



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 8: Adoption of the agenda and organization of work (<i>continued</i>): (a) Report of the General Committee; (b) Report of the <i>Ad Hoc</i> Committee on Subsidiary Organs Second report of the General Committee	381
Agenda item 17: Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other appointments: (e) Appointment of two members of the United Nations Administrative Tribunal Report of the Fifth Committee (Part I).....	381
Agenda item 9: General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Pahr (Austria)	381
Speech by Mr. Touré (Guinea)	385
Speech by Mr. Niassé (Senegal)	388
Speech by Mr. Rolandis (Cyprus)	393
Speech by Mr. Boutros (Lebanon)	396

President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR
(Federal Republic of Germany)

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda and organization of work (*continued*):*

- (a) Report of the General Committee;
(b) Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Subsidiary Organs

**SECOND REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE
(A/35/250/Add.1)**

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning the Assembly will first consider the second report of the General Committee concerning the agenda of the current session [A/35/250/Add.1].

2. In paragraph 1 (a) of its report, the General Committee recommends the inclusion in the agenda of an additional item entitled "Urgent measures for reducing the danger of war". May I consider that this item is included in the agenda?

It was so decided [see para. 5 below].

3. The PRESIDENT: The General Committee recommends in paragraph 1 (b) of its report that this item be allocated to the First Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly decides to allocate it to that Committee?

It was so decided [see para. 5 below].

4. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 2 (a) of its report the General Committee recommends the inclusion in the agenda of an additional item entitled "International co-operation to avert new flows of refugees". May I consider that this item is included in the agenda?

It was so decided [see para. 5 below].

5. The PRESIDENT: The General Committee further recommends in paragraph 2 (b) of its report that this item be allocated to the Special Political Committee. May I take it that the Assembly adopts that recommendation?

It was so decided [see decision 35/402].

6. The PRESIDENT: The Chairmen of the First Committee and the Special Political Committee will be informed of the decisions just taken.

AGENDA ITEM 17

Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs and other appointments:

- (e) Appointment of two members of the United Nations Administrative Tribunal

**REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (PART I)
(A/35/495)**

7. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now consider the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 17 (e) which relates to the vacancy which has arisen in the membership of the United Nations Administrative Tribunal as a result of the death of Sir Roger Bentham Stevens.

8. In paragraph 4 of its report [A/35/495], the Fifth Committee recommends the appointment of Mr. Arnold Wilfred Geoffrey Kean for a term of office beginning on 2 October 1980 and ending on 31 December 1980. The Fifth Committee adopted the recommendation by acclamation. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

It was so decided [decision 35/305 A].

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

9. Mr. PAHR (Austria): Mr. President, it is with particular pleasure that I congratulate you on your election as President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. We greet you as the representative of a country which is a good neighbour and close friend of ours. Your great experience and deep knowledge, combined with your outstanding diplomatic skill and political acumen, augur well for the work of this session of the Assembly.

* Resumed from the 3rd meeting.

10. We also wish to express our sincere gratitude and appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim, who guided the General Assembly through a particularly sensitive and demanding period in a steady, intelligent and prudent way.

11. It is also a pleasure for me to welcome two new Members to the Organization. We should like today to offer our heartfelt congratulations to the delegations of Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, and it is our hope that we shall enjoy close co-operation with them.

12. In December, 25 years will have elapsed since Austria was admitted to the United Nations. Austria has successfully made use of that time to establish, in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, good relations with all countries of the world, irrespective of their economic, social or political systems. In particular, we are proud to have excellent relations with all our neighbours.

13. During Austria's 25 years of membership, certain areas have emerged as focal points for our co-operation. These constant elements are the following: unconditional support for human rights, development, disarmament and strengthening of international law. In addition, Austria actively participates in United Nations peace-keeping operations.

14. Austria continues to attach great importance to United Nations peace-keeping efforts and is willing also in the future to contribute to the further development of this most useful instrument. I should like sincerely to thank all the soldiers who today are serving the cause of peace under the United Nations flag.

15. In pursuing its policy of establishing good relations with all our neighbouring countries, Austria, with respect to Italy, has received active assistance from the United Nations. Resolutions 1497 (XV) of 31 October 1960 and 1661 (XVI) of 28 November 1981 on the question of South Tyrol led to negotiations which in 1969 resulted in an autonomy agreement for South Tyrol. Thus the conditions for friendly relations between two neighbours have been established. In accordance with those resolutions, I should like to report that during the past year further positive steps have been taken to implement the so-called South Tyrol package. However, 20 years have elapsed since the first General Assembly resolution on this question and 11 years since the Austro-Italian agreement. Nevertheless, essential parts of the package are still unimplemented. We therefore fully understand the impatience of the population of South Tyrol. The Austrian Government is particularly concerned that full equality for the mother tongue of the minority, which is so important to it, has not yet been guaranteed. Prime Minister Cossiga and Foreign Minister Colombo have recently made promising statements on this question. We hope that those statements will be honoured by a new Italian Government, too. That would justify my expectations that the problems which have not yet been settled will be resolved as quickly as possible and in a satisfactory way.

16. Four years ago I had the honour to speak before the General Assembly for the first time and to present Austria's

position on the world situation.¹ There was little reason for optimism then and there is even less today. In addition to the crises which the Organization has been facing for years, we are now confronted with new and even more complex ones.

17. I should like here to refer above all to the situation in the Middle East. The present military conflict between Iran and Iraq constitutes a new element in the crises of the region. Austria is following the development of relations between Iran and Iraq with deep concern. The hostilities which are taking place in clear violation of the obligations under the Charter have created a very serious situation which, combined with the other conflicts in the region, threatens to assume global proportions.

18. It is Austria's position that, in view of these circumstances, an effective attempt must be made to settle the conflict by peaceful means and with due respect for international law and without resorting to any further use of force. Austria therefore welcomes and supports swift action by the Security Council. We, of course, recognize that regional organizations have assumed an increasing responsibility in the maintenance of international peace and security and in the mediation and peaceful settlement of regional conflicts. Austria appreciates this development. We deem it necessary, however, to recall that the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace lies with the Security Council and that action on the regional level should never impede the Security Council from fulfilling its duties.

19. We are deeply concerned, both for humanitarian reasons and for reasons of principle, about the fate of the American hostages, who are still being held in Iran despite the intensive efforts of the international community. Although we do not underestimate the difficulties and fundamental changes arising in the wake of a revolution, we must reiterate the unconditional position we stated last year in the Security Council.² We strongly deplore the taking of hostages as a flagrant violation of international law and of the rules of diplomacy, which constitute the very basis of relations between States in all civilizations and cultures.

20. We are aware of the efforts to solve this problem and we hope that reason, understanding and moderation will prevail on all sides. We make an urgent appeal to the Iranian Parliament to free the hostages, in respect for international law, without any further delay, regardless of the rather intricate situation provoked by the military conflict with Iraq. In this context, I wish to thank the Secretary-General most sincerely for his tireless efforts in the interest of the hostages.

21. The military invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union, which was condemned by the overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations, including Austria, at the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly early this year, continues seriously to disrupt the stability of the region and to threaten the policy of détente.

22. As regards the Arab-Israeli conflict, the situation has not improved in any way. Austria is deeply concerned about

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 27th meeting, paras. 103-148.

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year*, 2177th meeting.

this development which, owing to its complexity and its relationship to other crises, could lead to a world-wide conflict. I assume that Austria's position on this problem is well known. It was presented in detail by both Chancellor Kreisky³ and myself⁴ during the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. In accordance with our position as a permanently neutral State, it is marked by an effort to be objective and impartial.

23. We must note with great concern that all efforts to achieve a peaceful resolution of this conflict have thus far been unsuccessful. The most recent steps taken by Israel with respect to Jerusalem and its measures in the occupied territories have further aggravated the situation. We deplore and condemn Israel's attempt to annex Jerusalem because this is a flagrant violation of international law and the relevant United Nations resolutions. Consequently, it has to be considered as null and void. Jerusalem is a city where the beliefs and aspirations of great spiritual and religious traditions and powers meet, factors which increase the political complexity of the problem, adding emotional and even prophetic aspects. A high degree of political imagination will therefore be needed in order to work out specific formulas for solutions, and in this process all the considerations advanced by interested and objective observers will have to be taken into account.

24. In this connection, the criteria proposed by the Holy See⁵ should be mentioned. In addition to the call for free access to all holy sites, these criteria include the requirement that the duly acquired traditional rights of the various religious communities in the city be respected and assured.

25. The problems involved are enormous. Therefore it is all the more vital that the greatest possible efforts be made to use all available opportunities to contribute to a just and peaceful solution. This problem cannot be solved by force. Israel, too, will have to accept this reality.

26. We also condemn Israel's policy of establishing settlements in the occupied territories and, in particular, the deportation of the mayors of Hebron and Halhul, freely elected representatives of Palestinian communities.

27. We call upon the General Assembly to take steps similar to those taken in adopting resolution 34/29 of 16 November 1979, concerning the Mayor of Nablus, to ensure that this action, which violates the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, and the most basic human rights, is revoked as soon as possible.

28. The present crises in the Middle East and Afghanistan have overshadowed the tragic events in South-East Asia. Nevertheless, the dimensions of that human tragedy remain staggering. Our position has not changed. We condemn Viet Nam's invasion of Kampuchea as well as the violations of human rights by the Pol Pot régime which preceded it. Our prime concern is for the Kampuchean people, with whom

we are in full solidarity. This year, too, we will support all efforts to relieve the suffering of that people.

29. The many political crises in our world must not cause us to forget that the greatest potential source of danger to world order is that economic and social gap which separates the North from the South, the industrialized from the developing countries. The greatest challenge facing mankind in the last two decades of this century is to overcome the asymmetry in economic development. A new international order based on an equitable balance of the interests of developing and industrialized countries must be built through dialogue and understanding.

30. During the 1980s one of the most important elements in the development process and in international economic relations will undoubtedly be the availability of adequate energy supplies. The manner in which this problem is solved will test the viability of the world economy. This question places an equally great responsibility on all countries.

31. A long-term solution can be achieved only through a constructive dialogue between producers and consumers, which would best be undertaken within the framework of the United Nations global round of negotiations.

32. The energy crisis presents the international community, and the world monetary system in particular, with a significant challenge: the international monetary institutions must increase their role as catalysts between surplus and deficit countries.

