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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. CHISSANO (Mozambique): It is with deep pleasure that we see in the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly a high representative of the Republic of Iraq, a country with which we have close ties of friendship and co-operation. The election of a distinguished diplomat, one who represents a country which belongs to the non-aligned movement—a country which supports the cause of liberty, self-determination and the independence of peoples and countries—constitutes an honour to the Assembly. My delegation will give you, Mr. President, its full support and co-operation in an effort to see our work fully successful.

2. We also want to compliment the Secretary-General on his relentless efforts and dedication in the search for the best solutions to the international problems and conflicts that plague all humanity.

3. It is with satisfaction that we salute the admission of Belize and the Republic of Vanuatu as Members of the United Nations. This growth of our big family of nations, based upon the just desire of peoples for independence, liberty and justice, is nothing but the consecration of the dignified principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations. The implementation of these principles should be irreversible. All those peoples that remain victims of domination and exploitation by others should occupy the place which is rightfully theirs in the Assembly.

4. It is with deep concern that we see the alarming deterioration of the international situation in the political field, as well as in the economic field. The crisis in the international economic system is still causing a great disarrangement of structures and a persistent lack of equity in international economic relations.

5. In spite of the measures established by the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*General Assem-*

bly resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)], the results that we see coming out of the multilateral economic negotiations for the establishment of a new international economic order are still modest. The transformation of declarations of intent into positive action depends basically upon the political good will of the developed countries towards effective and firm steps that will contribute to the establishment of a new system of international economic relations.

6. Adequate, lasting solutions to the problems which face the world economy require a global and integrated approach to such relevant questions as those of raw materials, trade, food, energy, money and finance. It is therefore necessary that the global round of negotiations be launched immediately.

7. The successful outcome of the global negotiations, through the adoption of collective accords on the various questions, will result in a significant contribution to the implementation of the Third United Nations Development Decade. Their failure, on the other hand, could bring about even worse consequences for development and international co-operation and for international peace and security.

8. The People's Republic of Mozambique maintains that the intensification of co-operation on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and complementarity constitutes an important factor towards the acceleration of the development of our countries. We reaffirm our total commitment to the principles of collective self-reliance as a fundamental element of international co-operation.

9. We are pleased with the results achieved at the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Caracas, through the adoption of the Programme of Action [*see A/36/333 and Corr. 1*], in which mechanisms are defined that will safely ensure the monitoring, follow-up and evaluation of the actions provided in the Programme.

10. The dimension and gravity of the problems that are the concern of the Assembly require reflection in order to identify the causes that are at their origin.

11. The end of the decade of the 1970s was characterized by the growing struggles of peoples for emancipation, self-determination and independence and for the recovery and proper use of their natural resources. The idea of the total emancipation of all peoples is one that does not interest imperialism, since equality is not compatible with the criminal kind of domination and exploitation on which it feeds.

12. The decade of the 1980s has begun under the sign of a general worsening of the tension that exists in several regions of the world. The process of détente, which was

an answer to the anxieties of humanity, no longer represents the main trend in international relations. Dialogue and mutual understanding for the solution of our problems have been replaced by a return to the climate of cold war. In a world where the only criterion used for relations with the developing countries is apparently the East-West dichotomy, the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity are regarded as dead issues.

13. Using the "Communist occupation" as a scarecrow, imperialism denies to peoples and States the right of free choice with regard to their political, economic and social systems, as well as free exercise of permanent sovereignty over their own natural resources. The destabilization of democratic and popular régimes by means of economic blockade, the infiltration of agents, the use of mercenaries and the ever-shameful recourse to direct and open armed aggression is today a common practice.

14. On the other hand, the unpopular racist, Zionist, Fascist and colonialist régimes, basing themselves on the same cold-war logic, see the aggression they perpetrate against their own peoples suddenly approved and supported. Most of the time, imperialism entrusts these régimes with the task of acting as police States with regard to their own neighbours. This type of action results in provocations, aggressions and massacres. Such is the case with South Africa; such is the case with Israel. This is the sad reality that we also see in Latin America, Asia and Oceania.

15. We have not yet dispelled from our memories the ashes and debris of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and once more humanity is being threatened. The decision by the Government of the United States of America to manufacture the neutron bomb is a threat that hangs over all our heads. In spite of the strong condemnation with which the international community has greeted this decision, Washington insists on enriching its arsenals with this genocidal weapon.

16. Also in defiance of international opposition, the new American Administration is getting ready to install a new type of missile in Europe. The general arms race, which has gained new impetus in the last few months, is making the ideal conditions for peace even more distant, as well as seriously compromising the perspective for development of the non-industrialized countries.

17. The delegation of the People's Republic of Mozambique subscribes entirely to the concerns that have been expressed from this rostrum with regard to the effects of the arms race on world peace and security and on international co-operation and development. Nevertheless, we do not intend to forgo repeating in our turn that the main condition for the establishment of a durable peace is the universal recognition of the right of peoples to their sovereignty and independence and the creation of an international political order based on justice, equality, solidarity and mutual respect.

18. It has been said that in view of the economic weakness of the developing countries, their acquisition of military equipment is always at the expense of the urgent fight against hunger, nakedness and destitution. But when and why do our countries resort to weapons? We resort to weapons only when we have run out of peaceful means in the attempt to make clear our right to self-determination

and national independence. We resort to weapons to defend our permanently threatened sovereignty and territorial integrity.

19. Our countries have undertaken to promote development, and this is possible only in a climate of peace, one in which our sovereignty and all the rights of our peoples are respected.

20. Total and general disarmament is a profound aspiration of all humanity. But this aspiration cannot be conceived or seen as an obstacle to the peoples' struggles for their self-determination and independence. The very existence of colonialism and the whole system of the exploitation and domination of peoples is one of the main causes of the arms race and the international conflicts in several parts of the world.

21. Against that background, we reiterate, as we did on the occasion of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, on disarmament [25th meeting], that disarmament in Africa, the Middle East and Asia implies the eradication of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, *apartheid* and zionism. Support of national liberation movements by every means, including the provisions of arms, is an important condition for the attainment of the objectives of disarmament.

22. We reiterate our firm support for compliance with the resolutions and decisions taken at the tenth special session of the General Assembly. The implementation of the measures set forth on that occasion would constitute a sure way towards creating the conditions for peace and towards establishing a new type of relations among countries.

23. The forthcoming special session of the General Assembly on disarmament, set for 1982, will give us an opportunity to increase our efforts in exploring this important highway to peace.

24. Southern Africa continues to be one of the areas of serious confrontation between the forces of peace and progress and the reactionary forces which support the exploitation and perpetual domination of peoples. The arrogance, intransigence and crimes perpetrated by the illegal Pretoria régime constitute one of the most brutal manifestations of imperialist aggression.

25. During the emergency special session of the General Assembly on Namibia, our delegation analysed in detail the degrading conditions of life in our area. The Pretoria régime, in spite of the condemnation of the overwhelming majority of the international community, persists in committing acts of aggression against, and occupying, part of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola. This means that it persists in bombing the civilian population, destroying the economic infrastructure and blocking all productive activity in a sizeable area of an independent country, a Member of the United Nations. The actions of the *apartheid* régime against the People's Republic of Angola are part of a general plan of destabilization of all the States of southern Africa.

26. The Kingdom of Lesotho, the Republic of Botswana, the Republic of Zambia, the Republic of Zimbabwe and my own country have been subjected to all sorts of provocations, border violations, air space vio-

tations, sabotage and armed aggression on the part of Pretoria. This is a planned, systematic and continuous action against the independence of our countries and their national reconstruction efforts, aimed at discrediting our régimes and perpetuating the whole situation of economic dependence left behind by colonialism.

27. In spite of the clear characterization of the situation in southern Africa, the relevant bodies of the United Nations have not yet been able to translate into concrete action the international repudiation and condemnation of the crimes being committed by *apartheid*, let alone to stop this kind of action or to make an effective contribution towards compensation for the damages caused.

28. The People's Republic of Mozambique considers that it is the duty of the Organization to demand that the Pretoria régime pay appropriate reparations for the damages caused by its invasion of the People's Republic of Angola, although nothing can adequately compensate for the lost lives, the maimed people and the profound traumas resulting from this criminal action.

29. The violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola has been adequately opposed by the brave performance of the Angolan armed forces, which are still defending the sacred soil of their country with their blood and their lives. Nevertheless, the international community's denunciation of Pretoria's criminal and reactionary acts must be bolstered by the application of the principle of indemnification, among other types of sanctions. This measure would, besides ascribing responsibility to those who undertook that criminal action, constitute an act of solidarity with those fighting against the shameful policy of *apartheid*.

30. It has been sufficiently demonstrated here that the racist illegal minority régime of *apartheid* is keeping the majority of the inhabitants of South Africa under the cruelest kind of colonial conditions characterized by repression, humiliation and total disrespect for human life. Under the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa [ANC], the people of South Africa are fighting against the racist bullets in a courageous struggle bringing final victory ever closer.

31. Similarly, the people of Namibia, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], are bravely resisting the racist invader, thus frustrating all the dilatory tactics and actions aimed at depriving of all content the right of peoples to self-determination and independence.

32. We consider that we must reiterate in the Assembly the principles which the People's Republic of Mozambique spelled out during the eighth emergency special session, on Namibia [7th meeting]: first, the problem of Namibia must be solved pursuant to the relevant resolutions of the United Nations; secondly, Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and the plan it endorses constitute the political and legal framework for a proper transition of the Territory of Namibia; thirdly, the entire international community must shoulder its responsibilities towards the people of Namibia, since Namibia is an international Territory; fourthly, South Africa should be politically, economically and diplomatically isolated. The People's Republic of Mozambique supports the application of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South

Africa and considers irrelevant the argument that the imposition of sanctions would not bring about any positive results. It is important that all countries which directly or indirectly collaborate with South Africa adopt unilateral measures to isolate the racist régime, as some countries have already done. For sanctions to be effective, a fundamental prerequisite is that the Western countries which are economic partners and allies of South Africa apply them effectively. Fifthly, the international community must lend material and diplomatic support to SWAPO in its armed struggle for national liberation, which is at the moment the only way to secure final victory for the Namibian people.

33. We should add to those points that our country supports a negotiated solution based on the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). However, no solution should interfere with the right of the Namibian people to decide for itself its own destiny and the fundamental laws guiding its society.

34. The efforts of the international community to secure implementation of the General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI) declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace free of nuclear weapons have not so far produced any results. The People's Republic of Mozambique reiterates its conviction that there is a pressing need for the adoption of a binding universal legal instrument setting forth the basic principles for the immediate implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, free of nuclear weapons. That is why we underline the need for an international conference to discuss this issue. We also consider the initiative of the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar as a valuable contribution to our efforts to attain this objective. The development of co-operation among the countries of the region and between them and the rest of the international community requires the establishment of a climate of peace in the Indian Ocean.

35. We have the same concern for the creation of conditions for a just peace and the eradication of focal points of tension, which leads us to concentrate our attention on the development of the situation in the Magreb.

36. The Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic should occupy its rightful place in the community of nations. At its most recent session the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] adopted a resolution on the holding of a referendum concerning self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, under the supervision of the OAU and the United Nations [see A/36/534, annex II, resolution AHG/Res. 103 (XVIII)]. It is with concern that we note that the interpretation of that decision of the OAU by the régime of Rabat reveals that there still exist some expansionist intentions that do not correspond to the reality of the military, social and political situations prevailing in Western Sahara. It is the responsibility of the General Assembly to stop the development of any obstacle to the exercise of the right to self-determination and independence of the people of Western Sahara. We appeal to the Kingdom of Morocco to honour the commitment entered into at Nairobi by His Majesty King Hassan II to co-operate fully with the OAU in the implementation of the aforementioned decision.

37. In the Middle East we are faced with renewed aggression by the Zionist régime of Israel. The expansionist ambitions and the premeditated commission of international crimes against human beings that characterize the conduct of the régime of Tel Aviv are no longer limited to the Palestinian people and the occupied Arab territories. The borders of genocide and massacre are expanding. The continued bombing of Lebanon, the bombing of the nuclear research centre of Iraq, which was built for peaceful purposes, and the threats against Syria and Jordan are all actions which fall within the context of Israel's role as a bastion of the strategic interests of imperialism in the Middle East.
38. The definitive elimination of the tension in this area, which constitutes a serious threat to world peace and security, will be possible only with the strict application of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, which demand, *inter alia*, respect for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to create their own State in Palestine, and the withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab territories.
39. In the search for a negotiated solution to the Palestinian problem the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], being the main party concerned and the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, can never be excluded.
40. In East Timor the massacre, repression and genocide of the Maubere people persist. The occupation of the Territory of East Timor by the Djakarta régime is a violation of the principles of international law, which recognizes the legitimacy and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of East Timor. The Organization should not remain indifferent to what is happening in East Timor. It should condemn and demand the immediate withdrawal of the occupation forces of Indonesia from the Territory of East Timor. The Democratic Republic of East Timor must be allowed to take its rightful place in the United Nations. We welcome the effort now being made by Portugal, the administering Power of East Timor, in the search for a solution to this problem. The People's Republic of Mozambique reaffirms its total support for the just struggle of the Maubere people under the direction of FRETILIN,¹ its sole legitimate representative.
41. In the area of the Pacific Ocean two other matters constitute a source of serious concern. One is the presence of United States troops in South Korea, which makes even more difficult the process of the reunification of Korea and leads to the continuation of tension in the zone. The other is the manoeuvres that impede the efforts of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to occupy its place in the United Nations. Those manoeuvres constitute an insult to the people of Kampuchea and its heroic struggle for liberation.
42. The dictatorial régimes of Latin America are intensifying their fierce repression of the peoples of that region, which disturbs peace and security and constitutes a serious obstacle to co-operation among the Latin American peoples.
43. We salute the Salvadorian people, which bravely fights against the Fascist dictatorship that has been imposed upon it. The solution to the problem of El Salvador is necessarily linked with the recognition of the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation and the Revolutionary Democratic Front, the political forces to be taken into account in the political settlement of the problems of that country. We salute the Government of Mexico and the Government of France for the joint communiqué issued by them concerning the situation in El Salvador.²
44. We salute the struggle of the people of Chile and the other peoples of Latin America who resist the dictatorial and Fascist régimes that oppress them. We particularly support the struggle of the people of Puerto Rico for its self-determination and independence.
45. The People's Republic of Mozambique, true to its international principle of solidarity with the peoples fighting for their emancipation and in defence of their sovereignty, demands the strict observance of the Panama Canal accords and withdrawal of the American forces from Guantanamo, a part of the territory of the Republic of Cuba.
46. Our debate in the Assembly is characterized by the depth of the analysis of the problems that are of concern to the international community as a whole. We are identifying the elements that contribute to the deterioration of our relations. We are finding out that the predominant causes of the existence of the zones of tension which proliferate in our various continents are the existence of colonialism, racism, *apartheid*, and zionism and the ever-increasing arms race.
47. It is the duty of each one of us to contribute the best of his positive imagination in order to do away with those evil causes. We should primarily strive to put a stop to the arms race and to promote the political and economic emancipation of all peoples. We should strive to create conditions in which all peoples enjoy their right to liberty, peace and progress. All of us should be able to enjoy the progress of science and technology. This is the big challenge that the international community faces in the decade that we have just entered.
48. We in the People's Republic of Mozambique reaffirm our total commitment to the principles of the Charter and will continue, as always, to contribute in the best possible way to the search for just solutions to the serious problems that the world now faces. The struggle goes on.
49. Mr. AL-NUAIMI (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure and honour to extend to you, on behalf of the United Arab Emirates, my sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the current session of the General Assembly. Your election to this high office exemplifies the international community's confidence in your country's leading and constructive role in international forums, particularly the United Nations. It is also an expression of confidence in your ability and wisdom to carry out the important tasks entrusted to this session. The close and intimate relationship that we have with fraternal Iraq makes us share the same sentiments of satisfaction in the confidence that has been shown in you.
50. We should like also to take this opportunity to express our deepest gratitude and appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, who presided over the previous session and subsequently the eighth emergency

special session with a competence and objectivity that earned him the respect of us all.

