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

**Address by Mr. Spyros Kyprianou,**  
**President of the Republic of Cyprus**

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning the Assembly will hear an address by His Excellency Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, the President of the Republic of Cyprus. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour of welcoming to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus, and of inviting him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): Sir, it gives me great pleasure to congratulate you on your unanimous election to the high office of President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Your election not only represents a well-deserved tribute to you personally, but also does honour to the United Republic of Tanzania and its enlightened leader, President Julius Nyerere, and, even more, to the African continent, which has found in you a worthy representative. Your long experience in international affairs and the prestige that your country and you enjoy in the world community will assist you in successfully conducting the deliberations and work of this very important session. I cannot but refer to the close ties between Tanzania and Cyprus and the friendship between our great leader, the late President Makarios—as well as myself—and President Nyerere.

3. I should like to pay a tribute also to your predecessor, Mr. Liévano of Colombia, for the excellent manner in which he successfully conducted the work of the thirty-third session of our Assembly.

4. It is also my pleasant duty to express my high regard and appreciation for the contribution of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose continued determination to make the United Nations an effective instrument for international co-operation and for the establishment of lasting peace and security has earned him the support and gratitude of all Members.

5. I also wish to extend a warm welcome to Saint Lucia, a fellow Commonwealth country, which we had the pleasure of welcoming earlier this year the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries at Lusaka.

6. The agenda that is before the General Assembly at this session includes many issues of major concern to the international community.

7. The present session opens against the grim background of increasing political and economic tensions and deepening crises which could aggravate the frustrations and fears of mankind for its future. The most important and fundamental objectives—namely, the maintenance of international peace and security through this Organization, and the establishment of a new international economic order—remain far from being achieved.

8. In this context, I deem it necessary to state that Cyprus reiterates its position that in reviewing global problems or international conflicts we should act within the framework of the United Nations and its Charter. It is in this light that we consider the report of the Secretary-General a most significant document. Its review of world developments and its assessment of situations should be given full consideration and attention as a basic premise for discussions in the general debate. In the face of a sharply deteriorating world situation, the Secretary-General has rightly pointed out that:

“Most of the symptoms and problems . . . are ones which the United Nations, if effectively utilized as the working structure of the world community of the future, could be of unique assistance in solving. . . This is not a matter of abstract idealism but of practical self-interest. It is also a matter of urgency.”  
[See A/34/1, sect. I.]

9. The third-world countries in particular have amply reaffirmed and supported this premise during the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held early last month in Havana. To my mind, that Conference symbolizes the genuine efforts of the third-world countries to restructure the world's political and economic order through the United Nations. With the great Powers still in a posture of nuclear antagonism, the increasing manifestations of insecurity and anarchy at the international level threaten the very foundations of human society. In this regard, the genuine efforts of the non-aligned countries to arrest these ominous trends assume a more important dimension. As is pointed out in the Secretary-General's report, the non-aligned movement is “a good example of this positive trend” [*ibid.*].

10. No doubt it will take many more concerted efforts before we see the realization of a new international society. But we have come a long way from the time when the voice of the third world was unheard, unnoticed and unheeded.

11. Whatever the developments, one cardinal truth remains unchanged; that recourse to the system of legal  
A/34/PV.15

order and security prescribed by the Charter is a compelling necessity. To that end, determined steps must be taken to bring into operation the provisions in Chapter VII of the Charter for the effective implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council, thereby restoring the authority of the United Nations.

12. In reference to the non-implementation of the Security Council resolutions, this year's report pointedly notes:

“What has not so far been adequately developed is a general and consistent support of the aims and activities of the United Nations as a whole, as a working model for a genuine world community. This is particularly obvious in the response, or lack of it, to many of the decisions of the Security Council.”  
[*Ibid.*, sect. X.]

13. It is thus clear that mere condemnation of the state of affairs whereby the adoption, often unanimously, of resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council without their implementation will in fact have the effect of discrediting the Organization and of encouraging the party in default to continue its attitude of contemptuous disregard of such resolutions. Therefore my proposal of last year for the holding of a special session of the General Assembly to deal with this so vital issue alone<sup>1</sup> is more pertinent than ever before. If the holding of a special session on the question of the implementation of the United Nations resolutions is not feasible for the time being, then at the very least serious consideration should be given to placing this issue on next year's agenda as a priority item. Cyprus is ready to co-operate with any other Member States which would agree with the proposal for the inclusion of this item in the agenda of the next session of the General Assembly. It is an item which is very much of concern to us in Cyprus, but it is evident that it is of much concern to others as well, and to the United Nations as a whole.

14. It is a fundamental truth that this is a challenge that we have to face in our determination to make the United Nations a more effective instrument for international peace and co-operation. If this could be translated into practical action—and it is for the States Members of the United Nations to do so individually and collectively—it would provide the solution to nearly all the problems facing the world today, whether they be problems of international peace and security, problems of economic relations between States, problems of human rights or problems of international law. It is only through the faithful application in practice of the letter and the spirit of the Charter that the world can be made safer, more just and more peaceful than it is today. In its absence, the United Nations is left without the means for establishing the system of international security and order envisaged in the Charter and so indispensable for peace and survival in an organized world society. Therein lies the prime requirement for the creation of an atmosphere of trust and the key to the solution of many crucial problems and more particularly that of disarmament.

15. The question of disarmament has become a universal problem of the gravest concern to the world. The escalating arms race lies at the very core of the problem. Notwithstanding long and assiduous efforts for

disarmament in various committees and other forums for over 30 years, very little has been achieved. Meanwhile the antagonistic piling up of armaments has been escalating by leaps and bounds. Thus the arms expenditure, which in 1974 stood at \$225 billion, in 1979 is expected to reach the figure of \$400 billion and it will continue on an upward course.

16. What has made the spiralling arms race intractable so far is that the world continues to operate under a momentum from the past on the outmoded concept of balance of power which, in a polarized world, has become the balance of weapons. The very effort towards such balance inevitably generates the arms race. A recent significant event has been the conclusion of the Treaty resulting from the second round of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks<sup>2</sup> between the two super-Powers, and it is hoped that this event will lead the way to a subsequent stage whereby the regulated arms race will give way to genuine disarmament. It would, on the other hand, be misleading to simplify matters and be over-optimistic in the light of the realities with which the world continues to be faced. Partial agreements on disarmament are positive. They should not remain without a follow-up because unless and until general and complete disarmament is achieved the arms race in one form or another is bound to continue, threatening international peace and security and even the very survival of life on our planet. The goal has been and continues to be general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

17. I now turn to the important issue of peace-keeping by the United Nations and wish to express our gratitude for the excellent contribution made over the years to the cause of peace in Cyprus by UNFICYP under the most difficult conditions. More particularly, I wish to take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation to the countries that are contributing to the peace-keeping operation in Cyprus either by contingents or materially. I also wish to say how impressed I am with the exemplary manner in which the officers and men of the various contingents are discharging their delicate duties. Finally, I wish to express our deep gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, and his collaborators, both in New York and in Nicosia for their constructive role in relation to the functioning of UNFICYP and for their efforts towards finding a just and viable solution to the Cyprus problem.

18. I should be remiss however, if I were not to point out that peace-keeping operations, no matter how successful they are in containing a potentially explosive situation, cannot advance a just solution of problems, unless they are coupled with a tenacious peace-making effort on the basis and in pursuance of the relevant United Nations resolutions. The lack of parallel determined action to implement those resolutions would make peace on the basis of justice impossible. It would only have as a result a mere perpetuation of an unjust *status quo*.

19. For quite a number of years now, the issue of the establishment of the new international economic order has been included in our agenda. A very considerable amount of the time of our deliberations at various levels is devoted to this very important issue, and justifiably

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 22nd meeting, para. 11.

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

so. There is no doubt that it deserves our full attention and serious concern. For if we are to succeed in getting out of the vicious circle of poverty and underdevelopment, we must first promote the establishment of a more just and equitable international economic order. The present system of international economic relations does not respond to the needs and requirements of the developing countries. It not only maintains the existing inequalities, but further aggravates the disadvantageous position of the developing countries and widens the gap that separates them from the developed industrial nations.

20. The recognition by the United Nations of the necessity of restructuring economic relations on a more just and equitable basis is an encouraging sign. The acceptance by all interested parties of the United Nations as the most appropriate forum for the discussion and advancement of this crucial issue is also a promising development. Yet, despite our efforts and willingness to negotiate with the developed countries, there is much to be desired concerning the establishment of the new international economic order. No real progress has been achieved thus far. This is evidenced by the negligible results of the fifth session of UNCTAD, held in Manila this year. Instead, we have encountered setbacks and the signs of deterioration are increasing year by year. This problem needs attention and concerted action by all the countries of the world, rich or poor, because if the situation is left to deteriorate further, the consequences of such neglect will be unpredictable. The result could easily be international disaster. The dialogue which began with the developed countries must continue and we appeal to those countries to reconsider and readjust their negotiating positions, so that concrete results may be achieved in the shortest possible time.

21. During the recently concluded eighth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, a positive step was taken through the decision of the Conference to approve a programme of work<sup>3</sup> for the conclusion of a convention on the law of the sea in the course of next year. Cyprus has always advocated the speedy conclusion of a comprehensive and universally acceptable convention which should include just and adequate provisions regarding the delimitation of the maritime zones between States with opposite or adjacent coasts, coupled with an effective system for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Once that convention is concluded and put into effect it will mark a major achievement in global co-operation.