33. I cannot imagine that mankind, which in its long history has solved tremendous problems with the help of human ingenuity, science and technology, must stand powerless before a situation which directly affects each and every one of us.

34. Instead, we believe that a large-scale joint undertaking by industrial and oil-producing countries can mobilize sufficient intellectual, technical and financial resources to deal successfully with the North-South problem in all its dimensions. Austria's ideas for a massive transfer of resources were last put before the General Assembly at its eleventh special session.⁶

35. In view of the unsatisfactory outcome of that special session, I should like to return to a thought first voiced by Willy Brandt and then discussed intensively by President López Portillo of Mexico and Chancellor Kreisky: a summit meeting of statesmen from industrialized and developing countries to mobilize the political will of Governments, thus promoting mutually acceptable solutions to the North-South problem. This could at the same time give a useful political impetus to the forthcoming round of global negotiations. The idea of convening such a meeting next year has won widespread support.

36. A commission for disarmament and international security, consisting of representatives from the East, West and South and headed by Olof Palme, was recently established at Vienna. The independent Palme Commission will

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 49th meeting.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 9th meeting.

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1979*, document S/13679, annex.

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 6th meeting.

function similarly to the Brandt Commission⁷ and will also deal with the problems of releasing funds for development. The Palme Commission has set itself the long-term goal of preparing for comprehensive disarmament agreements and for practical disarmament measures, particularly for submission at the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament to be held in 1982. We should follow the work of the Palme Commission carefully. One of its primary goals is to mobilize public opinion for disarmament. That is particularly important today, when we are witnessing signs of a new arms race between the great Powers.

37. Our specific efforts to promote peace are based on a deep commitment to human rights. Without peace human rights are not secure; and peace cannot be guaranteed without respect for human rights. Therefore, our policy of unconditional commitment to the promotion and protection of human rights remains a corner-stone of our policy in the United Nations. We are convinced that respect for human rights is an indispensable prerequisite for peace, development, security and the reduction of tensions.

38. The tragic problem of growing flows of refugees all over the world has also to be seen in the context of human rights. I am therefore grateful to my colleague, the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Genscher, for drawing the attention of the Assembly to the need to study the background of that problem [see A/35/242]. As a country with a tradition of accepting refugees and granting asylum, Austria supports the initiative of the Federal Republic of Germany and will participate actively in the work of the General Assembly relating to this new agenda item [item 122].

39. As I stated at the Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia, held at Geneva on 20 and 21 July 1979, it is not the people in distress who are responsible for their situation, but those who have caused it. The responsibility therefore lies with those who are still not prepared to respect human rights, despite the Charter, despite the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, despite the two International Covenants on Human Rights and despite the many resolutions and treaties on human rights. All the people who are forced to seek asylum and to live as refugees in this world are victims of violations of human rights. That holds true for the victims of racial discrimination as well, and for those who are persecuted on political and religious grounds. But it holds true also for the people who are forced to leave their homes because of hunger and distress. When we talk about human rights, we mean political and civil liberties as much as basic social, economic and cultural rights.

40. The problems of the world are so numerous and our agenda is so comprehensive that it is impossible for me to address every point in this statement. My delegation will present the Austrian position on these questions in detail during this session. Let me just say in brief that we attach very great importance to, *inter alia*, the fate of Lebanon, the talks between the ethnic communities in Cyprus, urgent realization of the United Nations plan for Namibia, the

elimination of the *apartheid* system in South Africa and of all other forms of racial discrimination, the elimination of capital punishment and torture and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, as well as to all questions relating to the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women. We sincerely hope that at this session the Assembly will bring us closer to a solution of all these problems.

41. Although the present world situation does not leave much scope for optimism, I do not want to overlook the positive developments. We wish to mention Zimbabwe in particular. Its peaceful transition to independence and its course towards a multiracial society had raised our hopes that it would have an exemplary effect on our common endeavours to achieve the full independence of Namibia.

42. Non-alignment has become a dynamic force in international relations and a catalyst in solving important international problems. It has contributed to the development of a feeling of responsibility for global issues among States, large and small. We consider non-alignment a stabilizing element in international politics and believe that the non-aligned States have a special role to play in a period of increasing tension. We feel that opportunities for co-operation do exist between non-aligned and neutral countries, both on the global level of the United Nations as well as regionally, as for instance within the framework of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which was held at Helsinki in 1975.

43. We expect the second review session of that Conference to be held at Madrid, to recall forcefully the obligations undertaken in the Final Act of Helsinki and to lend the process of détente the impetus it so urgently needs in this time of heightening tensions. The events of this year have demonstrated more clearly than ever before that détente has to be universal. It has become truly indivisible. Even if one wanted to limit it to certain regions, in today's age of interdependence that would be impossible.

44. We are all aware that we are living in a time of transition—transition from one historic period to another. In such a time tensions will inevitably develop between ideas and reality, reason and power, morality and politics. Each and every one of us is acutely aware of those tensions and their repercussions on both our personal and international life.

45. Everywhere in the world today we witness developments aimed at dismantling the established order in many sectors and calling into question recognized values without creating new orders to replace them. The resulting vacuum contributes to the rise of tensions, the solution to which situation is sought through the use of force. The spread of violence in many parts of the world is a consequence of that development, which fills us with growing concern. I am referring here to the increasing terrorism which claims innocent victims again and again, as for instance in the brutal and cowardly bombing attacks in Bologna and Munich.

46. We have to be aware of the fact that our youth, in its search for new life-styles and new forms of expression, is also attracted by violence. It is not by defensive attitudes, with the ensuing risk of perpetuating conflicts, that we shall succeed in integrating new forms of social behaviour into

⁷Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt.

existing societies and in developing in our youth a sense of commitment to international co-operation and the ideals of the United Nations. We shall succeed in such an endeavour only if we make much greater efforts to guide the idealism and energy of youth towards positive goals and to work together with the younger generation to build new orders and values wherever the existing ones appear obsolete.

47. In this connection, I wish to say a word on the environment. The excessive exploitation of nature in this century has resulted in damage of still unknown consequences. Only over the past decade has it been recognized that measures must be taken to preserve the ecological balance. We must adopt a much more serious approach to our environmental problems. We must also try to integrate the concerns of environmentalists into our existing systems. We must see to it that these concerns are duly taken into consideration at the national and international levels. This is a responsibility which the Organization must not shirk.

48. The challenge all of us must face, whether we be statesmen or diplomats, scientists or philosophers, is that of combining our forces in order to create, step by step, a more human and more peaceful world order. We have no other choice if we wish mankind to survive.

49. On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Austria's membership of the United Nations, I would like to renew our commitment to the world Organization and our profession of loyalty to the Organization's goals and ideals with a quote from Karl Renner, the first President of our second Republic. He said:

“A world of organized peace is coming; a world of lasting co-operation; a community of nations rich in blessings—and the Republic of Austria will be the most loyal member of this community.”

50. Mr. TOURÉ (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me to extend to you, Mr. President, the warmest congratulations of the delegation of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea on the occasion of your election as President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Your election is fully justified by your qualities as a statesman, your knowledge of the special problems of the developing countries and the attachment of your country, the Federal Republic of Germany, to the policy of détente and international co-operation. All of these factors, we are convinced, offer the best guarantee of the success of our work. We should like to assure you of the full co-operation of the Guinean delegation.

51. We also wish to express our deep gratitude to your predecessor, our brother Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, who has won the admiration of Africa, the third world and the international community by the effectiveness he demonstrated in accomplishing the delicate mission entrusted to him at the thirty-fourth session and the three important special sessions that followed it.

52. We wish to thank him for his remarkable contributions to the establishment of international relations based on justice and understanding among States.

53. Lastly, may we express to the Secretary-General the entire confidence of the Government of the Revolutionary

People's Republic of Guinea and in particular that of President Ahmed Sékou Touré for his continued devotion to the realization of the principles and objectives of the Organization.

54. Our delegation is also happy to extend a welcome to the new independent State of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines which has just been admitted into the United Nations, and to express our sincere wishes for its full success in the task of national construction.

55. In my delegation's view, the current problems with which we are concerned today appear to form a pressing and organic whole, in which any isolated sectoral measures would be futile. Thus, in Africa and elsewhere, we note with a certain amount of satisfaction that peoples subject to colonialist and imperialist exploitation are throwing off the yoke of domination.

56. The thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly will be marked by the commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the historic resolution 1514 (XV), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, of which Guinea is honoured to have been one of the initiators.

57. With the victory of the brave people of Zimbabwe over the retrograde forces of colonialism and *apartheid*, the realization of universality within the Organization, which is one of its major bases, will cease to be a Utopian dream. It will also be proof of the fact that the progress of history towards the complete liberation of colonized peoples is inexorable.

58. However, we are compelled today to note that in southern Africa the repression by the supporters of *apartheid* is implacably continuing against the South African people. Men, children, women and the aged, who are being denied the most basic rights to life and dignity, are dying each day as martyrs.

59. This is the occasion to point to the permanent danger to independent Africa represented by the possession of nuclear weapons by the Fascist Government in Pretoria, which is guilty of such acts before history.

60. In tackling the question of Namibia, we realize that the imperialist Powers, while pretending to be sympathetic to the question of the flouting of human dignity by the supporters of the system of *apartheid*, are in fact concerned only about the dividends that result from the investments made in that country by multinational corporations. The South African presence in Namibia no longer has any justification in law. The international community should attempt to rehabilitate itself by making an effective, worthwhile contribution to decolonization in that African territory.

61. Faced with the heinous crimes perpetrated by the minority Fascist régime of Pretoria, our delegation addressed an urgent appeal to the entire international community to provide increased material and moral support to the liberation movements in South Africa—to the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC] and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania [PAC], as well as to the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], which remains the sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

62. The delegation of the State-Party of Guinea calls insistently for the application of the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations against the Fascist régime of Pretoria. It is in this spirit that we support the holding of an international conference on sanctions against South Africa as decided at Monrovia at the thirty-third ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity [OAU]⁸ and reaffirmed at the seventeenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, which was held at Freetown [see A/35/463 and Corr.1, annex I].