51. We wish also to take this opportunity to reiterate our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his endeavours aimed at enhancing the role of the United Nations in the solution of problems confronting the contemporary world, the continued existence of which, without just and radical solution, will threaten the peace and security of mankind.

52. The delegation of the United Arab Emirates has the pleasure of welcoming Vanuatu and Belize to the United Nations. In expressing our sincerest congratulations on their independence and admission to membership in the United Nations, we look forward to the realization of the universality of the Organization, when all territories under colonial rule and foreign occupation will be liberated and admitted to the United Nations.

53. The international situation, on both the political and economic levels, has steadily worsened since the last session. The Secretary-General referred to this situation in his annual report on the work of the Organization by stating that East-West relations have once again become severely strained as a result of the abandonment of the policies of détente [see A/36/1, sect. 1]. This has been aggravated by emphasis on the arms race; by consideration of military superiority as the main factor in relations among the great Powers; by the use of arms in certain areas or the threat of the use of arms in others, in violation of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States as well as of the right to self-determination, particularly on the part of certain great Powers; and by non-respect for human rights and basic values.

54. We observe with great concern the interference, direct or indirect, by certain great Powers in the internal affairs of other countries and even military aggression against them. This interference represents a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of international conventions and treaties which embody the principle of non-interference and the right of every State to choose the form of government it desires. We therefore deplore and denounce such interference in all its forms. The consequences of this interference are not borne by the victimized countries alone but affect us all, and in particular the countries of the third world. An example of this reality has been the escalation of the military presence of the great Powers in our region and in the region of the Indian Ocean.

55. Because of its Arab commitments and its status as a member of the non-aligned movement, the United Arab Emirates firmly believes that the security of the Gulf is the sole responsibility of the countries of the Gulf. Consequently, it refuses to join any military alliances. It also rejects the interference by any foreign country in its internal affairs, including the imposition of any form of protection over its territory. My country also considers the creation of any foreign force entrusted with the so-called protection of the Gulf's security as a violation of the sovereignty of the region's States and a threat to their integrity and stability.

56. The political will of the Arab States of the Gulf has resulted in the formation of the Gulf Co-operation Council. The creation of this Council is an expression of the

aspirations of the peoples and Governments of the area and their determination to create a viable framework designed to promote co-ordination, co-operation and integration among member States in all fields. The Council will enable its members to deepen and strengthen ties as well as unify their economic, social, informational and administrative systems. The establishment of the Council conforms to the Charter of the United Nations, which encourages co-ordination and co-operation among States of the same region.

57. As regards the Indian Ocean, which involves us, my country has supported and will continue to support the General Assembly resolution on the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. In this context, we regret the position adopted by certain States and in particular by the major Powers, which has led to the postponement of the conference which was scheduled to meet at Colombo in 1981 for the purpose of prescribing the necessary measures for the implementation of that Declaration.

58. The ongoing war between Iraq and Iran is to us a source of grief and sorrow. This war has lasted too long and has resulted in enormous human and material loss. Its continuation is not in the interest of either party. It must stop, not only to save lives and restore peace and security in the area, but also to exclude any external interference by the great Powers and others. Iraq's response to initiatives for peace has earned the admiration of the international community. We urge the continuation of the efforts exerted by the Secretary-General, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned movement for a cease-fire and the elimination of the causes that triggered the war.

59. Deterioration in the policy of détente has led to a similar deterioration in disarmament negotiations and in attempts to end the arms race. In 1980, armaments cost almost \$500 billion, that is, 6 per cent on the world's gross national product. In addition to that, the stockpiling of more and improved weapons has continued, specifically in the realm of nuclear, bacteriological and neutron weapons.

60. In view of this explosive situation, we express our concern over the escalation of the arms race, which endangers international peace and security and leads to the great squandering of resources that could have been devoted to the service of mankind if employed for the purpose of economic and social development.

61. We also appeal to the big Powers to put an end to the deterioration in détente and not to think of security only in military terms. Otherwise, the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament will be doomed to failure.

62. Recent developments in South Africa and Namibia arouse our gravest concern. The minority régime is still striving to maintain its domination over the indigenous African people and to undermine their dignity by denying them the exercise of their political rights, including the right to self-determination. The racist régime in South Africa persists in the practice of the policy of *apartheid* and in the establishment of Bantustans in defiance of the United Nations and world public opinion, both of which have condemned that policy as a violation of human

rights and values and of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

63. In Namibia, the racist régime of Pretoria persists in its defiance of the United Nations by rejecting its resolutions, consolidating its own racist colonialist régime and preventing the attainment of independence by this Territory and the exercise by its people of its right to self-determination under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole legitimate representative. The support rendered by certain Western countries to South Africa is the main factor that has encouraged the Pretoria régime in undertaking its aggressive colonialist policies.
64. Consequently, last April the Security Council considered the Namibian question and the obstructionist role of the racist régime in order to determine what steps should be taken with regard to this. Regrettably, three great States, permanent members of the Council, vetoed the four draft resolutions submitted to the Council. It was therefore necessary to convene an emergency special session of the General Assembly, in accordance with resolution 377 (V), entitled "Uniting for peace". My country supported the convening of that session, participated in its debates and strongly supported the resolution adopted with regard to this question.
65. We strongly condemn the repeated acts of aggression committed by the racist régime of Pretoria against the front-line African States. We urge the Security Council to apply against that régime the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter.
66. We nurture the hope that the countries which support South Africa will learn the lessons of history and realize the inevitability of the emancipation of all peoples from the yoke of colonialism and racism. We also hope that those countries will abandon their current policies under which priority is given to their economic and strategic interests over human principles and ideals and the rule of international law.
67. This also applies with regard to Kampuchea, whose people have suffered for so long from foreign interference and aggression.
68. We believe that the time has come to settle the conflict between North Korea and South Korea through dialogue, with a view to eliminating the causes of disagreement between them and satisfying the desire of their people to unite.
69. We welcome the report of the Secretary-General regarding the development of the current negotiations between the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus, which have entered a more constructive stage. We express our hope for the success of the intense efforts being exerted to enable the current negotiations to culminate in an agreement providing for the security and coexistence of the people of the island and guaranteeing the territorial integrity and neutrality of the Republic of Cyprus.
70. We all expected that at the last session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea a convention would be concluded during 1981. However, such expectations were not fulfilled, owing to the re-evaluation by the new United States Administration of some of the provisions of the draft convention, in particular those pertaining to the exploitation of the sea-bed.
71. My country, as a member of the Group of 77 developing countries, concurs with that Group's rejection of the American attitude and considers it an obstacle to what had been agreed to following lengthy negotiations among all participants, including the United States. In hoping for the removal of these obstacles, we insist on the conclusion of the convention no later than 1982. We see the conclusion of such an agreement as enhancing the role of the United Nations in finding practical solutions to the other major global problems.
72. At previous sessions of the General Assembly the United Arab Emirates has described in detail the principles and convictions upon which its policies regarding the Middle East problem and the question of Palestine are based. The most important of these principles are the following: first, recognition that the question of Palestine constitutes the crux and essence of the Middle East problem and that consequently the Arab-Israeli conflict cannot be resolved without the simultaneous resolution of the Palestinian problem; secondly, complete and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, including Al Quds Al Sharif; thirdly, the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights, including the right of return, the right to self-determination without external interference, the right to national independence and complete sovereignty and the right to establish its independent and sovereign State in Palestine; and, fourthly, participation by the PLO, the sole representative of the people of Palestine, on an equal footing in any attempts or efforts made and any conference held to settle this problem.
73. We consider that the principles enunciated by Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia³ constitute the basis for a just and comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. We welcome and support his statement as a constructive step towards the return of stability and security to the Middle East region.
74. The period since the last session has been characterized by Israel's persistence in its aggressive policies and its violations of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the rule of international law, thus defying the world community and the international consensus.
75. Israel continues to pursue its policy of Judaization of the Holy City of Jerusalem and the eradication of its Arab and Islamic character. It also continues to carry out excavations that threaten the survival of the holy Al Aqsa mosque, which has a unique significance for Moslems throughout the world. In reiterating our absolute condemnation and rejection of these aggressive Israeli measures, we reaffirm our adherence to the resolutions adopted by the Organization of the Islamic Conference with respect to Jerusalem and welcome the resolutions of the United Nations which firmly reject the annexation by Israel of Jerusalem and the transformation of it into the capital of Israel.
76. In the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, the Israeli authorities continue to confiscate Arab lands and to establish settlements aimed at the imposition of a *fait accompli*, the obstruction of the return of those lands and

the denial to the Palestinian people of the exercise of the right to self-determination and the establishment of its independent State. It is time for the United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, to impose sanctions on Israel for its policies, which contravene many of its resolutions as well as international rules and conventions.

77. Israel has not confined its colonial practices to that phase but has engaged in other types of infringement such as expulsion of certain Palestinian leaders, including elected mayors, restriction of the civil rights of numerous leaders and even attempts to assassinate some of them, interference in educational affairs, imprisonment, demolition of houses, deportation of inhabitants to other areas and other methods of repression, oppression and terrorism.

78. While condemning those measures, we believe that it is incumbent on the international community to put an end to them once and for all.

79. In Lebanon, Israel has recently escalated its ferocious and barbaric attacks against civilian installations and Palestinian refugee camps. Israel even went so far as to bomb civilian quarters in Beirut, killing and injuring hundreds of civilians and completely destroying numerous buildings, bridges and other installations. The report of each of the two fact-finding committees appointed by the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned movement are graphic evidence of this.

80. Israel did not confine its aggression to neighbouring areas but extended it to attacking Iraq. Violating the airspace of three Arab countries, Israel then bombed and destroyed Iraq's nuclear installations employed for peaceful purposes. The world condemned and deplored those two acts of aggression. We had hoped that the Security Council would go beyond condemnation and the demand for restitution to the application of Chapter VII of the Charter against that aggressive State.

81. In this connection, we appeal to the States which support Israel, in particular the United States, to abandon their partisan policies by giving priority to the principles and purposes of the Charter. We expect them to participate in a concerted effort for this noble cause, which entails deterring the aggressor, terminating defiance of the United Nations and its resolutions, safeguarding the Organization and its prestige and exerting pressure on Israel to comply with United Nations resolutions.

82. It is indeed regrettable that the Government of the United States recently announced a strategic alliance with Israel. That alliance, in our opinion, constitutes encouragement to Israel to persist in its aggressive and expansionist policies and its defiance of the international will.

83. The world economy has been experiencing a progressive deterioration. The damaging outcome of that deterioration has affected the economies of all States in the world, but the damage done to the developing countries has been greater, and this has resulted in an additional burden on their endeavours for development. The continued manifestation of that deterioration is attributed to the deficiencies that still characterize the bases governing the world economic system. Those bases were established under conditions of absolute domination by the capitalist

countries. Such a situation no longer exists, because of the drastic developments witnessed by the world in the past 30 years. Hence, there has been a need to introduce fundamental changes in the system to allow it to adjust to the new circumstances.

84. That need has been expressed with increasing clarity through a series of important resolutions adopted by the General Assembly since its sixth special session. The most vital have been the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*]. Those resolutions contain firm bases on which a just economic system could be built. The international community has been unable to implement those resolutions because of the position of some industrial nations which consider that the developing nations could participate in international decision-making on a basis of equality only at the expense of the industrial nations' absolute control of the world economic system, and that failure has led to feelings of frustration and disappointment. As a result, world efforts have suffered a great setback. Those efforts were oriented towards establishing and implementing general guide-lines for economic reform, but they have failed to bear fruit because some countries have not respected their declared commitments.

85. We express our increasing concern over the suspension of those negotiations, and we share the confidence of the world community that their resumption and success will establish important components for the foundations of a viable economic system that will enable the international community to surmount its crises. We hope that the Cancún meeting will pave the way for the resumption of those negotiations.

86. The experience of past years has demonstrated that certain regional methods, far from alleviating the impact of world problems, have created new problems. The conclusion to be drawn from that experience is that economic issues, though they may be regional in origin, have global effects. Hence the global character and the comprehensiveness of the impact of economic questions require collective participation by all in the effort to change the structure of the remedies currently advocated.

87. In this respect, it is important to affirm that the final objective of establishing new international economic relations based on fairness and mutual respect is in the interest of mankind, since the health and prosperity of the industrial economies are to a great extent linked to the development of the developing world. The demands for change thus acquire a global and comprehensive dimension.

88. Some sectors of the world economy require urgent global action. Thus, inflation, monetary instability, protectionism and other problems have paralysed the world economy.

89. Despite the fact that inflation is a phenomenon originating in the industrial countries, its negative effects have reached the developing nations and created new difficulties for their development. This calls for urgent international action that would curtail the impact of this phenomenon.

90. The world economy also suffers from an unstable monetary system as a result of drastic fluctuations in the rates of exchange of major currencies. Those fluctuations have had damaging effects on the economies of many countries, in particular those of the developing countries whose export earnings have diminished. The world has the responsibility of reducing the impact of those fluctuations. A major step in that direction lies in the establishment of international supervision over the exchange rate of key currencies, as well as in the diminution of the dominant role of some of those currencies. Such measures would constitute an enormous step forward toward the establishment of a new world monetary system.

91. In addition to this, world trade has recently witnessed an increase in the protectionist measures practised by developed countries. Those measures impose new restrictions on the movement of international commerce and have victimized the developing countries by reducing their income from foreign trade, which renders them unable to rectify the deficits in their balances of payments. That leads to a great decline in international trade, thereby contributing to the continuing deterioration of the world economy.

92. As an oil-producing country, and aware of its role in world economic relations, the United Arab Emirates has made a great contribution to the improvement of the international economic situation. Our policies on the production and pricing of crude oil and our programme of development aid clearly demonstrate our great concern for the integrity of the world economy. Those policies also signify our sincere desire for the alleviation of the world economic crises, even at the cost of diminishing our oil reserves.

93. In the field of international co-operation, my country has adopted ambitious aid programmes which vastly surpass the percentages of gross national product prescribed in the new International Development Strategy. Through such programmes, our revenues have been transferred to the developing nations in the form of grants and soft loans, as an expression of solidarity with the developing countries. That aid has been granted despite the fact that my country is itself a developing country, newly independent, and needs much of its resources to establish its economic and social institutions.

94. Mr. GEDLE-GIORGIS (Ethiopia): Nearly 36 years ago, the United Nations was founded on the ashes of fascism with the lofty objective of saving "succeeding generations from the scourge of war". Unhappily, the same evil forces which this world body was set up to suppress, and to which my country was the first to fall victim, are today seen rearing their frightful heads again.

95. Even as we gather here in solemn conclave, sabre-rattling war-mongers are, either directly or through their paid agents, engaged in a savage massacre of men, women and children around the world, and all in the name of justice and democracy. Hypocrisy echoes in these hallowed halls. Are we, under these circumstances, to regard ourselves as helpless victims of these messengers of doom and destruction? Are we to succumb to them? We say no.

