countries.

139. The third world has often tried to call the attention of the developed countries to the real reasons for the crisis: the fact that the developed countries, which are unable to control their internal imbalances, refuse to recognize that such imbalances are, above all, the symptom of a defective adjustment of their economic structures and of a basic imbalance in international economic relations.

140. No measure imposed by circumstances, and adopted by the developed countries under the pressure of present events, even at the highest levels, will be sufficient to bring the long-term solutions the world needs. The real solution still lies in a fundamental restructuring of world economic relations, in line with the objectives and principles of the new international economic order, which would at the same time take into account the legitimate interests of all the parties concerned, especially the developing countries.

141. The third world, for its part, has spared no effort to see that this restructuring is carried out within the framework of an open and constructive dialogue. Since the convening of the sixth special session of the General Assembly in 1974, the third world has intensified its efforts to this end, proposing clear and reasonable objectives, according to new principles recognized by the General Assembly as being necessary if a meaningful content is to be given to the concept of interdependence.

142. Since that date, many developed countries have

undergone an undoubted evolution; they no longer consider the establishment of a new international economic order a threat to their economies or their economic and social systems. However, those countries with the greatest economic influence still continue to oppose any change.

143. This opposition has resulted in the failure of most of the attempts at making the dialogue between the North and the South succeed. We still remember the failure of the fifth session of UNCTAD, held at Manila some months ago, to find acceptable solutions for the major problems on its agenda.

144. The Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, following three sessions held in New York, has adopted some recommendations concerning the transfer of resources and agricultural development in the developing countries. However, these recommendations, though encouraging in some ways, are still clearly insufficient. In addition, the refusal of the major developed countries to help the Committee of the Whole to achieve any success regarding the question of industrialization has been another source of concern and disappointment.

145. The United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, recently held in Vienna, achieved an agreement by all parties on some important issues, in particular those relating to procedural matters and to the financing of the Programme of Action, and we acknowledge those good results with satisfaction. However, there are other essential problems, such as that of the transfer of technology, which have not found a satisfactory solution, and have been referred to other negotiating forums.

146. These are examples that we have drawn from the many meetings and conferences that were held during the past year to activate development and international co-operation. All these examples confirm that the dialogue continues, but that its continuance is the result solely of the efforts exerted by the Group of 77, assisted by a small number of developed countries which share their faith and determination. These examples also indicate that the dialogue faces difficulties which have become well known and are identified. These are related to the basic aspects of the new international economic order that we are all trying to establish.

147. For us, a developing country, these difficulties consist in an absence of a transfer of resources from developed countries, in the refusal of these countries to allow some of their industries to develop in our countries, in the lack of access to technology and technological information, in the fact that our industrial and agricultural products are prevented from entering the markets of the developed countries and in the instability of the prices of our essential products.

148. We should also like to play our full part as responsible and sovereign States in the process of decision-making on world economic problems, in particular those relating to the international monetary system and the rules governing world trade.

149. To our repeated appeals for a serious examination of these difficulties, the developed countries have often responded by stressing their own problems

which, they allege, are the result of the price of energy imposed by the oil-producing developing countries.

150. While it may be easy to refute that allegation with regard to the effect of the price of petroleum on the current economic crisis and on inflation, we feel that it would be better to affirm that it is time to adopt a new approach to the North-South dialogue, a comprehensive one which would permit viable negotiations on the most important obstacles in the way of one or the other party, including those relating to the field of energy, and allow us to reach acceptable solutions, always bearing keenly in mind the problems of the developing countries, especially since these have become increasingly acute.

151. In order to ensure that such comprehensive negotiations have every chance to succeed, we consider that it is necessary that they take place within the framework of the United Nations with the full and complete participation of all countries concerned. It is, above all, necessary that all countries should display real political will, in particular the developed countries, which have so far adopted a reserved and negative attitude towards many of the attempts to give full scope to the North-South dialogue.

152. Acting in its geographical context, Tunisia believes that the States bordering on the Mediterranean constitute a group that is united by a common destiny and that, therefore, it is most important for them to work towards a policy of security aimed particularly at turning that interior sea into a peaceful lake.

153. This process, which culminated in Helsinki, and was discussed again in Belgrade and in Malta, and which will also be dealt with soon in Madrid, contains the seeds of a new relationship based on security and co-operation and the search for complementarity rather than antagonism.

154. However, there is still a long way to go before we can establish an atmosphere of real trust and draw up a charter among the littoral States of the Mediterranean Sea for a unified policy in the fields of investment, energy, the marketing of products, employment and maritime law, in addition to full cultural co-operation. Such a model of international relations will be the best example and will ensure the security of the area and the prosperity of its people. This is not a fairy-tale desire, remote from reality or difficult to achieve.

155. We are satisfied with the initiative that was adopted by the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana, which called for the holding of negotiations between the North and the South [see A/34/542, pp. 207-209], and also the practical proposals which the Group of 77 formally presented at the last meeting of the Committee of the Whole. That Committee affirmed the importance of this initiative and submitted a draft resolution to the General Assembly [A/34/34, part III, annex I] to give them the priority commensurate with their importance and to examine them during the current session in order to adopt a resolution thereon.

156. We believe that an important stage has been begun in this regard and we hope that the hesitation which the advanced countries have shown will be abandoned

after serious examination of the real possibilities that such an initiative provides to activate such negotiations and to give them a new impetus in which the interests of all can be taken into consideration. Thus, the new development decade which the United Nations is about to enter may become one of economic upsurge for all developing countries and one of harmony in international economic relations.

157. The problem of information was also a topic of concern as a result of the Committee that was set up last year to review the policies of the United Nations and its activities in this field.⁸ This Committee has not yet carried out the task entrusted to it in the best possible manner, for reasons beyond its control, but it has at least drawn up a frame of action [see A/34/21, annex III, sect. C, para. 24], which we must carry out. A working group was also able to examine the problems of the Department of Public Information attached to the United Nations. That Committee was set up as a result of recognition by the international community of the need to establish a new world information system. Therefore we should affirm the need for the Committee to continue its work and we should renew our trust in it, strengthen its mission and open it to all Member countries. We hope that the General Assembly will unanimously adopt a resolution on that topic.

158. The last Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana, although it did not achieve all the aspirations and hopes pinned on it, nevertheless reached just and durable solutions to the most important topics of interest to the international community. We refer to its resolutions on the Middle East, the southern part of the continent of Africa, disarmament and international economic relations [see A/34/542, annex]. The Tunisian delegation is sure that at this session the General Assembly will take into consideration all the positive elements to which we have referred and which represent an important contribution by the non-aligned countries. This movement will remain, in spite of all the transient storms, because it represents a balance in a world divided around the two major Powers. Any consolidation of the unity of these non-aligned countries will be of benefit to the international community as a whole.

159. We hope that the General Assembly under your supervision, Mr. President, will pave the way for adequate and durable solutions to the most important problems before us, particularly since there is obvious international concern about problems such as the Middle East and the south of the African continent. This is affirmed clearly by the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council on these topics. The only obstacle that has prevented the return of peace to those two areas, in spite of the recognition by all of their strategic importance, is the intransigence of some groups of people whose feelings and actions are dominated by racial supremacy and hatred. It is feared that such tensions in these areas will lead to explosions threatening world peace and security. The United Nations can, through the good intentions which we hope all its Member States will show, force these minorities, however strong they may be, to return to the correct path in the interests of the international community and their own interests.

⁸ Committee to Review United Nations Public Information Policies and Activities.

160. We wish the General Assembly every success in imposing peaceful solutions to all the problems facing the international community through international consensus.

161. Mr. DAYAN (Israel): Mr. President, please accept my congratulations on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. We are confident that you will guide the work of the Assembly efficiently and fairly.

162. I would also like to express our appreciation to the President of the last session of the General Assembly, Ambassador Liévano of Colombia.

163. It is my pleasure to congratulate Saint Lucia on its independence and admission to the United Nations.

164. As we reflect on the development of the United Nations throughout the past year, we find the spectacle far from encouraging. The fundamental obstacle to the Organization's work is the selectivity which has been forced upon it by an automatic majority of the membership, which is far from impartial and prefers expediency to principles. The United Nations specialized agencies have suffered badly from this. Organs like UNESCO, WHO, the ILO and others have been severely affected by heavy politicization which has influenced their functioning. Instead of dedicating themselves solely to their specific fields in the service of mankind, they have been reduced to forums of political one-sidedness.

165. There must be a return to the United Nations Charter. Consultation and agreement should be restored to their primary place. In particular, the specialized agencies must abandon the dangerous path of politicization along which they have been dragged, so that they may devote themselves to the economic, social, humanitarian, scientific and technological tasks which they were set up to perform and which they perform so well when permitted to do so.

166. There has been little improvement in the situation of the Jews in the Soviet Union during the past year. Even though the number of exit visas for Soviet Jews has increased recently, the gap between the number of Jews applying for exit visas and those granted them is growing, while an even larger number of Soviet Jews have been denied the fundamental right to emigrate—a right guaranteed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the Helsinki Declaration. Those Jews who do insist on their rights are subjected to continued harassment by the authorities, to dismissal from their places of employment and, in some cases, to arrest and imprisonment. We have taken note of the fact that seven Jewish prisoners were released a few months ago. However, we are particularly concerned by the harsh prison sentences imposed on other Jews whose only crime is their desire to rejoin their families in Israel—Iosif Begun, Boris Kalendarov, Iosif Mendelevich, Ida Nudel, Anatoly Shcharansky, Simon Shnirman, Vladimir Slepak, Aleksandr Vilic and Amner Zavurov. The Soviet Union should release these and other prisoners of conscience and permit everyone who seeks to emigrate to Israel and join his people and his family to do so.

167. We cannot be silent in the face of the rising incitement against the State of Israel and the Jewish people, its religion, culture and national movement, as

manifested day by day in the official Soviet media. In this regard, it must be noted that the Soviet authorities still do not permit Jews to practise their religion and culture. We appeal to the Soviet Union to allow Jewish religion and culture to be practised and expressed freely, and to put an end to anti-Jewish propaganda.

168. We also deeply regret that the Government of Syria continues to violate the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international conventions by refusing to permit its Jewish citizens to leave and to be reunited with their relatives living in other lands. We appeal to the Syrian Government to change this policy.

169. The past year witnessed a historic break-through in the Middle East. In March, Israel and Egypt signed the first ever Israel-Arab peace treaty.⁹ President El-Sadat of Egypt and Prime Minister Begin of Israel concluded that Treaty after intense negotiations, which lasted a year and a half and which demanded great leadership and courage. Israel wishes to express its appreciation and gratitude to the United States of America and to its President, Mr. Jimmy Carter, personally for the vital role which they played in bringing about this historic achievement, which has created a new reality in our region.

170. Let me recall here that Israel has throughout the first 30 years of its independence constantly extended its hand to its neighbours in the search for peace. This found expression on the very first day of the establishment of our State, in the Israel Declaration of Independence of 14 May 1948. Let me add specifically that as early as in the summer of 1967, very shortly after the six-day war, Israel had taken the initiative and offered to sign a treaty of peace with Egypt, declaring its readiness to withdraw from the Sinai and return it to Egyptian sovereignty in the context of a peace treaty. This Israeli proposal was rejected, and the answer given by Egypt at the time was: "No negotiation, no recognition and no peace with Israel: what was taken by force will be taken back by force." This year, however, has seen the beginning of a new era in the Middle East. After a generation of continued warfare, the realization of a dream begins.