63. Everywhere in the world hotbeds of tension persist, whether in Africa, in South-East Asia, or in the Middle East.

64. In Africa, the question of Western Sahara has been the object of important recommendations by the *Ad Hoc* Committee of Heads of State of the OAU, called the committee of wise men, aimed at finding a final solution to that painful conflict. In the view of my delegation, my country being a member of that Committee, it would not be timely for the United Nations to take a decision which might compromise the possible chances of success in achieving an acceptable solution.

65. Experience shows that the solution of a problem as complex as that of Western Sahara does not necessarily lie in the simple adoption of resolutions or in condemnation but rather in the concrete demonstration of good will and the exercise of loyal co-operation on the part of all the parties concerned and involved.

66. The civil war which continues in Chad is claiming new victims each day, and is creating a truly chaotic situation which is a dangerous threat to that country's unity. In spite of the hostilities in Chad and in its capital, N'djamena, African heads of State, among them those of Togo, Congo, Benin and Guinea, continue to make laudable and constant efforts to bring the parties to agree to a cease-fire with a view to the proper implementation of the Lagos agreement of 21 August 1979 which remains the sole basis for the proper settlement of this problem.

67. Our delegation urges the General Assembly to take note, at the current session, of the fact that the question of Chad, which remains an African problem and must therefore find an African solution, should not be the object of the adoption of any decision apart from those on humanitarian aid to be given to that country and to neighbouring countries which suffer from the heavy burden of the thousands of refugees and all the consequences that such a situation can entail.

68. The situation of the people of the Comoros, arbitrarily divided, is also a source of constant concern to the delegation of the State-Party of Guinea, which calls for the return of Mayotte to its motherland.

69. With regard to the situation in the Horn of Africa, in the coastal States of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, the existence of foreign military bases and the new tension brought about in the region are a source of great concern to us.

70. We wish to draw the attention of countries in the sub-region of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean to the fact that the installation of foreign military bases always compromises the progress and independence of a country. The Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea condemns the existence of military bases on foreign soil as running counter to the Charter of the United Nations and to the principle of non-alignment.

71. The solution of the Middle East crisis calls for the following: recognition by all States of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to independence and to national sovereignty; the withdrawal by Israel from all occupied Arab territories; the end of repeated aggressions against Lebanon and respect for its territorial integrity, and participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, in all discussions relating to the settlement of the Middle East conflict.

72. These proposals of the international community, which have a just basis, unfortunately come up against the permanent obstinacy and aggressiveness of Israel.

73. It is timely for us at this point to reiterate the appeal to the effect that the international community take decisive measures with a view to bringing about the repeal of the unilateral decision taken by the Knesset proclaiming Jerusalem the capital of Israel.

74. We are of the opinion that our world Organization should adopt sanctions against any State which supports or endorses the unilateral and unlawful decision of Israel to make Jerusalem its capital, thus violating the international status of the Holy City, the sanctuary of Islam, Christianity and Judaism.

75. Despite the efforts of the Secretary-General, the situation in Cyprus is still tense as regards relations between the two communities, Greek and the Turkish.

76. We sincerely hope that the forthcoming peaceful meeting between the two communities will be crowned with success and we reaffirm our support for the cause of the Cypriot people, for respect for its territorial integrity and its national independence without foreign interference.

77. The situation prevailing in the Asian continent reveals the existence of hotbeds of military confrontation which threaten to grow larger.

78. Our insistence at this session, as at the thirty-fourth session, on the restoration of Kampuchea's seat to the Government of Phnom Penh bears witness to our desire to be realistic. We think it is contrary to international practice for a Government which does not exercise authority in its country to continue to represent that country in the Organization.

79. In Afghanistan, peace and stability call for respect for the will of the Afghan people freely to decide their destiny without any intervention or foreign interference.

80. Moreover, the Iraqi-Iranian conflict cannot leave the Moslem revolutionary people of Guinea indifferent. The

⁸ See A/34/552, annex I.

United Nations should abstain from any attitude which might complicate that already serious situation, which is a threat to international peace and security.

81. Our delegation supports the steps now being taken by General Zia-ul-Haq of Pakistan, Chairman of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, to use his good offices in this fratricidal conflict.

82. As for the situation of the divided Korean nation, in our view it is necessary and urgent as a pre-condition for the peaceful reunification of the country to transform the present armistice into a durable peace treaty with the withdrawal of the foreign troops stationed in Korea under the United Nations flag.

83. In addition, we reaffirm our full support for the struggle for self-determination waged by the people of East Timor under the leadership of FRETILIN.⁹

84. Latin America, like the Caribbean region, is not spared the attempts at provocation and destabilization being directed by foreign forces against many States in the region.

85. Our delegation remains convinced that foreign intervention, interference in the internal affairs of other States, and the permanent occupation of territories by force are undertakings that will always be doomed to failure. All violations of international law are closely linked with the obstinacy of the imperialist Powers in wishing to maintain an obsolete world order.

86. The solution to the question of disarmament has become an imperative need not only because of the astronomical sums allocated by the great Powers to the arms race, but because of the threat that those weapons pose to mankind. As has been said so rightly by President Ahmed Sékou Touré: "The unbridled race for the acquisition of means of mass destruction only perpetuates inadmissible differences, discriminations and inequalities as regards the conditions of life of peoples and the relations established between States".

87. Our delegation subscribes to the measures advocated at the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, and also supports the convening of the World Disarmament Conference.

88. The decade that is ending was for us, a developing country, characterized, from the economic point of view, by an aggravation of economic and social underdevelopment: inflation, unemployment, an increase in the foreign debt, malnutrition and many other evils, to which we must add the disasters that weigh heavily on the living conditions of our peoples.

89. This bleak picture is the consequence of the present economic order that is chronically unfavourable to the developing countries. It is thus that at the second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, which was held at Lagos in April and was

devoted to economic matters, President Ahmed Sékou Touré stated:

"Let us ask ourselves the question: Who today determines the price of our raw materials? Who today determines the price of goods and equipment? It is foreigners as far as we, a developing country, are concerned.

"Is this a service rendered us by foreigners? Not at all. It is always our clients who set the price of what we have to sell to them. It is our suppliers who set the price of what they sell to us. This is a description of poverty, and it is this that leads to the continued impoverishment of our peoples."

90. Indeed, we continue to believe that negotiations on the major questions already identified on the restructuring of the international economic system should be carried out within the central framework of the United Nations and not elsewhere, with the effective participation of all States—small, large and medium-sized. This forum, which would have all necessary powers and competence for deliberation and decision, would have the advantage not only of allowing for centralized discussions, but also for a coherent co-ordination of all development programmes in favour of the developing countries.

91. Unfortunately, this legitimate aspiration of the developing countries continues to come up against the lack of political will of the industrialized countries. We note in this connection that the results of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly devoted to development questions were rather disappointing.

92. Africa has objectively learnt its lessons from the last two decades. It is a bitter experience. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, for its part, adopted the Monrovia Declaration,¹⁰ at the sixteenth ordinary session, in July 1979, and the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa,¹¹ at the second extraordinary session in April 1980.

93. The Lagos Plan of Action clearly defines the policies and means of action for development and co-operation as regards our continent. Henceforth, it would be desirable for any aid or assistance to development in Africa to be placed specifically at the service of the implementation of the Lagos Plan of Action, which, in fact, contains the programme for the third development decade for Africa.

94. Without turning the Lagos Plan into a panacea and in order to avoid its becoming inoperative, we address a solemn appeal to the industrialized countries to contribute sincerely to its effective implementation.

95. As is the case in other fields, the agriculture sector has not escaped the crisis. Quite to the contrary. The already meagre results, compromised by the drought, have led to an increase in food dependency and the precariousness of the balance of payments. We must draw the attention of the international community to this serious drought, which

⁹ Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

¹⁰ See A/34/552, annex II.

¹¹ A/S-11/14, annex I.

exists in certain regions which up to now had been spared by that phenomenon.

96. The remedy to this disaster has consisted so far in the palliative of sending food. But if we want to eradicate the evil and all its effects, what we need now are enormous reforestation campaigns in our main river basins, and in particular the reforestation of the Fouta-Djallon massif, which is the main source of water for western Africa.

97. That is why our delegation is addressing an appeal to the United Nations, the specialized agencies and all those of good will in order that one of the pilot projects of UNEP, the one relating to the Fouta-Djallon massif, be carried out as soon as possible.

98. The world is characterized by events which occur pell-mell and whose effects on international relations, especially regarding peace and security, are very often negative. It is we, the developing countries, who suffer the most. In order satisfactorily to resolve those problems in the light of this disturbing situation, we must give greater effectiveness to the means available to the United Nations.

99. While the Charter of the United Nations is essentially part of the historical undertaking of mankind to work towards the establishment of an era of true freedom, international economic justice and the effective preservation of peace and world security, it is today necessary, more than in the past, to envisage the adaptation of its structures and performance to the expanding framework of international relations. The vitality of any institution resides in its capacity for adaptation to the times and to events.

100. Thus, the revision of the Charter, as well as the equitable representation of all the regions of the world in the decision-making bodies, in particular the Security Council, become imperatives.

101. Convinced as we are of the importance of the role assigned to the United Nations for the safeguarding of international peace and security, my delegation reiterates its sincere willingness and readiness to work, together with all States, to improve the climate of disquiet and insecurity which prevails in the world today, thus favouring the advent of a world of peace, justice and social progress.

102. Mr. NIASSE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the excellent relations which unite our two countries, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of Senegal, are the reason for our pleasure in seeing you assume the lofty post of President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. I should like to congratulate you on behalf of my country and Government.

103. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania. The competence, intelligence and wisdom he demonstrated throughout the many sessions which were held during the year under his presidency did particular honour to the African continent.

104. I should like also to discharge another duty, that of expressing gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt

Waldheim. Senegal, through me, would like to thank him in particular for the efforts that he made to free our compatriot, Warrant Officer Papa Coly Sarr, who was unjustly detained by the Israeli Government when that Senegalese soldier was taking part, courageously and with self-sacrifice, in the peace-keeping operation in the Middle East. The attitude of Mr. Waldheim and his colleagues throughout this affair, which we mentioned here last year,¹² was further proof that law and justice, coupled with patient persistence in matters of principle, always finally triumph over incomprehension and intolerance.

105. My delegation also welcomes the membership of a new State in the Organization, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. My Government would like to assure that State of its entire willingness to co-operate with it.