22. In dealing with the question of the advancement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, I wish to emphasize our total commitment to this noble objective. Cyprus was among the first countries to become a party to the International Covenants on Human Rights [resolution 2200 A (XXI)] and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 2106 A (XX)]. Cyprus is also a signatory to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.<sup>4</sup> We have all along held the view that the obligation to observe human rights is universal and that no deviation is permitted from this course, no matter what reasons are advanced to justify such deviation. A mere glance at

the world scene is sufficient to convince us of the existing unsatisfactory state of affairs, as far as the protection of fundamental human rights is concerned. What is more deplorable is the fact that numerous decisions of various competent organs, such as the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and others remain unimplemented and the agonizing plea for the cessation of such violations goes unheeded.

23. This is true in particular of the situation in my country, where Turkey, for the fifth year running, continues to trample upon every norm of international law and flagrantly to violate practically every basic human right of the Cypriot people. I take it that the world is by now aware of the verdict of the European Commission on Human Rights, made public on 31 August 1979, which found Turkey guilty of countless crimes perpetrated by its troops of invasion and occupation against the people of Cyprus. The official text of the report will soon be circulated to all Members of the United Nations.<sup>5</sup> In contrast to the violations of all human rights in Cyprus by Turkey, and in an earnest desire not only to convince the world of our dedication to human rights and fundamental freedoms but also to prove our goodwill, I wish to repeat what I said in my statement before this Assembly last year. We agree to the setting up of a United Nations body to supervise the application of the highest standards of human rights and fundamental freedoms to all citizens of Cyprus and to report as appropriate to the Security Council or any other competent body. This proposal could easily form part of a solution to the Cyprus problem.

24. With regard to Western Sahara, we maintain that this problem of decolonization requires a political solution in accordance with which, in view of the effort made towards re-establishing peace in the region, the Saharan people should be granted the right of self-determination and independence. Cyprus considers that the creation of the special committee established by the Organization of African Unity [OAU] at the sixteenth ordinary session of its Assembly of Heads of State and Government at Monrovia this year [see A/34/552, pp.90-91] recently should provide a guarantee for the Saharan people's right to self-determination. We also welcome the recent agreement between the Republic of Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO<sup>6</sup> and Mauritania's withdrawal of its forces from Western Sahara territory, a praiseworthy act which points in the right direction.

25. We in Cyprus are very distressed at the turn of events connected with the just solution of the Middle East problem. We firmly believe in a comprehensive settlement which would ensure the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. We do not believe in partial agreements in this respect. Inasmuch as the Palestinian people constitute the crux of the Middle East question, there can be no real solution—and let us face it realistically, laying aside questions of principle—without the participation of all the parties to the problem, particularly the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], which is the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Such a solution, which, I repeat,

<sup>5</sup> See European Commission of Human Rights, *Report of the Commission on Applications Nos. 6780/74 and 6950/75: Cyprus against Turkey* (Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 1979).

<sup>6</sup> Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

<sup>3</sup> See document A/CONF. 62/88.

<sup>4</sup> See document A/33/417, annex II.

cannot be reached in the absence of the PLO, must be based on the relevant United Nations resolutions and include the full withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the occupied Arab territories, as well as the attainment of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the sovereign right to establish their own independent State.

26. Our Arab neighbours know very well that we in Cyprus have always been on their side defending the just Arab cause long before the events of 1974 brought to Cyprus the same injustice as the one inflicted on them. The fact is that the Middle East and Cyprus, in addition to being situated in close geographical proximity, are facing problems with many points in common. In both cases there has been aggression and occupation; in both cases refugee problems have been created and human rights have been grossly violated; in both cases there have been systematic attempts to create artificial borders and to alter the demographic composition of the areas by the mass importation and settlement in them of an alien population after the expulsion by force of the indigenous inhabitants; in both cases there is an attempt to consolidate the *faits accomplis* created by the invasion and by the violation of human rights.

27. Cyprus has been following with grave concern the developments in Lebanon and strongly condemns the declaration of a separate "State" under the name of "free Lebanon" in the southern part of the country, as well as all acts of aggression against southern Lebanon, acts which threaten Lebanese independence and territorial integrity and which grossly violate basic human rights. We call for more decisive action by the United Nations to help the government of Lebanon to restore its sovereignty over the whole of its territory and safeguard the unity of the country.

28. In observing the International Anti-Apartheid Year, which ended a few months ago, Cyprus joined those who are endeavouring to wipe out the scourge of *apartheid*, a crime against humanity and an affront to the conscience and dignity of mankind. Furthermore, Cyprus has on many occasions expressed its opposition to the policy of "bantustanization" because we believe that such a policy is aimed at the institutionalization of the abhorrent policy of *apartheid* and the continuation of settler colonialism which impairs the territorial integrity of a country and is a mockery of self-determination.

29. The case of Namibia, where the racist Pretoria régime persists in its illegal occupation 12 years after the termination of South Africa's Mandate over the Territory, is one of the most characteristic examples of the failure by the Security Council to proceed with drastic measures in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter in order to bring about the long overdue implementation of its mandatory decisions on Namibia. Indicative of the intention of the racist régime never to withdraw from Namibia, unless it is forced to do so through effective measures by the Security Council, is the fact that it has so far managed through various tactics seriously to undermine and impair the implementation of the plan of action approved earlier by the Security Council.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

30. We in Cyprus fully understand the plight of the people of Namibia who are suffering from the same evils of racism and violations of human rights practised by the forces of occupation as a matter of State policy. Cyprus will continue its consistent support for the just struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of their national liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], until the total liberation and independence of Namibia as a whole is achieved. In this respect, I wish to reiterate our opposition to and condemnation of South Africa's efforts to annex Walvis Bay, an integral part of Namibia, in clear violation of international law, the Charter of the United Nations and, particularly, Security Council resolution 385(1976).

31. The lame attempt to solve the question of Zimbabwe through a so-called internal settlement meets with our total opposition, as with that of many other countries. We stand firmly in solidarity with the leaders of the Patriotic Front and the front-line States in the struggle for genuine majority rule and true independence for Zimbabwe.

32. The recent proposals and ideas which emerged from the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries at Lusaka [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para. 15] and led to the Rhodesia Constitutional Conference have strengthened our hopes that prospects for a negotiated solution of the problem have not yet been exhausted. In the meantime, Cyprus will continue to observe strictly the sanctions imposed by the Security Council against the Salisbury régime. In our view, any relaxation of the sanctions will seriously impair and undermine the efforts for a peace based on justice.

33. It would not be an exaggeration if I were to state that the problems of Namibia and Zimbabwe would have been solved long ago had the United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, acted with more determination against the racist and oppressive régimes of southern Africa. We find no justification for the seeming reluctance of the Security Council to proceed without any further delay to the imposition of the comprehensive sanctions provided under the Charter, particularly mandatory economic sanctions, against those menacing régimes.

34. Cyprus stands firmly by the friendly people of Panama for the effective functioning of the Panama Canal, in accordance with the Treaties signed in 1977,<sup>8</sup> and in this respect fully supports the effective exercise by Panama of its sovereignty over its entire national territory.

35. I turn now to the grave problem with which my own country is confronted and which has been holding the attention of the United Nations for more than five years. The relevant United Nations resolutions provide the basis and the framework for the just and lasting solution of this problem; yet, five years later, those resolutions still remain contemptuously disregarded by Turkey. The occupation of 40 per cent of the territory of Cyprus by the Turkish army is still continuing; none of the 200,000 Greek Cypriot refugees have been allowed back to their homes; the 2,000 missing persons have not

<sup>8</sup> See *The Department of State Bulletin*, vol. 78, No. 2016 (July 1978), pp. 52-57.

been traced and human rights continue to be grossly violated in the occupied areas and denied to the whole population of Cyprus.

36. Moreover, systematic measures are being taken through the massive implantation of colonizers from Turkey and other measures, such as the introduction of Turkish currency in the occupied areas, the cancellation of all valid Cyprus passports in the hands of Turkish Cypriots, the grant of illegal land titles to Turkish Cypriots and to settlers from Turkey in the occupied areas, and other ominous acts—all constituting evidence that Turkey's aim is the consolidation of partition and, perhaps, the eventual annexation of the occupied part of Cyprus.

37. In its essence, the Cyprus problem is a dispute between Turkey and the Republic of Cyprus, and not, as falsely portrayed by some, a difference between the communities in Cyprus. It is a question of invasion and occupation. The internal aspects of the Cyprus problem could easily be solved if that task were left to the Cypriots themselves to discuss and resolve without foreign presence and interference. We want Cyprus to become a State free from foreign troops, fully independent, territorially integral, sovereign, united, demilitarized and non-aligned.

38. We have accepted federation—although in the past such a solution was considered by many constitutional experts as completely unacceptable for a small island like Cyprus. But when we speak of "federation", we mean true federation, a federation that would function properly and within which the right to move freely, the right of settlement and the right of property would be safeguarded and where human rights would be fully and uniformly applied and respected.

39. What the other side apparently wants is not a federation but the creation of two separate States with separate borders, separate armies, separate treaty-making capacity and permits and visas to move from one region of such so-called federation to the other. Such "federation" would be tantamount to complete partition.

40. We would have been entitled to refuse to negotiate until the occupation forces had been withdrawn. But we did not follow that line, and we repeatedly tried to negotiate in good faith, despite the presence of the foreign troops of occupation during these past five years. Despite the fact that the negotiations could not be free, as stipulated in the relevant United Nations resolutions, because of the continued occupation of 40 per cent of the territory of Cyprus and the other circumstances created by the invasion, we did what we could through negotiations with the Turkish Cypriot "leadership" to find some common ground for progress. And when one speaks of the Turkish Cypriot "leadership" let us not make any mistake about it: in fact, it means Ankara. The Turkish Cypriot leadership, primarily by reason of the presence of the army of occupation, is totally dependent on Ankara and reflects the views of the Turkish Government and the Turkish army rather than the views of the Turkish Cypriots, whose majority live discontentedly in conditions of misery and injustice in the occupied areas, completely dissatisfied with the present state of affairs and longing for a better tomorrow. No wonder, therefore, that no progress has been achieved.