171. The Treaty of Peace, which, as stated in its preamble, is "an important step in the search for comprehensive peace in the area," has provided for a role in its implementation to be fulfilled by the United Nations. United Nations forces and observers were called upon to carry out functions in order to see that the peace treaty was fully implemented. Ironically and paradoxically, that initiative taken by some States Members of the United Nations in the cause of peace was rejected by the United Nations. The Security Council was exposed to the threat of a Soviet veto, and the mandate of UNEF was not renewed, so that the Security Council in effect disassociated itself from the first positive and major step in the great effort to relieve the Middle East from the dangers of war.

172. Although our assumption and hope that the United Nations would assist in the implementation of the Treaty of Peace have been disappointed, we will proceed along the path of peace. The attitude of the United Nations will not damage the peace process; but it will, no doubt, lower the prestige and even the moral

⁹ Treaty of Peace between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed at Washington on 26 March 1979.

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⁹ Treaty of Peace between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed at Washington on 26 March 1979.

stature of the United Nations, one of whose basic principles and purposes is, as stated by the Charter, to "maintain international peace and security . . . and to bring about by peaceful means . . . settlement of international disputes . . .".

173. As a result of the Treaty of Peace, the process of normalization in the relations between Egypt and Israel has already begun. We are confident that in the months ahead we shall make further progress in cementing new bonds of co-operation.

174. The frequent visits and meetings of the leaders of both countries are also an expression of the common desire to promote understanding and closer personal relationships. The most recent—and most impressive—visit of President El-Sadat to Israel three weeks ago and the reception given him in the city of Haifa, where Jews and Arabs coexist in harmony and co-operation, indicated the deep feelings of all the population of Israel towards the era of peace and, we hope, left warm memories in the minds and hearts of our Egyptian guests.

175. Over the past year the situation in Lebanon has become grave. The intervention of Syria has, in fact, plunged the northern part of that formerly prosperous country into a state of anarchy, and the Lebanese Government has become incapable of ruling and exercising its authority over all of its territory. The southern part of Lebanon has been, to a great extent, in the hands of the terrorist groups of the PLO, whose murderous activities have been a source of danger and harassment not only to Israel, but also to the Christian and Moslem Lebanese in that area.

176. UNIFIL was established by Security Council resolution 425 (1978) of 19 March 1978.

177. Israel, having been compelled to act militarily against the PLO in southern Lebanon in a clear act of self-defence, agreed to withdraw its forces, provided that the new United Nations force would undertake to restore peace and security in the area and to assist the Government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the country.

178. Unfortunately, the aim of restoring Lebanon's integrity has not been achieved, and the Lebanese Government is still incapable of exercising its sovereignty. PLO terrorist groups are still functioning all over Lebanon and, in quite a large number of cases, inside the area of United Nations units. In this region, which was free from any terrorist presence at the time of the Israeli withdrawal, there are now about 700 PLO terrorists, who are acting murderously through the lines of the United Nations Force against the people of Israel. The Force was supposed to act against this. The Secretary-General, in his initial report of 19 March 1978,¹⁰ spoke of the right of self-defence of the Force, including resistance by forceful means to attempts to prevent it from discharging its duties.

179. In his report of 13 September 1978, the Secretary-General stated, among the guidelines and terms of reference of UNIFIL, that "uniformed or

armed personnel and military equipment are not allowed to enter the UNIFIL area of operation".¹¹ However, there are too many cases in which the Force has in fact reconciled itself to the presence and activities of the terrorists in its own area. UNIFIL has not carried out its mandate and duties in this respect, despite the fact that its units have themselves suffered from terrorist activities and at least eight UNIFIL soldiers have been killed in these incidents. The presence and activities of the PLO terrorist groups in the region are in violation of the UNIFIL mandate, and it should be understood that Israel cannot be expected to sit back while terror is being unleashed against its population, no matter where in Lebanon these actions originate.

180. Once again it must be emphasized that terrorism could be virtually eliminated if certain countries ceased to provide arms, training and refuge to its practitioners. No cause can justify terrorism. The issue is, therefore, a fundamental one for the international community, and the struggle against terrorism should continue until terrorism has been brought to an end.

181. The PLO, by its very nature and actions, is a terrorist organization. Its true character is reflected in its so-called "Covenant", which calls for the purging of the Zionist presence from Palestine. The same document denies the existence of the Jewish people and its unbroken historical ties with the land of Israel. It alleges that the establishment of the State of Israel is null and void and rejects outright any plans to settle the Middle East conflict by peaceful means.

182. The PLO has not hesitated to try to translate its vicious doctrine into criminal deeds. It has conducted an unceasing campaign of terror aimed at the mass murder of innocent civilians in Israel. From June 1967 to date, over 640 people have been murdered and 3,300 others have been wounded in Israel by the PLO. It has also terrorized and intimidated Arabs prepared to negotiate peace with Israel, killing more than 350 Arabs and injuring almost 2,000 others.

183. Given the PLO's character and aims, it was, in fact, recognized by the parties at Camp David that the PLO could not be a partner to the peace process. No country can or should be expected to negotiate with a party which denies its very existence, aims at its destruction, and uses terror against its civilian population. On the other hand, careful provision was made in the Camp David agreements to include Palestinian Arab residents of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District in the peace process.

184. The Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David by the President of Egypt and the Prime Minister of Israel, and witnessed by the President of the United States of America, refers positively and constructively to Palestinian Arab rights, as well as to the rights and security interests of the other parties. It is based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which are the only agreed basis for peace negotiations in the Middle East. Any tampering with them can only gravely jeopardize the current peace process.

185. This Framework agreement sees the solution of

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1978*, document S/12611.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Supplement for July, August and September 1978, document S/12845, para. 27 (a).

the question of the Palestinian Arab residents of Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza District in terms of granting them full autonomy, for a transitional period of five years, before reaching an agreement on the final status of the area. For that reason, it was agreed to negotiate on a principle of self-government—exercised through an administrative council—for the Arab inhabitants of the areas in question.

186. Moreover, in the preamble to this Framework, the signatories invited other parties to the Arab-Israel conflict to adhere to it as well. In the letter sent by the President of Egypt and the Prime Minister of Israel to President Carter on 26 March 1979—the date of the signing of the peace treaty—they invited the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to join the negotiations.

187. This Framework provides for negotiations on the transitional period of five years, and also for the subsequent negotiations on a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan, in which the location of the boundaries dividing the two countries will be agreed. The option of creating a third State between Israel and Jordan is, therefore, not considered in the Camp David agreements.

188. Thus, the objective of the negotiations being held now, based on the Camp David Framework, is the provision of full autonomy for the inhabitants of Judaea, Samaria and Gaza. The Israeli military government and its civilian administration will be withdrawn as soon as a self-governing authority has been freely elected by the inhabitants. This Framework also specifies measures that will be taken to assure the security of Israel and its neighbours.

189. The only way to keep the process of peace going on is for us to adhere strictly to the Camp David agreements in their letter and spirit, and I should like to assure this Assembly that this is the policy of Israel.

190. Before concluding, let me say a few words about Jerusalem, the eternal capital of Israel and of the Jewish people.

191. Jerusalem has known many foreign rulers during the course of its long history, but none of them regarded it as their capital. Only the Jewish people has always maintained it as the sole centre of its national and spiritual life. For thousands of years, Jews have prayed daily for their return to Jerusalem and, for the past century and a half, Jerusalem has had a continuous and uninterrupted Jewish majority.

192. Jerusalem cannot be divided again by barbed wire and there can be no return to the repeated shooting at our civilians and the barbaric desecration of the Jewish quarter of the City, the Holy Places and cemeteries, as happened before 1967, when the eastern part of Jerusalem was under the occupation of Jordan. It is relevant to recall that, in grave violation of the 1949 Israel-Jordan General Armistice Agreement,¹² Jordan prevented Jews from having access to their Holy Places and cultural institutions and tried to eliminate systematically every trace of Jerusalem's Jewish past. By contrast, as a result of Israel's policy of free access to all Holy Places, millions of Moslem and Christian tourists and pilgrims—in addition to Jewish visitors—

have come to Jerusalem since 1967, and have prayed and worshipped freely at its mosques and churches.

193. Jerusalem is now a city of coexistence between Jews and Arabs. At the same time, the Government of Israel is and has always been conscious of the fact that Jerusalem is of deep concern also to other faiths, and that its religious and cultural sites are precious to Christians and Moslems, as well as to Jews. There should be completely free access to all the holy shrines by believers of all religions, without any exception, completely protected and guaranteed by the law of the country, and those holy shrines should be administered by the respective representatives of the religions concerned, without any interference.

194. The choice before the United Nations is clear. This Organization, whose Charter enjoins it to support the cause of international peace and security, must not submit to the designs of those who reject peace. Let the United Nations give peace its full support. Let the Governments of Jordan, Syria and Lebanon and the representatives of the Palestinian Arabs residing in Judaea, Samaria and Gaza join the negotiations in order to achieve the noble goal of a real and durable comprehensive peace in our area.

195. Mr. PAREJA DIEZCANSECO (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, on behalf of Ecuador, I greet that distinguished citizen of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, the President of this session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I take this opportunity to reaffirm the solidarity of my country with the peoples of Africa and, in general, with all the peoples of the third world, who will in the not-too-distant future constitute the most representative international forum in the history of mankind. I also greet that eminent Colombian, Mr. Indalecio Liévano Aguirre, who so skilfully presided over the work of the General Assembly at its thirty-third session. And I extend a most cordial welcome to the new State of Saint Lucia which, as a member of the Latin American group of States, has joined in the activities of our Organization.

196. I express our condolences on the death of the President of Angola, Agostinho Neto, a man of letters and a statesman of great significance in the history of the liberation of the peoples of Africa.

197. I am pleased to mention the solid democratic position which Ecuador has been enjoying since 10 August 1979, following an overwhelming popular vote in which the participation of the youth and the women of the country was extremely high. The new Government guiding the destiny of my country has, at the culminating point of a long period of transition from dictatorship to freedom, not only re-established the full validity of political rights but also opened up an era of authentic popular participation in Ecuadorean democratic institutional life.

198. The Constitutional President of Ecuador, Jaime Roldós, governs under the guidance of the 21 philosophical and pragmatic points advocated in his electoral campaign, thus bringing into play the full authority of the State in the cause of national economic development without impairment of any kind but, rather, with a considerable enhancement of social justice always in keeping with the full respect of human

¹² *Ibid.*, Fourth Year, Special Supplement No. 1.

rights. This is as befits a pluralistic democracy which is living through a process of change and for that very reason requires international justice in harmony with the principles of the United Nations.

199. In order to provide delegations here with more information, I should like to quote the following paragraphs from the message to the nation delivered by the President of the Republic of Ecuador upon assuming his high office:

“The State in isolation has no destiny. The international policy of the country will be based on the principles of non-intervention, self-determination, the legal equality of States, the defence of human rights, respect for ideological pluralism, the opening of relations with all countries, the repudiation of all forms of aggression and intervention and the use of force, the rejection of colonialism and neo-colonialism and the peaceful settlement of disputes. My Government will so animate its foreign policy as to make it an instrument that will effectively help internal development and, within the framework of international organizations and instruments, I will advocate the exercise of justice and freedom.

“While acknowledging the fundamental differences that may separate us, my Government intends to strengthen our international relations, since it is by learning to coexist with different countries and thus discovering beneficial elements of progress, co-operation and friendship that we gain a better understanding of the world we live in.