106. This is another opportunity for Senegal to welcome the presence of Zimbabwe, a multiracial State, in our midst. The birth of that State is a victory for the people of Zimbabwe, but also for the United Nations as well. Accordingly this historic event should provide an example in the resolution of the difficult problems of southern Africa which continue to be of concern to us.

107. A year ago, from this very rostrum, I voiced the great hopes of the international community in a perturbed and uncertain world.¹³ The past year has been rich in events. Poverty has continually beset the great majority of the populations of the world, those of the countries of the third world. Even the rich countries were not spared the disruptive phenomena: political instability, unemployment, inflation, recession and sometimes even stagnation.

108. Pockets of tension have been created here and there, seriously threatening international peace and security.

109. These, in sum, are the fears that we feel in the face of the succession and exacerbation of all kinds of imbalances to which the community of men has been and more subjected.

110. That is why we would draw the attention of the international community to the important responsibility incumbent upon us to establish the conditions necessary for the full attainment of economic, social and cultural rights of man and peoples, as an essential means of ensuring to each individual the effective enjoyment of civil and political rights and fundamental freedoms, so that an era of peace, happiness and solidarity can be ushered into the world.

111. Considerable efforts are made along these lines each year, notwithstanding all kinds of obstacles and constraints, notwithstanding ideological confrontations and struggles for influence, because in the final analysis the salvation of humanity, as we understand it, is in the hands of the nations we represent in the Assembly.

112. My country, Senegal, has always attached particular importance to the establishment among these nations of a climate of peace and a network of abiding solidarity, with-

¹² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 18th meeting, paras. 115-118.

¹³ *Ibid.*, paras. 84-149.

out which no viable solution can be found to the complex and grave problems which are confronting the world today.

113. Our foremost concern in this respect is the situation still prevailing in southern Africa, and in particular in Namibia and South Africa. The South African Government, supported materially, financially and militarily by certain industrialized States, continues to disregard with impunity the recommendations of the Organization.

114. Thus, three and a half years after the adoption of the settlement plan which was to conduct Namibia to independence, the South African Government, through manoeuvres, the motives and aims of which are obvious, is trying to promote the establishment of institutions and bodies designed to lead to an "internal" settlement, as if the edifying example of Zimbabwe had not provided a lesson for those who want to turn their backs on history.

115. It is not enough for it to proclaim its willingness to implement the settlement plan of the United Nations, and to demand at the same time the impartiality of neighbouring States, suggesting the creation of a demilitarized zone between them, because at the same time the South African Government is continuing its raids against those States, in particular against the fraternal people of Angola, under the pretext of the right of hot pursuit from Namibia, which has been illegally occupied.

116. Senegal considers that the settlement plan constitutes the only valid and viable approach to finding a final solution to the question of Namibia. In this respect, the independence of Zimbabwe is once again of very particular importance. President Léopold Sédar Senghor said of this:

"This independence proved to the international community that the African peoples were rebelling against bondage. It showed that the law of the minority cannot be imposed indefinitely on a people determined to recover its freedom. Finally, it showed that peoples retain deep in their ancestral memory a capacity for resistance which foils the calculations of the most able politicians."

117. That is why there is no doubt that the present manoeuvres by South Africa will never break down the determination of SWAPO, under the guidance of our brother Sam Nujoma, to conduct its people to independence.

118. It is fitting to pay a tribute once more to the Secretary-General for the efforts that he tirelessly exerts with a view to the implementation of the United Nations settlement plan.

119. South Africa, in its letter dated 29 August 1980,¹⁴ questioned the impartiality of the Secretary-General, attributing to him the responsibility for the delay in the implementation of the plan. Obviously these accusations are diversionary tactics of the type South Africa has accustomed us to. Has it not once again shown its inclination to hold up the implementation of the settlement plan of the United Nations, by deciding to organize elections in Namibia next month to choose authorities at the second administrative

level who will be responsible for the administration of tribal affairs?

120. It will be remembered that on 8 December 1978 South Africa organized elections on the same conditions, which produced an assembly which was contested and then, in July 1980, the constitution of a Council of Ministers, which was also challenged.

121. The acts committed by South Africa in Namibia look strangely like those incessantly perpetrated by the Israeli Government in the occupied Arab territories and in Jerusalem. The countries in the contact group, for their part, which have made an effort and taken initiatives which no one can deny, should actively support the Secretary-General in this decisive phase of the evolution of the Namibian question. Accordingly, the Assembly should reaffirm its resolve to put an end to the shady doings of the South African Government in Namibia.

122. The Security Council, in drawing up the settlement plan, omitted or ignored the United Nations Council for Namibia, which the General Assembly recognized as having full responsibility for administering Namibia. That gap should be filled. The implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the basis of an acceptable solution of this problem.

123. The policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination of the South African Government is for my country another cause of disquiet. It has given rise to the general condemnation of the international community. In addition, the segregation to which the black population of South Africa has fallen victim because it is based on racial and cultural prejudice is a deep-seated insult to the conscience of mankind.

124. When we underscore the right of the people of South Africa to exercise their right to self-determination, we are not invoking any racial or ethnic considerations. The law of the majority should prevail within a multiracial society, mobilized, as in Zimbabwe, to ensure its happiness in solidarity and unity.

125. Senegal, which has never stinted its support to the liberation movements, ANC and PAC, considers that there will never be peace in this world as long as the racist minority continues to deny the majority its fundamental right to a life of dignity and freedom. Together we shall pursue our common effort along these lines.

126. In regard to Western Sahara, at the seventeenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Freetown last July, my country advocated the establishment of a dynamic African compromise among all parties to the conflict in order to put an end to it, in the obvious interest of all peoples of that particular region and the African continent in general.

127. The *Ad Hoc* Committee of the OAU, after the meeting held in September 1980 in Freetown, submitted a new proposal in the obvious interest of our entire continent. That is why my country considers that the OAU should continue to study the case without hindrance of any kind and protected from any initiative that might compromise the present position, which gives cause for some optimism.

¹⁴ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980, document S/14139.*

128. Regarding the Comorian island of Mayotte, our country will continue to encourage the parties concerned to engage in continuous dialogue in accordance with resolution 34/69 especially as the parties concerned, the French Republic and the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros, have never rejected the procedure of a trusting and fruitful dialogue.

129. If we mention the question of Chad briefly, it is to emphasize the fact that it is time for us to act together in the spirit of the resolutions and recommendations of the OAU to assist the fraternal people of Chad—without any desire to interfere in its internal affairs—to find a way out of the tragic situation from which it has been suffering for six months without any immediate hope of an end to that heart-rending conflict.

130. The Lagos agreement, signed by the 11 parties to the conflict in August 1979, seemed to open the way to peace and national reconstruction for the people of Chad. If the present situation continues, it will be opportune to implement the recommendation of the OAU, to call, in specified conditions, on United Nations forces, composed solely of African blue berets, to ensure the return of peace to that country and the implementation of the provisions of the Lagos agreement. The need for that action, which was envisaged at the seventeenth ordinary session of the Assembly of the OAU, seems more urgent than ever today.

131. In concluding my remarks on Africa, I should like on behalf of my country to make an appeal to the international community. In our continent we have recently seen a transposition of the struggles for influence and hegemony which formerly rent Asia asunder to ideological or economic bases.

132. The international community should concern itself increasingly with respect of the right of peoples to self-determination, to decide freely on their development and the ways that are most likely to lead them to that development, bearing in mind their own history, culture and fundamental characteristics. Thus any attempt to destabilize Africa, through zones or countries, on the basis of different political or ideological options, whether those attempts stem from African countries or non-African countries, should be vehemently condemned, and the States responsible should be denounced.

133. It is at this price and this price alone that our continent will be able, given its diversity and the complementarity of its potential and riches, to secure its own development, in security, so that we can contribute to international peace and security.

134. The problem of the Middle East is one of the most serious problems confronting our present-day world. My Government therefore remains convinced that only a just and comprehensive solution of that problem can bring about lasting peace in the region, and the final solution of that question resides essentially in the exercise, by the fraternal people of Palestine, of all its inalienable rights, including its right to establish an independent sovereign State in its own homeland.

135. Senegal, as the Assembly knows, has always supported General Assembly resolution 181 (II), which foresaw the establishment of two States in Palestine, a Jewish one and an Arab one. The Jewish one has been created and we think it is only fair that the international community should assist in the creation of the Arab State in Palestine. In this respect, the intransigence of Israel makes it responsible for the persistence of tension in that part of the world. Israel not only refuses to evacuate the Arab territories occupied by force in 1967, notwithstanding the many resolutions adopted by the Security Council, the OAU, the General Assembly, the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned movement, but also is increasing the number of its illegal settlements with the same disregard for international law.

136. As we said at this rostrum during the seventh emergency special session¹⁵ on Palestine, convened on the initiative of Senegal and certain other members of the Assembly, the Palestinian people is a major people, and if any settlement of the question of Palestine is to be viable it must of necessity be reached with the full participation of that people through its legitimate, sole and authentic representative, the PLO, under the guidance of its Chairman, Mr. Yasser Arafat.

137. Today, the implementation of that right is demanded by more than 100 countries. It would be unrealistic and dangerous to reduce the right of the Palestinian people to create a sovereign State in Palestine to a mere right to administrative autonomy, without any real content, without any true significance. That solution has been irrevocably rejected by the principal parties concerned, in particular the Palestinians themselves.

138. My delegation considers, therefore, that it is urgent that negotiations be undertaken to settle the Palestinian matter in conformity with the principles contained in the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. But, and we cannot repeat this too often, the PLO must of necessity be associated in all phases of those negotiations and at all levels.

139. At the seventh emergency special session, on the question of Palestine, almost all the members of the international community expressed their conviction that the participation of the Palestinian people was fundamental and essential in all efforts to establish a just settlement of the Middle East conflict.

140. The problem of the Middle East, as we know, is a complex and delicate one. But Israel must understand that it cannot indefinitely deny on the pretext of preserving the security of the Zionist State the fact of Palestine, the Palestinians' right to self-determination, their right to existence and an independent State in Palestine or, finally, their right of return to their homeland.

141. The establishment of Jewish settlements in the Arab territories must stop, as must the successive violations of the fourth Geneva Convention and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

¹⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 6th meeting.*

142. The City of Jerusalem, the cradle and common patrimony of revealed religions, must preserve its historical and religious nature; this was confirmed once more by the Security Council in its resolution 478 (1980) adopted on 20 August 1980 declaring null and void the unilateral annexation by Israel of the Holy City.