41. Yet, despite the bitter experience and fruitless efforts of the past five years, I agreed to meet with the Turkish Cypriot leader Mr. Denktas in the presence of the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, on 18 and 19 May 1979. During that meeting, we reached an agreement with Mr. Denktas consisting of 10 points,<sup>9</sup> which provide a sound basis for the negotiation of a just solution to the Cyprus problem. I shall not here go into speculation about why Mr. Denktas accepted that agreement. However, any doubts were removed when only a few days later the Turkish Cypriot leadership, backed by Turkey, employed all possible methods to undermine the agreement and frustrate the new efforts. Although the talks formally began on 15 June, they lasted for a few days only and the Turkish Cypriot leadership started putting pre-conditions for the continuation of the talks. Those pre-conditions, if accepted, would have amounted to recognizing partition as a final solution to the Cyprus problem.

42. We continue to stand by the agreement of 19 May 1979,<sup>10</sup> but we cannot accept any pre-conditions, conditions or misinterpretations. As I said before, we repeatedly chose the path of negotiations, although we would have been entitled not to do so. But we do not want negotiations for the sake of negotiations. The other side may want that, for obvious reasons. It would not be fair—and in fact it would be counter-productive—to carry out a fruitless dialogue for the sake of dialogue and as a way of deceiving world public opinion into thinking that something was being achieved when in fact no progress whatsoever was being made.

43. The stumbling-block to meaningful negotiations is the lack of political will on Turkey's part to abandon its partitionist and expansionist policy—and I believe that that is being widely realized by now by all objective observers of the Cyprus problem. All our attempts throughout the last five years to find a just and lasting solution through negotiations have met the stone wall of Turkish intransigence. But if the opportunity arises for meaningful and substantive negotiations we shall not hesitate to go to the negotiating table again.

44. It is with regret that I report again to the General Assembly this year that no progress has been made towards finding a peaceful and just solution to the Cyprus problem through the implementation of United Nations resolutions. Nevertheless, it is a source of satisfaction for us that at the Commonwealth Meeting in Lusaka and at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Havana the just cause of Cyprus received overwhelming support. We do not reject the method of intercommunal negotiations, but when there has been a deadlock for five years what do you expect a suffering people to do? To sit idle and wait? How can a people suffering for more than five years the devastating effects of foreign occupation be expected to remain idle and forgo its right to present its case to international forums—especially the United Nations—seeking the assistance of world public opinion and a remedy to its plight? That is why it is absolutely essential for us to continue without interruption to seek justice from the international commu-

<sup>9</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1979*, document S/13369, para. 51.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, paras. 39 and 51.

nity. We urgently draw the attention of the international community to the situation in Cyprus in view of the fact that for five years now the occupation with all the other consequences and we are entitled, I believe, to demand from the international community more specific action with a view to implementing the resolutions of the United Nations, which contain all the necessary elements for a just and lasting solution. I believe that we have a right to demand justice like the people of Zimbabwe, like the people of Namibia, like the people of Palestine. We ask that the international community become fully conscious not only of the great injustice perpetrated against Cyprus and its people but also of the fact that the situation in Cyprus is fraught with many dangers, dangers for Cyprus and beyond Cyprus, unless a solution is found in conformity with the resolutions of the United Nations.

45. We have come once again to the General Assembly to ask in unequivocal terms for the speedy and effective implementation of the United Nations resolutions. In this respect, we believe that the time has come for the General Assembly to recommend to the Security Council the imposition of sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, so as to compel Turkey to comply with its obligations under the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations. Although we have no illusions about the difficulties, due to political expediency, of securing sanctions, we strongly feel that five years are more than enough for a State Member of the United Nations to ignore with impunity the verdict of this Organization. If concrete action is not taken by the United Nations, it is the United Nations which will fail, and the faith of humanity in the Organization will be seriously shaken at a time when we all want it to become an effective instrument for international peace and security.

46. I strongly believe that the United Nations can do more. Some years ago, a representative international conference under the auspices of the United Nations was proposed by the Soviet Union to deal with the problem of Cyprus and assist in finding a solution in conformity with the United Nations resolutions. We reiterate our acceptance of this proposal because we believe that it has much merit and we hope that the General Assembly will take a decision for the holding of such a conference, which we believe can prove very constructive in tackling the problem of Cyprus.

47. We also believe that the General Assembly or the Security Council should appoint a committee from among their members to co-operate with the Secretary-General towards the finding of a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions. The composition and the terms of reference of such a committee should be decided by the General Assembly or the Security Council.

48. Moreover, we are willing and ready to consider any other effective means which would make possible a just and lasting solution on the basis of the United Nations resolutions. As everyone knows it is Ankara which calls the tune for the Turkish Cypriot leadership. We have over and over again proved our goodwill. We fully accept the agreement of 19 May 1979. I have already mentioned what we are prepared to do in connexion with the safeguarding of the human rights of all citizens of Cyprus. And I repeat my proposal for the complete disarmament and demilitarization of the Re-

public of Cyprus with the presence only of an international police force for as long as necessary to strengthen, if it is necessary, the sense of security of all Cypriots. This proposal was endorsed by the non-aligned countries in the Declarations of Belgrade<sup>11</sup> and Havana.<sup>12</sup> The withdrawal from Cyprus of all troops and the total disarmament of all armed forces in the Republic will in itself pave the way towards a united country and a united people. Without the unity of the country, the unity of the people and the unity of the economy, Cyprus cannot survive as an independent State. Any kind of division is artificial and contrary to the interests of all Cypriots. That is why we on our part shall never accept any divisive arrangement, whatever its title or whatever its terminology. If the foreign intervention and interference cease, Cyprus can become a happy homeland for all its citizens—Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots alike. And when I say this before this body, I am absolutely certain that at this moment I am expressing the views, not only of the Greek Cypriots, but also of the vast majority of the Turkish Cypriots.

49. I have given you today's position with regard to the Cyprus problem. What is before this Assembly is the cessation of occupation of a large part of Cyprus by the Turkish armed forces and the implementation of the United Nations resolutions in all their aspects. The United Nations must do its utmost to ensure for Cyprus the basic right to which every State, every Member of the United Nations, is entitled and first and foremost the cessation of foreign occupation. The Charter provides the way and it is our fervent appeal that all peace-loving countries in the world will help us to this end. We appeal to all States Members of this Organization to help Cyprus safeguard its sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment. Today marks the nineteenth anniversary of the independence of Cyprus. But the very survival of Cyprus is at stake. We want to see a completely free and independent Cyprus. We want to create a safer future for our children. We want to create such conditions in Cyprus where Greek and Turkish Cypriots will be able to work and live and prosper together. We sincerely want to contribute most positively to the re-establishment of stability and peace in our sensitive and highly explosive area. Help us to bring happiness and hope to all the people of Cyprus. Help us to put an end to this untold tragedy which Cyprus and its people have been going through for the last five years. Help us restore the unity of the country and the unity of the people, for that is where happiness and prosperity for all Cypriots lie. Help us restore justice; help us restore freedom; help us to do away with the human agony and drama.

50. How can anyone, at this particular moment, forget the agony of the families and dependants of the 2,000 missing persons, who for five years now have not been in a position to know what has happened to their beloved ones? I appeal to all to join in bringing influence to bear on Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership to honour the agreement on missing persons of 19 May, an agreement that was concluded in the presence of the Secretary-General and announced by him. Is the ag-

<sup>11</sup> Declaration of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade from 25 to 30 July 1978. See document A/33/206, paras. 72-79.

<sup>12</sup> Final Declaration of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979. See document A/34/542.

gressor really so inhuman as to refuse, five years after the crime, to co-operate on this purely humanitarian issue? Is it impossible for the United Nations to do more in this respect?

51. I wish to stress that, regarding Cyprus as well as all other international problems on the Assembly's agenda, it is of the essence to co-ordinate our efforts so that, instead of being overwhelmed by frustration and inability to act, we may take concrete and effective steps so as to secure complete freedom, complete justice, and respect for human rights everywhere in the world. It is only upon this basis that lasting peace can be achieved, and that is the task and the mission of the United Nations.

52. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I thank His Excellency Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus, for the important statement he has just made.

### AGENDA ITEM 9

#### General debate (*continued*)

53. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): Mr. President, we are fortunate to have a person of your wide experience, wisdom and dynamism to preside over this important session of the General Assembly. Your contribution to the work of the world Organization has been outstanding. Your country, the United Republic of Tanzania, and President Nyerere are the very embodiment of the struggle for the decolonization of third-world nations.

54. Let me also express the deep appreciation of the Pakistan delegation to your distinguished predecessor, Ambassador Indalecio Liévano, for the most able manner in which he guided the work of the last session of the General Assembly.

55. We warmly welcome Saint Lucia to membership in the United Nations, and we look forward to mutual co-operation with the Government and people of that new Member State.

56. The past year has witnessed a most disturbing increase in the use of force as an instrument of policy. Armed attacks and military interventions in the internal affairs of States have become recurrent. Hundreds of thousands of men, women and children have been uprooted from their homes and driven out of their countries.

57. These tragic events underscore the fragility of international peace and the pervasive sense of insecurity that haunts the small and weaker nations of the world. The United Nations is the sole universal organization that can respond to such threats to peace and human tragedies.