“The violation of human rights and constitutional guarantees creates focal-points of resistance at home and threatens peace in the hemisphere. Peace-loving Ecuador therefore sought a way of solving an epidemic political problem—that of dictatorship—which is alien to the true democratic vocation of the Latin American peoples. The experience of history teaches us that régimes of force make economic development and social justice impossible. On the contrary, rather do they become factors of stagnation or retrogression, which we democratic men must do away with. I am aware—and my country knows it—of the great challenge that lies ahead, not only facing us but also the other peoples of America. My Government will prove that economic development and social justice are the fruits of the orchard of democracy and not of terror.”

200. Having just quoted President Roldós, I must say that, in connexion with the defence of the historic and irrevocable rights of my country over the Amazon, I shall try to give practical effect to the guidelines that he has enunciated. In its present friendly relations with Peru, Ecuador will not cease in its search for a peaceful solution to its rightful claim.

201. I believe—and I do so most firmly—that there is no problem in international relations which cannot be solved by peaceful and legal means. The use of violence, which international law strictly prohibits, is resorted to only when a party or parties to a dispute lack any real desire to ensure harmonious coexistence and friendly co-operation among peoples. I feel that I have a particular responsibility in giving effect to this principle in relations with the countries of the Latin American region and particularly with those that are closest to us geographically.

202. The principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes is closely related to the matter of continental constancy in the field of human rights, since violence in the domestic political life of a country is nearly always the result of social inequities and tensions and tends to spill over national borders, as history has shown a hundred times over.

203. With a just concern for such constancy, the Presidents of Ecuador, Colombia, Costa Rica, Venezuela and the Prime Minister of Spain, along with the Foreign Ministers of Peru and Bolivia, signed the Declaration of Quito on 11 August 1979, in which they reiterated their purpose of continuing to strive for the Latin American institutionalization of freedom and democracy, because—in the words of the Declaration, such a purpose

“. . . invigorates our own institutional life, stimulates recognition of freedom and the continent and contributes to the establishment of the most desirable method for realizing the aspirations of our peoples for social justice.”

204. It is necessary that, on the principle of inescapable solidarity, the international community respond swiftly to the need for participation in programmes for the reconstruction of Nicaragua so that that country, a victim of brutality and genocide, may receive both the emergency bilateral humanitarian aid it needs and the contributions to the International Solidarity Fund for the Reconstruction of Nicaragua, as well as the technical co-operation it requires to solve its present dire predicament and spur its development.

205. However, the distressing conditions in which the peoples of the third world live are not merely the results of the rather unfortunate workings of their internal policies; they are also, and more specifically, due to the injustice of an international economic order that is daily making the rich countries richer and the poor countries poorer, particularly now under the spiralling inflation brought about by the industrialized nations.

206. I do not believe that nowadays, in the latter part of the twentieth century, anyone disagrees with the establishment of a new international economic order that entails deep changes in social life, in technological and scientific life and profound alterations in the sphere of information and communications. Above all, it implies that the large industrialized countries of the world must come to a new awareness of what is beneficial to all mankind and of the urgent need for justice and solidarity among all the inhabitants of the earth. This is the only available way to avoid the catastrophe that seems to be drawing nearer with the approach of the coming century. That century is already present in our fears, but also in our hopes, if only human conduct can manage to adapt personal wishes to collective needs.

207. With the vision of a future that must be described as uncertain, Ecuador maintains the urgent need for countries to take concrete steps in the framework of the North-South dialogue and for that dialogue, within the United Nations to be continuous, however laborious it may be; for I believe that the countries of the third world are prepared to carry on the discussion and the struggle for positive forms of universal justice.

208. In another area, my country trusts that the nego-

tiations of UNCTAD will continue in the most effective way possible in the climate that has been created by the now universal feeling that the new order is beginning to attract the best minds of our time. Indeed, this climate has sprung from the yearnings of all the peoples that form the undercurrent of history, but who are left outside it as far as surface events are concerned.

209. In connexion with the new international economic order, I cannot fail to mention the problem of energy that so besets the world, and particularly the poor countries with no fuel. My country is a small producer of oil and its rate of domestic consumption is increasing from year to year, which means that the already reduced exports of today will be notably affected. Yet Ecuador has suffered less than other sister countries. In any event, the problem of high fuel prices marked the first step on the road to the recovery of the developing countries that produce raw materials, above all non-renewable resources. Even so, whatever benefits such an increase may have brought fell into the traditional pattern of a blatantly unequal distribution of income. There can be no doubt of the fact that stable and fair prices for the commodities of the developing countries represent the soundest basis for the safeguarding of universal peace and international justice.

210. There must not be the slightest hesitation, either in thought or in deed, about making certain that the coming years of economic development are beneficial to the countries of the third world. This will only be possible, however, through the establishment of the new international economic order, which must reflect the increasing interdependence of peoples. I should like to think that in the end the developed countries will be unable to avoid responding to this historic challenge of justice, since such a response implicitly involves their own sense of survival and their moral duty to participate in building an equitable world. It is the only way of reducing tensions and of at least attenuating the overwhelming economic and social contrasts that prevail, as stipulated in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], for this is the only means of ensuring the maintenance of peace.

211. My country does not believe in miracles, and for its part it is making the necessary efforts on the domestic front to gear the conditions of its economic and social life to the times. This is being done within the provisions of a strict planning process designed to mobilize its natural resources in order to assimilate the transfers of technology and to benefit from co-operation with developing countries, as well as from such co-operation as the developed countries may offer.

212. For these reasons, Ecuador has great hopes for the new methods of UNDP, the universality of which must be preserved, while taking due account of less favoured countries.

213. It is an incontrovertible truth that the world possesses more than enough resources in active circulation to eliminate starvation and want. Some resources, however, are improperly distributed; others are being squandered on the arms race, euphemistically called a "system of defence". It is totally incomprehensible that the innocent citizen should be shown the astronomical figures that are being invested at every minute in funds for slaughter, when with lesser amounts we could

prevent an enormous number of children from dying of perfectly curable diseases, prevent old people from living in solitude and poverty, prevent young people from suffering the pangs of hunger and cultural deprivation, and in general keep human beings from treading the road of life totally without the material and spiritual goods they were born to enjoy. Add to this immense sorrow the nightmare of nuclear arsenals, and the least perceptive eye, the least attentive ear, will clearly discern the gigantic proportions of that most useless of catastrophes—the disappearance of the human race.

214. It is comforting to recall the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco), which prohibits nuclear weapons in Latin America, and the signature and ratification of the Declaration of Ayacucho,¹³ which promotes the peaceful settlement of disputes and arms limitation, thus allowing for greater resources to be devoted to the economic and social development of the countries of the region.

215. The sea and outer space are inherent dimensions of the well-being of mankind. Whereas the former holds the greatest reserve of resources of our planet, the other is essential for life to continue. That is why we must preserve them for peaceful uses. Ecuador reiterates its inalienable right to its 200-mile territorial sea, but that does not mean any disregard for the *jus communicationis*, or other legitimate uses by third States, nor any breach of international norms. Consequently, we reject any threat directed against our sovereignty.

216. The exploitation of the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond national jurisdiction must strictly conform to the principle of the common heritage of mankind proclaimed by the General Assembly. Likewise, the exploitation of outer space must not be allowed to serve military purposes or those of cultural alienation.

217. As regards the synchronous geostationary orbit, Ecuador reaffirms its right to the corresponding segments and hopes their utilization will open up wide possibilities for co-operation for the benefit of developing countries.

218. Consistent with the wishes for peaceful coexistence professed by the Government and people of Ecuador, I express the hope that tensions will be reduced in the Middle East so that Israelis and Arabs, with whose countries Ecuador maintains cordial relations, may share in exemplary accord in the urgent task of peacefully developing the region. To this end, my country believes that it is indispensable to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the restitution of the territories occupied by force, and to reaffirm the legal existence of the State of Israel, which was brought into being by the United Nations.

219. Likewise, Ecuador hopes that the occupation by force may cease to mar the coexistence of the sorely tried population of Cyprus and that the negotiations between the Cypriot groups concerned may progress, with the presence and co-operation of the United Nations.

220. My country is also concerned at the defiant be-

¹³ Signed on 9 December 1974. For the text, see document A/10044, annex.

haviour of the rulers of the Republic of South Africa, and as a signatory to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex] it once again places on record its repudiation and rejection of all forms of racial discrimination.

221. In like manner, I believe that the problem of Namibia should have been solved by now and consider it is high time that the self-determination of its people should have swept away the last traces of colonialism in that area, which is, moreover, being maintained in defiance of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council. Ecuador also hopes for the successful outcome of the efforts aimed at giving Zimbabwe a legal régime, with the participation of the Patriotic Front in the negotiations, so that the régime that emerges may be truly representative of the will of the people.

222. It remains for me to say that Ecuador attended the Sixth Conference of non-aligned countries held in Havana and that, together with the other nations of the Andean Group, it declared its support for the principles which inspire the non-aligned movement.

223. On this occasion, the Government of Ecuador, which I represent, reaffirms its faith in the United Nations and the hope which the peoples have vested in it that it will be possible to establish the new international economic order and give effective validity to a right that is truly in keeping with the times in which we live—for it is now quite useless to try to mask injustice and aggression with any kind of euphemism. Thus will nations be able to fulfil the foremost of their duties: human solidarity.

224. Mr. KHADDAM (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure to extend to you, Sir, and to the friendly people of the United Republic of Tanzania warmest felicitations on your election as President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. We highly appreciate the great role you have played over the years in presiding over the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and in representing your country in the Security Council. Your qualifications and experience will certainly lead our session to the success we all aspire to. We assure you that we shall spare no effort in co-operating with you towards that end.

225. I wish to take this opportunity to hail the success achieved by the previous session under the presidency of Mr. Liévano.

226. I also congratulate the State of Saint Lucia on its admission to membership in this world Organization.

227. The increasing role of the United Nations and the growing world interest in this role emphasize our joint responsibility for the necessity to seize the opportunity of our meeting in this new session of the General Assembly to examine the international situation, evaluate the consequences and effects of the events that have occurred since our previous session and to seek, seriously and attentively, a solution to the many international problems that confront us, some of which have

produced such increasing tension that they imperil international peace and security, entailing dangers of unlimited consequences.

228. It is evident that international détente has sometimes succeeded in keeping the world removed from the cold war, on the one hand, and in creating a new atmosphere of international co-operation on the other. However, international trust in détente cannot be enhanced unless the framework of such a process is expanded to encompass the whole world and to help in solving intricate international problems. The continued presence of such problems, and the aggravation of some of them, such as the Middle East problem, underscore the need for the participation of all States on an equal footing in drawing up the détente policy so as to give this policy the required comprehensive international dimension, and in developing the détente process so that it will become a positive factor in ensuring international peace and security and setting up new systems which will be more just and equitable in the area of international relations.

229. Total and comprehensive disarmament is a major objective which the world community is striving to achieve. Such efforts were recently demonstrated at the tenth special session of the General Assembly, which was devoted to disarmament. The desire of the international community to stop the arms race, to ban the use of nuclear weapons and prevent their proliferation, and to establish a number of zones free of nuclear arms, was stressed at that session.

230. However, the arms race remains a fact threatening mankind with unlimited dangers, especially if we recall that two of the largest arsenals of modern weapons are in the hands of the racist aggressive régimes in occupied Palestine and in South Africa.