143. Fortunately, the countries which had their embassies in Jerusalem decided to withdraw them following the adoption of that resolution by the Security Council. It is time for all States in the international community, particularly the big Powers, to adopt a clear stance on this question, assuming their full responsibility to secure immediate and unconditional withdrawal from all occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem.

144. It has now been established that the decision of the Israeli Government to annex Jerusalem and to make it the capital of a Hebrew State was a serious violation of international law and an additional reason for the worsening of the conflict in the Middle East. There are 2 billion Moslems and Christians throughout the world who are affected by this decision and who will never accept any illegal, unilateral modification of the status of the Holy City of Jerusalem. In this connection, my country, a member of the Islamic Conference, takes this opportunity to reaffirm its support for the resolutions adopted by the United Nations and for the actions envisaged by the Al Qods Committee, over which His Majesty Hassan II, King of Morocco, presides.

145. It is along the same lines that we view United Nations peace-keeping operations. Faithful to its commitment to contribute to the maintenance of peace throughout the world, Senegal has always supported the establishment by the United Nations of peace-keeping forces as a practical means for defusing regional conflicts. Accordingly, we have been participating in peace-keeping operations, thus assuming our share of the role incumbent on the international community in this field.

146. But Senegal cannot accept acts by the Israeli Government which indisputably undermine the credibility of our Organization. We remain particularly concerned by the harassment of UNIFIL by the *de facto* forces aided by Israel. Those forces have hampered the deployment of UNIFIL and continue to interfere with its activities. The situation thus created has been considerably worsened by the infiltration, in UNIFIL sectors, of armed elements which have been provoking incidents frequently resulting in the loss of human life.

147. It is appropriate to reaffirm our solidarity with the fraternal people of Lebanon, which, at the price of repeated sacrifices, has conveyed to the world the image of a courageous people determined to face its destiny, weapons in hand. That is why Senegal is devoted to Lebanon's integrity and sovereignty and deplores the attacks and acts of aggression to which it is constantly subjected by troops of Israel and its allies.

148. In order to facilitate the mission of United Nations troops, Senegal is proposing the establishment of a system of guarantees and immunities for troops placed at the disposal

of the United Nations for peace-keeping operations so that they can effectively discharge their mission of peace.

149. Serious as all those pockets of tension are, we cannot overlook the fact that elsewhere in the world there are situations that may threaten international peace and security.

150. Regarding Cyprus, it is regrettable to note that, despite good will on both sides, the intercommunal talks, so ardently encouraged, have not led to an agreement that would preserve the interests of the Cypriot communities, Greek and Turkish. Senegal hopes, consequently, that the negotiations which have been advocated between the two communities will yield a just and peaceful solution preserving the unity and sovereignty of Cyprus and its choice of non-alignment.

151. In Asia, the situation in Kampuchea threatens the peace and stability of the region. We must say, there is no such thing as good or bad foreign intervention. The Kampuchean people must exercise its right to complete independence, without foreign occupation or intervention.

152. The war now being organized and maintained in Kampuchea must stop so that an end can be put to the various attacks upon the liberties of the Kampuchean people and the sufferings imposed on it. The legal Government of Kampuchea, represented here by Vice-Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs Mr. Ieng Sary, must continue to enjoy the support of the international community, in accordance with the principles established by the Charter.

153. The situation in Afghanistan is of concern to the Organization in general, and to the Islamic world in particular. It was the subject of the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly, in January 1980; it was also taken up at the Islamic Conference at its last two sessions held at Islamabad.

154. At the thirty-fifth session the General Assembly must discuss the matter again, because the question has once more been included in the agenda [*item 116*] at the request of 32 countries, including Senegal itself. Indeed, we believe that not only can no just and lasting solution be found to the Afghan crisis as long as foreign troops remain in that country but also that the prolongation of such occupation is a direct and grave threat to peace and security in the whole region, including, in particular, the neighbouring countries.

155. It is imperative that our deliberations on this question at the present session yield decisions that will promote a return to peace and tranquillity in an independent and non-aligned Afghanistan. Such a settlement, moreover, could yield a just and lasting peace throughout the region.

156. Our policy is based essentially on non-alignment—non-alignment which, notwithstanding differing political and social systems, is, without a doubt, a fruitful element in international relations. Therefore, we continue to strive to uphold the purposes of the movement, based on the democratization of international relations and the independence of its members vis-à-vis all military blocs and the transcending of those blocs for the security of all States and for peace, without any "natural" alliances with any bloc or Power. Those are the principles that our country defended and

upheld at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.¹⁶

157. While the turn of events has proved our arguments correct and shown the validity of our positions here, the only conclusion we can draw is that duty to the truth and loyalty to principle are the stamp of peoples like my own, which consider non-alignment, in the final analysis, the salvation of young nations and the guarantee of their independence. For security cannot be imposed by force; it can only result from respect for every country's choices and from the commitment of every nation, large or small, to respect the sovereignty of others.

158. It is acknowledged today, by large and small countries alike, that pockets of crisis lead to violence in the world and that the stockpiling of weapons can at any time give rise to a local explosion that could assume cataclysmic dimensions. That is why my country remains deeply concerned by the question of disarmament and the arms race. The concern which every people has over the problem of its security and its very survival is so great that maintaining peace among peoples must remain for us an abiding priority.

159. Was not the United Nations created precisely to preserve succeeding generations from the scourge of war? Because the existence in the world of nuclear stockpiles entails the threat of nuclear conflagration, the most urgent task humanity must face today is that of dismantling the hierarchical international order that supports the present military system, replacing it by a security system based upon peaceful coexistence, but also on practical acceptance of the sovereign equality of all nations.

160. The present proliferation of nuclear know-how may have allayed some concern through a balance of terror, but impulsive or irrational behaviour, in the presence of sudden serious tension, could at any time trigger a nuclear war.

161. Senegal had occasion to hail the initiative which led to the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament. We must note, however, that the resultant Programme of Action for nuclear disarmament, [see resolution S-10/2], which proceeded from the concern to stem the nuclear arms race and to undertake reductions leading to the elimination of existing stockpiles, is, unfortunately, far from having made any progress in its implementation, despite the consensus it had enjoyed here.

162. Moreover, the draft comprehensive treaty banning nuclear weapons and nuclear weapons testing has yet to be completed. We deplore that fact, even though, since the tenth special session, in 1978, the United States and the Soviet Union have signed the SALT II agreement.¹⁷

163. It will be recalled that Senegal, at all international conferences on disarmament, had clearly advocated the reduction of arms expenditures and the allocation of 5 per cent of their current volume to development assistance.

164. At the same time, Senegal, which remains in favour of the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones, particularly in Africa, favours a review and re-orientation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons machinery [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] in order to enable States parties to the Treaty to benefit from the peaceful industrial uses of nuclear energy.

165. Basic as solution of political problems is, the solution of economic problems remains no less essential for the attainment of peace.

166. The Government of Senegal, faithful to its staunch position on the defence and promotion of human rights, has always emphasized, and will continue to stress the idea that economic, social and cultural rights are inseparable from civil and political rights. Both seek the same goals and proceed from the same basis and have recourse to similar protection methods. But civil and political rights demand, furthermore, combined efforts of all members of the international community.

167. In that respect, Senegal emphasized in the Commission on Human Rights the concept of the "right to development"¹⁸—namely, the acknowledged right of all peoples and individuals to satisfy their needs in accordance with their aspirations, to the fullest extent consistent with the equitable enjoyment of the goods and services produced by the community.

168. Indisputably, development is a particularly binding imperative. In this connection the division of the world between rich and poor countries is one of the most serious concerns of our time. However, safeguarding peace does not depend merely on development; it also depends on respect for human rights by all Governments.

169. Unlike most other rights having to do with the human person, the right to development is first and foremost a collective right. As the President of the Republic of Senegal, Mr. Léopold Sédar Senghor, is wont to stress, "Man is the beginning and end of development". Senegal has understood that well. Indeed, it has since the earliest years of its independence striven to implement a policy of development adapted to its national realities by stressing respect for human rights.

170. While it is certain that human rights are one of the main elements of development and that their violation cannot be justified by the demands of development, it is also obvious that there cannot be a new economic order without a new world cultural order.

171. The cultural dimension of development cannot in these conditions be dissociated from its economic dimension. The third world countries would do well to appreciate more clearly the interaction between cultural and economic objectives to the extent that the cultural prejudices to which they are subject are a destructive obstacle to the elimination of unfair trading practices in international economic relations. Consequently, the new cultural order should be based on recognition of our differences and the acceptance of our

¹⁶ Held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979.

¹⁷ 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.

¹⁸ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1980, Supplement No. 3, para. 132.*

cultural characteristics in order better to appreciate our similarities.

172. Senegal, which has been a member of the Commission on Human Rights for several years, attaches overriding importance to the sacred rights of the human person, as enshrined in its Constitution and its laws. We continue to believe that only the creation of a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights would help the United Nations to gain a better understanding of the problem, which from year to year becomes more serious.

173. Accordingly, Senegal took the initiative in proposing a charter for the creation of an African commission on human rights and the rights of peoples.

174. The OAU has already endorsed that idea and has held several meetings on the subject. Such a regional commission could be envisaged for other continents as well, thus enabling the future United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to rely on those regional structures on the same basis as the Economic and Social Council relies on the regional commissions.

175. To revert to economic development, the eleventh special session of the General Assembly certainly did not achieve the results hoped for, but it had the advantage of raising the problem of development in all its multiple aspects. We hope that the consensus reached at that session¹⁹ will provide a basis for the future global negotiations which are to take place at the beginning of next year, which will also mark the launching of the Third United Nations Development Decade.

176. To that end, the political will shown throughout that session should be increased by all States in a spirit of interdependence and solidarity which will ensure the early advent of genuine international co-operation in the best interests of all mankind. Mankind is entitled to live in peace. To that end, the nations represented here must once more take a close look at the principles of the Charter, by which we are bound, and scrupulously apply them.

177. If ever-more-numerous regional conflicts are monopolizing the attention of the United Nations and the Security Council, it is because those principles, coupled with the rules of good-neighbourliness, are, unfortunately, not always respected. Here my delegation wishes to stress the importance of the role of the regional organizations in the search for the peaceful settlement of disputes which pit one State against another.