96. In the light of the gravity of the problems confronting the world today, we should resist the temptation to

view the current session of the General Assembly as an annual ritual to be marked by the usual pious expressions of commitment to United Nations principles, utterances which in practical terms mean precious little.

97. It is against that background that the special meaning and significance of our deliberations here must be viewed. We must address ourselves resolutely and courageously to the challenging problems of our time. Our destiny is in our own hands to make or mar; the choice is ours.

98. Mr. President, you are burdened with a heavy and onerous responsibility. I should, therefore, like to congratulate you on your accession to the presidency of this important session. We are more than confident that our proceedings are in safe hands under your able guidance.

99. I should like also to take this opportunity to express the appreciation of the Ethiopian delegation to Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar for his outstanding performance in guiding the thirty-fifth session and the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly to fruitful conclusions.

Mr. Anderson (Australia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

100. I should further like to express the appreciation of my delegation to the Secretary-General for his untiring dedication to the promotion of the cause of the Organization.

101. My delegation also wishes to congratulate the newly independent States of Vanuatu and Belize on their joining the Organization. The family of independent nations is growing, and this gives us added comfort and solace.

102. The world today finds itself in a most precarious state. We are passing through a tense and traumatic period. Not only does the international situation leave much to be desired, but it also gives rise to serious misgivings about the very survival of mankind. Ours is a period that is increasingly plagued by a host of pressing problems. The spectre of a holocaust of hitherto unknown proportions haunts us daily.

103. We are witnessing the perpetration of the vilest forms of crime by those who have arrogated to themselves the role of champions of human rights and justice abroad, while many of their own people at home suffer from poverty in a society that otherwise wallows in affluence as far as the privileged masters are concerned. Nor should we overlook the fact that this sad state of affairs stems from deliberate racist policies.

104. International imperialism and the forces of reaction are at work today much more diligently than ever before. They are bending over backwards to translate into deeds their bizarre vision of the world, a world they want to fashion in their own image so as to make it amenable to their grand design of total domination. Millions of people are today deprived of their inalienable rights to freedom and independence. Nowhere is this made more manifest than in southern Africa, where racists, in close collaboration with their patrons in the West, are keeping Africans in bondage. Take the case of Namibia.

105. Time has long been running out as regards Namibian independence. It has become more than evident that the racist and terrorist régime in Pretoria cannot reconcile itself to the course that history inexorably takes. It does not heed common sense either. Armed struggle is the *ultima ratio*, the only language the bigots are able to understand.

106. International imperialism, spearheaded by the United States, has today more than ever before intensified its futile efforts to halt and reverse the process of national liberation and social emancipation in southern Africa. As a result, the independence of Namibia has long been overdue. The succour and comfort provided by imperialism are keeping racist Pretoria strong and alive.

107. The people of Namibia today find themselves in a tragic state of affairs. Solemn statements of support for them have been reverberating in these halls for years, but they have meant little in practical terms. What was needed was to bring the racists to their senses. That having failed, the bigots must now be brought to their knees.

108. It is imperative, therefore, that Namibia regain its independence by early 1982 at the latest. That is a must. Otherwise there will be no more talks. The so-called contact group of five Western countries has so far been skilfully employing delaying tactics to make Namibia in particular and southern Africa in general safe for *apartheid*. We deplore and condemn these evil machinations. An end has to be put to them.

109. Recent events indicate that the alliance between racism in southern Africa and imperialism is being further strengthened. Internationally recognized national liberation movements that are struggling for freedom and independence are being unabashedly dubbed terrorists, ironically by the same forces as have all along aided and abetted terrorism and raised it to the level of State policy in southern Africa. The prevailing trend has undoubtedly emboldened the terrorist régime of Pretoria to go to the extent of openly invading the sister People's Republic of Angola, thereby threatening the other countries in the front line of the African struggle. The United Nations has been purposely rendered inactive in the face of such lawlessness by the veto power of the United States, which has come out openly and shamelessly in support of racism and the heinous policy of *apartheid*. The United States has unmasked its true character and exposed its violent opposition to the freedom of Africans by vetoing in the Security Council on 31 August 1981⁴ a draft resolution condemning South Africa's invasion of the People's Republic of Angola. That was a demonstration of arrogance and refusal to abide by the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

110. South Africa's invasion and occupation of Angola was, by any standard, savage and barbaric. The support given by the United States to that criminal act is no less shameful and deplorable. The marriage of interests between the United States and *apartheid* South Africa has become glaringly clear in that it is aimed at strengthening terrorist mercenaries in Angola and creating a buffer zone for the destabilization of that independent African State.

111. It has been stated *ad nauseam* that *apartheid* is an affront to humanity and as such is contrary to the principles of the Charter. It has also been said time and again

that that wretched system should be brought to an end. How? Those who claim a monopoly over wisdom repeatedly tell us that what is needed is time. Time until when? The answer is, naturally, until the extermination of Africans is effectively completed. The candour of the advocates of such a strategy is disarming.

112. The United States is a country that prides itself on having overthrown colonial rule through armed struggle. However, this same country today labels freedom fighters in southern Africa, who happen to be black, as terrorists. The founding fathers of this land must today be turning in their graves in agony and anguish. It is quite evident that the present Administration in the United States has struck a deal with the enemies of humanity.

113. We should all strengthen and augment our support for and solidarity with all those struggling for their inalienable rights to freedom in South Africa and Namibia. The terrorist régime of Pretoria should be evicted from Namibia by every means possible. The international community owes it to itself to support in every possible way the struggle for racial equality and majority rule within South Africa. The international community cannot escape the responsibility of assisting morally and materially Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and all the other front-line States in their struggle to ensure respect for their sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is therefore imperative that the Assembly not only strongly condemn the *apartheid* régime of Pretoria for its wanton act of aggression but also demand immediate, effective and adequate payment of reparations to Angola for the damage inflicted on that country. An aggressor should not be allowed to get away with it. Ethiopia, for its part, will not fail to meet its obligation in that struggle.

114. Socialist Ethiopia will continue to extend support and assistance to SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, and to the ANC until the final elimination of colonialism and racism from both Namibia and South Africa.

115. In the region to which my own country belongs, United States imperialism is feverishly engaged in stifling progressive movements and undermining sovereign States and their leaders. Each and every spot on the map of the region is supposed to be within the sphere of influence of the United States. We are being daily threatened by United States imperialism. There are some 10 United States military bases in and around our region alone. These keep a constant watch on countries in the region which are not amenable to Washington's *diktat*. The now all-too-familiar bogey being employed is, of course, the Soviet threat. None, except those who worship the demi-god in Washington, will be fooled by such a smoke-screen.

116. We are in constant danger. It is no mere threat; it is a fact of daily life. Those wishing to regain lost spheres of influence are endangering our very survival. We have to put up with such arrogance of power in order to survive.

117. My country has just celebrated the seventh anniversary of the eruption of its epoch-making popular revolution. As my head of State, Comrade Chairman Mengistu Haile Mariam, noted in his nationwide address on the occasion:

“Ours is a revolution that has ushered in an era of prosperity, equality and justice by dismantling the age-old oppressive monarchical system by means of the finest heritage of valour, heroism and revolutionary struggle in the fight for freedom.”

118. With respect to the conflict in the Horn of Africa, it is gratifying to note that the OAU has given its final verdict. It is, therefore, up to the parties concerned to abide by that decision and faithfully implement its provisions.

119. Ours is a region which has been tormented for far too long. In contemporary history, just as in previous centuries, Ethiopia has been the chosen victim of repeated waves of aggression. The OAU, at the eighteenth session of its Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held at Nairobi, emphatically pronounced itself on the persisting conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia. In his report to this Assembly on the activities of the OAU, the current Chairman of the OAU Assembly, Mr. Daniel T. Arap Moi, President of the Republic of Kenya, said:

“The report of the Good Offices Committee which had been established by the OAU was received and endorsed at the Nairobi summit meeting, and all of us are now fervently hoping for an era of peace. This would not be hard to introduce and to sustain if both sides would formally recognize and apply the fundamental OAU principle in regard to the sovereignty of independent States, respect for boundaries as existing at the time of independence, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.” [11th meeting, para. 34.]

120. It is my distinct honour to declare to the General Assembly here and now, as the delegation of Ethiopia unequivocally did at the OAU Assembly meeting at Nairobi, that Ethiopia fully accepts the decision and is ready to implement its provisions. But the new era of peace and stability in the region can become a reality only when there is an equal commitment on the part of Somalia to respect accepted principles and norms of international behaviour. This calls, first and foremost, for the abandonment of the policy of war as an instrument for the advancement of parochial self-seeking objectives. Furthermore, a new era of peace and stability cannot be ushered in by the re-arming of a belligerent State and the establishment of military bases, or by the deployment of a rapid intervention force in that country.

121. Our efforts at lifting ourselves up from abysmal poverty are being bedevilled at every stage by obstacles placed in our way by imperialist forces which are constantly fomenting instability and insecurity in our part of the world. We have therefore had little or no time to address ourselves in earnest to the crucial task of economic development and social transformation. Indeed, our detractors have been showering us with lectures on the wisdom of self-help. Despite their prophecies to the contrary, I am glad to state here that we face a bright future.

122. Nor has Ethiopia's constructive role been confined to the national domain. My country has actively contributed to the strengthening of peace by ceaselessly fighting against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, expansionism, oppression and exploitation in all its forms. To this end, apart from the amicable understanding it has forged with almost all its neighbours, my coun-

try has signed a treaty of friendship and co-operation with the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Various sinister interpretations have been placed on this amicable accord of co-operation among the three peace-loving fraternal countries. The treaty aims at promoting co-operation, peace and stability in our region. It is not directed against anyone. What the three countries have resolved to do is to work in close collaboration on the basis of an anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-racist stand. It is as clear as that. By no stretch of the imagination can this be interpreted as anything other than a major contribution to the strengthening of peace and the promotion of Afro-Arab co-operation.

123. The thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly is taking place against the disturbing background of rapid escalation of tension, the reversal of détente and a resurgence of the cold war, bringing the world closer than ever before to a nuclear conflagration. The crisis of consensus, consciously cultivated, advanced and utilized by the Reagan Administration in the United States, has reached new and increasingly dangerous heights, resulting in the stalemate we now face in nearly all international endeavours, including the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, the independence of Namibia, the elimination of *apartheid* in South Africa, the restoration of the rights of the Palestinians, the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean, all disarmament negotiations and the launching of global negotiations for the establishment of the new international economic order.

124. In these and in other areas of collective international endeavour, we find ample and vivid demonstrations of imperialists' attempts to impose their will on each and every corner of the globe. The massive military build-up, the stockpiling and deployment of nuclear weapons, the acquisition of new military bases and the expansion of existing ones, the formation of rapid intervention forces, interference in the internal affairs of States, the use or threat of force and provocative military manoeuvres characterize the present international scene.

125. The danger inherent in the production, stockpiling and deployment of nuclear weapons is rendered more acute by the advancement of absurd military doctrines advocating the feasibility and even the desirability of limited nuclear war. The decision to go ahead with the production of the most inhuman weapon, the neutron bomb, and the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe have further increased the danger of nuclear conflagration.

126. The imperialists' practice of arrogating to themselves the right to dominate and to declare any part of the world an area of vital interest to themselves has been coupled with a massive military build-up in and around the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, threatening not only the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States of the region but also international peace and security as a whole.

127. There is no doubt today that the new Administration of the United States is bent on dominating the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean and that to this end it has diverted vast resources from the social needs of its own people for the purpose of producing ever more deadly weapons of mass destruction, thus

opening a new round in the arms race. Moreover, the United States' arrogant attempt to ensure its domination over our part of the world has been made clear by its strategic alliances in the Middle East and with racist South Africa. We derive comfort from the fact that the American people are opposed to such an anti-peace policy.

128. There have been many open provocations and outright interventions. One such incident with regard to which Ethiopia expresses its profound indignation and strong condemnation is the recent wanton and premeditated aggression committed against a fellow African State, the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Military manoeuvres, whether conducted in the Mediterranean or the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean or the Caribbean, can be viewed only as intolerable provocation that increases the anxiety of the peoples of the region, for these hostile activities have grave implications for the security and independence of small nations on which new and critical defense requirements are thoughtlessly imposed.

129. The pursuit of military superiority at any cost will result not in the attainment of the goal cherished by the cold warriors, but rather in the senseless escalation of the arms race, bringing mankind closer to the brink of annihilation. The choice before us was spelt out in 1978 at the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the Final Document of which stated: "Mankind is confronted with a choice: we must halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament or face annihilation." [*Resolution S-10/2, para. 18.*]

130. Clearly, the choice the new Administration in Washington has made for mankind appears to be the one leading to annihilation. The imminent danger with which the world is faced is unmistakably the danger of nuclear war. For this reason, I wish to express the Ethiopian delegation's strong support for the Soviet proposals aimed at the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe.⁵ We regard this as an extremely important and timely proposal, for now is the time to act in the interest of mankind; it may soon be too late.

131. With regard to the problem of Western Sahara, it is our sincere desire that the parties concerned will implement the decision of the OAU Assembly at its latest session at Nairobi this year.

132. The Middle East remains a thorny problem. Israel's continued occupation of Arab lands and its defiant denial of the rights of the Palestinian people, as well as its repeated acts of aggression against peaceful Lebanon, cannot but be attributed to the boundless support it receives from Washington. The strategic alliance between the United States, Israel and South Africa is nothing but the consolidation of an imperialist-racist axis threatening the freedom and independence of the States of the region and preventing the restoration of the rights of millions. Ethiopia will continue to extend its solidarity to the Palestinian people in order that they may be able to regain their inalienable right to independence and establish their own State. We also uphold the view that the Arab territories occupied since 1967 should be vacated immediately by Israel.

133. It is sad to note that repeated crimes are being committed against peaceful Lebanon by a neighbour that is armed to the teeth. A free and sovereign State has been subjected to naked aggression. As a victim of similar aggressions, both in the distant past and in recent years, my own country views these criminal acts with indignation. The unity and territorial integrity of Lebanon must be duly respected.

134. Ethiopia welcomes the resumption of the intercommunal talks in Cyprus and earnestly hopes that those talks will lead to the restoration of unity and stability, as well as to the strengthening of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of that country.

135. With regard to the situation in South-East and South-West Asia, it is our considered opinion that peace and amity could be achieved among the peoples of the regions concerned if only the forces of imperialism and reaction were to cease their self-serving interference. Afghanistan has become a clear victim of an international conspiracy that is being orchestrated into an immense crescendo. This is no wonder. The interests of imperialism are at stake. A proposal has been put forward by Afghanistan for the peaceful settlement of the political problem in that region. Let us give the people directly concerned a chance to solve the problem. Let us not pretend to be more qualified to speak on their behalf.

136. Viet Nam and Kampuchea are two other countries that today are targets of aggression by international imperialism and hegemonistic forces. It is regrettable that after having struggled hard for so long and after having won a decisive victory against United States imperialism, the heroic people of Viet Nam have today been called upon to put up yet another fight against forces of international reaction and expansionism in that part of the world. Startling revelations have just been made about the extent of the harm done that country as a result of the biological and chemical warfare employed by the United States in the vain hope of vanquishing the patriots of that gallant land. We again condemn those acts. We are of the view that lasting peace can be restored, both in Afghanistan and in Kampuchea, if only the people concerned are left on their own, without any form of imperialist meddling. For its part, socialist Ethiopia extends its solidarity and support to these fraternal States.