58. Pakistan's policies are firmly rooted in the principles of the United Nations Charter and of peaceful coexistence. Our unanimous admission to the non-aligned movement at Havana constitutes recognition of our fidelity to those principles. We condemn the use of force in international relations. We are committed to the peaceful settlement of international disputes. We remain dedicated to the right of self-determination of peoples. We have withdrawn from membership of mili-

tary alliances. We are opposed to policies of intervention, domination, hegemony and spheres of influence. We have sought to build relations of friendship and co-operation with all States, great and small.

59. With our neighbour, India, the process of normalization of relations continues. We are engaged in the enlargement of areas of co-operation on a basis of equality and mutual benefit. We are determined to seek a resolution of the dispute regarding the future of Jammu and Kashmir in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the spirit of the Simla Agreement.<sup>13</sup> A just and peaceful solution of this dispute will usher in a new era of co-operation and amity and stability in our region.

60. Pakistan will continue its endeavours to promote good-neighbourly relations with Afghanistan on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, which enjoin respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, non-aggression, equality and mutual benefit, and non-interference in one another's internal affairs. Pakistan has no political differences with Afghanistan, but, if Afghanistan considers there is a difference, we are prepared to open a dialogue on the subject. Regrettably, the development of mutual trust such as we desire has been inhibited by the influx into Pakistan of more than 190,000 Afghan refugees. This massive influx has also imposed a heavy burden on our limited resources, but this is a burden that for humanitarian reasons we cannot shirk. The granting of refuge to this uprooted humanity is not an act of ill will towards Afghanistan. As the Secretary-General has noted in his report on the work of the Organization for this year,

"The Arusha Conference [on refugees] reaffirmed the principle that the granting of asylum is a peaceful and humanitarian act which should not be regarded as unfriendly by any State." [See A/34/1, sect. VIII.]

61. The strengthening of the solidarity of the Islamic world is a corner-stone of our foreign policy.

62. The victory of the Iranian revolution, leading to the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran, has added a new dimension to our relations with that country. The cultural and historical affinity and the community of interest existing between both countries are now reinforced by their resolve to reorder their national life in accordance with the eternal precepts of Islam.

63. We are confident that the friendly and fraternal relations between Pakistan and Turkey will be further strengthened.

64. We deeply cherish our abiding relationship and brotherly co-operation with Saudi Arabia in all fields. We greatly value our close ties with the Arab countries.

65. Our relations with Bangladesh continue to develop in a spirit of cordiality and mutual goodwill.

66. Our friendship with the People's Republic of China is based on principles and has withstood the test of time. We greatly value the generous assistance to our economic development extended by China over the

<sup>13</sup> Agreement on Bilateral Relations between the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan, signed at Simla on 2 July 1972.

years and China's resolute support for Pakistan in its determination to uphold its independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity.

67. We continue to attach great importance to our bilateral relations with the United States, and express the hope that our present differences will be overcome in a spirit of goodwill, understanding and equity. We acknowledge the extensive assistance provided for many years by the United States to Pakistan.

68. The scope of our friendly relations with the Soviet Union is being expanded continuously on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and good-neighbourliness. Economic co-operation with the Soviet Union plays an important role in the development of our economy.

69. Both China and the Soviet Union are Pakistan's neighbours. They are two of the greatest and most powerful States in the world. Tension between them exerts an adverse effect on the political climate of Asia and the world. We therefore welcome the dialogue between the two Governments on the normalization of their relations.

70. The situation in the Middle East continues to pose the most serious threat to world peace and stability. A just and lasting solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict has become more imperative and urgent than ever. The Egyptian-Israeli treaty<sup>14</sup> and the Camp David agreements<sup>15</sup> that led to it hold no hope for the Palestinian people of deliverance from captivity, exile and oppression. They do not articulate the principle of self-determination, nor do they recognize the right of the Palestinian people to a sovereign State in their homeland.

71. The fulfilment of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people is the central issue in the Middle East conflict. There can be no lasting and just settlement which ignores those rights, or excludes their sole legitimate representative, the PLO, from participation in any peace negotiations on an equal basis. No other party has the right to negotiate on behalf of the Palestinian people.

72. The agreements do not give full expression to the cardinal principle that territory cannot be acquired by the use of force. Peace will be illusory if Israel is permitted to expand its borders beyond the lines of 5 June 1967. The expansion and consolidation of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories and the authorization given to Israelis to acquire Arab land compound the injustices inflicted on the Palestinian people.

73. Nor does the Egyptian-Israeli settlement address itself to the question of Jerusalem. The Holy City cannot be regarded as spoils of war. The relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council made this quite explicit. The Holy City of Jerusalem is an integral part of the occupied Arab territories. Israel must be required to withdraw from all those territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, which must be

returned unconditionally to Arab sovereignty. Israeli attempts to Judaize Jerusalem, to obliterate and desecrate its Islamic and Christian character, and to transform it into its capital call for universal condemnation and unrelenting opposition by the international community. The Tenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Fez in May, and the non-aligned Conference in Havana have condemned the Camp David agreements and the Egyptian-Israeli treaty.

74. Having secured its southern flank, the Israeli régime has been emboldened to intensify its campaign of aggression and terror against the Palestinian and Lebanese people, including women and children, in furtherance of its designs on the unity and territorial integrity of Lebanon. We cannot but condemn such flagrant violations of the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

75. An agreement on the fundamental basis for a just settlement in the Middle East—namely, total Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and the fulfilment of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people—already exists in the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. That consensus has now won universal support. It is time that the Security Council acted in accordance with the will of the international community. Should the Council fail to act, Pakistan will support a call for an emergency special session of the General Assembly to consider the Palestine question and the situation in the Middle East.

76. We welcome the Secretary-General's proposal for an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations to negotiate a comprehensive and just settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict [*see A/34/1, sect. III.*]

77. The situation in southern Africa is another serious threat to peace. We have noted the efforts of the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries in Lusaka to promote a peaceful transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe on the basis of genuine majority rule. Reports about progress in the negotiations currently being held in London have raised hopes of a peaceful settlement. If agreement is reached with the leaders of the Patriotic Front on an independence constitution which provides for genuine majority rule and, no less important, on transitional arrangements for the entry into force of the new constitutions, the settlement will be universally welcomed. Should this last opportunity for a peaceful settlement end in failure, the Patriotic Front will have no other option but to intensify its armed struggle for the overthrow of the puppet régime in Salisbury. The overwhelming majority of the world community must continue to lend its fullest support to the Patriotic Front until the people of Zimbabwe are totally liberated. Equally it must condemn the repeated acts of aggression by the racist minority régime against neighbouring States.

78. The expectations of an early and peaceful independence for Namibia have not been realized. The implementation of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) has been blocked by the racist régime of South Africa. A puppet administration has been imposed on Namibia and repression unleashed against SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, leaving it no alternative but to continue the armed struggle for liberation. The interna-

<sup>14</sup> Treaty of Peace Between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed at Washington on 26 March 1979.

<sup>15</sup> A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.



tional community must continue to extend moral and material assistance to SWAPO. We welcome the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General to implement the plan of action<sup>16</sup> approved by the Security Council for free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations to bring about the early independence of Namibia.

79. The racist régime in Pretoria is the foundation of the structure of colonialism and racism in southern Africa. Pakistan has consistently advocated the imposition of comprehensive sanctions against South Africa to compel that country to dismantle its inhuman system of *apartheid*. It is deplorable that repeated votes in the Security Council should have frustrated the will of the overwhelming majority of the international community. South Africa has been further emboldened to maintain its racist policies by its trade with, and the investment, arms transfers and assistance in the development of nuclear weapons capability it receives from, its friends. But the policy of repression and the creation of bantustans will not deter the patriots of South Africa in their struggle for freedom and equality. Their just cause must and will prevail.

80. The international community must also contribute constructively to a just and peaceful settlement of the dispute in Cyprus. We deeply appreciate the personal role of the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, in promoting the 10-point agreement calling for the resumption of intercommunal talks and setting forth the basis and priorities for them. We note with regret that the talks between the leaders of the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities have not yet led to any concrete results, despite the flexibility demonstrated by the Turkish Cypriot leaders. Pakistan continues to believe that a solution can be achieved only through negotiations between the two Cypriot communities on the basis of equality and within the framework of an independent, sovereign, non-aligned, bicomunal and bizonal federation of Cyprus.

81. Pakistan consistently supported the heroic struggle of the peoples of Indo-China for national liberation, and rejoiced in their victory. It was our hope that the region would be blessed with a period of peace that would enable the countries of Indo-China to turn their energies to national reconstruction. Instead, Indo-China has been tormented by massive violations of human rights, by armed intervention to overthrow an established Government and install another régime, and by a flood of refugees seeking haven from terror and persecution. We should like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for convening the Geneva Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia to seek international assistance for the refugees, and for the success which attended this great humanitarian effort.

82. Peace and tranquillity in Indo-China, as elsewhere, cannot be based on the domination and hegemony of one regional State over its neighbours. Pakistan urges the States of Indo-China scrupulously to respect the principles of State sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in one another's internal affairs. We support the call for the withdrawal of all foreign forces to their national frontiers.

83. The prospect of a man-made large-scale famine confronting the tortured and crucified peoples of Kampuchea fills us with horror and anguish. We strongly support the appeals made for immediate humanitarian assistance to Kampuchea, and hope that the authorities concerned will afford unhindered access and freedom of movement to international relief agencies to save as many Kampuchean lives as possible.

84. International security will remain precarious so long as it is predicated on a balance of terror and the escalation of the arms race. As stated in paragraphs 47 and 48 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2*], which was devoted to disarmament:

“Nuclear weapons pose the greatest danger to mankind and to the survival of civilization. . . .