178. Indeed, regional organizations, where they exist, should act as buffers in order to help in resolving disputes between States of the same region, as the OAU has done on several occasions, thus allowing the United Nations to devote more effort to the serious problems of economic and social development and disarmament.

179. For its part Senegal is applying those principles, in particular with regard to all its neighbours, with which it enjoys the best possible relations. It is true that our political

philosophy is based first and foremost on humanism, which means that continuing dialogue is the essential element in resolving disputes.

180. We continue to believe in the United Nations and its mission as the custodian of peace and the guarantor of international security, and we take this opportunity of assuring the United Nations of our abiding and unswerving support in its quest for a more just and united world based on trust, tolerance and understanding among all peoples.

181. Mr. ROLANDIS (Cyprus): Mr. President, I should like first of all to extend to you warm congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of this Assembly of nations and express the best wishes of the Government and people of the Republic of Cyprus for a successful outcome of our deliberations under your enlightened guidance. Your unanimous election to this high office not only reflects the confidence of the international community in your personal diplomatic acumen but also constitutes recognition of the role of your country, with which we maintain friendly relations in world affairs.

182. I should like also to express the well-deserved admiration which your predecessor, Ambassador Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, earned by his outstanding performance during the thirty-fourth and the sixth and seventh emergency special sessions and the eleventh special session of the General Assembly.

183. We wish also to commend for his work and achievements that indefatigable fighter for the cause of international peace, security and justice, Mr. Waldheim, who soldiers on despite adverse conditions and inadequate machinery for the implementation of the resolutions and the attainment of the objectives of the Organization.

184. It is with joy that we welcome the Republic of Zimbabwe to our midst and the admission to membership of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. We assure those new Members of our close co-operation in the years to come. The attainment of independence by new nations bolsters our hope that the world is moving in the right direction, towards the dignity of man. The case of Zimbabwe signals the encouraging message that, after all, reason is powerful enough to prevail.

185. The thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly has begun against the background of emergency and special sessions and of a deteriorating international situation fraught with political and economic tensions and deepening crises. The agenda of this session is loaded with issues of major importance which must be viewed with the necessary will and determination if we are to promote solutions to the problems plaguing humanity and safeguard international peace and security and legal order.

186. The past year has seen a weakening of relations between the great Powers and also of the process of détente. Furthermore, the frenzied escalation of the arms race and the violations of international law and the code of conduct among States do not augur well for the thirty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

¹⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Special Session, Annexes*, agenda item 7, document A/S-11/25, para. 16.

187. In the face of alarming and unpredictable international developments, the Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization, significantly comments that

“It is rightly a matter of general concern that the decisions of the Security Council and the resolutions of the General Assembly often go unheeded, so that problems which should have been brought under control persist, proliferate and pose continual threats to international peace. This failure also has a debilitating effect on the United Nations itself”. [See A/35/1, sect. II.]

188. Within this context, the Secretary-General poses the question of whether the concept of international peace and security as outlined in the Charter is still a valid and feasible aim to strive for and, if it is, how to proceed to make the United Nations machinery effective. No doubt the response to the question should be in the affirmative; and, of course, implementation of United Nations resolutions could decisively improve the grim outlook of today. In this regard, the proposal made by the President of the Republic of Cyprus for the holding of a special session of the General Assembly on this issue may be recalled.

189. Peace-keeping and peace-making can also decisively contribute towards the effectiveness of the United Nations and the entrenchment of international peace and security. It is by now accepted that while peace-keeping is in itself very significant, it should be followed by, or combined with, peace-making. Otherwise, it becomes an end in itself and contributes to the perpetuation of a problem rather than to its solution. It acts like a sedative and soothes the pain without curing the disease. In this connection, I consider it my duty to reiterate our appreciation and gratitude to UNFICYP for its commendable task of keeping the peace. It is our sincere wish and objective that its praiseworthy services will be necessary for the shortest possible period.

190. Obviously, international peace and security cannot be attained through an unrestrained arms race. The fostering of confidence among States, leading to a restriction of armaments and to détente, is a *sine qua non*. The relationship between disarmament and international security, as indeed between disarmament and development, forms the basis of current efforts for the achievement of a more peaceful and balanced international order. Moreover, genuine and lasting peace can only be based on the effective implementation of the provisions of the Charter.

191. The cardinal issue in this field is nuclear disarmament, in the direction of which we have regrettably made only marginal progress. What we witness at present is a deplorable escalation of strategic competition and other actions which nullify the contents, and frustrate the objectives, of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

192. As far as my country is concerned, I would recall the proposal made by President Kyprianou for the complete disarmament and demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus.

193. Within the general framework of efforts for the promotion of détente, co-operation among States and international security, of outstanding importance is the second review session of the Conference on Security and Co-

operation in Europe, the preparatory phase of which is currently in session at Madrid.

194. My country, together with the other non-aligned and neutral European States, will be at pains to bring about a positive outcome of the deliberations at Madrid. Cyprus believes that the implementation of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act will be instrumental in the strengthening of peace, security and co-operation in Europe, the Mediterranean and the rest of the world.

195. Parallel to that, and of equal importance, are the efforts for the establishment of the new international economic order. It is by now acknowledged that no nation or group of nations can safely prosper in isolation, while others live in poverty, need and deprivation. There is no moral foundation whatsoever to support a world society of haves and have-nots. However, we note with regret that the eleventh special session of the General Assembly failed to make adequate progress towards a just and equitable economic order. While voicing our disappointment, we express the earnest hope that the necessary political will may be forthcoming in the near future so that the iniquitous world economic system will be gradually replaced by a new order and a more balanced distribution of wealth, financial means and potentialities. We should start building on the limited progress achieved by the special session, such as the consensus on the text for the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [see A/35/464]. It is our hope that it will prove possible to advance towards an agreement on the global round of negotiations along the lines set out by the Group of 77,¹⁹ which represents the concerns of the majority of the world community.

196. Another issue of major concern to the developing countries is the creation of a new information and communications order, which has been rightly defined as forming an integral part of the wider issues concerning a more just and equitable world order. The United Nations itself, and in particular UNESCO, has a leading role to play in this regard and Cyprus will continue to render steady support to this end.

197. Another area of particular concern to the whole world and one in which progress has recently been achieved is the law of the sea, the economic and political ramifications of which reach far beyond the three fifths of the earth's surface which is covered by the oceans. It is our hope and trust that during the coming year the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea will succeed in resolving the outstanding issues and that it will place before the world the text of a convention which will fairly distribute the wealth of what has been defined as the common heritage of mankind.

198. While we review international problems, particular attention is due to the problem of the Middle East and Palestine, which was the subject of the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly. Let me state at the outset that, in our view, there can be no comprehensive peace in the Middle East without a just and viable solution of the problem of Palestine, which lies at the core of this grave international problem. Cyprus has consistently sup-

ported the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, which we consider to be a historical, national and human necessity. Cyprus furthermore recognizes the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. We firmly support the right of the Palestinians to establish their own independent sovereign State.

199. We deplore the dispersal and displacement of the Palestinian people and the dispossession of their properties, as well as the ongoing creation of *faits accomplis* in the occupied Arab lands, such as the establishment of settlements and the recent unacceptable action purporting to affect the status of Jerusalem. The occupying authorities must cease their practices and must withdraw speedily and unconditionally from all Arab territories occupied since 1967. Furthermore, belligerency must come to an end and the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area must be recognized and respected; and so should the right to recognized boundaries. It is our view that the solution of the problem can emerge only from concerted efforts exerted within the framework of and in compliance with resolutions adopted by the Assembly and the Security Council, and not through partial agreements.

200. The situation in Lebanon, a neighbouring country with which my own maintains close relations, is a source of concern to us. It is our hope that the problems which at present divide its people will soon be solved and that Lebanon's sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity will be maintained and respected.

201. At this point I would voice concern and anxiety over the open hostilities between two neighbouring countries, namely Iran and Iraq, and express the fervent hope that those hostilities will soon end and that the parties will solve their differences through peaceful means.

202. We also maintain that the problems in South-East Asia and in other areas of the world should be solved in accordance with the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, in such a way as to preserve the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of every State and on the basis of the wishes of every people concerned.

203. It is our hope and trust that the Sahraoui people will soon enjoy the fruits of unhindered national independence throughout the exercise of their right to self-determination. My country calls for the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Western Sahara without further delay and we voice support for the initiatives of the OAU towards the solution of this problem.

204. Indeed, this year marks the twentieth anniversary of the landmark General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), whereby the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was proclaimed. The United Nations can take justifiable pride in the historic achievements over the 20 years which have since elapsed, in the course of which a chorus of nations emerged from colonial rule to independence.

205. After so many years of debate there appears today to be unanimity in declared positions, although unfortunately

not in terms of the action required, about the need for the eradication of racism in southern Africa as manifested by the occupation of Namibia and the practice of *apartheid* in South Africa. We have to acknowledge that for as long as those situations persist it will be impossible for us to assert that the process of decolonization has ended.

206. Cyprus acknowledges the special responsibility of the United Nations for Namibia and the role of the United Nations Council for Namibia, of which my country is a member, to administer the Territory until its independence. We deplore the constant efforts by the South African Government to impede the implementation of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) and of the United Nations plan for a peaceful settlement of this important question. We condemn any and all unilateral actions by South Africa in violation of any plan, especially those which undermine the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia, such as the attempts to detach Walvis Bay from the rest of the Territory in violation of Security Council resolution 432 (1978). We are also concerned with the possible threat to international peace and security which the prolongation of this problem, coupled with repeated acts of aggression against Angola and Zambia, entails.

207. We take an equally strong stand with reference to the eradication of the evil of *apartheid*, an anachronism which has rightly been defined as State terrorism and a violation *in toto* of human rights and values. On that issue as well we join in calling for concerted international action for the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions, which can lead to the extinction of this evil.

208. The promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all is an ongoing process, and their universal application should be of global concern. Continuing violations of human rights should be dealt with effectively and the discrepancy between declarations and realities, as well as selectivity in the approach to human rights violations, should be eliminated.