137. Ethiopia supports the peaceful reunification of the two Koreas and welcomes all initiatives to this end.

138. In Latin America, imperialism has publicly expressed its determination to isolate and stifle the revolutionary and progressive States of Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada. Fraternal Cuba, in particular, has been blockaded for over 20 years and is daily threatened and bullied by the United States. We deplore this blockade and call for the liquidation of the Guantanamo base. Cuba is also being subjected to an inhuman form of warfare which has unleashed a major epidemic in that country leading to the death of many, among them innocent children. This is hauntingly reminiscent of fascism's use of poison gas against the Ethiopian people on the eve of the Second World War. It is being claimed that the epidemic in question has been brought to Cuba from Africa by Cuban internationalists returning home. This is not only a patent lie, it is also vividly racist in its overtones. No less an

authority than WHO has come out with a conclusive verdict that no such disease exists in Africa.

139. The imperialist policy being pursued by Washington has provoked the anger and indignation of all peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples everywhere. It is our inescapable duty to warn against the threats to peace posed by the policy of imperialist resurgence and domination. This threat must be fought, and fought with courage and determination, if we are to build a new world order based on peace, freedom, democracy and justice.

140. It is therefore incumbent on all of us, especially the non-aligned countries, to exert every effort to stop the further deterioration of the international situation resulting from the policy of imperialist expansion and domination. We are confident that, consistent with its fundamental anti-imperialist character, the non-aligned movement, which has just commemorated its twentieth anniversary, will redouble its efforts in the pursuit of peace based on freedom and justice.

141. In the economic sphere, the relationship between the developing countries and the industrialized countries is still suffering from the consequences of the existing unjust and inequitable world economic order. The current global economic crisis is nothing more than a reflection of underlying structural maladjustment and the persisting lack of equity in international economic relations.

142. My delegation, for one, believes that as long as the industrialized world persists in the maintenance of an international economic relationship based on the old hegemonic order that perpetuates injustice, inequality, exploitation and dependency, it will certainly continue to affect adversely the development prospects of the developing countries, as well as the future of the world as a whole.

143. In this connection, we note with regret that the long-awaited completion of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has been stalled owing to lack of co-operation on the part of the United States. Nevertheless, the international community cannot and should not allow any country, however powerful it may be, to scuttle the most important international conference ever convened by the United Nations. It is therefore our firm conviction that the Convention on the Law of the Sea should be finalized as soon as possible.

144. According to studies conducted by various United Nations agencies, the economic performance of the least developed countries in the last decade was very pathetic. Gloomy as the picture of the past performance of these countries has been, the international community still continues to witness today an even more disquieting picture.

145. The least developed countries have not only become the primary victims of the convulsion that has rocked the world economy but have also remained victims of the major natural and man-made disasters that have constantly visited our planet during the last 10 years. A phenomenon of this kind certainly jeopardizes the development efforts of these countries by forcing them to divert funds and other resources from development programmes to food imports and rehabilitation. The international community, therefore, has an urgent and special responsibility to redress the plight of these coun-

tries before the situation reaches the breaking point. We therefore urge all countries, especially the developed countries, to implement speedily the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the least developed countries,⁶ which, we hope, will ameliorate the situation to a certain extent.

146. Failure on the part of the international community to do so will manifest itself not only in the continued suffering and deprivation of our peoples but also in dire political terms, the responsibility for which will lie with us. If we abandon our endeavour to rectify the existing injustice in international economic relations, we shall have all failed in our moral and political responsibilities.

147. Viewed from whatever angle, the world is uneasily poised on the brink of a major disaster which can be avoided only if the situation is quickly rectified. Our part of the world in particular is being increasingly plagued by a host of problems which are deliberately fomented and fanned by international imperialism and the concomitant forces of reaction. Imperialist military bases designed for aggression are mushrooming daily in the area. The chariots of war, let loose and rampant, are arrogantly parading from all directions with characteristic bravado. Referring to the grave danger facing the world today, my Head of State, Comrade Chairman Mengistu Haile Mariam, stressed that:

"The peace of the world is today more than ever before seriously endangered. Instead of the advancement of human welfare and civilization, we observe heavy war clouds on the horizon. The basic aim of imperialism being the obstruction of human development, it manifests itself in the local wars it unleashes from time to time. It is the standard tactic of imperialism to create confusing situations in order to give these wars a semblance of legality."

148. The people of Ethiopia, having consolidated the gains of their popular revolution and having attained stability and tranquillity, have now embarked on a relentless war against poverty, disease, ignorance and backwardness. My country is thus firmly committed to the promotion of peace and security in our region in particular and throughout the world in general.

149. The peoples of the world have the paramount duty to join hands and stand together in the honourable crusade against backwardness and the threat of war. The hour is grave and the challenge formidable. The choice is clear: we either survive or perish together. Happily enough, hopes have not been entirely dashed. Given good will, common sense can prevail in the supreme interest of mankind—survival.

150. Mr. SHAMIR (Israel): At the outset, I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate Vanuatu and Belize on their independence and welcome them on their admission to the United Nations. On behalf of the Government and the people of Israel, I wish them success and prosperity as independent and sovereign States.

151. The Government and the people of Israel have always upheld the ideals and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. It could not have been otherwise, for Israel's intellectual and moral traditions have given birth to some of the most important elements inher-

ent in the shape and meaning of the Organization. The brotherhood of man, social justice, the rule of law—both domestic and international—the equality of nations, the peaceful settlement of international disputes and the outlawing of war—those and other ideals had grown and taken root among the shepherds and peasants of Judea and Israel long before they came to be accepted as principles of current international life.

152. Unfortunately, these ideals have been honoured more in the breach than in the observance in the practice of the United Nations. In recent years the Organization has repeatedly permitted itself to be abused by Israel's adversaries who enjoy a built-in majority in the Assembly on any issue related to the Arab-Israeli conflict. In recent years Israel has more than once been the victim of discriminatory treatment in the United Nations.

153. It must be stressed that international organizations which allow their fundamental rules to be violated cause severe damage to themselves and thereby undermine their very *raison d'être*. Decisions arrived at in disregard of the relevant provisions of constitutional instruments are illegal, however often repeated and however overwhelming the majority that supported them.

154. The distortions which pervade the United Nations system have also manifested themselves in the attitude of the Organization towards the Camp David accords and the treaty of peace between Egypt and Israel. By any yardstick, the conclusion of peace between two former enemies is surely not only a legitimate but also a desirable development which should have been welcomed by the United Nations, the primary purpose of which is the promotion and maintenance of international peace. No third party, including the Assembly, has the legal or moral authority to question, let alone to deny, the validity of the accords attained or of any treaties deriving from them.

155. A major issue that has rightly engaged the attention and growing concern of all mankind is that of international co-operation for development and the widening gap between the standard of living of the poor nations and that of the wealthy nations. However, the North-South dialogue has remained largely a debate among nations and groups of nations, and, as might be expected, those suffering hunger and deprivation have not had their lot improved by this debate.

156. For the last 20 years Israel has been involved in the effort to develop ways and means of raising the standard of living in the less developed societies. It is our wish—and we believe that it is within our capacity—to make a further contribution of our own to joint efforts to tackle specific development problems and advance towards a solution.

157. Ever since its establishment Israel has had to cope simultaneously with a wide range of grave social, economic and security problems. We have absorbed and integrated hundreds of thousands of immigrants—many of them victims of persecution in the Arab countries from which they had come—and at the same time set about creating a progressive and rapidly developing society. With all the urgent problems that weighed upon us, we have spared no effort in co-operating with other young developing nations in such fields as agriculture, hydrology, rural development, health and youth leadership. This

fruitful process of international co-operation with dozens of countries, regardless of political outlook, has been constantly moving forward.

158. In their continuous search for solutions to the evolving challenges of development, Israel's experts have recently formulated some new ideas on development, referred to by them as the Transitional Economy Plan. It is a model for empirical dynamic development, well within the means of the countries concerned. I wish to take this opportunity to invite the attention of the General Assembly to document A/36/497, circulated at the request of my delegation, which contains a report entitled "An Outline of Development through Promotion of the Transitional Economy". We do not claim that this plan is a panacea for all the world's economic ills. Rather, it aims at applying a gradual, step-by-step, relatively low-cost programme of improvements to the rural sector of society, a sector that so far has not been given sufficient attention. We will be happy to co-operate with any national or international organization for the purpose of putting the concepts contained in this plan into practice.

159. At the thirty-fifth session [*15th meeting*], we appealed from this rostrum to the Soviet Government to remove all the limitations and obstacles hindering Jews in the Soviet Union from leaving for Israel. Already at that time there were grounds for fearing that the Soviet Union was going to close its gates to those Jews. Unfortunately, those fears have since been substantiated. Over the past year we have been watching with growing anxiety the steady decrease in the number of Jews leaving the Soviet Union to the lowest number for the last 10 years. The Soviet Union is thus forcibly preventing many thousands of them from living in their homeland.

160. In parallel, we have witnessed again a regrettable increase in the violation of fundamental human rights in the Soviet Union. Over the past six months the number of prisoners of Zion detained under false pretexts and sentenced by Soviet courts to long prison terms has doubled. The sole crime of these people is their desire to live as Jews in their own land. Ida Nudel, Victor Brailovski, Anatoly Shcharansky and others have been gaoled for that desire, while others who have been refused exit permits have been subjected to pressure to refrain from so-called anti-Soviet activity. The Assembly should know that the anti-Soviet activity in question consists of the study of the Hebrew language and of the reading of books on Jewish history and Judaism.

161. From this rostrum I wish to appeal once again to the Soviet Union to reopen its gates for Jews who wish to return to their homeland and to cease the persecution of the Jews in the Soviet Union.

162. There are also other countries in which Jews have been subjected to discrimination and oppression. In particular, I must again express anxiety over the condition of the tortured Jewish community in Syria, whose human rights are severely curtailed and many of whom have been imprisoned and have had their property impounded. I would thus also appeal to the Government of Syria to respect the basic human rights of its Jewish community, which it holds hostage and which it prevents from leaving.

163. Permit me to turn now to the subject of the nuclear menace posed by Iraq. The item on the agenda of the Assembly dealing with the destruction of the Iraqi nuclear reactor has been formulated in a manner clearly intended to prejudice the outcome of the debate. As has been stated by Israel, the decision to destroy that reactor was taken only when it became absolutely certain that Iraq was on the verge of producing nuclear bombs, the principal target of which would have been Israel. People in all parts of the world, including the Middle East, are sleeping more soundly today, secure in the knowledge that that particular reactor has been removed. Iraq's nuclear reactor had to be destroyed before it became operational in the summer of 1981, for its destruction at a later date would have brought about radioactive fall-out, endangering the civilian population of Baghdad.

164. Ever since the establishment of the State of Israel, Iraq has been conspiring against it, both politically and militarily. Iraq set out to acquire nuclear facilities and expertise and then proceeded to assemble all the ingredients required for the development of nuclear weapons. This indicated a calculated effort on the part of Iraq to embark on a nuclear weapons programme. Our concern about the Iraqi nuclear programme was shared also by authoritative foreign governmental and professional assessments. None the less, six years of diplomatic and public efforts to bring about the cessation of the Iraqi military nuclear programme yielded little more than reference to IAEA inspections under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to which Iraq is a signatory. Israel has had to conclude that a country which acquired a complete fuel cycle and is openly bent on the destruction of Israel will not balk at going ahead with its programme, whether or not it is a party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

165. Let me take this opportunity to reiterate Israel's policy that it will not be the first country in the Middle East to introduce nuclear weapons into the region. Faced as it is with the stark realities of the Middle East, Israel must insist on distinguishing between spurious and genuine safety. As the case of Iraq has clearly demonstrated, the Non-Proliferation Treaty cannot effectively prevent such a country from resorting to nuclear weapons so as to achieve what more conventional means have failed to do.

166. The only genuine way to remove the nuclear threat to the Middle East can be found in the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone, freely and directly negotiated among the countries of the region and based on mutual assurances, on the pattern of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. In the Assembly we shall continue to advocate and support constructive steps genuinely advancing the prospect of a Middle East free of nuclear weapons. At the same time, we shall warn against, and oppose, steps designed to exploit this subject as a tool of anti-Israel political warfare.

167. The situation in Lebanon has been a source of grave concern in our region for a number of years. That country has been subjected to strife and bloodshed from the mid-1970's onwards, due to the exploitation by Syria and by the PLO of domestic rivalries in Lebanon, followed by outright invasion of the country by the Syrian army. The situation has been worsened by the tightening of the PLO's grip on large parts of the country. Furthermore, in order to promote their regional strategic aims, the Syrians have subjected the Lebanese civilian popula-

tion to brutal attacks which have brought about the destruction of a large portion of the country. Some 120,000 Lebanese civilians have been the victims of Syrian and PLO atrocities. It is characteristic of the double standard practised in international relations that these atrocities have never been condemned by the international community, including the United Nations. Arab and Soviet-bloc supporters of Syria and the PLO have made any such condemnation impossible.

168. It is our hope that an independent and free Lebanon will soon re-emerge and maintain good relations with all its neighbours, including Israel. But this will be very difficult to achieve as long as the PLO is allowed to nest in Lebanon and to hatch schemes aimed at promoting international terrorism and the mounting of brutal and cowardly attacks against the civilian population of Israel, especially in the northern part of our country. There will be no end to the tragedy of Lebanon as long as the Syrian occupation continues and as long as the PLO maintains its terrorist bases in Lebanon, supported by armaments from foreign Powers, mainly the Soviet Union and Libya. The Government of Israel will at all times support the re-establishment of a truly independent Lebanon, within its internationally recognized boundaries, free of Syrian occupation and PLO terror.

169. The main cause of the Arab-Israel conflict has always been the refusal of Arab States to accept the existence of an independent and secure State of Israel and their avowed commitment to its destruction. The events of the last four years have brought about a major breakthrough in that respect: after Egypt abandoned the path of war and announced its readiness to negotiate peace, peace inevitably followed. Furthermore, while the winds of war have been constantly blowing in other parts of the region, Egypt and Israel, which not long ago were faced with the imminent danger of war, are now learning to coexist in peace and represent an island of stability in the Middle East. Unfortunately, this is not yet the case with regard to the other Arab neighbours of Israel. These Arab States, which have been invited by the signatories of the Camp David framework for peace to join the peace process, have so far refused to do so.

170. One of the clearest manifestations of their categorical opposition to the peace process is their continuing and unprecedented military buildup through arms purchases from the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc nations, as well as from the United States and Western Europe. Since 1978 the major Arab countries, excluding Egypt, have concluded arms deals valued at \$27.8 billion, of which \$11.6 billion worth has already been delivered.

171. These acquisitions of arms reflect a formidable quantitative and qualitative military buildup in those countries. These arms are unfortunately intended primarily for use against Israel. Needless to say, the stepped-up arming of the Arab States serves to strengthen their conviction that the Arab-Israel conflict can still be solved by military means. Moreover, it jeopardizes the internal stability of several of the Arab régimes, as well as of the region as a whole.

172. The Camp David accords have been and remain the only feasible path to peace; no other viable solution appears on the horizon. Just last week we resumed the negotiations with Egypt, with the participation of the

United States, on the establishment of full autonomy for the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district. We hope to bring these negotiations before long to a successful conclusion.

173. Our people were not handed their State on a silver platter. We fought for liberation against a colonial Power. We then had to fight against a host of Arab armies that sought to prevent the establishment of our State. Subsequently, we have fought four more wars to defend it. We know very well the meaning and the price of combating colonialism, of a struggle for liberation and of fighting for self-determination.