231. Therefore, we cannot but emphasize that disarmament can be achieved only through the elimination of colonialism, racism and Zionism, and all aspects of aggression, occupation, domination and foreign exploitation; only if all peoples enjoy security based on justice and equality; and only when all peoples feel reassured as to the respect of their territorial integrity, independence, sovereignty, and their right to self-determination and to the choice of the system they desire.

232. Since the end of the first part of our preceding session, a great victory was won in Asia when the people of Iran, under the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini, eliminated an edifice of imperialism, reaction and terrorism and has consolidated Iran's sovereignty, independence and non-alignment. In this way, the aspirations of the people of Iran for liberty, justice and progress have been fulfilled.

233. In Latin America, another great victory was achieved by the people of Nicaragua, who have freed themselves from the Fascist Somoza régime, and are now enjoying freedom.

234. In Africa, African vigilance has decisively destroyed schemes to thwart the heroic struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, who boycotted the spurious elections and rejected their outcome. It is ironic that the plotters, thinking that their scheme had fooled African

and international public opinion, are now calling upon the world to recognize the new régime and to lift the sanctions imposed on Rhodesia.

235. Nevertheless, such bright spots in the international scene do not obscure our vision regarding the many critical problems that remain unsolved and that imperil international peace and security.

236. In South Africa, the *apartheid* régimes are adamant in defying world public opinion, international statutes, and the United Nations Charter and resolutions. These régimes practise *apartheid*, racial discrimination and terrorism. They are setting up domestic bantustans and are committing cruel aggressions against the front-line African States. Owing to the weak international measures of deterrence against the aggressiveness of the said régimes, the region has become one of the worst hotbeds of tension in the world and directly threatens the security and independence of the African continent, and in particular, of the front-line States. In this connexion, we wish to stress our absolute support and backing for the liberation movements in South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia in their struggle to secure the rights of their peoples to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty. We also affirm our support for the resistance of the front-line African States to the brutal racist aggressions, and the manoeuvres aimed at liquidating the cause of national liberation of the peoples of southern Africa.

237. In Asia, we can but express our deep regret for the explosion of the situation in South-East Asia, which has shaken the stability of the region, has threatened the independence of its peoples, and has reduced the area to another hotbed of tension.

238. Furthermore, the Korean question remains unsolved. This prompts us to stress the need for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and for the start of the necessary dialogue between the two parts of Korea, in the implementation of the joint communiqué signed in 1972¹⁴ for the peaceful unification of the country and the realization of its independence and national unity.

239. The situation in Cyprus remains tense and calls for concern. This makes it necessary to speed up the efforts aimed at a negotiated solution between the two communities under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General based on the relevant United Nations resolutions, and within the framework of the respect for the sovereignty of Cyprus, its independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment.

240. Despite the strenuous constructive efforts exerted by the group of developing countries during the sixth and seventh special sessions of the United Nations, and the North-South dialogue in Paris,¹⁵ and more recently at the fifth session of UNCTAD, to convince and persuade the advanced industrial countries to co-operate in establishing the new international economic order, these countries have continued to place obstacles in the path of the desired co-operation, clinging more and more to the privileges afforded them

by the prevailing economic, commercial and monetary system, which is far from being just and is based on exploitation. As a natural consequence, the provisions of the General Assembly resolutions adopted at the two sessions remain a dead letter, and the Paris and Manila conferences have ended in failure.

241. This will certainly widen the gap between the rich and the poor countries. It will further deprive the developing countries of sources of economic development and will bar them from acquiring the modern technology needed for such development. It will certainly lead to the strengthening of the blockade imposed on the developing countries by certain advanced industrial countries, in co-operation with transnational firms, to compel them to sell their raw materials at very cheap prices, while the former countries raise the prices of their manufactured goods to an extent that is threatening to destroy the economies of the developing countries.

242. In this respect, we wish to warn against the danger of drifting along with the claims of some of the advanced industrial countries, especially the United States of America, which attribute the causes of the present international economic crisis to the so-called energy crisis, and blame the developing oil-producing countries for this crisis.

243. Therefore, we stress the need for the co-operation of all developing countries, especially in preparing for the United Nations special session scheduled for next year on international economic co-operation, with the aim of achieving a basic change in the present structure of economic relations, and setting up the new world economic system, so as to consolidate the economic independence of the developing countries, to ensure prosperity and stability for the peoples of the world, and to help guarantee international peace and security.

244. While reviewing current issues, we find it necessary to point to the problem resulting from the attempts made by certain countries to give far-fetched interpretations to the concepts related to human rights in order to justify their interference in the internal affairs of States, in particular those of the third-world countries, under the pretense of protecting human rights.

245. We must warn against the dangers of such attempts, especially in view of the fact that their advocates belong to those countries which continue to provide all kinds of arms to the régimes of oppression, aggression and racism, and this not only violates human rights but also impairs the dignity of man and threatens his very existence.

246. Owing to our belief in the rights of the individual, of groups and of peoples, big and small, we find it necessary to counter this offensive, which tries to focus the attention of world public opinion on the rights of individuals and minorities in this or that country, and to distract attention from the basic rights of millions of people who are labouring under the yoke of colonialism, occupation and racial discrimination and are even deprived of their right to live. Human rights cannot be safeguarded under conditions of the use of force, repression, and colonialist and racist oppression, or by depriving people of their country, land and home. A striking example is the suffering Arab, who is living

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

¹⁵ Conference on International Economic Co-operation, held at Paris from 30 May to 2 June 1977.

under the yoke of racist Zionist colonialism in Palestine and in the occupied Arab territories, and the suffering of the Africans, who are living under the yoke of racist régimes in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia.

247. These issues which I have mentioned were among the issues dealt with by the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held early this month in Havana and attended by the representatives of 94 States, representing the majority of the peoples of the world. The Conference enjoyed great success, thanks to the adherence of the heads of State and delegations to the principles of the non-aligned movement, and their determination to move from the state of confrontation among blocs and military alliances to the stage of solidarity and co-operation, in order to spare the world the tragedies of war and the disasters of stultifying economic crises. The non-aligned countries are determined to seek a world that preserves the dignity and life of man without fear and to ensure for peoples the right to self-determination, to choose the political and social system that suits them best, and to participate in establishing a world of peace, security, co-operation and solidarity. Major credit is due to President Fidel Castro and the friendly Cuban Government for facilitating the success of the Conference.

248. The outcome of the Havana Conference will play a major role in world development. It will provide the United Nations with additional energy and fresh initiatives towards constructive work. The principles of the non-aligned movement, the resolutions adopted by the Conference and the positions taken by it on such principles represent the high human aspirations of all peoples to achieve a better world, free from the evil of colonialism, racism and zionism, free from oppression and exploitation and free from all aspects of influence and the imposition of wills and policies—a world from which the causes of war and aggression have been completely eliminated.

249. The Sixth Conference of the non-aligned countries expressed its aspirations and hopes to serve the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. They are based on the experience of humanity over hundreds of years and on the lessons learned from the sufferings of peoples as a result of wars and aggression. They are based on the hopes of peoples for peace, security and progress. I am therefore convinced that the results of the Havana Conference will receive the support and appreciation of Members.

250. Anyone who strives for the attainment of peace and prosperity for mankind must be concerned about the most dangerous hotbed of conflict in our world today, a hotbed that has existed for more than 30 years in the Middle East. The situation in that region constitutes a grave threat to world peace and security. There is a growing possibility of armed conflict, the consequences of which will not be confined to the region but might engulf the great world Powers. Such a conflict, even if limited in its geographic framework, might jeopardize the welfare and progress of peoples and lead to complicated economic, financial and social crises that would shake the world economic system and cause a tangle of chaos and disorder, with unpredictable consequences.

251. I point out such risks so clearly because my

country feels them keenly and warns against them in the light of the events that we all experienced a few years ago. These risks are the result of Israel's stubborn persistence in its aggressive policy, its settler-colonialist expansion, and its refusal to recognize the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and to withdraw completely from the Palestinian and Arab territories. The recent developments that have occurred, notably from September 1978 up to the present time, have rewarded the aggressor with the fruit of his aggression and perpetuated the gains acquired by the enemy through force of arms and acts of aggressions.

252. The most dangerous manifestations of such developments are represented by the Camp David agreements and the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty of Peace. These the United States of America has designed, supervised, organized and formulated, and has given them its blessing by signing them. Thus, this super-Power has fundamentally participated in creating new factors that led to gravely intensifying the crisis in the region and has brought the hotbed to which I have referred to the brink of explosion and collapse. It would have been much better for the United States of America to remain committed to the grave responsibility and task which the United Nations Charter entrusts to the permanent members of the Security Council, namely, to safeguard international peace and security. This super-Power has, however, shirked this mission and these responsibilities with respect to the Middle East. This is a very serious development, from which we should draw a lesson for the future.

253. An objective analysis of the two Camp David agreements—A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed between the Egyptian régime and the Zionist entity of Israel at Washington on 17 September 1978¹⁶ and especially the first agreement, proves beyond any doubt that the two agreements have violated international legitimacy and the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations. I shall summarize the proofs and arguments establishing those violations.

254. First of all, with regard to the right of self-determination, Article I of the United Nations Charter stipulates that the second purpose of the international Organization involves "... respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples ...". Such rights have been confirmed by many declarations and decisions adopted by this Assembly. Resolution 3236 (XXIX), adopted on 22 November 1974, reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination without external interference. That people has been waging an honourable struggle for self-determination. The torch of that struggle serves as a beacon for other oppressed peoples. But what have the Egyptian régime, Israel and the United States administration done to this right that has become a main pillar of the international political system?

255. The first Camp David agreement has totally neglected this right. It has disregarded the Palestinian cause, which all Members have recognized as being the core of the conflict in the Middle East, as they have also recognized that the conflict will not end until a fair and

¹⁶ For the texts, see *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1978), vol. 14, No. 38, pp. 1523-1528.

equitable settlement is found for the Palestinian cause. More important is the fact that the agreement does not recognize the rights of the Palestinian people, although it was generous enough to offer administrative self-rule for the inhabitants—as if there were no other ties binding them and as if they were merely a group of people that included Palestinians and Zionist settlers living in settlements that are being widely and constantly established.

256. The matter does not end here, for in a letter to Begin—one of the nine letters considered an integral part of the first Camp David agreement—President Carter stated that he had been informed by Begin that he understands the terms “Palestinians” and “Palestinian People” to mean “Palestinian Arabs” and the expression “West Bank” to mean “Judaea and Samaria”.¹⁷ Thus the agreement denies the very existence of the Palestinian people and admits only that there are Palestinian inhabitants and individuals and claims that the West Bank is an Israeli territory bearing an Israeli name.

257. The agreement divides the Palestinian people with respect to so-called self-rule. It limits participation in self-rule to the inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and negates the rights of the other two groups of this people, namely, those living under occupation since 1948 and those dispersed outside their homeland to all parts of the world.

258. The institutions of self-rule, as I indicated earlier, will be elected under Israeli military occupation in the absence of any international control. This is contrary to the practice followed by the United Nations, which requires the consultation of peoples with respect to self-determination.

259. Consequently, the right to self-determination has been violated; the Palestinian people has been ignored; and the occupation will continue through a formula that was plotted and imposed by the three parties at Camp David.