209. It is true that we have come a long way in the field of human rights since the establishment of the Organization. Thus we have seen the idealistic declarations and the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights acquire binding force through the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [*resolution 2200 A (XXI)*]. The Human Rights Committee is destined to serve precisely the purpose of seeing to their application. Similarly, the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, established under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2106 A (XX)*], acts as a watchdog, considering the measures taken by the contracting parties to give effect to the provisions of the Convention. I should also mention the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [*resolution 3068 (XXVIII)*], which has its own machinery.

210. The Commission on Human Rights takes a more pragmatic approach, with the appointment of special rapporteurs on human rights and the establishment of working groups such as the one on missing and disappeared persons.

211. We welcome those positive developments in the belief that when individuals and nations are deprived of their rights and fundamental freedoms, universal concern should be expressed not by word alone but, more importantly, by deed and concerted action.

212. The non-aligned movement, to which we belong, today has an enhanced role in world affairs. An impressive array of 95 nations and two thirds of the world's population give it its influential stature. Cyprus will remain dedicated to the movement and to its principles.

213. As the twentieth century crosses the threshold of the last 20-year span of an eventful life, the Government of the Republic of Cyprus, which yesterday celebrated the twentieth anniversary of its independence, presents before the Assembly for the seventh consecutive year its problem; the problem is the same, with the same setting and the same protagonists. This year, however, the tone is different. A ray of hope brightens the scenery: the intercommunal talks have got under way.

214. Although more than six years have elapsed since the tragic events of 1974, Cyprus is still striving for its independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. The plight of all the people of Cyprus still persists in all its manifestations: the misery of the refugees is rampant all over the country, and the untold suffering of the relatives of missing persons calls for a solution of this purely humanitarian problem.

215. Since 1974, when the Cyprus problem in its present form was first discussed in the General Assembly and the Security Council, a host of other major international issues have piled up. Veteran diplomats confess that the vibrations from the international political turbulence are felt at the United Nations more strongly and menacingly for peace than ever before.

216. In the maelstrom of world events the Cyprus problem has a position of its own. It is the problem of a small country, but the stakes are high. Cyprus lies where three continents meet. The area just outside its periphery is dotted with some of the biggest names in international affairs: Palestine, the problem of the Middle East, the Suez Canal, Middle Eastern oil, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], Greco-Turkish relations, bloc confrontations. Tremors in the vicinity might be as harmful as if they occurred in a porcelain shop.

217. The United Nations has adopted a number of resolutions relevant to the question of Cyprus. Their contents have been the subject of long deliberations amongst Member States. Those resolutions, together with the high-level agreements of 1977²⁰ and 1979,²¹ constitute the basic material which will be used by the two interlocutors in the Cyprus talks in their quest for a solution to the problem. Another valuable factor will be the climate of good will and understanding which has prevailed since the inception of the talks. In any type of negotiation, good will and understanding are the underlying elements of success.

²⁰ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12723, annex.

²¹ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1979*, document S/13369, paras. 39 and 51.

218. We give our full and unequivocal support to the talks which have started recently in Cyprus. We believe that people must communicate and try to understand each other if they are to obviate difficulties and resolve problems. We are neither optimistic nor pessimistic about the chances of success of the talks. At this stage we consider it more appropriate and constructive to concentrate on the process and to focus our attention on the contents and substance of the talks as they progress than to try to surmise what the eventual outcome will be. We do not lose sight of the fact that on some of the issues the views of the parties are poles apart. This is not a reason for abandoning the talks. It is a reason for trying harder. After all, people negotiate because they differ, not because they agree.

219. The resumption of the talks was achieved after many months of unflagging efforts and as a result of the resoluteness of the Secretary-General and his collaborators and their dedication to the cause of peace. Their task has not ended with the resumption of the talks; it has just begun. They have to travel an uphill road, together with the negotiating parties. The tenacity, the wide experience and the consummate ability of the Secretary-General to grapple with delicate international issues will prove tremendously helpful when the parties come to grips with the problem.

220. The basic infrastructural elements of the federal republic which will emerge from the negotiating table if the talks succeed are set out in the aforementioned high-level agreements and in United Nations resolutions. If there is adherence to the principles enshrined in those agreements and resolutions, if moderation, fairness of mind and objectivity persist throughout the negotiations, and if good will and patience prevail not only when things appear to be easy but at difficult moments as well, then we may look forward to a political miracle in addition to the economic miracle for which Cyprus was given the accolade of economic experts. Political miracles, however, like economic miracles, differ from ordinary miracles in that there is nothing miraculous about them. They are the product of hard and painstaking efforts and of a pragmatic and wise approach to facts.

221. The failure of the Cyprus talks will signify a failure of the whole people of Cyprus—Greek and Turkish; there will be no winners. It will further signify failure and setback in the cause of world peace.

222. We shall therefore try as hard as reason permits, not only for Cyprus and its people, but equally for peace and justice, which are so much cherished but at the same time so strikingly missing from today's world.

223. Mr. BOUTROS (Lebanon) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I am happy to present to you, Sir, the warm greetings of the Lebanese delegation on your election as President of the current session of the General Assembly. Your high personal qualities, your wisdom and your vast experience in international affairs will guarantee the efficient administration of our work with knowledge and competence.

224. I also wish to praise the work so ably undertaken by your predecessor, the Ambassador of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, during his term as President of the thirty-fourth session of the Assembly.

225. I further wish to welcome and to congratulate the Republic of Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines on their joining the Organization.

226. One year ago, from this rostrum, I presented to the conscience of the world, in the name of Lebanon, the tragedy of a people and homeland and the painful dimensions of long-enduring adversities.²² I set forth the many causes and the regional and international practices which made of Lebanon a main victim in the game of nations. With outcries of suffering and rancour, enduring our wounds, we voiced the aspirations and hopes of a people and its yearning for a real and just peace so long awaited. I need not reiterate what I explained at length last year, and yet it remains equally valid today.

227. One whole year has passed, replete with weighty events in various parts of the world—events that have stirred up international conflict and increased the vehemence of competition, exposing the course of international détente to dangerous pitfalls and almost wrecking the hopes of attaining stability, tranquillity and prosperity.

228. Lebanon has paid and continues to pay, in innocent blood and heavy destruction of its assets and institutions, a heavy toll that is far beyond its capacity for problems towards whose creation it has not contributed and for injustices of which it has always been innocent. This allows Lebanon to address itself to the world community, to speak out frankly to its brethren and friends and to voice its opinions and demands at this precise time.

229. The prolongation of the Middle East crisis over so many years and its aggravation from day to day threatens not only the peace and security of the region and the welfare of its people, but the peace and security of the world.

230. Everybody is aware of the importance which the Middle East region represents, with its distinctive strategic location, its abundant human potential and its vital natural resources and heritage, for stability, prosperity and well-being in its immediate environment in particular and in the world in general.

231. This persistent depletion of human potential in our region and of its resources, which is caused by the chronic Arab-Israeli conflict and the increasing violence and disturbances to which this conflict has led, has an adverse effect on the peoples of the world at a time when political and economic dependence is increasing among the world's different regions and peoples.

232. Despite successive disappointments we remain convinced that peace in the Middle East is inevitable. It will be achieved if good intentions prevail and efforts are made to bring it about on sound and just bases. In this regard, we feel obliged to assert our convictions.

233. A proper climate for a peaceful solution to the Middle East crisis should first be ensured. This climate presupposes a minimum level of international détente so as to reduce the intensity of the repercussions of the struggle for influence in

the region, with its consequent polarization, which increases tension and the danger of confrontation and explosion. In short, any attempt to deal unilaterally with the Middle East crisis by excluding principal parties to the conflict or disregarding their rights or their interests will not ensure sound bases for real peace in the region.

234. The problem is further aggravated when separate attempts are accompanied by ideas of fragmentary solutions that ignore questions intrinsic to the Arab-Israeli conflict and disregard legitimate rights which are recognized by principles of international law and justice and endorsed by various international resolutions, or seek to provide compensation for the possessors of these rights at the expense of the future and interests of others.

235. A long-range view and a true understanding of facts imply that the desired peace in the Middle East will have to be a comprehensive peace which recognizes the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of a State on their land, otherwise there will be no peace under any circumstances.

236. The Palestine question has always been the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict and of the Middle East crisis. Any final solution to this crisis must include a just solution of the Palestine question on the basis of the participation of the Palestinian people in the peace process through its legitimate representatives. This is a fact which will inevitably impose itself sooner or later, and any delay in accepting it tends to increase the number of victims and senselessly spread destruction and also endanger peace in the region and the world.

237. A peaceful solution of the Middle East crisis must be brought about in conformity with sound bases and principles, foremost among which is the principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition of land by force and the consequent necessity of Israel's withdrawal from all occupied territories, including Jerusalem.

238. Instead, we see today, as in the past, Israel's continued policy of flouting and violating the resolutions of the United Nations, while totally disregarding the will of the international community and the principles of international law. This policy was lately capped by Israel's measures to annex Arab Jerusalem and to declare it to be its capital, thereby provoking the entire international community and causing serious repercussions.

239. This unfortunate situation leads to violence and complications whose consequences no one can foresee. We noticed recently that the majority of the countries of the international community, especially some European countries, are becoming increasingly aware of the gravity of the situation. We believe that if these countries move as a group in the right direction, and adopt bold attitudes, they will definitely generate a current that will greatly affect world opinion.

240. The heads of State and Government and the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the European Community at their meeting in June 1980 at Venice, and at their meeting in September at Brussels, favoured Lebanon with a praise-

²² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 26th meeting, paras. 3-67.

worthy gesture which we hope will be followed by other steps. The restoration of peace and stability in Lebanon is, in our view, the necessary prelude for peace in the entire Middle East region. Nevertheless, it is useless to seek final, stable peace in our region if Lebanon is left in the grip of conflicts and violence whose dangers and complications will inevitably reach beyond its borders to the entire region and so destroy any peace that might be to the detriment of that country or ignore its situation.

241. The fact is that in the Middle East besides the Palestinian question, and to a large extent because of it, there is today a Lebanese question which is becoming more complex and which requires responsible attitudes and effective treatment.

242. The Middle East crisis is at the origin of Lebanon's crisis, because the roots of the Lebanese crisis lie in the inequity which accompanied the creation of the State of Israel at the expense of the people of Palestine, in Israel's policy of expansion, and also in the imbalance the Palestine question and the displacement of Palestinians and their armed resistance have caused in the region as a whole and especially in our country, thus affecting the sensitive internal equilibrium which characterizes its life. This occurred in particular as a result of Israeli aggression and of clashes and excesses taking place on Lebanon's territory, not to mention the various forms of interference in our internal affairs.