174. These concepts are now being abused and exploited by a number of Arab Governments in the name of the Palestinian Arabs. The Palestinian Arabs do have a State on a major part of the territory of Palestine. In Jordan, there exists a Palestinian Arab State in everything but name. It is a Palestinian Arab State by virtue of its geography, demography, history, culture, religion and language. It has even been declared as such by an impressive number of Palestinian Arab and Jordanian leaders. There is thus no need to speak further of Palestinian self-determination; their homeland is already in existence. Moreover, in 1964, when the PLO approved the so-called Palestinian National Covenant with a view to "liberating" Palestine, at a time when Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district were still under Jordanian and Egyptian occupation, the real goal of the Arab States was to "liberate" Israel from Israelis, to deprive Israel of its existence. That aim is still fervently pursued today under the cover of the slogan of a "homeland for the homeless Palestinians", which is given immense publicity by Arab propagandists and their supporters.

175. Israel firmly believes in a vision of peace for our region and will strive towards its realization. The Middle East is rich, not only in history and in spiritual and cultural assets, but also in immense natural resources and manpower. The people of Israel has as much to offer for the development and progress of our region as have the other neighbouring peoples, each in its own way.

176. The Jewish people has re-established its home in the land of its forefathers, where the Kingdoms of Judea and Israel flourished for centuries. We have now restored our sovereignty over this area after 19 centuries of homelessness, with Jerusalem, which has always been the centre and sole focus of the national and spiritual life of the Jewish people, as the undivided and indivisible capital of Israel.

177. We have returned to the land of Israel and have come there to stay. Together all the nations of the Middle East can usher in an era of real peace and co-operation in the region. The opportunity is there. Let us not miss it.

178. Mr. NIEHAUS-QUESADA (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am happy to join previous speakers in congratulating Mr. Ismat Kittani on his election as President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. His personal qualities augur well for his success in performing the important functions entrusted to him by the Assembly.

179. I should also like to pay a tribute of admiration and appreciation to his predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von

Wechmar, for his leadership of the thirty-fifth session, which all previous speakers have acknowledged to have been dynamic and decisive.

180. Finally, I should like to express the admiration of the delegation of Costa Rica for the consummate skill with which the Secretary-General has carried out his important duties.

181. It is an honour and a privilege for me to be able to welcome to the United Nations a sovereign and independent Belize. We share the great emotion which its representatives must feel today. Their presence will lend renewed vigour to the United Nations, which with each day that passes represents all the peoples of the earth with greater enthusiasm. We welcome Belize's entry into the United Nations, where common struggles await us. After 35 years we are witnessing the collapse of colonialism all over the world. This is one of the great achievements of the United Nations and the fulfilment of one of the fundamental principles of its Charter.

182. I have great pleasure in welcoming the Republic of Vanuatu as a Member of the United Nations. Costa Rica was most gratified when Vanuatu became independent on 30 July 1980 and wishes this new Member State a happy, peaceful and prosperous future for its people, trusting that its new-found freedom and self-determination will be preserved and strengthened.

183. As the Secretary-General so clearly says in his report [A/36/1], the picture of international risks and dangers which he described to us a year ago, far from disappearing, has become more disturbing than ever.

184. There has not been the necessary will in international affairs to permit the major changes which might enable peoples to live together in harmony. There has been no change in the politics of domination which continue to block the possibilities of progress towards a better world for all mankind.

185. The political and ideological struggles between the great Powers have intensified, while in some regions new sources of armed conflict have arisen. The competition for spheres of influence continues unabated, thwarting the aspiration of peoples to a world order in which weak and powerful nations alike would organize their relations and tackle their common problems with the full participation of all.

186. In the light of this disturbing situation, the purposes and principles of the United Nations acquire greater relevance. Costa Rica believes in international organizations. We believe that within this Organization and under its auspices we can reconcile extreme positions and settle the conflicts which threaten peace and justice. We can develop a feeling of human solidarity despite the incomprehension and intransigence of a handful of States. If we are tenacious and persevering we shall be able to achieve these goals through concerted political, social and economic action.

187. As the Assembly begins its work this year, the Government of Costa Rica would like to place on record its position on some of the serious problems confronting the international community.

188. Central America today is an erupting volcano. It is the battlefield for the struggle of peoples for freedom and dignity, and it must suffer all the unhappy consequences of that struggle. The peoples of Central America are demanding greater social justice, complete freedom and respect for human dignity. Various forces and interests oppose these legitimate demands: the selfishness of those who wish to maintain the *status quo* for the benefit of the few, in total disregard of the vast majority; the direct damage caused to our countries by the international economic situation, particularly inflation, the drop in international market prices for our commodity exports and the inordinate rise in the price of energy-related products, all of which affect our region particularly, because of its geographical, economic, social and political situation; and, finally, the manipulation by extremist ideologies which, taking advantage of these circumstances, are trying to subvert the people's legitimate ideals and steer our nations towards the fateful goal of left-wing or right-wing extremism.

189. We are confident that the countries of Central America will manage to emerge from this titanic struggle as democratic nations committed to peace, freedom and justice.

190. It is with sorrow that we witness the bloodbath suffered by the fraternal people of El Salvador. Costa Rica has given its backing to the Government of President Duarte, as a viable transitional formula by which the country can move towards institutionality, and is grateful for the latter's efforts to achieve a peaceful and lasting solution by means of a political dialogue leading to the expression of the popular will in free and democratic elections.

191. The problems facing Central America do not concern that region alone. Our success or failure in resolving the crisis has a direct bearing on the future of democracy not only in the region but throughout the world.

192. The geographical, economic and social constraints suffered by the countries of the region prevent them from resolving the crisis without the support of the community of nations. The international community knows this and is willing to help, for such is the duty of every country in the world that believes in democracy and whose system of government is based on freedom, justice and peace. The industrialized countries have a special responsibility, for they are in the best position to help and co-operate in the defence of democracy and of these fundamental principles.

193. In this context, we have promoted the Central American dialogue, and we have acknowledged with enthusiasm the interest expressed by the Foreign Ministers of Canada, Mexico, the United States and Venezuela to assist the region in the search for solutions to its economic problems. Also, we support the proposal of the Foreign Minister of Peru to set up a trust fund that would serve as a basis for an aid programme of horizontal co-operation [6th meeting, para. 163].

194. Notwithstanding the serious crisis in the region, my country has continued to conduct its affairs in a peaceful and orderly fashion, respecting the electoral decisions of its people, solving its problems within a state of law and trusting in God and man. We have been the

calm eye in the middle of the cyclone that buffets our suffering neighbours.

195. In the struggle between spiritual and purely material values, between freedom without bread and bread without freedom, we Costa Ricans have achieved the ideal goal of bread and freedom. For 160 years we have upheld the ideals of economic and social justice, freedom, respect for human rights and representative government.

196. But all this can change if we are not careful. There can be no doubt that our peaceful way of life and our love of freedom are threatened by the critical situation facing the world today. This is why, in the interests of the very survival of democracy, intelligent and close collaboration is needed now more than ever before between the industrialized and developing countries. It is only by unity of action that we can move forward, preserving a system that affords man the best opportunities in his search for happiness and his enjoyment of peace, freedom and justice.

197. I wish to reiterate that my country is aware of the historic role that the stability of its democratic system demands that it play in the Central American region. Consequently, we desire the establishment in Central America of governments that are a true expression of the popular will, the product of an electoral process, a democratic manifestation in the true sense of the word; governments that will lead their peoples to economic and social progress in peace and freedom.

198. The Latin American countries form a group of republics with ties unmatched anywhere in the world. Latin American unity is an historical necessity if our countries are to be able to play their part in the community of nations and develop their potential to the full. Today, despite its difficult economic situation, its precarious social stability and its slow progress towards democracy, Latin America is part of the developing world that shows a greater identity of aims, a greater convergence towards those aims and a greater possibility of managing to achieve them.

199. Latin Americans must be alive to the tremendous historical importance of the present moment and of our responsibility towards the future, which calls for wisdom and courage in the decisions which our peoples expect and demand of us. By striving for a Latin American consensus free of intolerance and exclusivity, we shall be helping to strengthen the United Nations.

200. My country has been a staunch supporter of all the efforts and actions to change the present international order and lay the bases for genuine co-operation among all States. We are convinced of the effectiveness and the necessity of common action in this era of determined opposition to domination and exploitation. The unity and solidarity of the third world are the new alternative for securing recognition for the common aspirations for justice and equity.

201. We realize that it will be difficult for our countries to move ahead with their development programmes until the foundations have been laid of a new international economic order which places the same value on our raw materials and our labour as it does on the labour, manufactured goods and technologies of the industrialized countries. In this connection, the North-South and South-

South dialogues and the global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development are especially significant.

202. My delegation notes with regret that, 35 years after the Assembly first considered the question of *apartheid*, the Government of South Africa continues to repress that country's black population. The United Nations cannot continue to be a passive witness to events in southern Africa. Costa Rica supports the measures taken by the United Nations in the struggle against *apartheid*.

203. I should like to emphasize once again that there is a tradition of anti-racism in Costa Rica, one that has its roots in our history. All the ethnic groups in our country have mixed spontaneously, and we are proud to be a nation with a democratic system that allows every Costa Rican without distinction to develop his skills.

204. My delegation hopes that more decisive steps will be taken at this session to put an end to this form of totalitarianism, and, on behalf of our Government, we shall vote in favour of and join in any action that might further the struggle against *apartheid* and contribute to its final eradication.

205. The Government of Costa Rica condemns South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. South Africa has an obligation to withdraw its administration from that Territory so that the people of Namibia can achieve a genuine independence that respects their territorial integrity, including Walvis Bay and the coastal islands. We support the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination.

206. We strongly condemn the invasion of Angola recently committed by South Africa from Namibia. My delegation considers the situation in Namibia to be a threat to international peace and security and therefore urges all Member States to strengthen the comprehensive sanctions against South Africa in order to compel it to comply immediately with United Nations resolutions on Namibia.

207. With respect to the situation in Afghanistan, the delegation of Costa Rica stated its position at the Security Council's emergency meeting⁷ called in response to requests by numerous States Members of the United Nations, Costa Rica among them, which believed that what was happening in Afghanistan then, and is still happening there today, constitutes a serious violation of the fundamental principles of international law by one of the permanent members of the Security Council and hence a grave threat to international peace and security.

208. The position taken then remains the same today. Like most of the countries of the third world, my country relies on the enforcement of international law for its external security and is above any suspicion of seeking to interfere in the internal affairs of its neighbours or of any other nation. We are concerned therefore that treaties of friendship, co-operation and good-neighbourliness can overnight become tools of aggression, invasion and intervention in the affairs of a sovereign State. We are also concerned over what happens in any other part of the world, especially when the good faith and friendly intentions that inspire international law are violated.

209. For years, Costa Rica has followed developments in Cyprus with keen attention and interest. We attach the greatest importance to the preservation of that country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity in accordance with relevant United Nations resolutions, and we hope that the sense of responsibility of the States and communities directly involved in the conflict will prevail.

210. The Government of Costa Rica maintains the position it has taken at previous sessions of the General Assembly with regard to the serious situation in the Middle East. There are several difficult elements in that conflict, some of them deeply painful, such as the useless blood-bath inflicted on the communities of Lebanon, for whom the international community should be able to guarantee the right and the real possibility for finding peace and harmony, without the outside interference that makes that impossible. Other elements, besides being painful, seriously threaten the peace of the world; among them is the Arab-Israeli conflict. We believe that the problem could be solved if the parties to the conflict were truly determined to put an end to it and if all involved accepted that both an Israeli and a Palestinian State have a right to existence, that dialogue is the best means of relaxing the tensions between the parties and is a prerequisite to formal negotiations, and that the Israeli and Palestinian States have a right to live within definite, secure borders guaranteed by the United Nations.

211. Were the parties to the conflict to agree to those principles, the problem could be solved and the borders of the States could be fixed in a universally satisfactory manner. The Government of Costa Rica has a very clear picture of what the Middle East could be if all the States there were to put an end to hostilities and launch a programme of co-operation among themselves, thereby heeding the call for peace that we have so often made in this forum.

212. We have always added Costa Rica's voice to those of many other Member States and have joined in the efforts to achieve peace, justice, freedom and respect for human rights in Kampuchea. Like all peace-loving peoples, we believe that the people of Kampuchea deserves to be allowed to live in peace and fully to exercise its rights as a sovereign and independent State.

213. Strategic interests cannot take precedence over the longing of peoples for freedom nor usurp their right to genuine self-determination, territorial integrity and independence. That is why my delegation supported General Assembly resolutions 34/22 and 35/6 and believes we must continue to insist on fulfilment of the requirements outlined in paragraph 3 of resolution 35/6. I should like to reiterate our hope that the difficult and serious situation in Kampuchea will be resolved by means of the necessary political will and a manifestation of the spirit of justice.

214. Faithful to the fundamental principles of the United Nations, my country believes that the process of decolonization resulting from the effective exercise by peoples of their right to self-determination is now almost complete.

215. My Government supports and will continue to support all legitimate struggles for the effective exercise of the right to self-determination in accordance with resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV), which were adopted by

the General Assembly 20 years ago and which have since been both guide and foundation of the decolonization process. That is why we have supported the just aspirations of the POLISARIO Front^a and have recognized the sovereign and independent Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic.

216. In all the years that the question of Korea has been before the General Assembly, Costa Rica has advocated direct contacts between the two parties at the highest level with a view to arriving at an understanding that would put an end once and for all to a tense situation which affects not only the Korean peninsula but also the entire region of North-East Asia. Despite the repeated initiatives of the Republic of Korea, as put forward by President Chun on 12 January 1981 and again on 5 June, and despite the support of Members of this Organization for direct dialogue as a means of achieving the peaceful reunification of Korea, no such contacts have been possible.

217. My country further believes that both Koreas should be admitted as full Members of the Organization, as a first step towards creating an international climate of reconciliation and, ultimately, peaceful democratic reunification, that is, by means of free elections, thereby enhancing the principle of the universality of the United Nations.

218. My delegation once again appeals to Member States to make their positive contribution towards creating a favourable climate for the resumption of the dialogue between North Korea and South Korea and for the peaceful resolution of the question of Korea.

219. It has become a frustrating ritual for those of us who come to the Assembly year after year to draw attention to the grave risks presented by the arms race, to speak in the debate on that subject. The military forces of the great Powers and the tremendous destructive power of their weapons cast the darkest of shadows over the world. The arms race is a fierce competition to acquire more and better weapons. Not only do nuclear weapons pose an intolerable threat because of the unspeakable devastation that they cause, but the theories about their use and the prospects of their spread to other States magnify that threat and can make disarmament ever more difficult to achieve.

220. In this connection, I should like also to emphasize the importance my country attaches to all efforts to prevent the militarization of outer space and to reiterate once again Costa Rica's pacifist vocation and its conviction that it is only through conciliation and peace that our peoples can move forward.

221. We are convinced that the problems of disarmament, although difficult and complex, can be solved if weak and powerful together are determined to solve them. The future of mankind depends to a large extent on how we solve those problems, and in that process the United Nations will continue to be the most appropriate body for pooling our efforts and freeing mankind from the threat of destruction.

222. The question of the University for Peace was first brought before the Assembly at its thirty-fourth session, when the idea of establishing the University was approved and an international commission created to prepare its or-

ganization, structure and setting in motion [resolution 34/111]. The Commission's report^a was presented to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session. On the Commission's recommendation, on 5 December 1980, the Assembly decided by consensus to establish the University for Peace and approved the University's Charter and the International Agreement for the Establishment of the University for Peace. Since that time 20 countries have signed the Agreement.