“In the task of achieving the goals of nuclear disarmament, all the nuclear-weapon States, in particular those among them which possess the most important nuclear arsenals, bear a special responsibility.”

85. We welcome the second SALT Treaty as a major effort at limitation and control of strategic nuclear-weapon systems, although the Treaty falls short of effecting any reductions in the nuclear arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union. We recognize its importance as a step which should lead to significant reductions of, and qualitative limitations on strategic arms as a result of the third round of SALT. It would be a serious disappointment to the world if the third round of SALT negotiations did not commence without delay. We believe that other agreements on specific and high-priority measures to halt the nuclear arms race can and should be pursued concurrently with the SALT negotiations without waiting for an entire SALT package.

86. It is a matter of profound concern that the past year has witnessed over 250 nuclear tests, almost all conducted by the two major nuclear-weapon Powers, which have the least justification for continuing to improve their nuclear weaponry. A comprehensive test-ban treaty among the three nuclear-weapon Powers parties to the ongoing negotiations is long overdue. It is regrettable that the Committee on Disarmament could make no progress on this priority item. Furthermore, this question of a cut-off in the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes by the two super-Powers in order to halt the growth of stockpiles of nuclear weapons needs to be accorded high priority in their disarmament negotiations, if their pledge in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] to achieve a cessation of the arms race is to be even partly fulfilled.

87. Until nuclear weapons are eliminated, the nuclear-weapon Powers are under the obligation to assure the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. In this connexion, Pakistan has submitted a draft international convention in the Committee on Disarmament [*see A/34/27, vol. I, para. 45 (a)*]. There is no objection in principle in the Committee to the adoption of such a convention. The non-aligned Conference in Havana has called for the conclusion of a convention during the next year [*see A/34/542, annex, para. 219*]. The Pakistan delegation hopes that the General Assembly

<sup>16</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

will endorse this call and urge the major nuclear-weapon Powers to extend, under an international convention, unconditional guarantees against the use or threat of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear-weapon States which are not parties to the nuclear security arrangements of some nuclear-weapon Powers.

88. Urgent measures are required to avert the ever-present danger of nuclear war. Pending the permanent prohibition of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, an agreement prohibiting the first use of these weapons of mass annihilation merits the urgent consideration of the nuclear-weapon States. An early agreement in the Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of forces and armaments in Central Europe on an acceptable balance of forces and conventional armaments in Central Europe should open the way for the prohibition of the first use of nuclear weapons.

89. Without prejudice to the Vienna talks the convening of a European conference on disarmament, we believe, would also contribute to peace and security in the European region.

90. In other areas as well, a regional approach to disarmament could be more efficacious in assuring the security of regional States, depriving none of a level of forces essential for its security. Pakistan, for its part, stands ready to explore the possibility of mutual reduction of forces in the regional context.

91. Regional security against the nuclear threat can be ensured by the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones. The concept of such a zone has been successfully translated into reality in Latin America. We are convinced that it is applicable also to other regions of the world, especially Africa, the Middle East and South Asia, for which concrete proposals have been adopted by the General Assembly. The efforts to denuclearize those three regions are closely related to the broader initiative to create a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean. This strategic area has become an arena for the rivalry and competition of the two major Powers, whose talks on the Indian Ocean are limited in scope and have faltered more than once. We hope that these talks will be resumed before long.

92. Pakistan is concerned over the escalation of tensions and conflicts among States in the Indian Ocean region. In this context, we welcome the conclusions of the recent Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean calling for: the total elimination of great-Power presence and rivalry; measures to ensure conditions of peace and security in the area; and the denuclearization of the Indian Ocean and the littoral States [see A/34/45, para. 33].

93. The growing need for energy in all countries is an acknowledged fact, as is the increasing cost and uncertainty of the supply of fossil fuels. In the foreseeable future, nuclear power presents an inescapable choice for many developed and developing countries if they are to close the energy gap.

94. A study was conducted by the IAEA in 1972 to estimate the power needs of Pakistan and how best those needs could be met by an optimal combination of various sources of energy. The survey concluded that Pakistan would require 27,000 megawatts of installed capacity by the year 2000 if it were to achieve the

modest target of 700 kilowatt hours *per capita* consumption by that time. At present Pakistan's *per capita* consumption is only 160 kilowatt hours. For the poor countries of Africa, the figure is 300 kilowatt hours; the world average is 1,500 kilowatt hours. For the United States it is 10,000 and for the States of Western Europe it is in the range of 6,000 to 9,000 kilowatt hours. The IAEA study estimated that of the 27,000 megawatts needed by the year 2000, not more than 11,000 could be generated from the water, coal and gas resources of Pakistan; 16,000 megawatts would have to come from nuclear power.

95. Pakistan's oil import bill has risen from \$60 million in 1973 to \$950 million this year, amounting to 43 per cent of our hard-currency earnings. The industrialized countries of the world spend little more than 10 per cent of their foreign exchange on the importation of oil. Nuclear energy, therefore, offers the only economical and practical answer to Pakistan's energy requirements.

96. Neither this consideration nor our assertion that our nuclear programme is devoted entirely to peaceful purposes is a new factor. We have maintained this position from the very commencement of our long quest for the acquisition of nuclear technology, and I avail myself of this opportunity to affirm once again, from this rostrum, that Pakistan's nuclear programme is designed only for peaceful purposes.

97. Pakistan's record in the pursuit of disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation is impeccable. As far back as 1968, Pakistan was instrumental in convening the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States in Geneva to complement the non-proliferation Treaty by measures to strengthen the security of the non-nuclear-weapon States against the contingency of nuclear threat or blackmail.

98. For over a decade, Pakistan has advocated proposals for that purpose and, as I mentioned earlier, has now submitted an international convention on "negative" security assurances to non-nuclear States in the Committee on Disarmament. We have always supported the IAEA safeguard system and its application to the nuclear facilities of all non-nuclear-weapon States on a non-discriminatory basis. We have consistently pursued the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia. We have advanced the suggestion for a joint declaration by the countries of our region that would commit them to the renunciation of nuclear weapons. We have proposed reciprocal inspection of our respective nuclear facilities. We are prepared to explore with India other ways to ensure non-proliferation in our region.

99. Notwithstanding all these positive and purposeful steps which Pakistan has either taken or initiated, it continues to be the victim of a campaign of propaganda and vilification carried out by a section of the international news media. This is a campaign which, in its inflammatory reference to an "Islamic bomb" and preparations for pre-emptive strikes against Pakistan's nuclear research and development facilities, invests the power and organization of the twentieth-century media with the crude and dangerous emotional irrationality of the Middle Ages.

100. Regrettably, Pakistan has to cope with matters

which are even more serious and substantive than that international press campaign. These are the pressures exerted upon us to impose on our peaceful but independent nuclear programme restrictions so discriminatory as to compromise our sovereignty. In this context, let me recall what President Zia-ul-Haq declared at the Havana Conference:

“Pakistan will not succumb to such pressures and propaganda. Our nuclear programme is peaceful. Pakistan’s dependence on nuclear energy, in the absence of adequate fossil fuels, is inescapable. A developing country should not be required to forgo the attainment of a modicum of self-reliance in this vital field.”

101. The last three decades have witnessed a revolutionary upsurge for political independence and national liberation among the peoples of the third world. Yet the bonds of economic dependence and exploitation built through centuries of colonialism remain to be broken and replaced by an equitable set of relations between the developed and the developing countries.

102. The contradictions between the extremes of affluence and poverty, between the imperatives of interdependence and the reality of dependence, have produced a series of economic crises which today threaten the world economy with disorder and disintegration. Despite the consensus reached in the United Nations for the establishment of the New International Economic Order, most of the developed countries have yet to accept the practical implications of equity in international economic relations. Their policies towards the third world have been characterized by the pursuit of protectionism, parsimony in the extension of financial assistance, reluctance to resolve the problems of external debt, unwillingness to effect industrial redeployment, and restraints on the transfer of technology. In almost all international forums, the North-South dialogue is in a state of impasse.

103. The proposal of the non-aligned countries at the Havana Conference for the resumption of global negotiations, within the United Nations, on the key issues of raw materials, development, finance and energy,<sup>17</sup> is a timely initiative for genuine progress towards a new and equitable world economic order. We hope that the developed countries will respond positively to that proposal.

104. It is our expectation that such global negotiations will be initiated by the Assembly at its special session next year and will lead, within a specific period of time, to significant progress, including the conclusion of agreements for a substantially increased and automatic flow of resources to developing countries; the progressive and full liberalization of market access for the exports of developing countries; the adoption of comprehensive adjustment policies by the industrialized countries to eliminate support for their non-competitive industries; monetary reform to ensure international control of world liquidity; the establishment of a link between the creation of special drawing rights and development assistance; and the democratization of international economic decision-making.

105. Pakistan hopes that the development strategy for

<sup>17</sup>See document A/34/542, annex, sect. VI B, resolution No. 9 on global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development.

the next decade will achieve the aims of the New International Economic Order. Such new concepts as a “basic needs strategy”, differentiation, graduation and “organized trade” should not divert the international community from this central goal. The developing countries accept the need for a more self-reliant pattern of development with the aim of expanding domestic markets through improved distribution in order to ameliorate mass poverty and provide for the essential needs of their peoples. But this does not absolve the developed countries of their responsibility to make their full contribution to international development co-operation, nor does it render the need to restructure international economic relations any less urgent and imperative.

106. Even as we debate the problem of poverty, a large number of developing countries are confronted with an economic predicament that can only be described as desperate. Their economies are stagnant; their trade deficits are almost as large as their entire export earnings; they are burdened with massive and mounting external debt; their development programmes are in disarray; they are hard-pressed to provide even basic necessities to their peoples. This situation is the consequence of the persistent deterioration in their terms of trade, which has been further exacerbated by the paucity of financial assistance, the unequal distribution of international liquidity, imported inflation and the revaluation in the price of energy. Indeed, these countries are the primary victims of the current economic crisis.