243. Moreover, the Lebanese question took on international dimensions when Lebanon became the only setting in which the conflicting Powers in the region—Israeli, Arab and international—were fighting, and became the military arena of both Israel and the Palestinian resistance. While Israel aims its blows against Lebanon on some pretext or other, the Palestine resistance carries out its revolutionary activity in such a way that Lebanon alone endures the consequences of action and reaction, even though the conflict essentially concerns the entire Arab community and the world community cannot remain aloof.

244. What complicates the situation further is the struggle for influence conducted by the two super-Powers by proxy and the outbreak of Arab disputes in Lebanon through the Lebanese and residents of Lebanon. This has led to the violation of our frontiers and the security of our country as a result of Israeli aggression and to irregular practices within Lebanese territory. The sanctity of our territory has been breached and the ability of the State to exercise its authority has been thwarted, especially as it applies to safeguarding sovereignty and security. That state of affairs has contributed to widening the gap between the various internal factions in Lebanon and even to further aggravating their differences.

245. It grieves us to say that some States are watching with indifference what is befalling Lebanon—which may become the scapegoat of a crisis that has reached alarming proportions owing to the violation of legal and ethical principles in international relations—in the expectation that this crisis can be solved at Lebanon's expense.

246. We do not hesitate for a moment to assert that peace and security in Lebanon are vital to the peace and stability of our region and that a reinvigorated Lebanon, with its dis-

tinutive equilibrium and characteristics and its pioneering role in its region and in the world, is a fundamental element in the equilibrium and stability of the region.

247. While we are not unaware of the links between the Middle East crisis and the Lebanese crisis, we cannot neglect the crisis in Lebanon until the means for solving the Middle East crisis are available. Consequently, we have always maintained that the Lebanese crisis must be dealt with as an independent question *per se*, even through attempts to find a transitional solution, and that efforts towards this end must be given the priority they deserve.

248. In this connection, I cannot but quote what the President of Lebanon said at the beginning of this year:

“Is it conceivable to say to this people, ‘Your hour has not yet arrived. Wait until visibility is clear in the region, and probably outside the region too?’ What wrong has Lebanon done to the region or to the world, to man and to his rights? If Lebanon has so far endured much more than it can stand, does that mean that it should be asked to allow itself to collapse completely under the load? Is this country condemned—is it permissible to condemn it—to have all the problems of its brethren and friends, not to mention its enemies, solved at its expense?”

249. It is reasonable that the Lebanese should feel that responsibility for rescuing their country and for restoring peace and stability to it lies primarily with them—the people and leaders. In spite of the dreadful events that have befallen it during its long affliction, this people has often proved its unswerving attachment to its fundamental values, its homeland and its devotion to the constituents of its unity, freedom and independence.

250. Without exaggeration and without boasting, I say that I know of no country in the world that could suffer what Lebanon has suffered in the course of the past five years and yet maintain the fundamentals of homeland and statehood. What our citizens possess in awareness and potential, together with the continued endeavour of the Government in circumstances difficult to visualize, has made it possible to preserve the principles of legality and unity, the identity of Lebanon and its democratic and liberal system, and its openness towards the world. This is no small matter.

251. Since the beginning external factors have permeated the Lebanese crisis, giving it grave dimensions and putting appropriate solutions out of the reach of the Lebanese alone. In order for the Lebanese to solve their problems and rescue their homeland, external interference should cease, regional and international currents of struggle for influence on the Lebanese scene should recede and aggression on Lebanon's territory and against its national sovereignty should cease.

252. These external factors of the Lebanese crisis have aroused the concern of some sister and friendly States and made us resort on more than one occasion and for one reason or another to the Arab community as well as to the Security Council with the aim of finding effective solutions.

253. Several resolutions have been adopted proclaiming the necessity of safeguarding Lebanon's unity, its independ-

ence and the security of its land, and of extending its sovereignty over its entire territory. It pains us to say, however, that most of those resolutions were not provided with the means for their implementation because, in general, they avoided confronting the root of the problem. Purposely, or as a result of weakness, they put aside some aspects of the crisis, although their authors are fully aware of the various aspects of the problem, through their representatives and emissaries. They became similar to abstract resolutions, making us wonder about the real attitude of some States, despite their statements of full support for Lebanon.

254. During the past few months Israel has not stopped launching devastating raids on southern Lebanon. In these acts of aggression Israel has been using sophisticated American weapons, thus violating with impunity agreements that prohibit the use of those weapons for such purposes. The United States of America must reconcile its principles with its practices and take the necessary measures to impose respect for the agreements under which the weapons are provided, thus putting into practical terms its concern for Lebanon's independence and safety of its territory.

255. Southern Lebanon, this unfortunate district so dear to the Lebanese, which continues to suffer from repeated aggression and contradictions that result on its soil from the disruptions that often accompany Palestinian resistance action, appreciates the effort undertaken by the United Nations through the Security Council to deal with its problems, even though that effort has not been so fruitful as we and the Assembly would have wished it to be.

256. If Lebanon and the people of its southern region are at present helpless and unable to check this tragedy, they hold, more than at any time in the past, to their powers and their right to tell the world that they do not and will not agree to any measure or policy emanating from whatever source that has as its aim interference with their land and their sacred right to it. Their true patriotism and sincere commitment to the Palestinian cause carry with them the categorical rejection of any occupation or threat or blackmail that touches on their land or their rights.

257. In spite of the circumstances which limit its scope of action, the Lebanese Government can proclaim a position that is dictated by national duty and agreed on by all the Lebanese people, namely, that no one can derive from occupation or from resort to violence any right *vis-à-vis* Lebanon or its territory or any right to exercise tutelage over any part of Lebanon or its people.

258. While it is southern Lebanon which reveals these truths to us, they apply equally to Lebanon as a whole.

259. During the past year we urgently sought full implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council, and asked that UNIFIL be enabled to carry out its mandate to ensure Israel's complete withdrawal from Lebanese territory and help the Lebanese authorities to restore their sovereignty over all of southern Lebanon, and over all parties operating in it, up to the internationally recognized borders. We also wanted the Mixed Armistice Commission to resume its functions as provided for in Security Council resolutions.

260. We should, in this connection, praise the efforts of the Secretary-General and of his staff to ensure the success of UNIFIL's task, and we express to him and his staff our profound gratitude. We wish also to express our deep appreciation to the Security Council, to the countries contributing to UNIFIL, and to its troops, officers and soldiers.

261. The peace-keeping mission which the Security Council has set up and still supervises has been a positive step in spite of the obstacles to its fulfilment. The Secretary-General refers in his report on the work of the Organization to the important role of this Force [*see A/35/1, sect. III*], despite the difficulties it faces, which are well known to the Assembly. The Lebanese Government has more than once expressed the extreme importance it attaches to the presence of UNIFIL, its earnest desire fully to co-operate with this Force, and the necessity of ensuring the full implementation of the Security Council resolutions.

262. Consequently we earnestly call upon the Security Council to safeguard its authority and credibility by taking whatever measures are needed to enable UNIFIL to carry out its mandate in southern Lebanon and put an end to the cruel Israeli aggression against the region.

263. We rely in this respect on the assistance of the major Powers and on the true co-operation of sister Arab States, in conformity with the dictates of real fraternal links and common interests, and we appeal to all States which believe in the Charter.

264. The Palestinian resistance is invited today, more than ever before, to provide proof of its desire to respect its commitments and demonstrate awareness and a spirit of responsibility with regard to its temporary presence in Lebanon, to exert every effort to reach a sincere understanding with Lebanon, to avoid anything that may harm its relations with the Lebanese authorities and citizens, and finally to guard against taking the slippery path it has not always succeeded in avoiding. It well knows how much Lebanon can endure without being destroyed.

265. Lebanon, its Government and people, have consistently supported the rightful cause of the Palestinians since the Palestine question first arose. Lebanon has offered to that cause sacrifices which exceed many times those offered by others who are in a much better position to do so. Lebanon has proclaimed and reiterated its keen concern to avoid the emergence of a contradiction between the Palestine cause, to which we are committed, and the Lebanese cause, on which the life of the citizens, the future of the homeland and the security of its territory, are dependent. Lebanon expects to receive understanding and a favourable response, especially from those directly concerned, in order to be able to persevere in this course and fulfil its well-known mission, which it freely chose without any kind of constraint.

266. Before concluding, I cannot but refer to a most serious matter concerning suspect plans being hatched to settle Palestinians in Lebanon, when in fact the Palestinians demand their right to their own land.

267. By what right and according to what justice do some intend to redress one inequity by a greater injustice, to solve the rightful problem of a people at the expense of another

people, to disturb the equilibrium of a homeland, and to risk the entity of a State that is one of the founding Members of the United Nations?

268. We confirm what the President of Lebanon has announced on more than one occasion. We unequivocally reject any plan for settlement and any move to bring it about, directly or indirectly. We shall resist settlement under any guise and at any stage and we shall resist it with all our power, which springs from our belief in our sacred right to our homeland, a right that no one shares with us.

269. Lebanon's territory is not an abandoned land, and it is not a commodity to be bartered in international transactions. Our people have been deeply rooted in this land for hundreds of years, and succeeding generations have preserved and will continue to preserve every inch of Lebanese soil.

270. A homeland cannot be built on the ruins of another homeland. Whoever indulges in this line of thought is not only an enemy of Lebanon and of its cause, but also an

enemy of the Palestinian cause itself, and of peace and justice in the world. The Middle East crisis which has arisen as a result of the plundering of Palestinian land is a living proof of the absurdity of such thinking.

271. When, as a young State, we participated in the founding of the United Nations, we were convinced, like scores of States that later on joined this great community, that the Organization would provide an adequate framework guaranteeing peace, justice and security in the world, and that its lofty tenets and the provisions of its Charter would put an end to the law of the jungle and the arbitrariness of force in international relations.

272. In spite of the wrongs, the tragedies, the failures, the weaknesses and the indifference we have witnessed, we remain convinced that there is still time for the Organization to dispel the prevailing frustration and fulfil mankind's hopes in the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.