Mr. Kamil (Indonesia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

223. The University is conceived as an international institution created with the intellectual and material co-operation of all countries, as a melting pot where different cultures can make their contribution to peace, as an international forum where the theoretical and practical problems of peace and war can be studied and explained, and as a house of learning which can create alternatives for peaceful coexistence among all the peoples of the earth.

224. On behalf of the Government of Costa Rica, I should like to thank the General Assembly for its clear and resolute support for this venture. We are especially grateful to the Secretariat and above all to the Secretary-General, who made his own decisive contribution to the new institution's promising future by appointing such an eminent and representative Council, which will no doubt convince the world, and the United Nations in particular, of the immense challenge facing the University and help ensure that its objectives are achieved and even surpassed.

225. I make a fervent appeal to all Governments to make their decisive contribution to this new venture, designed to strengthen the foundations needed for establishing an increasingly just and, hence, increasingly peaceful world.

226. Costa Rica is confident that the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea will finally complete its work in spring 1982 in New York. We are ready to take final decisions at that last session and then to go to Caracas with all the other participating States to adopt the Convention on the Law of the Sea so long awaited by the international community. It is in this spirit that we urge those nations which appear to have problems with the text of a convention which was forged with the assistance and understanding of all participants to join in working towards a consensus with the greatest good will. Failure to adopt a convention like that embodied in what is now the Conference's official text would seriously damage the relations between rich and poor nations and would no doubt become a further source of international tension.

227. Human rights constitutes one of the issues to which the Organization has devoted time, effort and determination. As it is one of the cornerstones of our foreign policy which we have reaffirmed in numerous declarations, we shall support any initiatives which might help to strengthen human rights and promote their strict observance and protection wherever there is an attempt to violate or lessen them.

228. The question of human rights is becoming more relevant every day, which makes it increasingly vital and indispensable that the international community join in efforts to protect them. We believe that human rights are

a matter of universal importance. Costa Rica believes that it must pursue its efforts in support of the creation of a post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

229. I should like to draw attention to the concern expressed by the Secretary-General in his report to the General Assembly at the lack of appropriate ways and means of filling the vacuum that exists in the field of the promotion of and respect for human rights. Costa Rica, a staunch defender of human rights and fundamental freedoms, is seeking to strengthen the international machinery for the protection and promotion of human rights, so as to guarantee or improve the conditions in which such rights are exercised internationally.

230. The Government of Costa Rica is deeply concerned at the serious refugee problem, which often threatens the political and social stability and economic development of the States and regions concerned, especially developing regions. That is why it co-sponsored resolution 35/124 on the subject, adopted on 11 December 1980. That resolution represented an important step in the search for a solution to this problem at the present session of the General Assembly. At future sessions the international community will be called upon to consider not only the humanitarian aspects of the problem but also the adoption of preventive measures to prevent new flows of refugees.

231. The Government of Costa Rica supports the ideas and suggestions formulated by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany in the Security Council¹⁰ and wishes to express the hope that other Members will participate and help in ensuring that these ideas and suggestions are discussed fully so that we can proceed in this direction in close co-operation.

232. Costa Rica has requested the inclusion in the agenda of a new item entitled "Declaration of a Peace Year, a Peace Month and a Peace Day" [see A/36/197] not only because it is committed to the cause of peace but also because it acted as host to the Sixth Triennial Conference of the International Association of University Presidents held at San José from 28 June to 3 July 1981, which proposed such an initiative. My Government welcomed the proposal and had the honour of submitting it to the General Assembly at the thirty-sixth session. I shall not go into the details of the draft resolution here. Its text will be submitted to delegations in the hope that this initiative will receive the General Assembly's broad support.

233. I should like to end by reiterating my country's faith in the validity and vitality of the Organization. We are firm believers in the decisive role that the United Nations must play in shaping the future of mankind in an environment of peace, freedom and universal justice.

234. Mr. MIRGHANI (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure to extend to Mr. Kittani of Iraq, on behalf of my delegation, our sincere congratulations upon his election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. The Sudan, which enjoys close brotherly relations with his country, is confident that his wealth of experience, wisdom and competence in the political and diplomatic fields will enable him to guide the deliberations of this session towards suc-

cess and towards the constructive goals to which we all aspire.

235. My delegation would also like to express appreciation to his predecessor, Mr. von Wechmar, for the competence and skill with which he discharged his responsibilities as President of the thirty-fifth session and the emergency special session on Namibia. We also appreciate his tireless efforts to create a favourable climate in which the Assembly can achieve progress towards launching global negotiations on the most important international economic questions.

236. My delegation warmly welcomes the admission of Belize and the Republic of Vanuatu to the United Nations. We trust that they will make a useful and effective contribution to the work of the Organization.

237. The General Assembly is convening at a time when the international situation is fraught with tension, conflict, deterioration of international relations and mutual mistrust between nations that seriously threaten international peace and security. This gloomy situation is a serious challenge to the principles and purposes of the United Nations. The policy of intervention in the internal affairs of others and the recurrent resort to the use of force in international relations, precipitating armed conflicts in various parts of the world, reflect a disturbing contradiction between the commitments of Member States under the Charter and their actions and behaviour which constitute blatant violations of the Charter and a challenge to the Organization in which the people of the world place all their hopes. There is a great divide between the commitment to the principles and provisions of the Charter and the actual conduct of States in their international relations. Therefore, to put an end to this dangerous situation, responsible and serious international action is imperative. Only through political will and objective co-operation on the part of the international community—today and not tomorrow—can we create a sound international community based on equality, justice and interdependence for the good of humanity as a whole.

238. On several occasions we and others have drawn attention to an extremely dangerous phenomenon in international relations—that is, interference in the internal affairs of other States, which has spread and become recurrent in the last few years. We reject and condemn interference in the internal affairs of other States, regardless of the cause or pretext, not only because it is a contravention of the principles governing international relations or because it threatens the peace, security and development of the States concerned, but also because it threatens the peace and security of whole regions, forcing many States and peoples, particularly the poorest ones, to use their limited resources for defence rather than for the economic and social development so necessary and urgent for their peoples. Therefore the Sudan will always firmly reject and condemn this dangerous trend in international relations and ask that it be ended before it is too late to avoid catastrophe.

239. The States of the Organization in general and those of the third world in particular must realize that any compromise about or condoning of interference in the affairs of others is in fact the negation of all the victories that peoples have won during a long and arduous struggle

against all forms of colonialism, oppression and repression.

240. The principles of respect for the national independence, sovereignty and unity of all States and for the right of all peoples to freedom and self-determination become meaningless if any State, acting alone or abetted by others, is allowed to impose its own system or ideology on other weaker or poorer States and peoples. That is why the Sudan is firmly convinced that these fundamental principles constitute the very basis for present-day international relations and should be respected by all States in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, which safeguards the sovereignty and independence of all States, in particular the small and the weak.

241. The Sudan believes strongly in the principles of settlement of disputes by peaceful means and of the inadmissibility of the use of force in international relations, in accordance with international law and international instruments, particularly the Charter of the United Nations. Our commitment to these principles is reflected in our attempts to assist in finding peaceful solutions to conflicts in both the African and the Arab regions through dialogue and mediation, thus maintaining brotherly relations and good-neighbourliness and consolidating co-operation in the efforts to achieve development and prosperity.

242. The Sudan's initiatives and untiring efforts, led by our President himself, to settle by peaceful means the dispute in the Horn of Africa through negotiations and dialogue stem from this firm conviction, because the political solution is the only lasting one. The economic and social situation, the historical background and the strategic importance of the region make concerted and sincere action by its countries and peoples essential, in order to allow brotherly coexistence and co-operation among them, so as to channel all their resources towards the solution of the urgent problems of economic and social development, of the refugees and of the damage resulting from the droughts which have affected the country for several years now. Wisdom, rationality and mutual interest make it necessary for the peoples and States of the region to settle their disputes and use their wealth and resources for the true benefit of the peoples and to avoid being drawn into super-Power conflicts, which usually involve foreign intervention and undermine national independence and sovereignty.

243. The Sudan is equally concerned by the situation in Chad and has actively contributed to the attempts to find an equitable, political and just settlement that would safeguard the national unity and territorial integrity of Chad and the peace, security and stability of the whole region. We fervently hope that the resolutions of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Nairobi, will be fully implemented.

244. The Sudan also feels considerable concern over the question of Western Sahara. That was why we participated actively in the African Committee of Wise Men set up by the OAU Assembly to find a peaceful solution to this problem. We note with satisfaction and pride that the Committee, with the assistance and co-operation of all the parties concerned, was able to agree on a practical and just base for settling the problem. We are proud of the

fact that all parties to the dispute expressed their readiness to accept and apply the decisions and recommendations of the Committee. The Sudan considers that this African problem should be solved under the aegis of the OAU.

245. In the international sphere, our commitment to the principles of the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means prompted our repeated appeals for just political settlements that would end the war that has been going on for more than a year now between two brother countries, Iraq and Iran; for a peaceful solution to the question of Afghanistan, ending the foreign intervention there and enabling the Afghan people to enjoy its right to freedom, independence, sovereignty and non-alignment; for the peaceful reunification of Korea in accordance with the legitimate aspirations of its people; and for the solution of the problem of Cyprus in such a way as to safeguard that country's independence, unity and territorial integrity.

246. The Sudan's commitment to the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means is also reflected in our active participation in the International Conference on Kampuchea, which took place in July, and in our acceptance of membership of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of that Conference entrusted with the task of creating a climate favourable to the attainment of a comprehensive peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean question. We take this opportunity of expressing to the international community our gratitude for having been chosen as a member of the Committee, and we pledge ourselves to exert every effort to ensure that the Committee fulfils its responsibility for finding a peaceful solution to the Kampuchean problem.

247. The Sudan's calls for the avoidance of conflict and the settlement of disputes through dialogue in order to establish the peace and stability necessary for the achievement of progress and prosperity and the safeguarding of the human heritage cannot be dissociated from the disturbing phenomenon of the escalating arms race in the world. This frightening race is occurring not only between the great Powers but also between poor developing countries, which would do better to channel their limited human and natural resources into development and construction and the alleviation of the poverty, hunger, ignorance, disease and underdevelopment.

248. It is sad, regrettable and, at the same time, frightening to note that the expenditure on weapons capable of destroying the world ten times over has reached an astronomical figure exceeding \$500 billion, in a world plagued by serious economic crises that undermine its foundations and threaten its very survival. It is imperative that we seriously search for a practical, speedy solution to end the arms race.

249. At this stage there is no need to stress here the fundamental importance the international community attaches to the situation in the Middle East. It is a situation that, in the absence of a just settlement to the problem of Palestine, continues to endanger international peace and security and to aggravate the conflict in the region. The recent developments we have witnessed this year have given a new and serious dimension to the Middle East crisis. The international community must pause and contemplate what might arise if no appropriate and timely measures are taken.

250. This year has witnessed the unprecedented and wanton Israeli aggression against Iraq and the destruction of the Iraqi peaceful nuclear installations which were properly subjected to international inspection and control, in accordance with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to which Israel has refused to accede. This Israeli criminal act, in addition to its violation of international norms and instruments calling for respect for the territorial integrity of States and of the principles upon which IAEA was founded, constitutes an obvious denial of the right of the peoples and States of the region to develop their resources and wealth in order to achieve progress and prosperity. The flagrant Israeli aggression against Iraq has confirmed what we have been reiterating for several years with regard to Israel's limitless ambitions for occupation, expansion and hegemony. Under the pretext of ensuring its security, Israel invented an imaginary Arab threat in order to obtain the aid and support necessary for achieving its illegitimate dreams and objectives.

251. Israel did not stop with the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear research centre, which it reached by violating the territorial integrity of Iraq and several neighbouring countries. It also waged wanton aggression against Lebanon, destroying houses, schools, places of worship, roads and civilian refugee camps in an attempt to carry out its criminal plan to exterminate the Palestinian people wherever they are.

252. Those serious developments and the inhuman practices of the Zionist régime in Jerusalem and all the occupied Arab territories are proof that no just and durable peace can be established in the area so long as Israel continues to plan for aggression and expansion and so long as the international community's response is confined to mere denunciations and condemnations.

253. Let us ask—and we have every right to ask—how long will such an odd and bizarre situation prevail in the Middle East? For how much longer are the Palestinian people condemned to remain confined to refugee camps despite the resolutions of this Organization and others reaffirming their legitimate national and human rights, including their right to self-determination and to establish an independent sovereign State in Palestine? Do we still need to repeat every year from this same rostrum that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East is still dependent upon the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since June 1967, including Jerusalem? Do we need to dwell on the fact that a comprehensive and just peace in the area is still contingent upon Israel's full compliance with the United Nations resolutions that condemn the acquisition of territories by force and aggression? Do we need still more affirmations that a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the area cannot be achieved without the participation of the PLO?

254. The deteriorating situation in the Middle East is the most serious challenge to the international community and to the ability of the United Nations to realize the lofty principles and objectives upon which it is based. Ranking high among those principles are respect for the inalienable rights of all peoples to life, freedom and self-determination, as well as the inadmissibility of aggression, expansion and acquisition of territory by force. The Israeli contempt for those principles and its non-compliance with the resolutions and provisions adopted by the

Organization confront us all with a grave international responsibility. The deliberate Israeli violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law has left the international community with no choice but that of applying the measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter against Israel.

255. The deteriorating situation in southern Africa also requires urgent consideration by the international community. In that region, barbaric policies and practices are carried out by another racist régime in violation of international law and instruments and United Nations resolutions. The white minority régime of South Africa is a mirror image and a natural ally of the Zionist Government of Israel, as is evidenced by the similarity of their aggressive, expansionist practices and by the close co-operation between these two abnormal régimes outlawed by the international community.

256. In Namibia, where the situation poses a serious threat to world peace and security and where the international community has recognized the necessity of peacefully settling the question in accordance with the provisions of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), South Africa is still trying to undermine the international efforts in order to maintain its domination and exploitation of the wealth of Namibia.

257. South Africa participated in the arduous and protracted negotiations that led to resolution 435 (1978) and has pledged to implement it. It is also aware of the tolerance and wisdom demonstrated by SWAPO and all the African countries in accepting this compromise and pledging to implement it fully in order to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question.

258. It is evident that South Africa will change neither its position nor its policies in Namibia unless the international community—particularly the Western countries—takes a firm stand with regard to South Africa along the lines prescribed in resolution ES-8/2, adopted at the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly, on Namibia, held early last month. All States are called upon to implement the sanctions against South Africa in order to force it to respect the international will and to abide by United Nations resolutions.

259. We appeal to all Member States, regardless of their social systems, to show the utmost co-operation in observing and enforcing these comprehensive sanctions in order completely to isolate the racist régime in South Africa. The five Western countries that played a significant role in bringing about the plan contained in resolution 435 (1978) are under a greater obligation than others to exert pressure on South Africa to force it to implement that Security Council resolution, thus peacefully settling the Namibian question before the situation explodes and threatens everyone's interests in that vital area. We appreciate the efforts of the five Western countries to find a peaceful and just settlement to the Namibian question, and we trust that they will continue those efforts whatever the obstacles and the difficulties involved.

260. The people and the Government of the Sudan have followed with great concern and attention the deteriorating situation in South Africa, which is caused by the intensified repressive measures of the racist régime against the indigenous majority of the people and by that régime's

persistence in implementing the policies and practices of *apartheid*, which have been rejected and condemned by the international community. The Sudan and all of Africa have repeatedly warned here and in other international forums of the dangers inherent in South Africa's racist policies, particularly what the South African Government calls the policy of "separate development of the races" and what the rest of the world calls "*apartheid*". There is also the policy of "gradual change", a term by which the racist minority régime in Pretoria is trying to trick the international community into thinking that gradual improvement of their inhuman régime is in progress in South Africa.