260. In this connexion, I wish to ask, how can the Egyptian régime, Israel and the United States of America decide the fate of the people of Palestine? Is the right to self-determination to be exercised by the people concerned, or by three arch-enemies of that people? The parties who met at Camp David have conferred this right upon themselves in the name of colonialism and zionism. Who gave the ruler of Egypt the right to represent the Palestinian people without being authorized by any one to do so? Anwar El-Sadat arrogated to himself this right when he wrote to President Carter that “Egypt would be ready to assume the Arab role emanating from these texts after consultations with Jordan and representatives of the Palestinian people”. Jordan has refused to have anything to do with the Camp David agreements and the parties to them. The Palestinian people has also refused to conduct a dialogue with the ruler of Egypt, who continues to encroach upon the rights of the Palestinian people, unjustly and aggressively appointing himself as its representative.

261. Secondly, I come to sovereignty over the land. The measure of self-rule devised in the first Camp David agreement is based on a concept separating the

people from the land. Such a system was never witnessed before in history, not even in the ages of darkness and slavery. It has separated the people from the land and its resources. Even water resources will not be the property of the people, but will remain under the control of the colonialists.

262. The first Camp David agreement has deferred the discussion of sovereignty over the West Bank and the Gaza Strip until after the transitional period. Throughout this period, the occupying authorities will remain in the occupied territories and the process of colonization and Judaization will continue. This is a process that ultimately aims at creating a new *fait accompli* in the occupied territories, so that it will thus become impossible to establish Palestinian Arab sovereignty there in the future.

263. Israel is determined, as is confirmed by the statements made by its leaders, to offer two possibilities, both of which would lead to the same outcome: either acceptance of the principle of Israeli sovereignty over the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, or continued application of the formula of self-rule, leaving the issue of sovereignty open to endless negotiations, while the Israelis continue the process of colonization throughout the period of the negotiations. In a statement on Radio Israel on 25 September 1978, Menachem Begin said:

“After five years of self-rule, and when the subject of sovereignty is raised, we shall establish our right over Judaea and Samaria and Gaza. If no agreement is then reached, self-rule shall continue in those areas, and with it the measures of Israeli security”.

In another statement to the daily newspaper *Yedioth Aharanot* on 1 October 1978, Begin said that he had explained to President Carter that he had accepted “self-rule” just for the sake of advancing the peace process with Egypt, “but this would never mean giving up our sovereignty over these territories.”

264. Subsequent events have proved that Israel is persisting in this attitude. In deeds and words Israel is showing that it will maintain sovereignty over the entire Palestinian homeland. Its persistence in implementing its plans of building settlements and the decision taken by the Israeli Government on 16 September 1979 permitting Israelis to purchase and own lands in the West Bank and Gaza Strip are but two of many irrefutable proofs of this.

265. With respect to Jerusalem, despite the fact that the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly have affirmed the invalidity of Israeli measures, such as annexation and the alteration of the geographical, historical and demographic features, Begin notified President Carter in the annex to the agreement that “Jerusalem is one city indivisible, the Capital of the State of Israel”.¹⁸ The President of the Egyptian régime has endorsed this claim in a letter to President Carter where he said: “In this way, the City [Jerusalem] shall be undivided.”¹⁹

266. Thirdly, I come to the right of return. The flouting of the international community by the parties to the Camp David agreements with respect to the right of

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1567.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1568.

return of the Palestinians to their homes and properties has attained its peak. Since the inception of the United Nations and up to this date there has been no resolution that has year after year been reaffirmed more often than resolution 194 (III), which was first adopted by the Assembly at its third session on 11 December 1948, and was reaffirmed in particular in resolution 33/112 of 18 December 1978, supported by all States Members of the United Nations with the exception of Israel and El Salvador.

267. Despite this clear and collective international will, the parties to the Camp David agreements have feigned forgetfulness of the right of return and have negated it. They have limited it exclusively to persons displaced from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in 1967. As to those expelled and rendered homeless from 1948 to 1967 and after the 1967 aggression, the parties to the Camp David agreements have decided these persons should remain exiled from their homeland for ever, without having any national identity or a people to belong to. Thus, we are facing today a situation that is unique in the period since the Second World War, the most serious feature of which is the heinous disregard by the Egyptian and the United States Governments of a resolution that is virtually part of international law because of the numerous affirmations thereof by the United Nations over a period of more than 30 years.

268. Furthermore, the return of those persons displaced in 1967 is to be entrusted to a committee whose task, as stipulated in section A, paragraph 3, of the first agreement, will be "to decide by agreement on the modalities of admission of persons displaced from the West Bank and Gaza in 1967, together with necessary measures to prevent disruption and disorder."²⁰ This means that Israel, as member of the committee, has the right to refuse the return of any Palestinian whom it may consider likely to cause disruption and disorder. Thus, of the more than 2.5 million Palestinian refugees very few would be allowed to return. This would have the effect of annulling the historic resolution 194 (III) and scores of other resolutions affirming the right of return of the displaced Palestinian people.

269. Fourthly, I turn to the question of the violation of the sovereignty of other States. The tragic sufferings of the Palestinian people appear to be regarded as insufficient by parties to the Camp David agreements, who have proceeded to impose terms of their own on other sovereign States Members of the United Nations. In the section entitled "Associated principles" of the first Camp David agreement, there is a text stating that:

"Egypt and Israel state that the principles and provisions described below should apply to peace treaties between Israel and each of its neighbours—Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon".²¹

270. Accordingly, the parties to the Camp David agreements have violated the first principle of the Charter of the United Nations inasmuch as Article 2, paragraph 1, of the Charter lays down the principle of "the sovereign equality of all its Members". The parties at Camp David, however, have permitted themselves to infringe the sovereignty of States Members of the United Nations, to impose upon them a specific will, and to commit them to specific measures

and policies, as if those parties represented the will of the world. In fact, they are actually violating the will of the international community and the Charter of the United Nations.

271. Fifthly, I shall speak of the contravention of the will of the international community. Security Council resolution 338 (1973) states in paragraph 3:

"Immediately and concurrently with the cease-fire, negotiations shall start between the parties concerned under appropriate auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East."

The Security Council was of the view that such appropriate auspices could be provided by the co-chairmanship of the USSR and the United States in a conference in which all parties concerned would take part. In resolution 344 (1973), the Security Council expressed its confidence that the Secretary-General of the United Nations would play a full and effective role in the Peace Conference on the Middle East, and would preside over its meetings if the parties so desired.

272. To carry out their plot, parties to the Camp David agreements disregarded all these resolutions issued by the highest international authority entrusted with matters of international peace and security. They singled themselves out from the whole world, and without the consent of the other parties concerned, laid down the features of what they unjustly call "a just peace in the Middle East".

273. Where, it may be asked, is the co-chairman of the Peace Conference, namely the Soviet Union? Where is the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the role he was to play? Where are the other parties concerned—Syria, Jordan and the PLO? Where is the adherence to the United Nations resolutions that have defined the bases of a just peace and laid down its framework? The parties to the Camp David conspiracy left the circle of international legitimacy for that of darkness and plot.

274. For the same reasons and on the basis of the same facts, the Assembly adopted resolution 33/28 A on 7 December 1978, which, in paragraph 4:

"Declares that the validity of agreements purporting to solve the problem of Palestine requires that they be within the framework of the United Nations and its Charter and its resolutions on the basis of the full attainment and exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of return and the right to national independence and sovereignty in Palestine, and with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization".

275. Sixthly, the agreements are a step towards war. The Egyptian régime, Israel and the United States are trying to deceive world public opinion by claiming that what they accomplished at Camp David is a step towards comprehensive peace. What kind of peace are they talking about, when the United States, under the Camp David agreements, has pledged to furnish Israel with huge quantities of modern sophisticated weaponry, some of which have not yet been supplied to the forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization? The fantastic amounts in billions of United States dollars pledged by the United States to Israel in the form of weapons and joint enterprises to manufacture modern

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1525.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1526.

aircraft are sufficient to reveal this deception which is feeding the war machinery of the Israeli aggressor to help it to continue with its expansionist invasions.

276. Perhaps the best refutation of that delusion is the situation prevailing in southern Lebanon. Since the signing of the Camp David agreements, whereby Israel became reassured of the total disregard by the Egyptian Government of international legitimacy and of Egyptian national and pan-Arab obligations, Israel has intensified its land, air and sea attacks against southern Lebanon. These acts of aggression constitute a continuous war of annihilation against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. In these attacks Israel is using the most modern weapons supplied by the United States, with the result that thousands of innocent people—women, elderly men and children—are killed; towns, villages and their economic life are destroyed; hundreds of thousands of civilians are forced to leave their homes. By means of this war, which Israel is waging after having received the green light at Camp David, the Israelis want to perpetuate their occupation of some regions in southern Lebanon through their agents, who have betrayed their country and their people.

277. I have only outlined the situation prevailing in the Middle East, and the risks and dangers which the Camp David agreements entail, the effects of which will not be limited to the region.

278. Despite all these circumstances which I have outlined, Syria is still determined to do its utmost to help establish a just peace. I repeat what we have always declared before this Assembly and from every other international rostrum—namely, that for a Middle East peace to be just, the following two conditions must be met: first of all, Israel's withdrawal from all the territories occupied in 1967—a total comprehensive withdrawal without any modification of boundaries, and without any diminution of Arab sovereignty over the Arab territories; secondly, recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people—in particular, the right of return, the right to self-determination and the right to the establishment of a national independent State in their homeland—and the participation of the PLO on an equal footing with all other parties concerned in all matters related to the Palestinian cause and its people.

279. The facts of the *status quo* in the Middle East prompt us to assert two important facts: first, that the situation in the region is extremely dangerous and might lead to an explosion, the intensity of which may cause a world catastrophe; secondly, that if the aggressor and those collaborating with it are not confronted with a decisive and firm stand on the international level, they will continue to defy the will of the international community. This would cause further tension in the region, and would make the region the most dangerous hotbed of tension in the world, thus endangering international peace and security.

280. Having presented the above analysis, I wish to conclude by saying that the least that can be done to counteract the Camp David agreements is for the international community to condemn them so that the course to peace would remain open, blessed by the Assembly's will and support. Thus the Assembly would be expressing its respect of the United Nations Charter and its principles and would be contributing to the

enhancement of the role of the United Nations in preserving international peace and security.

281. Mr. MAYE ELA (Equatorial Guinea) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is a great honour and a particular privilege for me to address the General Assembly of the United Nations, meeting in its thirty-fourth session at a time when my country, the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, has just undergone profound political, social and economic changes. First and foremost, we should like to express our deep and sincere congratulations to an eminent and worthy son of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, the pride of the African continent, who is directing with honour and responsibility the work of this thirty-fourth session of our world Organization. The United Republic of Tanzania and the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, two African countries with a common colonial past and strongly united in the goal of the emancipation of their peoples, maintain excellent relations of fraternal co-operation, friendship and solidarity. Hence it is a source of pride and particular satisfaction to us that you, Sir, are presiding over the debates of this session of the Assembly. Your outstanding qualities as a great diplomat, your talent and the vast experience you have gained in international affairs, as well as the importance of the country that you represent, guarantee that this session of the Assembly will be marked by successes unprecedented in United Nations history.

282. We wish, through you, Mr. President, to convey our congratulations to the members of the General Committee, who, we trust, will bring their experience, skill and dynamism to bear in the solution of the problems currently besetting this Organization.