107. Their plight cannot be redressed by isolated responses; it cannot await consensus on the international development strategy or a break-through in global negotiations. Their situation demands immediate and urgent action—a response of solidarity from the developed countries as well as from developing countries that are in a position to provide assistance; it demands an international response commensurate with the magnitude and gravity of these immediate problems.

108. Pakistan would propose that this Assembly reach agreement on an immediate action plan designed specifically to redress the economic situation of the developing countries most seriously affected by the world economic crisis. To this end, we call upon the developed countries to double the levels of their official development assistance to the poorer countries in the next two years and provide them general debt relief. We call on the industrialized nations to lift immediately the discriminatory barriers against the exports of those developing countries which face the largest trade deficits. We call upon the IMF to agree to increased allocations of special drawing rights to enable the poorest nations to meet part of their payments. We ask multilateral institutions to provide sufficient resources on favourable terms to enable those countries to purchase vital capital goods and to implement their ongoing development projects. We urge all countries in a position to do so to be more forthcoming in their assistance to these developing countries.

109. A co-operative endeavour to relieve the grave economic problems in the poorer developing countries, to revive economic activity in the third world and to introduce equity in international economic relations is not only desirable but imperative for the prosperity and well-being of all nations. This simple truth with all its implications will, I am sure, come to be accepted by the

developed nations and will provide a new impetus to the North-South dialogue.

110. Our efforts within the United Nations to build a world order based on peace, justice and progress must be pursued with renewed vigour and urgency. The present world situation, where the security of nations is so tenuously maintained and so constantly threatened, where poverty and the deprivation of the majority of mankind stand in stark contrast to the affluence and the conspicuous consumption of the minority, where technology has penetrated the depths of the seas and the immensity of space but has failed to eradicate hunger and sickness, where \$1 billion are daily spent on the engines of destruction while a fraction of this sum cannot be found for human welfare—such a situation cannot be allowed to continue. We must bridge the chasm between our espousal of the ideal of justice and equality, and the pursuit of power and greed. We must translate our commitment to a new and equitable structure of international relations into concrete acts of solidarity with and support for those peoples striving for a life of human dignity.

111. The people of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, inspired by the precepts and spirit of Islam, which teaches that all mankind is one, are deeply committed to a human solidarity transcending differences of caste, colour, creed or political opinion. Our solidarity and co-operation on a universal basis, are indispensable conditions for the realization of a world order based on peace, justice and progress for all States and all peoples.

112. Mr. BOUTROS GHALI (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure at the outset, Mr. President, to express to you, on behalf of the Government of Egypt, our heartfelt congratulations upon your election to the presidency of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. You, Mr. President, are the perfect embodiment of the struggle waged by the third world in its pursuit of freedom, justice and a better future. In the name of Africa, you, Mr. President, have championed for many years Africa's struggle through the United Nations for the triumph of its causes. You have always adopted, and still do, noble attitudes in the name of your great country, the friendly United Republic of Tanzania, under the leadership of Africa's revered son, President Julius Nyerere, in upholding justice everywhere and pursuing the struggle for its sake.

113. It is also an added pleasure for me to express through you, Mr. President, Egypt's sincere gratitude to the outgoing President, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, for the outstanding role he played while presiding over the General Assembly at its last session. He was the ideal representative of his great country, Colombia, as well as of all Latin America and its deeply-rooted traditions.

114. I should also like to seize this opportunity to express the congratulations of the Egyptian people to the people of Saint Lucia, on the occasion of their independence and their joining the international community at the United Nations. I also convey the congratulations of the Egyptian people to the people of Panama on the occasion of the recovery of its sovereignty over the Canal.

115. The present session of the General Assembly is taking place while the world stands at the threshold of

the 1980s and amidst international developments that point towards stirrings of change affecting the whole world. The winds of change have not as yet gathered their full momentum. Nevertheless, international developments indicate that the world community is approaching a new stage in its evolution, a stage that is marked by the four following characteristics: first, serious, persistent and ever-increasing efforts for the elimination of racism and minority rule, the eradication of the remnants of colonialism, a confrontation with aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and the strengthening of the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory through war and the upholding of the right of self-determination; secondly, action for the achievement of just, comprehensive and peaceful settlements in areas of tension in order to ensure suitable conditions conducive to the solution of the genuine problems relating to economic and social development; thirdly, the identification of the economic problems that plague the developing countries on the one hand, and those which face the developed countries on the other, as well as efforts aimed at the establishment of a new international economic order—which should remedy the dangerous deficiencies inherent in the present system that have caused the present shaky economic order from which we are all suffering; and fourthly, efforts to intensify and promote global détente, which should entail the reduction of nuclear armaments, the pursuit of general disarmament and the underscoring of the importance of international co-operation in the political, economic, social and cultural fields, whether on land or in the ocean, on our planet or on the moon or other celestial bodies, within the context of the common heritage of mankind, in a common endeavour and for the common benefit to all.

116. Perhaps these main elements—and others, if we choose to dwell on particulars—constitute a picture which may appear somewhat optimistic. In highlighting these factors, my intention was to present a framework for the picture as I see it or, may I say, as I wish it to be, for by accurately identifying the problems, and by planning the appropriate solutions to them, together with constant hope, unwavering conviction and faith in our capacity to confront these problems appropriately and effectively, we shall have taken the first step in the right direction, long hoped for by the thinkers and aspired to by dreamers among mankind.

117. Let me hasten to emphasize that, although this framework may be the right one, it is also correct to state that important obstacles still obstruct the road to our objectives and goals. The whole world witnesses this situation whether in southern Africa, South-East Asia or the Middle East, and in the political as well as in the economic fields, not to mention social problems arising in many countries in the world. This places on our shoulders a great responsibility, which we must assume for ourselves and for future generations. It is therefore incumbent upon us to proceed with courage, initiative and vision and pull down all barriers, the symbols of despair, and free our minds from all constraints and hindrances with a view to opening up new horizons that will usher in a new era and a better future.

118. My country, Egypt, on whose behalf I am proud to speak today, has a long history, the roots of which go far back in the history of human evolution. That history has left unmistakable marks on each and every facet of

human evolution and progress. Egypt's contribution to the progress of civilization has rarely been matched, in religion, science, art, thought, life, war and peace.

119. In this context, Egypt's policy is based on unshakable foundations and solid principles, which in essence stress that man was not created to exploit his fellow man, but rather that we should all co-operate for the realization of the noble objective of achieving a better future for all. Consequently Egypt's opposition to all forms of exploitation, colonialism and neo-colonialism is an irrevocable fact. Furthermore, its opposition to racism, racial discrimination, foreign occupation and settler colonialism is a matter of principle. Its struggle to bring to an end these unjust conditions, is relentless. As an integral part of the third world and one of its pillars, Egypt has in various phases of its long history suffered from these injustices. It has struggled against imperialism and colonialism for many years. The events of June 1967 represented a culmination of colonialist aggression against Egypt in its role in the vanguard of the struggle for a better future for the Arab nation, for Africa and for the whole of the third world.

120. Throughout the past 12 years, Egypt has been engaged in a continuous struggle for the establishment of a just settlement of the Middle East problem. This problem has taken a heavy toll on Egypt, costing her tens of thousands of martyrs and many billions of dollars, all at the expense of its progress and to the detriment of the welfare of its people. In addition to all this, it has had widespread adverse effects on the right of its people to proper education, to adequate medical care and to work opportunities. In the Middle East, no one has endured what the valiant Palestinian people and the people of Egypt were able to sustain. No single people in the Middle East has suffered as much as they have suffered.

121. Egypt's record in war is matched by its struggle for peace. It has accepted Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and has co-operated closely with Ambassador Jarring in its implementation. It has used its right to self-defence by resorting to the war of attrition in 1969 and 1970 and it has also welcomed all peaceful initiatives that have surfaced during the first six years of the occupation of its territory, foremost among them the Committee of African Heads of State. When it became clear that a conspiracy to impose the *fait accompli* and an attempt to perpetuate the state of "no war, no peace" was being carried out, Egypt waged the glorious October Ramadan war.

122. In both instances, Egypt was committed to peace. Its co-operation with the peace initiatives was not for tactical purposes in an attempt to score temporary propaganda gains, but was motivated only by its firm belief in the principles advocated by the United Nations Charter and its commitment to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which has inflicted upon our area untold sorrow and suffering. Egypt's position was also consistent with the provisions of the United Nations Charter concerning the peaceful settlement of disputes. Egypt did not resort to arms as an end in itself; rather, it took that course as a means of shattering the stalemate that had been imposed upon our region, of resisting all attempts at consecrating the "*fait accompli*" and at perpetuating occupation, and of challenging the calls that were being made for military relaxation. In reality, Egypt pursued

that course to impart momentum to a just, peaceful and comprehensive settlement. Representatives will no doubt recall that at the time when Egyptian armed forces were shattering the Bar-Lev Line, undertaking the historic crossing of the Suez Canal during the October war and clearing its vicinity of occupation, President El-Sadat called for the convening of an international peace conference with the participation of all interested parties, including the representatives of the Palestinian people, to seek a just and durable peace. It was the October Ramadan war that made it possible for the Palestinian question to occupy its rightful place at the heart of the conflict and at the core of the struggle.