201. Our rejection of that whole policy emanates from our awareness of the real intentions of the racist minority in South Africa and our conviction that its racist policies and measures are nothing more than mere tinkering that does not affect the basic structure of the hideous *apartheid* régime, which on the one hand guarantees the perpetuation of the domination and exploitation by the white minority and on the other ensures that the majority of the indigenous black majority will continue to live as poor oppressed foreigners in their own homeland.

262. We warn of the dangerous consequences of applauding and believing the present and future tricks that Pretoria pulls out in order to placate world opinion and suppress the struggle of our brothers in South Africa for liberty and equality. What Pretoria should do is not effect limited and superficial changes, but uproot and completely destroy the *apartheid* system and establish a healthy democratic society in which the majority will exercise its natural and legitimate right to liberty and sovereignty in its own homeland.

263. We believe that this is inevitable, because the heroic struggle and resistance of the black majority is being intensified despite the repressive policies and the new oppressive practices which the racist régime continually invents. However, it is sad and frustrating to note the silence of many countries as they witness the policy of deportation and dispersion practised by the racist authorities which consists of removing people to the areas known as Bantustans. Such policy has been rejected and declared null and void by the international community.

264. These serious developments in southern Africa and the threat they pose to peace and security not only in Africa but also in the whole world make more clear than ever the necessity for the international community represented in the Assembly not only to condemn and declare invalid and illegal all those measures of the racist authorities but also to start applying against South Africa the comprehensive sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

265. The international economic situation is, unfortunately, in no better shape than the political situation. In the last few years, and particularly this year, we have witnessed an intensified aggravation of the world economic situation, the serious repercussions of which on the developing countries threaten to undermine not only the development efforts of these countries but also their ability to provide their peoples with the barest necessities.

266. The adoption of the new International Development Strategy for the 1980s by the Assembly at its thirty-fifth

session [*resolution 35/56*] has revived hopes for improved international economic co-operation that would accelerate the development of the developing countries within the context of the establishment of the new international economic order. However, the setbacks affecting international economic co-operation in the course of this year—as reflected in the failures and disappointments in the preparations for the global negotiations, the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, the system for financing scientific and technical co-operation for development and other areas—have proved that no meaningful change has occurred since last year and that the rigid and intransigent positions of some developed countries, which led to the failure of the eleventh special session last year, have only hardened this year.

267. The reluctance of a few developed countries to participate positively in the search for solutions to the present economic crisis and especially the chronic problems of the developing countries is a serious element threatening not only to stall the dialogue on more rational and fruitful international economic co-operation, but also to destroy the still fragile basis which the international community has managed to establish, within the United Nations framework, as a starting-point in its endeavours to achieve an economically interdependent world based on co-operation for the benefit of all rather than on confrontation and narrow national interests, the bitter results of which the world experienced in the 1930s. The situation is further worsened by the world economic crisis and its impact on the economies of developing countries, as the developed countries have resorted to short-sighted national policies, protectionist measures, inflationary policies, high interest rates, cuts in official development assistance to developing countries, the creation of tariff and non-tariff barriers against goods from developing countries and the restriction of the transfer of technology of those countries.

268. One of the most important recent events in the economic field was the convening of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, which took place in Paris during the first half of September. We believe that the convening of the Conference was in itself international recognition of the serious economic situation in some 30 developing countries that are faced with special structural problems threatening their very survival in the present international economic situation. It was also an expression of the desire of the international community to find quickly fruitful solutions to these problems, a desire manifested in the development and adoption by the Conference of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the least developed countries.⁶ Although the outcome of the Conference fell short of the demands and expectations of the developing countries, and the least developed in particular, the adoption of the Programme of Action and the commitment to implement it constitute a serious step towards the radical solution of the problems of the least developed countries in a manner that will enable them to achieve self-sustained economic and social development. The commitment of most of the developed countries to designate 0.7 per cent of their revenue for official development assistance, and the commitment of many of them to allocate 0.15 per cent of their revenue to the least developed countries in order to double that pub-

lic assistance by 1985, are serious and encouraging indications of the prospects of implementing the Substantial New Programme of Action adopted in Paris.

269. The least developed countries, and indeed the other developing countries, are confronted not only with the serious problems posed by the international economic crisis, particularly food and energy problems, but also with other serious problems, such as national disasters and the influx of refugees that strain their already weak economies, drain their meagre resources and divert the efforts that are supposed to be directed towards economic and social development.

270. The Sudan, one of the African least developed countries which is host to large numbers of refugees, accords a special importance to the problems of refugees in the world in general and in Africa in particular. We are concerned not only because of the humanitarian aspects of the refugee problem but also because of their serious impact on the economic and social development plans of the host countries and countries of origin. That is why we welcomed the convening of the International Convention on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, which was held at Geneva in April on an African initiative and with international support.

271. We are gratified that the Conference succeeded in highlighting the plight of refugees in Africa and in indicating the nature and magnitude of the assistance urgently needed by the refugees and the host countries. The active participation in that Conference was a clear indication of the international community's concern and support for African refugees. Although the pledged contributions fell short of the need of refugees in Africa, we believe that the Conference was a step in the right direction which ought to be followed by international measures and pledges commensurate with the magnitude of the problems at a time when new waves of refugees further strain the economies of the host countries.

272. We appeal to all States, institutions, organizations and individuals that pledged contributions at or outside the Geneva Conference to make their contributions available without delay, because the refugee situation is critical and the needs are pressing. The refugee settlement projects which were presented to the Conference by several African countries, in particular the Sudan, are well prepared and, as such, should be financed by the resources pledged at the Conference. Most of those projects, including that of the Sudan, aim at providing regular settlements for the refugees, making them self-reliant and integrating them in national and economic and social development programmes.

273. In conclusion, I should like to reiterate that, in spite of the tensions in international relations today and the gap between international behaviour as prescribed by the Charter and as practised by States, we still hope that wisdom will prevail and that all States will uphold the purposes and principles of the Charter as providing the best framework for regulating relations among States and establishing co-operation on civilized and rational bases. The political, military and economic crises besetting the world today should not be a cause for undue pessimism, but should spur us to exert more efforts to create an international community based on peace and justice.

274. The people and Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan would like to reaffirm here their commitment to the purposes and principles of the United Nations and pledge that they will work tirelessly in order to consolidate those principles in a way that will ensure the achievement of peace and prosperity for all nations.

275. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

276. Mr. de PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): This morning [21st meeting], in the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Morocco, a series of affirmations were made with reference to which my delegation would like to make the following comments.

277. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain, in the statement he made in the Assembly on 24 September [12th meeting], defined the official position of the Spanish Government regarding the question of Western Sahara. I need only remind the Assembly of the letter dated 26 February 1976 which I addressed to the Secretary-General.¹¹ In that, we said, among other things, that the Spanish Government had definitively terminated its presence in the Territory and considered itself thenceforth exempt from any responsibility of an international nature in respect thereof.

278. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Morocco referred to the Spanish cities of Ceuta and Melilla and their dependencies, claiming certain rights for his country. Once again, on behalf of my Government, I must reject such claims and reaffirm the full sovereignty and Spanish character of the population of both, which are an integral part of the territory of my country in all their elements, whether ethnic, cultural, juridical or political, there being no possible comparison between their status and that of Gibraltar.

279. Mr. MOHAMED (Somalia): With regard to the statement made at this meeting by the Foreign Minister of Ethiopia distorting the decision of the OAU concerning the Somalia-Ethiopia dispute, I should like to reserve the right of my delegation to speak at a later stage.

280. The reason that I have asked to speak now is to refer to the statement made yesterday [19th meeting] by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Democratic Yemen, who saw fit openly to level false and groundless allegations at my country. The Minister stated from the rostrum that Somalia had offered its territory as a base to international imperialists bent on the domination of the region.

281. I should therefore like to use this opportunity to set the record straight and to inform the Assembly that my Government has not offered its territory as a base to any foreign country whatsoever. Our policy in this connection is clear and consistent. We advocate the dismantling of all foreign bases, the withdrawal of all foreign troops and their proxies from the region and the discouragement of super-Power rivalries.

282. It is in our interest and in that of all small, poor and developing countries, including Democratic Yemen, to stick to policies of genuine non-alignment and to take positive steps so that our common dream of making the

Indian Ocean a zone of peace can be realized. This would enable us to devote our attention to the socio-economic development of our respective countries and to that of the region as a whole. It would also enable us to find local solutions to local problems.

283. Nevertheless, the policies of the current régime in Democratic Yemen are far from simple. They do not see things in that way. Right or wrong, for them the West is the enemy, the West is bent on dominating the region, the West has designs of plundering the wealth of the region, and so on. Therefore, as could be expected, Democratic Yemen is always there, condemning the West and condoning the activities of the other super-Power. They have therefore not only turned the whole of their country into a warehouse, a storage depot for the other super-Power, but have agreed to become its tool by implementing its desires in the region.

284. One wonders how a representative of a régime whose *raison d'être* is to be a springboard for a super-Power, can accuse another who, as of today, has not one foreign soldier on its territory, let alone offering bases. Perhaps he did not learn from those wise men who said, among other things, that those who live in glass houses should not throw stones.

285. Mrs. NAVAS (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have heard, like an old RCA Victor record, the reply of the representative of the Venezuelan Government [20th meeting]. Like those old records, it reproduces "His Master's Voice", but in no way was he able to refute what we said.

286. Although some Governments of Latin America have lent themselves to the effort to revive the old servility of the 1960s, it is solely because of their obedience to the dictates of the new Yankee Administration. We would remind them of the words of General Omar Torrijos, the heir and torch bearer of the tradition of the Americanist struggle of Simón Bolívar and José Martí: "Each minute of Cuba's isolation amounts to 60 seconds of continental shame".

287. In Cuba we do not condemn poets, even if they write rubbish. We do condemn thugs, torturers and saboteurs. We trust that the Christian Democratic Government of Venezuela will do no less with the terrorist criminals who blew up a *Compañía Cubana de Aviación* civilian aircraft, killing more than 70 passengers. In fact, the cowardly exploiters, the fat cats, the parasites and other classless individuals have left Cuba and have found their paradise in the corrupt capitalist societies where they can continue to thrive and exploit others.

288. A century ago, in his essay "Our America", José Martí referred to the "deserters who beg for a rifle in the armies of North America" and who "wear a string of worms around their neck, cursing the breast that nurtured them, bearing the sign of traitor on the backs of their paper cassocks". And he went on: "Ships must be filled with these harmful vermin which eat into the bones of the homeland that feeds them".

289. This is why ours is the people Martí was hoping for, a people with faith in their land and courage in their hearts, a militant people, workers, peasants, students and intellectuals, the 10 million Cubans who, day after day,

in the factories, in the fields, in the universities and in far-away places, are discharging their internationalist duties and writing the great saga of the revolution.

290. Mr. SHAMMA (Jordan): It was not unusual for a representative of the Zionist entity in Arab Palestine to resort to distortions in order to press Zionist lies upon the Assembly. The history of our area is better known to us Arabs than to a foreigner to our area. It is a fact that Jews from all over the world came to Palestine to drive the legitimate Arab inhabitants out of their homeland.

291. My delegation would like to say it in simple terms: Jordan is for the Jordanians and Palestine is for the Palestinians and no Zionist terrorist is going to change this fact by historical distortions.

292. Instead of offering my country to the Palestinians, we would have expected the Zionist representative to acknowledge or to recognize the rights of the victims of Zionist hegemony, namely the Palestinian people, to self-determination. But that was too much to expect from an entity that was built on the ruins of the Palestinian people.

293. It is enough to say that the Zionist representative himself was one of the terrorists who took part in driving the Palestinians out of their homeland, Palestine. So how can we expect him to recognize the rights of the Palestinians to return to their homeland? And that is why he is using my country as a haven for the victims of his crimes.

294. I do not want to delve into the legalities or illegalities of the British Mandate, but let me say that there is nothing in that infamous Mandate that offers my country, Jordan, as a homeland for the Palestinians who have lived for centuries in what is now called Israel. That fact is sufficient to refute the lies just heard from the Zionist representative. On the contrary, the Mandate recognized the area west of the River Jordan as Palestine, the homeland of the Palestinian people. So the area west of the River Jordan is Palestine and will remain the homeland of the Palestinians. That is why the Mandate indicated that nothing should be done to prejudice the rights of the Palestinians in Palestine, now occupied by what is called Israel.

295. Jordan rejects the Zionist's claims and his trespassing on the independence and integrity of Jordan which is now recognized, and has been recognized, by the United Nations.

296. Mr. AL-ZAHAWI (Iraq): I have read the statement delivered this afternoon by Mr. Shamir. It was nothing but an insult to the United Nations and to the intelligence of every representative attending this session.

297. The world knows full well that Israel is the infamous holder of the record for the greatest number of condemnations issued in the annals of the United Nations for its continued acts of aggression and its violations of the Charter of the United Nations and its resolutions.

298. Mr. Shamir spoke here in praise of the Camp David accords as the only feasible path to peace. He even had the audacity to criticize the attitude of the United Nations towards those accords.

299. Let us look at Mr. Shamir's own record as one of the Zionists who, in his own words, "can usher in an era of real peace and co-operation in the region".

300. When it became known that Mr. Shamir was to be appointed Foreign Minister of Israel, *The Times* of London published an article in its issue of 10 March 1980, from which I should like to cite the following:

"... [Israel is to appoint a new Foreign Minister], Mr. Yitzhak Shamir, an acknowledged 'hawk' on the Palestinian question and one of the founders of the notorious 'Stern Gang' which fought a bloody terrorist campaign against the British in the 1940s.

"...

"The prospective Foreign Minister has already let it be known that he is a strong supporter of the right of Jews to settle in all the occupied Arab territories.

"Mr. Shamir has abstained from voting in support of the Camp David agreement, and it is widely believed that he would have voted openly against it had he not held the position of Speaker [of the Knesset].

"...

"He quickly earned the reputation of being a ruthless underground fighter, and later joined those who broke with the Irgun (led by Mr. Begin) and founded the smaller, more extreme splinter group known as the Stern Gang. Details about Mr. Shamir's part in the various atrocities committed by the group are not clear.

"The activities of the Stern Gang were largely responsible for the anti-Jewish sentiment which permeated the British forces in Palestine.

"Apart from savage attacks on individual British soldiers and Arab citizens, the gang was also responsible for the assassination of Lord Moyne, the British Minister in Cairo in 1944 and Count Bernadotte the United Nations Mediator, who was shot in 1948 after being sent to Jerusalem to implement the partition of Palestine.

"Mr. Shamir returned after the foundation of the state of Israel in 1948 and later played a prominent role as an agent for the Mossad, Israel's foreign intelligence service.

"... Mr. Shamir will be taking over the Foreign Ministry at a time when its influence is much diminished, with both the crucial negotiations on Palestinian autonomy and the process of normalizing ties with Egypt being handled by other ministries.

"...

"At home, Mr. Shamir is expected to provide important political support for his former underground rival, Mr. Begin, especially over the question of implementing the decision to allow Jews to settle in the heart of Hebron."

So much for the call for peace issued today by Mr. Shamir here.

301. Furthermore, the speaker also had the audacity to try to justify Israel's premeditated criminal attack on the Iraqi nuclear installations, which are subject to IAEA safeguards, by attacking Iraq's policy of resistance towards Israeli aggression and its refusal to accept Israeli and Zionist *diktats*.