283. In view of the outstanding accomplishments of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, it is only proper for us on this solemn occasion to express our sincere recognition and appreciation to His Excellency Mr. Indalecio Liévano, that distinguished Colombian diplomat, who skilfully and wisely guided our debates last year. We extend to him our heartfelt congratulations.

284. Saint Lucia, the newest Member of our Organization, has once again reaffirmed the universal nature of the United Nations by its admission to membership in this community of nations. We welcome Saint Lucia and extend our warmest congratulations to its people, certain that, with their participation and co-operation, the United Nations will be further strengthened in its efforts to achieve its worthy aims.

285. This thirty-fourth session of the Assembly is being held at a time when the African continent is mourning the passing of one of its most outstanding sons, the leader and forger of the independence and dignity not only of the sister-people of Angola but also of all territories under colonial and racist occupation throughout the African continent. From this rostrum, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, we express our heartfelt grief and extend our condolences to the people, Government and family of the late President, Comrade Agostinho Neto. Words are superfluous when referring to him, as all of us here are fully aware of the contribution of that worthy, unforgettable son of Africa to our common efforts to achieve a world of peace, justice, freedom and peaceful coexistence among nations.

286. May I now take this opportunity to recount to the Assembly the recent events in Equatorial Guinea, beginning on 3 August this year, and to indicate the political options and directions that will be taken by the new Government which is now guiding the historic destiny of my country.

287. The overthrow of the dictatorial and bloody régime of former President Macías Nguema Biyogo by the people's armed forces came about thanks to a new awareness of the historical responsibility borne by the national army of Equatorial Guinea towards our people, and because of the appalling impoverishment into which the Macías régime had plunged the country during the 11 years it was in power—11 years of veritable torture, slavery, horrors and suffering for the people of Equatorial Guinea, a total betrayal of the traditional spiritual values of our citizens. Equatorial Guinea lost the structure and form of a State: its political, social and administrative organization, and its links with other countries of the world disappeared.

Mr. Makeka (Lesotho), Vice-President, took the Chair.

288. The term of office of ex-President Macías was characterized by an ambitious personal centralization of power in the administration and the other bodies of the State of Equatorial Guinea: he seized all power for himself. The oppression was of all kinds: moral, social, cultural, economic, administrative, religious, and so on—a sorry situation which culminated in his abandoning the nation's capital for five years and moving his official residence to his distant birth-place, with a resultant paralysis of the machinery of State which left the noble people of Equatorial Guinea in utter poverty and hunger. Agriculture was devastated. For example, 40,000 metric tons of cacao were produced in 1968, the year of independence, but this plummeted to an average of 5,000 metric tons. Coffee production, 8,064 metric tons annually, became completely non-existent. From an enviable position in the health field on the African continent, we were plunged into a catastrophic situation with the reappearance, owing to inexcusable negligence and cruel indifference, of all sorts of long-forgotten epidemics and diseases, such as typhus, measles, cholera, tuberculosis, whooping cough, polio and so on. In the wake of these terrible diseases, which decimated the infant population, the overall population gradually decreased.

289. From a high level of education, with a literacy rate which placed us among the first in Africa, we fell to a lamentable state of cultural impoverishment, marking a slump from which it will take us years to recover. Education was limited by tyrannical dictate to the mechanical and degrading repetition of slogans hammered out by a rigid personality cult.

290. The State finds, fruit of the labours of the noble workers, citizens of Equatorial Guinea, were seized and taken to the ex-President's birth-place of Nzangayong (Mongomo). Equatorial Guinea's international image was tarnished and debased during these long and painful 11 years of wandering, as is clear to the majority of this Assembly. International co-operation was almost totally blocked during the term of ex-President Macías, a régime characterized by the systematic and flagrant violation of the fundamental human rights of the citizens of Equatorial Guinea, and also

of foreigners—by assassinations, disappearances, arbitrary imprisonments, torture, exile, house arrests, all manner of mistreatments, heartless despoliation of goods, destruction of property, and deprivation of information and freedom of movement. These practices were the daily lot of the citizens of Equatorial Guinea during the 11 years of the dictatorial and bloody régime of ex-President Macías. This human misery and degradation caused the progressive flight from the country of thousands of our compatriots, who were forced into a forced, vile and shameful exile.

291. In the light of all that I have said of the sad, gradual degradation of the society of Equatorial Guinea, and faced by a future of uncertainty for generations to come, the armed forces, encouraged by the people of Equatorial Guinea itself, decided to change the unfortunate turn affairs had taken in our country. In fact, affairs were following no direction: matters of State were treated by former President Macías as if they were domestic, personal questions.

292. We are convinced that most of the members here were able, either directly or indirectly, to keep abreast of the sad reality of the suffering of which the people of Equatorial Guinea was a victim, which became even more acute during the past five years.

293. When it took the helm of State in Equatorial Guinea on 3 August 1979, the Supreme Military Council peacefully invited Mr. Macías Nguema Biyogo to come forward and submit to the will of the people and the fate history had dealt him. His freedom and that of his family were guaranteed. Elders of the population were sent to him as emissaries to persuade him to offer no resistance and to show him that the people itself were calling for him to step down. Despite all these efforts, Mr. Macías shamefully urged a small group—his personal bodyguard, which consisted mainly of family members—to resist on his behalf, risking thereby the loss of innocent human life. And even worse, the ex-President, acting in a fanatical, desperate and irresponsible manner burned all the bank-notes of the National Treasury, which he had removed to his birth-place. These amounted to more than 5,000 million ekule—the local currency—as well as foreign currency to the approximate value of \$10 million. Mr. Macías bombed several towns and massacred the peaceful and noble townspeople; children, women and old people were ruthlessly massacred in retaliation against the military uprising.

294. It is in this state of economic and social chaos that the delegation of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea comes before this Assembly to urge it to consider the disastrous situation now prevailing in my country; we would be grateful to Member States for providing urgent aid to the people of Equatorial Guinea.

295. For all these crimes, former President Macías Nguema was arrested and a fair trial began on Monday, 24 September. The Supreme Military Council invited observers from international judicial bodies and from the press.

296. A great outburst of happiness and of support of the people of Equatorial Guinea for the Supreme Military Council occurred spontaneously throughout the national territory of the Republic during these events. This is the best possible proof of the popular support

enjoyed by the Supreme Military Council as it takes on this historic responsibility. These popular demonstrations clearly show that the Republic of Equatorial Guinea has regained the harmony and freedom lost in the 11 years of the dictatorial and bloody régime of former President Macías Nguema Biyogo.

297. For all of these reasons, and for the information of this Assembly, the military action taken on 3 August by the Supreme Military Council to depose President Macías Nguema is in consonance with the desires and will of the people of Equatorial Guinea and constitutes a practical expression of compliance with the oath of loyalty in which the armed forces undertook to safeguard the legitimate interests of the nation. Thus, the coup d'état in Equatorial Guinea must not be considered to be the result of a thirst for power by the armed forces, but rather to be a blow for freedom made by the people of Equatorial Guinea. The people's armed forces in Equatorial Guinea will act for the people and for the good of the people.

298. The plan of the Supreme Military Council, which now leads our country, is for a direct democracy in which the individual—alpha and omega of all creation—will enjoy all necessary rights and privileges, with all material and spiritual benefits, and all the knowledge and wisdom of our people available to him.

299. The Supreme Military Council of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea faithfully reflects the philosophy and ethics advocated in the United Nations Charter, the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the non-aligned movement, so as to ensure the well-being and security of the individual.

300. It is within this context that the Supreme Military Council brought democracy to Equatorial Guinea. All of the prisoners which the former régime considered to be political prisoners have been released. Property is protected and guaranteed by the Council and all the freedoms and rights of the citizens are being respected and guaranteed. The main aim of the Supreme Military Council in this connexion is to achieve national reconstruction and the social, economic and cultural development of the people in order to ensure their happiness. To accomplish this goal, the Supreme Military Council believes that it is necessary to obtain the participation of all the people of Equatorial Guinea. It has therefore asked all the people of Equatorial Guinea to join ranks to rebuild the national structure of the country. The country requires the toil of all its sons, and we must not betray it.

301. The Supreme Military Council, faithful to the principles of the United Nations Charter, will maintain relations with all countries throughout the world that are devoted to peace and freedom, on the basis of the principles of international law, the sovereign equality of States, non-interference in domestic affairs, strict respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the maintenance of friendly relations and co-operation with all States for mutual and reciprocal benefit.

302. At this precise moment when our country has been totally paralysed for five years and ruined and abandoned by the overthrown President, our needs, both humanitarian and the assistance we require to rebuild the State institutions of the country are many

and great. Equatorial Guinea would be most grateful to receive any moral, material or humanitarian aid from any of the countries of the world. The fact that at this difficult time, when we are reorganizing the State of Equatorial Guinea, a delegation of the Supreme Military Council has come to New York explains the great importance which our country attaches to the role played by this world Organization.

303. A retrospective view of the achievements of the United Nations since it was established in 1945 clearly demonstrates that this Organization has been a catalyst in solving the serious problems that have afflicted our world since the Second World War. The United Nations continues to be the only forum of peace in which nations throughout the world, large and small, have an opportunity to share their concerns, irrespective of their ideological, social or cultural differences. Although there are many problems to be solved, the United Nations has none the less made a great contribution to solving the problems resulting from the Second World War, the cold war, decolonization, the lessening of the use of force in the settlement of disputes and so forth.

304. However, despite the incalculable achievements of the United Nations, a great deal remains to be done in order to achieve the aims and objectives sought by those who signed the Charter at San Francisco. Our Organization cannot justify its existence so long as there are vestiges of colonialism throughout the world, and particularly in southern Africa. The United Nations will not have achieved its sacred mission as long as the threat posed by the iniquitous arms race remains. The United Nations will be a meaningless organization if it cannot replace the present economic system, based on injustice and inequality, with a just and equitable order which will ensure proper development throughout the world. Finally, the United Nations will not have done its duty as long as any individual is considered as a simple object at the mercy of the whims of his leaders.

Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania) resumed the Chair.

305. The colonial system which oppresses peoples under foreign domination constitutes one form of injustice in today's civilization. It scorns and tramples underfoot the values of the individual. Great progress has been made in this field by the United Nations, but more must be done and priority must be given to the total elimination of the colonial system wherever it exists in the world. Equatorial Guinea will never feel completely free as long as there are countries which are still under the yoke of colonial oppression anywhere in the world. All the peoples of the world, whether in large or small countries, have the sacred and natural right to self-determination and independence. It is a crime against humanity to deprive any individual of these inalienable rights.

306. Although colonialism is definitely reaching an end, there are still large areas in Africa, Asia and Latin America which are afflicted by the horrors of colonial and racist domination.

307. The situation in southern Africa continues to be a matter of concern because of the system of *apartheid* and the exploitation of man by man. The uprisings and massacres that took place in Soweto, Johannesburg and Pretoria demonstrate the determination of the people of

Azania to take charge of their own political destiny. These messages are truly revolutionary and lead us to stand shoulder to shoulder with the people of Azania as they fight to regain their inalienable rights.

308. Trade and military co-operation between South Africa and some countries, including nuclear co-operation in violation of the decisions of this Organization, is a clear demonstration of the diabolical intentions of the Pretoria régime in relation to the African continent.

309. The African Territory of Namibia continues to be the victim of the manoeuvres of imperialism, which prevent that people from exercising their legitimate right to freedom, independence and self-determination. Despite the great victories won by SWAPO, the racist reactionaries are stepping up their manoeuvres to perpetuate the illegal occupation of the Territory, to violate its integrity and to break the national unity of Namibia.