123. Egypt was committed to peace—both through its peaceful endeavours and its military battles. It has based its approach to the settlement of the Middle East problem on a single, consistent and well-thought-out policy. We have never adopted a two-faced policy: what we proclaim in public we do not repudiate or alter in private. The general lines of this policy are to be found in Egypt's reply of 15 February 1971<sup>18</sup> to Ambassador Jarring's aide mémoire. In that reply Egypt declared its willingness to enter into a peace agreement with Israel should Israel honour all its obligations as provided in Security Council resolution 242 (1967). That is exactly what we did when we signed the Camp David agreements in September 1978 and the peace Treaty in March 1979.

124. It should always be recalled that the commitment within the framework of the Camp David agreements was that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) in all its parts, the United Nations Charter and the principles of international law and international legitimacy were to be the keys to negotiations for a comprehensive settlement restoring to each party its rights. Egypt would thus recover its occupied territories; Syria also would recover its territories; Lebanon would recover its territorial unity; the Palestinian people would regain their rights to own their land in Palestine and to exercise their inherent right to self-determination; and Israel, likewise, would ensure its own security, within the framework of reciprocal security.

125. In this context, the Egyptian-Israeli peace Treaty is simply an important first step towards the achievement of a comprehensive peace in the area, in order to solve all aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

126. The Framework for Peace in the Middle East Agreed at Camp David<sup>19</sup> has come under attack and criticism from some quarters; consequently we feel historically committed to place it in the right perspective. The Camp David Framework is the first document signed by Israel in which it pledges to negotiate with the representatives of the Palestinian people the settlement of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. The Camp David agreement is also the first document in which Israel pledges to respect the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just claims. Israel pledges to withdraw its military armed forces from the West

<sup>18</sup>See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1971*, document S/10403, annex II.

<sup>19</sup>For the text, see *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1978), vol. 14, No. 38, pp. 1523-1527.

Bank and the Gaza Strip. Israel pledges to withdraw the military Government and civilian administration from the occupied Palestinian territories. In addition, the agreements provide for the establishment of a Palestinian self-governing authority in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as part of defined provisional transitional procedures.

127. In other words, part A of the Camp David agreement concerning the West Bank and Gaza consecrates an Israeli commitment to resolve the Palestinian problem by negotiating with the representatives of the Palestinian people, and to establish transitional arrangements which constitute by their nature the bridge—or the separation mark—between the current situation, namely the occupation, and the ultimate situation in which the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people should be recognized.

128. Egypt would not have embarked on this arduous task had it not taken the following basic facts into account.

129. First, the Palestinian issue is the crux of the problem and the core of the conflict. Consequently its solution is the *sine qua non* condition for a just and durable settlement of the Middle East problem.

130. Secondly, the Palestinian issue is a complex multifaceted one that requires us to leave no stone unturned and no possibility unexplored so as not to participate once again in a policy of missed opportunities.

131. Thirdly, the agreement reached concerns transitional arrangements which pave the way for a solution and for the alleviation of some of the sufferings of our brethren in the occupied land. It also provides the opportunity for mutual recognition and opens the door to negotiations between the parties concerned.

132. Fourthly, in all this Egypt does not speak on behalf of the Palestinian people; it is not entitled to do so and never claimed to do so, for it is the Palestinian people alone who have the right to discuss their future and destiny or choose their own representative.

133. Fifthly, the Palestinian people have in all cases the final word with regard to the form and substance of the Palestinian question.

134. Basing itself on the aforementioned considerations, Egypt accepted the Camp David Framework concerning the West Bank and Gaza. It was also owing to those considerations that Egypt entered into negotiations for the creation of a self-governing Palestinian authority in the occupied territories. Our consistent goal, let it be known to all, is to enable the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and to restore their full national rights and to see to it that, where such a Palestinian authority is set up, it should be a genuine and not a fictitious power and should be a government issuing from the Palestinian people, governing in its name and safeguarding its interests. It should not be just an image or form, or a council concerned merely with subsidiary or partial matters. Consequently, Egypt has insisted on the importance of guaranteeing the freedom of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza and the right of

return for the displaced Palestinians and the need to study the modalities of resolving the problem of Palestinian refugees. We also insist upon the necessity of conducting the elections in an atmosphere of political freedom under appropriate international supervision.

135. Egypt is aware that the Camp David Framework does not constitute the final settlement of the Palestinian problem. However, there is no doubt that the agreement has shattered the stalemate that had paralysed the Palestinian problem and has wrenched from Israel concrete commitments for the benefit of the Palestinian people. It constitutes the first constructive step towards the sound resolution of the Palestinian problem.

136. The Palestinian cause is dear to each and every Egyptian. It is central to Egypt's policy and forms the crux and goal of that policy. We are committed to its support. Egypt will accept no alternative to the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. The Palestinian people should not be denied the right to which all peoples are entitled. The people of Palestine have an inherent and absolute right to recover their territory; to have a State of their own; to have security and to raise their own flag. Egypt cannot accept, after all the sacrifices of the Egyptian people, any infringement upon the genuine rights of the Palestinian people.

137. When the League of Arab States was created in 1945 with its permanent headquarters in Cairo, it was at the behest of Egypt that an annex on Palestine,<sup>20</sup> which affirmed its independence, was attached to the pact of the League, although the external aspects of that independence were not yet in existence.

138. Egypt has engaged in four wars for the sake of Palestine and has never refrained from tendering assistance to the Palestinian people in all fields, whereas it has refrained from any interference in Palestinian affairs. Egypt has no organization that can be called its mouthpiece, or any group which could be considered as devoted to it or financed by it. Egypt sets no faction against another, nor does it sponsor a group that serves its interests to the detriment of Palestinian interests. Egypt has consistently condemned the massacres to which the Palestinian people have been subjected in certain Arab countries. Egypt has always refrained from all this, in the hope of maintaining the unity of the Palestinian people, and the Government of Egypt was alone in supporting PLO until the vast majority of the international community recognized it as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, upon an Egyptian initiative. In this context President El-Sadat has, since 1972, called for the creation of a Palestinian Government in exile. The PLO became a full-fledged member of the League of Arab States at Egypt's request. It was decided, upon an Egyptian proposal,<sup>21</sup> to invite it to address the Security Council on an equal footing with all members and, in accordance with a resolution of the General Assembly, issued following an Egyptian initiative, the PLO was to be invited to participate in all Middle East peace conferences [*resolution 3237 (XXIX)*]. Furthermore, Egypt extended an invitation to the PLO, as the sole legitimate representa-

<sup>20</sup> See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 70, No. 241, p. 260.

<sup>21</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1975*, document S/11893.

tive of the Palestinian people, to participate in the Cairo meeting held in December 1977, following President El-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in November 1977. Egypt extended the invitation because it was convinced that the time had come to start a Palestinian-Israeli dialogue that would pave the way towards negotiations on the Palestinian issue. Egypt is always ready to extend its support to the PLO and to stand by its side. The time has come for serious work, without rhetoric or polemics. Let us unite our efforts to establish peace in the Middle East on the basis of respect for the rights of States and people, mutual respect and mutual recognition.

139. With respect to the issue of Jerusalem, the Holy City revered by the three revealed religions, I wish to put on record, in very clear terms, the position of Egypt, which may be summarized as follows: Arab Jerusalem is an integral part of the West Bank and should be under Arab sovereignty. Egypt calls for the implementation of relevant United Nations resolutions with respect to Jerusalem. This has been Egypt's consistent position over the years and it will not be altered. Neither the slanders and abuse of rejectionist States nor the intransigence of Israel and its obstruction of peace will make Egypt abandon this course.

140. Egypt will pursue the peace process, issuing the challenge of peace to all parties, the rejectionists and the silent, Israelis and Arabs alike. The Middle East cannot continue in the same way as in the past 30 years, serving the interests of a minority to the detriment of the real interests of the majority and in this way letting the Palestinian people suffer at the hands of gamblers for high stakes who play with destiny, and letting the people of Egypt, Lebanon and Syria make sacrifices, while others indulge in endless overreaching, using the Palestine issue to serve their objectives. The time has come for a radical comprehensive solution to all the problems. Otherwise let those who have a personal interest in the persistence of these problems bear the consequences.

141. We have told the rejectionists, whether among our Arab brethren or not, that we are prepared to join their efforts if they present a viable alternative or if they have a better defined proposal or concrete idea on how to achieve a comprehensive peace. Yet all we hear are loud voices and we are subjected to endless humiliation, abuse, insults and rude rebuffs. May I seize this opportunity to give them a piece of advice. Egypt has suffered much slander. This is not the first time that we have been exposed to their insults. The slanders and insults launched against Egypt at the Shtoura Conference,<sup>22</sup> held in the wake of Syria's break-away from the United Arab Republic in 1961, are still to be remembered. It was also there that we heard insults, recriminations and foul words far beyond what we are exposed to now. And then, I must add, there was no Camp David at that time and there was no treaty with Israel.

142. Therefore, I must state in all sincerity, that the issue at stake does not relate either to the Camp David agreements or to the Palestinian problem. It is simply that some countries in the Arab region are under the illusion that an opportunity has presented itself to

realize their long-coveted dream of taking over Egypt's natural and historical role in the Arab world. They have forgotten, it seems, that such a role is not the result of a conspiracy or a coincidence; nor was it attained by polemics or manoeuvres. It is the natural outcome of Egypt's intellectual and cultural contribution over the centuries. It is the result of sacrifices of generation after generation of Egyptians in upholding the cause of the Arab nation, in maintaining its unity, in defending its dignity and in protecting it.

143. On Israel we have much to say. We extended to Israel the hand of peace, saying that for peace to be just, lasting and comprehensive the Palestinian problem must be resolved in all its aspects. Despite Israel's signing of a document that clearly stipulates that the resolution of the Palestinian problem is the crux of the settlement, we find Israel once again indulging in the creation of new settlements on the occupied Palestinian territories. Israel has also permitted its nationals to purchase land in the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Such an action reveals intentions that cannot and should not be tolerated, for it is the application of the policy of illegal colonial settlement. It is also aimed at altering the Arab character of Palestinian territory and at the creation of artificial conditions to obstruct the full restoration of the Palestinian people's right to and full recovery of their territory.