302. Mr. Shamir complained that the item on Israeli acts of aggression against Iraq "has been formulated in a manner clearly intended to prejudge the outcome of the debate". Mr. Shamir should wake up. He should realize that the Israeli armed attack against Iraq has already been universally condemned as unjustifiable, unprovoked, inexcusable and absolutely impermissible.

303. Mr. Shamir had the audacity to attack the Iraqi nuclear programme, while Israel itself is the only party in the region which has acquired nuclear capability, secretly and through criminal methods. What Mr. Shamir said here today not only has no basis in fact but is a fabrication that even responsible Israelis refuse to believe.

304. Mr. Richard Wilson, professor of physics and former director of the Energy and Environmental Policy Center at Harvard University, in an article published in the *Christian Science Monitor* of 24 June, 1981, has the following to say:

"Iraq has signed this [non-proliferation] treaty. I know of no tangible indications that Iraq is not following its dictates. I have discussed this with prominent French scientists and diplomats, the US State Department, and the IAEA, and they give me no such indications either.

"The most likely purpose, therefore, of the Osirak reactor bombed by the Israelis was to enable Iraq to become the foremost research center of the Arab world, an Arab MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), and to help make Baghdad the scientific and cultural center that it was centuries ago.

"...

"For over a year Israeli newspapers have declared that Iraq was preparing to make a nuclear bomb with French and Italian help. I have asked leading Israeli scientists, including Professor Yuval Neeman, former scientific director of the Israeli Atomic Energy Commission, if they had any tangible evidence of this. Neither the scientists nor the newspapers nor the government have produced any."

305. On the other hand, Ernest W. Lefever, on page 65 of a book entitled *Nuclear Arms in The Third World: U.S. Policy Dilemma*, published by The Brookings Institution in Washington, has this to say about the Israeli nuclear programme:

"The CIA on January 26, 1978, released a memorandum dated September 4, 1974, that disclosed its conclusion that Israel had produced atomic weapons. The conclusion was based on 'Israeli acquisition of large quantities of uranium, partly by clandestine means; the ambiguous nature of Israeli efforts in the field of uranium enrichment; and Israel's large investment in a costly missile system designed to accommodate nuclear warheads'."

This was quoted by the author from the memorandum by the CIA—the Central Intelligence Agency—entitled “Prospects for Further Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons”, of 4 September 1974. And on page 142 of his book Mr. Lefever says:

“Israel is the only state in the Third World that appears to have a militarily significant nuclear force of ten or more bombs and the means to deliver them to plausible targets. No other threshold state is likely to acquire one by 1985”.

306. There is also before us the report prepared by the Group of Experts to Prepare a Study on Israeli Nuclear Armament at the request of the Secretary-General. [A/36/431]. I do not wish to quote from it. The representatives are able to obtain copies of it from the Secretariat.

307. Finally, surely no representative present could take seriously Mr. Shamir's hypocritical call this afternoon for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East. General Assembly resolutions 3263 (XXIX), 3474 (XXX), 31/71, 32/82, 33/64 and 34/77 all called for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the area and invited all the parties to adhere to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Israel was the only Member of the United Nations to abstain on all those resolutions. Mr. Shamir's call for direct negotiations to establish such a zone is nothing but a very transparent propaganda ploy to avoid accession to the IAEA safeguards system and its application to all Israeli nuclear installations. Israel by its actions has itself destroyed whatever credibility it may have had in the eyes of the international community. Such propaganda ploys are seen for what they are—no more.

308. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): It is certainly instructive to the Assembly that, in addressing himself last Thursday [12th meeting] to the subject of his country's claim to more than two thirds of Guyana's territory, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Venezuela should have found it helpful to use the cheap tactic of slanderously referring to what he calls internal repression in Guyana and to exploit the human tragedy of the Jonestown massacre in order to support that claim.

309. Everyone in the Assembly knows that the Jonestown massacre has absolutely nothing to do with the spurious claim which Venezuela maintains against my country. I do not intend to follow the Minister along that path. I mention it only to draw attention to its irrelevant nature and to show the lengths to which Venezuela finds it necessary to go to justify its territorial designs against Guyana.

310. When the Venezuelan Minister did address himself to the substance of the issue we heard, instead of the legal and historical facts that he said it was necessary for the Assembly to have, the deliberate distortion of history that Venezuela has been seeking to have the international community believe in respect of the border between our two countries. I must remind the Assembly that it was the same erudite Minister for Foreign Affairs who, on 8 June 1981, in a letter addressed to the President of the World Bank, sought by a unilateral wave of his magic wand to sweep away the reality of the arbitral award made in Paris in 1899 by the single facile description of it as non-exis-

tent. We need to bear this in mind as we consider what Venezuela gives to us as historical facts.

311. One such purported historical fact is that at the time of the Napoleonic wars the western boundary of Dutch Guiana was the Essequibo River. This is a patent Venezuelan invention. The territory that is now Guyana corresponds roughly to the area occupied by the Dutch settlements of Berbice, Demerara and Essequibo, which were established in the seventeenth century. Those settlements were formally recognized by Spain in the Treaty of Münster of 1648, more than 100 years before the Napoleonic wars.

312. To this day a Dutch fort stands in the Essequibo region of Guyana, the area that Venezuela says was stolen from it by the British. That fort bears the Dutch name of Kyk Over Al and it was constructed in the year 1616. Did the Venezuelans build Dutch forts? Indeed, there is evidence of Dutch presence as far west of the Essequibo River as the Barima Creek in territory that is now Venezuelan, where, according to the Spanish commandant Juan Valdez, in 1776 Carib-Dutch trade fairs were held. In fact, in Point Barima the remains of a Dutch fort were found showing evidence of actual physical Dutch occupation. Clearly, Venezuela's historical facts, as with its other conversions of history, bear relevance only as further evidence of the extent to which it will go in pursuit of its illegal claim to over two thirds of my country.

313. After the failure of several efforts by Great Britain and Venezuela to agree on where the frontier should lie, the respective claims of the two sides were submitted to arbitration by the Treaty of Washington in 1897. The Foreign Minister said that there were no Venezuelan judges or lawyers present at the arbitral proceedings, but he omitted to say what was the nationality of the judges and lawyers representing Venezuela. According to the Treaty of 1897, a tribunal was to be established consisting of two judges on the part of Great Britain, two on the part of Venezuela and a fifth, who would be the Chairman, to be agreed upon by the four. Of the two on the part of Venezuela, one was to be nominated by the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States and the other by the President of Venezuela. The justices chose one of their number. What the Venezuelan Minister did not tell the Assembly was that the President of Venezuela at the time, while he had every opportunity to choose a Venezuelan representative, freely and deliberately decided to entrust the defence of Venezuelan interests in the matter to no less a person than the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. We must remember that it was to the credit of Venezuelan diplomacy that the United States became actively interested in the dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain in the late 1890s. In fact, United States support for Venezuela at the time was so fervent that, in the words of the Venezuelan Foreign Minister when he addressed the Special Political Committee in 1962,¹² the United States was on the verge of going to war with Great Britain over Venezuela's eastern border. So the fact that there were no Venezuelan judges at the arbitral procedures is not a comment on the fairness or the justice of that event, as the Venezuelan Foreign Minister obviously intended it to be. The President of Venezuela freely chose the representative who, in his considered opinion, would best defend Venezuelan interests, and there is no evidence that anyone in Venezuela was dissatisfied with that arrangement.

314. Guyana's position on this matter is a simple, straightforward one. The boundary between our two countries was settled by the arbitral award of 1899. Venezuela had freely committed itself in the Treaty of Washington of 1897 to accepting that award as a full, final and perfect settlement of that border. We stand by the arbitral award.

315. Even if that award were proved to be invalid, the land claimed by Venezuela does not automatically go to it. In 1899 the Tribunal arbitrated between the competing claims of two sides. If the judgement of the Tribunal were found to be invalid, the solution is not simply to satisfy the claim of one of those two sides. In such a situation, whatever settlement procedure was adopted, justice and common sense would demand that both sides return to the *status quo ante*, when account would have to be taken of the claims of both sides, including claims by Guyana to the Amakura, Barima and Cuyini areas that Guyana lost to Venezuela as a result of the arbitral award. I repeat the question that my Prime Minister asked here a few days ago as to whether Venezuela is prepared to entertain on an equal footing a claim by Guyana to territory which is now regarded as part of Venezuela [*ibid.*, para. 66].

316. We stand by the Geneva Agreement of 1966,¹³ to the terms of which we have always scrupulously adhered despite the pressures to which we have been subject by Venezuela in order to have its claim satisfied. When the Protocol of Port-of-Spain¹⁴ expires in June 1982, the parties concerned should return within the ambit of the Geneva Agreement and activate the provisions of Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations. We believe that that Agreement, if implemented in good faith, can place relations between Guyana and Venezuela on a secure basis and establish a régime of peace and harmony between our two countries. If the Government of Venezuela is truly desirous of seeing such a régime established and is ready to manifest the necessary good faith, we are ready to engage in discussions.

317. Guyana's attitude is therefore not one of "absolute intransigence", as the Venezuelan Foreign Minister charges. We do, however, have a fixed and immovable determination to resist Venezuela's attempt to nullify the 1899 award by its own unilateral say-so without first seeking to make good its contention of nullity. If all that a State has to do to secure revision of a frontier is to allege the nullity or the non-existence of the agreement establishing that frontier without being required to advance proof in support of that contention, then our planet would be thrown into a turbulence of ghastly and unimaginable proportions.

318. It is a matter of public record that this is not the first time that the question of the boundary between Venezuela and Guyana has been raised in the Assembly. This question was raised here in 1962, not by Guyana but by Venezuela. The delegation of Guyana will therefore not seek to excuse itself for having in its turn raised the matter before the Assembly this year. My Prime Minister has described the actions committed by the Government of Venezuela in breach of the Geneva Agreement of 1966, as well as of other solemn agreements into which it had freely entered, both before and after 1966, relating to our common border. This consistent pattern of disrespect for international agreements on the part of Venezuela, coupled with the actions of pressure and economic aggression to which we have been subject, have given rise to pro-

found concern on our part about the manner in which the Government of Venezuela intends to prosecute its claim against Guyana's territory.

319. Guyana has faith in the Organization as a guarantee of the security of small States. We are not an aggressive people. We have no designs or ambitions on the territory of Venezuela. We desire nothing but peace and harmony in our external relations, in particular with our neighbours, and we long for a speedy end to this controversy. We are determined to utilize every peaceful means of resolving whatever differences we may have with our neighbour, Venezuela.

320. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Because of the late hour I will be as brief as possible. I should like to refer representatives to the statement made by the Foreign Minister of the Syrian Arab Republic on 29 September [17th meeting], which included a full analysis of the reasons for the deterioration of the Middle East situation since the Camp David agreements.

321. There is no need to reply to Israel's false arguments, because our position of principle is explained in detail in that speech. But there are certain points in Mr. Shamir's intervention in this meeting to which we must refer, because they contained falsifications and distortions and in addition reflected the habitual intransigence of a racist entity that established itself in Palestine by force of arms. Mr. Shamir said that "The Government and the people of Israel have always upheld the ideals and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations."* [*Supra*, para. 151.]

322. Is this true? How was Israel created? How did Israel come into being? Have we forgotten that Israel was established by a majority attained through manoeuvres—American manoeuvres? The American delegation remembers how votes were imposed on States in favour of partitioning Palestine. I wonder how the Foreign Minister of a country whose Government, he says, has always upheld the ideals and principles of the Charter of the United Nations can make that claim while knowing that, legally speaking, Israel was created by a recommendation in which the people of Palestine were not asked to have any say, in contravention of the right of self-determination which is enshrined in the Charter.

323. Has Mr. Shamir forgotten that Israel was accepted into the Organization with conditions? It is the only State to have been accepted with conditions. The resolution accepting Israel is there for all to see, along with the conditions imposed on it. Among them is the obligation to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations. Has Israel complied with those resolutions? To implement the resolutions of the United Nations is to protect the Charter.

324. Then Mr. Shamir comes here and says that the Government of Israel and its people "have always upheld the ideals and principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter".* He then continued:

"It could not have been otherwise, for Israel's intellectual and moral traditions have given birth to some of the most important elements inherent in the shape and

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

meaning of the Organization. The brotherhood of man, social justice, the rule of law—both domestic and international . . . ”* [*ibid.*]

325. That is what Israeli intellectuals say. But when the Charter came into being Israel did not exist. Jews took part in the creation of the Charter along with Christians and Moslems. Has the Charter become Judaized too, as Palestine has become Judaized? We make a distinction between Judaism and zionism: Israel is zionism, the Zionist State implanted in our region.

326. Mr. Shamir spoke of the brotherhood of man. Where is the brotherhood of man? Is it in the denial of the rights of the Palestinian people? Is it in the uprooting of thousands of Palestinians from their land by force in 1948? He spoke of social justice, while in the land occupied by Israel there are four social classes, one above the other, with the Arabs under Israeli occupation at the bottom. Where is the social justice? He spoke of the rule of law. Where is the rule of law? Could it be in the fourth Geneva Convention,¹⁵ which governs the situation in the occupied Arab lands but which Israel does not comply with? Where is the rule of law? He also spoke of international law, but international law is superseded by local law in the occupied territories. Israel does not recognize the Geneva Convention, the provisions of which ought to be applied in the occupied Arab territories. Where, then, is the rule of law?

327. Mr. Shamir spoke of the principles enshrined in the Charter, and all those other principles, as having “grown and taken root among the shepherds and peasants of Judaea and Israel long before they came to be accepted as principles of international life”.* [*ibid.*].

328. Have there never been any non-Jewish shepherds in Palestine? Are thought and intellect in Palestine confined to Jewish thought and intellect? Have not Arabs lived in Palestine for thousands of years? Did they not think? Did they not contribute to world culture and civilization? Did they not contribute certain ideas that are in accordance with the values and principles of the Charter of the United Nations?

329. What is it about the racist intransigence of zionism, that it must monopolize even human thought, claiming that it is Jewish thought?

330. We must mention the insults of the Israeli delegation regarding the United Nations. They claim that we have a “built-in majority”. If we apply that sort of logic to Israel, we must apply it to South Africa as well. Israel

seeks to protect South Africa by its claim that votes in the General Assembly against South Africa are won by that majority. All the speakers who preceded me spoke of the rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination. Do the resolutions for which the majority voted discriminate against Israel? Yes, they do, for Israel is an occupying State. They discriminate against South Africa because it is a racist State, which occupies the territory of others. Yes, there is discrimination, but it is required by ourselves and the very Charter of the United Nations.

331. Mr. FADHLI (Democratic Yemen): My delegation has just listened to the accusations against my country made by the representative of Somalia. At this time, I should like to say that my delegation rejects those accusations and to reserve my delegation's right to reply to them at a later stage.

The meeting rose at 7.30 p.m.

NOTES

¹Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

²*Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981*, document S/14659, annex.

³Expounded in a radio interview broadcast by Riyadh Domestic Service on 7 August 1981. For a transcription of the interview, see Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report*, FBIS-MEA-81-153, of 10 August 1981, vol. V, No. 153, p. C.3.

⁴See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year*, 2300th meeting.

⁵Subsequently adopted as resolution 36/100.

⁶*Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.1.8), part one, sect. A.

⁷See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year*, 2187th meeting.

⁸Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y Río de Oro.

⁹A/35/468 and Corr. 1, annex I.

¹⁰See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year*, 2189th meeting.

¹¹*Ibid.*, Supplement for January, February and March 1976, document S/11997.

¹²*Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Special Political Committee*, 348th meeting, para. 21.

¹³See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 561, No. 8192.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, vol. 801, No. 11410, p. 183.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 75, No. 973, p. 287.