310. The attempts of South Africa to ignore SWAPO, which is the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, reveal the fact that the South African régime in the Territory is a puppet and is illegal. This diabolical plan is designed purely and simply to make a mockery of and trample underfoot the decisions of the international community and to perpetuate indefinitely its presence in the Territory. It is time for the international community to become aware of this situation and to give material, political and diplomatic support to the Namibian people, both inside and outside the Territory, so as to make it possible for that suppressed people to regain their rights, which colonialism and imperialism wrested from them.

311. Zimbabwe continues to be a source of tension caused by the ambitions of colonialism and imperialism, which endanger the peace and serenity of the inhabitants of Zimbabwe. The sham elections that were held on the basis of the internal settlement which have been condemned by the international community merely ensured that a clique would stay in power, a clique which had illegally seized power in Zimbabwe in 1966. Zimbabwe thus remains a colony, illegally governed by the aforementioned clique of racists and traitors. The people of Zimbabwe will never fully exercise their rights unless their authentic representatives effectively participate. In this connexion, the Republic of Equatorial Guinea gives its unswerving support to the struggle waged by the Patriotic Front to liberate Zimbabwe, as it is the only movement defending the interests of its people. The United Nations must take urgent and positive action to facilitate the liberation of the Territory and to eliminate the racist minority system in Zimbabwe.

312. It would not be just for this Assembly to disregard all the excellent things that have been done by the front-line States in support of the liberation causes of the peoples of Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe. They have made tremendous sacrifices and lost a great deal. The Republic of Equatorial Guinea would like to express its full support for and its solidarity with the Governments of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia in their struggle to resist the racist enemy.

313. Equatorial Guinea is deeply concerned over the

situation currently prevailing in Western Sahara. Countries of this world Organization are involved in this conflict, which my Government regards as part of decolonization. Here I should like to recall that this question has been dealt with by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, at its sixteenth ordinary session, held at Monrovia from 17 to 20 July 1979. My delegation feels that any action which could be taken to settle this conflict should be within the context of the recommendations contained in the report of the OAU *Ad Hoc* Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara, which was approved at the recent summit meeting I mentioned earlier [see A/34/552, pp. 90-91].

314. We hope that all the parties involved in this conflict will make all the necessary efforts to ensure a peaceful, just and negotiated solution to this dispute, in which thousands of our brothers die every day.

315. The Middle East is still an area of tension in which countries of this Organization find themselves involved, and we face all kinds of obstacles to a just, equitable and lasting solution. This tragic situation is a matter of deep concern to the international community. It is a threat to the peace and security not only of that region but also of the international community as a whole. Arab territories are still occupied and the rights of the Palestinian people, who have been deprived of their homeland, are still being disregarded and trampled on.

316. Although any initiative aimed at peaceful negotiations to arrive at a solution of the problem of the Middle East is just and acceptable, these efforts would nevertheless not be as effective as they should be were they not to take account of all the problems involved in that question. This is something which has been stated quite clearly in General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX). A solution of the Middle East problem cannot be achieved unless there is an unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all the occupied Arab territories, unless the Palestinians regain their homeland and the exercise of their national rights and unless there is full and effective participation by the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinian people. In this context my Government hopes that this question will be resolved through effective negotiations with the participation of all the parties concerned.

317. World peace and security can never be achieved only within the context of relations based upon international law. That is why the United Nations cannot disregard any dispute involving two or more States of the world community if it wishes to attain these noble objectives.

318. The Republic of Equatorial Guinea is deeply concerned over the dispute between Spain and the United Kingdom on the question of sovereignty over Gibraltar. We feel that a solution to this dispute should be found through peaceful negotiations whose objective would be to ensure the decolonization of Gibraltar, which is an integral part of Spanish territory. We have always maintained that colonialism is a crime against humanity and that all peoples—large and small—do have the sacred natural right to freedom and independence. In keeping with this policy, my Government would like to urge the United Kingdom to carry on sincere negotiations with Spain so that they can find the best way of returning Gibraltar to Spanish sovereignty.

319. Another matter of concern which should be drawn to the attention of the United Nations is international peace and security. Although considerable progress has been made in this area with the creation of a strong international awareness increasingly favourable to détente and also the formation of impartial international groupings, such as the group of non-aligned States, against the military and ideological blocs. There is also awareness of the growing need for interdependence among nations, which has to a large extent lessened the hostility between East and West.

320. However, despite all this, the current world situation still contains elements, problems and practices which clearly pose a threat of the disruption of international peace and security. For example, there is the maintenance of an unjust social and economic order in the world, an accelerated increase in the bitter arms race, a desperate urge on the part of some to perpetuate their domination and hegemony in the world, a lack of respect for the fundamental rights of individuals, exploitation, the maintenance of military blocs, expansionism and the exportation of ideologies—all of which makes difficult an international world order guaranteeing peace and the well-being of the peoples.

321. The major economic and militarily powerful countries have a special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is quite clear that the power to attain these objectives lies in the hands of the great Powers. Although the developing countries have a certain responsibility and can play a certain role in helping to achieve these goals, it is nevertheless true that their participation will, unlike the active participation of the major Powers, remain passive.

322. Therefore, primary responsibility for limiting the arms race and concluding a treaty on the prohibition of the use of strategic and sophisticated weapons and on their destruction lies directly with the major Powers. Considerable efforts are being made to attain this objective, as can be seen from the conclusion of the second SALT Treaty. While welcoming and praising this agreement, Equatorial Guinea trusts that the major Powers will in future enter into new and more substantial commitments which would in fact lead to the complete cessation of this bitter arms race and prohibit the use of strategic and sophisticated weapons.

323. The tremendous amounts of money now being channelled into military budgets are more than sufficient to cover the development programmes of the under-developed countries and meet the most fundamental and elementary human needs of today's world, for example, hunger and poverty, which affect everybody, including the developed countries themselves. There can be no lasting peace and security at the national or international levels unless we establish a just and equitable society within a new world economic order. In this context it is up to the developed countries and the developing countries to co-ordinate their efforts dispassionately, without egoism or other complexes, with a view to overcoming and eliminating the obstacles that our society faces today.

324. While it is true—and this is something that we have mentioned before—that the number of items on our agenda dealing with questions of decolonization is visibly diminishing, which proves that colonialism is

drawing to an end, it is nevertheless also true that this thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly is meeting at a time when we are entering upon another decisive and perhaps even harder struggle. I refer to the struggle which we must wage for the economic emancipation of our countries and the establishment of a new international economic order.

325. Despite the many actions taken and the various decisions and resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, the relations between the rich and the poor countries are still unequal and unjust. Although there have been serious economic negotiations in this decade, an imbalance in the economic situation persists. The economies of the developing countries are still seriously affected by uncurbed inflation, unemployment, poverty, hunger, serious difficulties in our balances of payments and also the economic imbalance between rich countries and developing countries. All of this is due to the lack of political will on the part of the rich countries and also to their constant practice of applying double standards in trade relations with developing countries.

326. It is sad and distressing to see what is happening in the North-South dialogue and in the various international conferences that have been held this year on economic questions—such as the Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held in Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, the fifth session of UNCTAD, held in Manila, the Tokyo Economic Summit meeting of the northern countries held in June, this year's second regular session of the Economic and Social Council, the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development, held in Rome, the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, in Vienna, and the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries recently held in Havana—not one of whose resolutions have been applied.

327. Faced with this situation, we must wage a stronger and more determined struggle. We must adopt new strategies that will meet the just requirements of our peoples for their social well-being and for a better world.

328. I should now like to turn to another issue of concern to the international community. This is something my country suffered under its previous régime. I refer to the question of the refugees from Equatorial Guinea who are now to be found in neighbouring and other countries. Those citizens of Equatorial Guinea were forced to save their lives by fleeing from the horrors of the barbarous policy of flagrant and systematic violation of their rights as citizens of Equatorial Guinea under the previous régime. I take this opportunity to address an appeal to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to provide all necessary assistance to facilitate the voluntary return of those citizens of Equatorial Guinea who are now outside the country as refugees, for the circumstances that obliged them to choose exile have now been totally done away with by the overthrow of the dictator Macías Nguema. The new Guinean Government has established conditions that ensure an atmosphere of national rejoicing and reconciliation that will enable it to proceed with the major task of reconstruction of our nation. In that undertaking, the contribution of all citizens of Equatorial Guinea is clearly very needed. We have taken steps vis-à-vis the Governments of the sister republics of Gabon,

Cameroon and Nigeria, and also the friendly Government of Spain to ensure the repatriation of our citizens. Here, I should like to express our appreciation to those Governments for their goodwill and for their constant concern to work for this kind of repatriation, and also for the efforts they have made to care for the refugees from Equatorial Guinea in their respective countries.

329. The refugees from Equatorial Guinea are most enthusiastic about returning to our country, but unfortunately my Government finds itself faced with a chaotic economic situation. This is a result of the current economic crisis in the world, and also of the disastrous situation the new Government inherited from the destructive régime of ex-President Macías, a situation that has placed us among the poorest and most disadvantaged countries of the world. Because of this, my Government cannot incur all the costs involved in such repatriation, or in the reintegration of the citizens of Equatorial Guinea who return home. Here I would like to reiterate our fervent appeal to the international community and the competent agencies in this Organization to give consideration to this situation.

330. Equatorial Guinea is part of the Hispanic family. For that reason we feel ourselves linked very closely by historical and cultural ties with the Latin American nations. Although in the past we were unable to do anything of a practical nature about this affinity or to make rational use of it for the benefit of our respective peoples, nevertheless Equatorial Guinea, while remaining faithful to its calling as an African country, has always regarded itself as part of what we could call here the "great Afro-Ibero-American family".

331. It is in this spirit that Equatorial Guinea follows with great interest all that happens in this community of nations. Hence, we express our solidarity with the brother people of Nicaragua and we welcome their recent victory that has led them to create a new society of dignity and prosperity. We also welcome the achievements of the brother people of Panama who have regained their inalienable rights over the Canal.

332. Accordingly, Equatorial Guinea hopes to see relations of co-operation develop in all areas among the countries that make up this great Afro-Ibero-American family, with due respect paid to the interests of all our peoples.

333. In conclusion, my Government is fully confident that our work here in the United Nations will inevitably help us to build a new world of peace, security and social well-being.

334. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the general debate for this afternoon. Several representatives have requested to be allowed to exercise the right of reply. May I recall that the General Assembly, at its 4th plenary meeting, decided that statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes on any one item and should be made by delegations from their seats. In the interests of orderly procedure, I intend to apply this decision strictly. I now call on representatives who wish to be allowed to exercise the right of reply.

335. Mr. VO ANH TUAN (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): In view of the lateness of the hour, I do

not wish to abuse your patience, Mr. President, nor that of the representatives here. I shall be brief.

336. My delegation categorically rejects all the slanderous allegations made by the head of the Chinese delegation with regard to the foreign and domestic policy of my country. We reserve our right to make an appropriate response at the proper time.

337. For the moment, we will confine ourselves to reminding the Assembly of a few matters worthy of consideration with regard to the arguments adduced by the Chinese representative at the 11th meeting.

338. First, recent comments made on 24 September by a Western Press agency concerning the spectacular political *volte-face* of the Peking leadership are clear and explicit; in substance, they report that today's China is in the process of throwing on to the fire everything for which it had previously been admired. The world is constantly astounded by China, and no one now recognizes it as the country it once was. It has made a 180-degree about-face at all levels, political, economical, cultural and military. The special features that distinguished it have disappeared to give way to two currently prominent trends, namely, a preoccupation with money and discontent among the people.