144. In this connexion I should like to reiterate a statement issued by the Prime Minister of Egypt strongly condemning this unabashed policy that is considered a serious violation of international law, a clear contravention of United Nations resolutions, and an obstruction of the peace process, which calls for respect for the rights of all parties, especially those of the Palestinian people.

145. Egypt categorically rejects Israel's policy of building settlements, and will never consent to it. It categorically rejects Israel's policy on Arab Jerusalem, just as it rejects Israel's policy of altering the geographic features and the demographic composition of the occupied territories. Egypt does not, nor will it ever, accept any attempt on the part of Israel to evade its obligations under the Camp David agreements concerning the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. Egypt categorically opposes all attempts to negate the inherent right of the Palestinian people to their land in the West Bank and Gaza. It categorically rejects Israeli aggression against the sovereignty of Lebanon and against the Palestinian people living in Lebanon. The pretext of ensuring Israel's security cannot justify the repeated violation of the sovereignty of States and the killing of the Palestinian people.

146. Israel must refrain from these policies and practices if it wishes the peace process to progress and be consolidated. Also, the Palestinians should reconsider their refusal to join in the peace process.

147. We hereby call upon both Israel and the PLO to recognize one another. We also demand that Israel halt the establishment of settlements and all related measures. Israel should also refrain from all actions that violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon. Furthermore, we call upon Israel and the PLO to initiate a peaceful dialogue. To advance this long-awaited objective, Egypt is fully prepared to extend all the necessary assistance. In this context I wish to

<sup>22</sup> Special session of the League of Arab States, held in Shtoura, Lebanon, from 22 to 31 August 1962.

declare that Egypt is ready to call for an enlarged international peace conference with the participation of all parties concerned, to ensure the realization of a comprehensive peace in the area.

148. To this end, Egypt would be happy to participate in the international conference mentioned by the Secretary-General, whom it wishes to thank and praise for his untiring personal efforts with a view to contributing to the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

149. As you, Mr. President, rightly pointed out in your opening statement [*1st meeting*], all States have emphasized their commitment to respect human rights. The United Nations has, in its declarations, resolutions and binding international agreements, similarly emphasized and developed the necessity of upholding human rights. Notwithstanding all these international documents, the cause of human rights still requires continuous efforts. It is universally acknowledged that the denial of human rights is the denial of the essence of peace and poses a serious threat to the chances of peace, and it is on that premise that our African policy is based. We therefore completely reject the colonial racism that prevails in South Africa, and we shall continue to spare no effort to support the persistent struggle against its racist policy. It is our conviction that this struggle must continue—and continue it will—until equality, dignity and freedom are established in southern Africa.

150. *Apartheid* in South Africa, foreign occupation in Namibia, attempts at procrastination in Zimbabwe and the continual aggressions committed by the forces of racism and colonialism against Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana and Angola should be met on our part by a joint and resolute stand in order to bring to an end those repugnant manifestations that have come together in this region with a view to exploiting Africa and the Africans. We Africans who have brought about the downfall of colonialism and freed our countries from its vestiges are capable, with our determination and solidarity, of terminating the perilous and dangerous situation in southern Africa.

151. A part of the African consensus on the question of Zimbabwe, Egypt wishes to reiterate the importance of supporting the Patriotic Front, the sole legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe. Egypt appeals to all countries to withhold recognition from the Muzorewa Government.

152. Egypt firmly believes that all arrangements relating to the bringing about of peace in Zimbabwe should be under the auspices of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

153. We also reiterate our rejection of the December 1978 elections in Namibia, the intent of which was to impose a fake régime against the will of the valiant people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole legitimate representative.

154. Egypt, with its impressive input in the struggle for the liberation of the African continent from racism, colonialism and foreign domination, once again renews its commitment and its pledge to the people of southern Africa that it will continue to extend its unwavering

support to the heroic struggle waged by their national liberation movements in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

155. At the same time we condemn equally all forms of foreign presence and intervention in Africa, regardless of their origin. Africa is for the Africans and is not an arena for cold war, international competition and opposing blocs. It is not a dumping-ground for the refuse of international détente. The African continent, having rid itself of the old forms of imperialism and colonialism, will also liberate itself from all forms of neo-colonialism.

156. As I stated earlier, Egypt is an integral part of the third world, and it is totally committed to the principles of non-alignment. Egypt is one of the founding members of the non-aligned movement and was responsible for developing its ideals. It was one of the group that contributed to enhancing the effectiveness of the movement until it became a towering edifice dedicated to safeguarding the independence of developing countries and small countries in general against the tyranny of international blocs and the perils of spheres of influence. It also opposes with all its force foreign domination and colonialism, all forms of encroachment on sovereignty, and intervention in domestic affairs.

157. In this context, Egypt steadfastly supports national liberation movements and consistently strives for the safeguarding of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States and the natural rights of peoples. Egypt opposes all forms of foreign intervention and the threat or use of force.

158. Egypt will continue to work for the preservation of the non-aligned movement and against all attempts at deviation, reorientation or derailment of its course which adversely affect the interests of its member States, peoples and nations.

159. Non-alignment is a vigorous and dynamic movement. Its principles, objectives and initiatives are channelled towards the welfare of mankind. We must not forget that the fact that the non-aligned movement called for the recent tenth session of the General Assembly on disarmament also ensured its success. The movement's contribution in all fields of international activity is an established fact. That movement will continue to play this noble role in world affairs as long as it meticulously adheres to its original principles and objectives and does not permit power blocs to impair its effectiveness or to steer it away from its natural course.

160. In the light of recent evolution within the movement, Egypt calls upon all its member States to be aware of manoeuvres that endanger non-alignment and to reject any foreign meddling so that it may safeguard its original principles, its objectives, its unity and its solidarity.

161. Let us remember the words of Julius Nyerere, the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, at the Sixth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement. He said:

“We could not form another power bloc, even if we wished to do so. If this movement tried to be another power bloc, or to be aligned to a power bloc,



it would cease to exist or to be an influence for peace in the world.”

162. Contemporary international economic relations are passing through a critical phase, in which inflation, debt accumulation, trade-balance deficits and protectionism are endemic. This has direct adverse effects on the rate of development of the developing countries.

163. The failure of the fifth session of UNCTAD to solve effectively the fundamental problems confronting the developing countries is a source of great pessimism. Similarly, the limited results achieved at the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development and by the Committee of the Whole, established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, concerning the establishment of a new international economic order have been disappointing to the developing countries and have failed to create an atmosphere conducive to the pursuit of a fruitful dialogue in various economic fields.

164. The Second United Nations Development Decade is drawing to an end. At present we are in the process of drafting a new strategy for the third development decade, a strategy that should be designed to accelerate the development of the developing countries and to bridge the present increasing gap between the advanced and the developing countries. It is therefore imperative that the developed countries should manifest a sincere political will for the radical changing of economic concepts and a true political desire to see economic realities in their correct perspective, and to achieve this end without just agreeing verbally with what the developing countries ask for.

165. While progress towards the establishment of the new international economic order depends to a large extent on political commitment by the developed countries, it is also true that the developing countries shoulder the primordial responsibility for the development of their peoples. It is therefore of paramount importance that they intensify economic co-operation among themselves and achieve collective and individual self-reliance as a principal tool in restructuring international economic relations.

166. Allow me in concluding my statement to reiterate once again that the United Nations is the greatest assembly of nations devoted to the achievement of international peace and security for the peoples and countries of the world. The United Nations shoulders a special responsibility for bringing the world back from the precipice to which it has been led by the frightening arms race and from the escalation and proliferation of nuclear armaments.

167. It may be true that the two super-Powers have come closer to each other on central issues; however on other issues they have agreed to disagree; the expressions “international détente” and “international *entente*” stemmed from that. Yet we should not lose sight of the fact that the peace resulting from this détente is a fragile and precarious one. The threat of nuclear war still exists, the dangers of regional and local wars are real dangers from which we suffer. Consequently the importance of general and complete disarmament, and particularly of nuclear disarmament under effective international supervision, increases. Only through disarmament can mankind achieve genuine peace and the resulting savings of huge expenditures on arms would accelerate the process of development and consolidate international security.

168. Nevertheless, it can be noted that the easing of international tension has made a significant contribution to the progress of disarmament and to a decrease in arms. It is beyond doubt that the efforts of the United Nations in this field represent a positive contribution to paving the way towards a future era in which mankind will be able to enjoy the fruits of peace. These efforts have been manifested in the form of deliberations, negotiations and study, especially on matters concerning nuclear armaments and on the establishment of zones of peace such as that in the Indian Ocean, and of nuclear-weapon-free zones in Africa and the Middle East.

169. Peace, as you rightly stated, Mr. President, is indivisible. For peace to be durable it must be just, total and comprehensive. Therefore disarmament and respect for human rights and the principles of economic equality, as well as decolonization, constitute the fundamental elements of peace, which will remain a fragile structure unless we put an end to the arms race and to the shameful violations of human rights, and until such time as we establish the new international economic order based on sovereign equality, common interests, and respect for the rights of all States and peoples, rich and poor, large and small.

170. As long as there are men and women who strive for the good of mankind, who tirelessly pursue the quest for peace, who continue to work towards saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war and who contribute to speeding up economic development and social advancement, the beacon of peace will continue to shine bright over our planet and to guide the steps of mankind towards a better future for all.

*The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.*