339. Secondly, foreign observers who have visited the six northern provinces of Viet Nam that were devastated by Chinese aggression on 17 February of this year have not been able to help noting that China's aggressive forces have in fact finished the sinister task begun by B-52 bombers in the past, namely, the nearly total extermination of all human, animal and plant life, the destruction of every vestige of culture and of all economic, cultural and social structures wherever they have passed.

340. One may wonder how the Peking leaders, those modern-day Huns, dare speak here in this chamber to preach respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and to bemoan the fate of the Indo-Chinese refugees and the 3 million dead out of some 7 million Kampucheans, all victims of their insane ambitions for a hegemony aimed at enslaving the peoples of that region.

341. Mr. OBEIDAT (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I have asked to be allowed to speak in the exercise of the right of reply in answer to what Moshe Dayan has said. Because of the lateness of the hour my reply will be very short.

342. In his statement Mr. Dayan said that the Jews were a majority in Jerusalem during and throughout the past century and a half. I wish to ask Mr. Dayan, since those are his statistics, what was the percentage of Jews compared with that of Arabs living in Palestine at the beginning of the century? I believe—and representatives can refer to the statistics—that it did not amount to more than 5 per cent. I should like to add that all minorities are a majority in the places where they live, but that does not mean that they are the majority in the country as a whole.

343. In referring to Jerusalem, Mr. Dayan described Jordan as the "occupier", and said that it violated the cease-fire agreement which provided for freedom of

access to the Holy Places. I am rather surprised that Mr. Dayan should say that, because he personally was one of the members of the *ad hoc* Committee set up under the armistice agreement to supervise freedom of access. Why, then, does he distort the facts?

344. A voluntary union was established between Jordan and what had been saved from Zionist occupation of the Palestinian territories. In 1950, in accordance with the constitution, as was mentioned by His Majesty King Hussein I the day before yesterday in this Assembly [7th meeting], Jordan took action inspired by its faith in Islam and its belief in other heavenly religions. We were anxious to provide the appropriate atmosphere for ensuring free access to the Holy Places and preserving them.

345. Mr. Dayan said that Jerusalem was a city of coexistence between Jews and Arabs. Israeli prisons are overflowing with Arab citizens and Israel constantly drives Arabs into Jordan, destroys their homes and seizes their lands. Jerusalem, which is described by Israel as the city of peaceful coexistence today forms 20 per cent of the West Bank area, Israel having annexed to the city of Jerusalem all the Arab land it could grab.

346. The statement made by Mr. Dayan will not shake our conviction of the Arab character of Jerusalem. It is the will of all Arabs and Moslems that the city should be restored to Arab sovereignty. We cannot accept anything else.

347. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the PLO has asked to be allowed to reply to the statement made by one of the speakers in the general debate. I intend to call on him to reply on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974, and particularly on the basis of the ruling made by the President of the thirty-first session²² and of the precedents established under similar circumstances during the last two sessions of the Assembly. May I remind the representative of the PLO that replies are made from the floor and that they are limited to 10 minutes. I call on the representative of the PLO.

348. Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): On another occasion we shall, of course, express our delight and great happiness at seeing you, Mr. President, sitting in that chair as a faithful son of Africa, of the non-aligned movement and of the third world. But for these 10 minutes I shall have to speak to the point.

349. The Assembly has heard a statement by Mr. Moshe Dayan. First let me introduce him to this Assembly. Moshe Dayan is an adventurer, a military adventurer, a leader of armed racist marauders, a political opportunist, a thief of archaeological relics—a profession on which he thrives. He is currently a Foreign Minister who undermined the visit of an Afro-American leader—I am referring to Reverend Jesse Jackson—to the occupied Palestinian territories simply because of the colour of Jackson's skin. Moshe Dayan is the "Minister" who, in August 1979, met with Dr. Haydar Abdul Shafi, the Head of the Palestine Red Crescent in Gaza, to discuss current affairs in the occupied Palestinian territories. It was reported that Dr. Abdul Shafi told Moshe Dayan that Gaza would want to be part of an

independent State along with the West Bank. Nothing is odd about that, but listen to the following. As a result of that meeting the Israeli authorities arrested 70 Palestinian youths from Gaza, including Dr. Shafi's son. If that is not neo-fascism, repressive and inhuman treatment of Palestinians under Zionist occupation I do not know what it is—and that was on Moshe Dayan's instructions. So much about the man Moshe Dayan.

350. In his statement, Moshe Dayan said that he reflected throughout the past year on the United Nations and the results are far from encouraging. I do not think that we needed his advice or decision on that, because Mr. O'Kennedy, speaking on behalf of the nine countries members of the European Economic Community, made it very clear that:

"Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), together with the principles I have mentioned . . . set the essential framework for a peace settlement. In the view of the nine countries, it is necessary that they be accepted by all those involved—including the Palestine Liberation Organization—as the basis for negotiation of a comprehensive settlement in which all the parties will play their full part." [8th meeting, para. 28.]

Moshe Dayan was speaking about efforts for peace solely bilaterally and outside the framework of the United Nations. But here the nine European countries have clearly set forth their opinion.

351. The Foreign Minister of Brazil came out with the same and said:

"During the past year, new developments have marked the situation in the Middle East. However, it would be excessively optimistic to say that the prospects for peace—a just, lasting and comprehensive peace—are, in some way, better than they were a year ago."

352. Again, Mr. Pahr of Austria said:

"Since the peace efforts of the past two years have not produced the results we have all hoped for, it will again be the task of the United Nations to strengthen its efforts in this regard." [9th meeting, para. 196]

353. By trying to avoid the United Nations, by trying to avoid the principle, by trying to negate the presence of the Palestinians—the Palestinians have been considered by this Assembly as the principal element and a principal party to the conflict in the Middle East—those efforts about which Mr. Dayan spoke are all a futile exercise, because they avoid and deny the existence of the principal party.

354. Now, I go through the statement, and I see that Mr. Dayan had much pity for the Jews who have just been released. Now, who are those Soviet Jews? We know that some of them were criminals convicted of hijacking planes. If this is not an encouragement to hijack planes and indulge in all these illegal activities that are abhorred by the United Nations, I do not know what is.

355. Mr. Dayan had a great deal of pity for the Jews of the Soviet Union who were not permitted to practise their religion and culture. I do not know if Moshe Dayan

²² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 73rd meeting, para. 108.

has heard of the Jews who lived in Jerusalem, in Me' She'arim, who were denied the right for some time to use their slaughter-house for their religious ritual. And I think in the records of the United Nations, the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council have many letters from the Neturei Karta sect about the denial of their free exercise and practice of their religion in Jerusalem. And these are, Sir, Jews who have lived in Jerusalem for centuries.

356. I will not address myself to the question of Jews in Syria. My colleague from Syria may do that. But, talking about the peace process, I have already mentioned what the nine members of the European Community say, what Brazil says, what Austria says; and we know that there is a consensus to the effect that this so-called peace process is not conducive to peace but, on the contrary, it has resulted in preparation for a war.

357. There was an attack on the United Nations and I felt it my duty, as more or less a Member here to defend the Organization. The United Nations forces were asked to carry out the provisions of the Treaty between Egypt and Israel. Now, if Moshe Dayan and Egypt and the United States thought of concocting some sort of a treaty outside the United Nations, I do not see how they can have the gall to call on the United Nations to implement it for them or what moral right they would have to do so.

358. Now, Moshe Dayan was really concerned about the basic mandate of the United Nations exclusively to maintain international peace and security and to bring about by peaceful means the settlement of international disputes. How often has Israel been condemned in this Assembly? How often have its actions been deplored in the Security Council? How often has it been condemned in the various agencies of the United Nations and organs for acts that posed a threat to international peace and security?

359. Further on, Moshe Dayan spoke about Haifa—a beautiful town. I do not know if members have ever seen it, but it is a beauty, especially if one views the harbour from Mount Carmel. That is something divine, I would say. Now, he said that in Haifa Jews and Arabs coexist. No, Sir, this is not what we want. When Chairman Arafat came to this Assembly²³ he said he wanted Jews and Arabs to live together, not to coexist together. And there is a big difference between coexisting and living together.

360. Those Arabs who live in Israel, what are they suffering from? Begin's adviser on Arab affairs, Doctor Arik Sharon, was defending what he called "positive segregation". You, Mr. President, come from a continent that has suffered from segregation. I do not know of any positive or negative aspects of segregation. Segregation is a crime, so I cannot see that there is any such thing as "positive segregation". Those Arabs who are in Israel, those Arabs who have been Israeli Arabs since 1948, are still suffering under what is known as "positive segregation".

361. Then Moshe Dayan spoke about Lebanon. We Palestinians are not in Lebanon because we wanted to

be in Lebanon. We are in Lebanon because we were forced there. Believe me, the first moment we feel enabled to return to our towns and villages in Galilee, in Jerusalem, in Bethlehem, and in the Hebron, we will willingly give up that place and return to a place which we call home. We will give up all the south of Lebanon just to return to a little village in Galilee.

362. He spoke about the Christians and the Moslems. Do we not remember the fate of the Christian Maronites—Palestinian Maronite Christians—in the villages of Al Iqrit and Kefar Bar'am? Since 1948, those villagers have become Israeli citizens, yet they are denied the right to return to their villages. They still live at a few miles' distance from them, and they are not permitted to return. They cannot even celebrate Christmas in the churches of their villages. And they are good Palestinian Maronite Christians.

363. Then he spoke about the danger to the Christians and Moslems in that area. Who is threatening them?

364. When Israel says it feels compelled to act militarily against the PLO, that is a lie. There was a prepared invasion of southern Lebanon in March 1978.

365. The PRESIDENT: I apologize to the representative of the PLO. His 10 minutes are up, and I therefore request him to conclude his statement.

366. Mr. EL-CHOUFI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The war criminal Moshe Dayan, in his statement this afternoon, raised an internal matter of Syria, the case of Syrian Jews. He alleged that the Government of my country deprived Syrian Jews of the exercise of their human rights and of their freedom to leave the country or travel abroad. This is a gross lie. Exit from Syria for our citizens wishing to go abroad is regulated by specific measures. We are not the only country which applies such a procedure; we do so because we fear to lose the skilled labour we so badly need for our development. Measures applied to Jewish citizens are no different from those applied to other citizens, whatever their religion or belief may be.

367. The second point to which I should like to answer is the following. The Zionist representative has spoken of the Syrian role in Lebanon. We have declared many times in this Assembly that we were in Lebanon at the explicit request of the legitimate Lebanese authorities and of the Lebanese people. We shall remain there as part and parcel of the Arab deterrent forces now in Lebanon, in response to the wishes of the Lebanese Government. We do not plan to remain there a single second after the Lebanese Government informs us that we need not be present. But I shall not reply to the allegations of the Zionists who are committing daily atrocities in Lebanon against both the Palestinian and the Lebanese peoples. I shall not exhaust your patience by replying to the many lies uttered by the Zionist representative, mainly that contained in his statement that the Camp David agreements and the bilateral Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty have helped to bring peace to our region. We shall have the opportunity of replying to this lie and all other lies uttered by Israel when we discuss the matter, whether in plenary meetings or in the different Main Committees.

²³ *Ibid.*, Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2282nd meeting, paras. 3-83.