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CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 9:	
General debate ( <i>continued</i> )	
Speech by Mr. Ozores (Panama) .....	411
Speech by Mr. Puja (Hungary) .....	413
Speech by Mr. Al-Nuweimi (United Arab Emirates) ...	416
Speech by Mr. Uribe Vargas (Colombia) .....	418
Speech by Mr. Boucetta (Morocco) .....	421

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

AGENDA ITEM 9

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. **MR. OZORES (Panama)** (*interpretation from Spanish*): Three days after the entry into force of the new treaties on the Panama Canal<sup>1</sup>, a milestone in the history of Latin America, the President of Panama, Mr. Aristides Rojo, honoured me with the responsibility of addressing a very special message to the Assembly of the international community to express the serene satisfaction of the people of Panama in these moments and to say to the peoples of the world, represented by delegations here, that peace is necessary, that agreement is possible and that success is within the reach of all countries, even of the least powerful, when faith and the struggle of a people meet with response in international solidarity.

2. We Panamanians wish to express our gratitude to all the people and countries that supported us because they believed in the justness of our claims and in the strength of their convictions, placing the ideal of justice uppermost among their values.

3. This is the reason for my presence in the General Assembly of the United Nations which is, by a happy coincidence, presided over by a statesman of your stature, Mr. President, your well-known leadership at the head of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, reflected in your actions since the historic meetings of the Security Council in 1973 in the city of Panama,<sup>2</sup> has earned the lasting appreciation of the Government and people of Panama.

4. We are happy that it is you, Sir, a friend of our region, who is the successor to the eminent Latin American statesman, Mr. Indalecio Liévano Aguirre, to whom we pay a well-deserved tribute for the excellent discharge of his responsibility as President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

<sup>1</sup> See *The Department of State Bulletin*, vol. 78, No. 2016 (July 1978), pp. 52-57.

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-eighth Year*, 1695th to 1704th meetings.

5. This is a fitting time to offer to the world testimony of the achievements of Panama. That is why I wish to tell you of the significance which the Torrijos-Carter Treaties on the Panama Canal have for us, of how we managed to reach an agreement with the foremost Power in the world on this act of national liberation which the new treaties represent, and of the contribution my country made to the cause of peace in Latin America and in the world because of the recent entry into force of the Panama Canal Treaties.

6. When, three days ago, the unjust Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty of 1903 was abrogated, the colonial enclave known as the Panama Canal Zone disappeared and the Republic reassumed all its jurisdictional rights over it. This represents a milestone in the history of decolonization in the world.

7. The new Panama Canal Treaties also signal in Latin America the end of an era characterized by the imposition of the North American doctrine of territorial proximity, whereby an attempt was made to justify the right to appropriate or control the natural resources and certain geographical features in the States in the region that could affect the domination of the major world maritime routes. That imperialist doctrine, today rejected by the international community, received its death blow with the entry into force of the Torrijos-Carter Treaties.

8. From now on, we Panamanians will live in a country where there will be no laws, courts or police that are other than Panamanian, where only a single flag, the flag of Panama, will wave in its tropical skies and where a new sense of dignity will give us strength to undertake the vast task of building the prosperous and free future we deserve.

9. These new Treaties, by granting us more intensive participation in decisions on our own main natural resource, the geographical feature of the isthmus of Panama, also represent a valuable instrument of national development. On the one hand, my country has new, extensive areas close to the inter-oceanic waterway which can be used for commercial, industrial and urban development and, likewise, the Ports of Balboa and Cristóbal, the chief installations of their kind in Central America, and the Panama railway.

10. Furthermore, Panama's share in the benefits of that Canal comes in the form of greater income from the transit of ships and, what is also very important, a closer association with the United States of America in the administration of the inter-oceanic waterway up to 31 December 1999. After that date my country will acquire full control over the Panama Canal.

11. We Panamanians are aware that the Panama Canal represents a landmark achievement in international communications and we consider that the new  
A/34/PV.20

Treaties offer all users sufficient guarantees of permanency and efficiency in the inter-oceanic service.

12. For my Government it is a matter of great satisfaction to announce before this Assembly that, with the entry into force of the new Treaties on the Canal, as of 1 October 1979, the Protocol regarding the permanent neutrality of the Panama Canal<sup>3</sup> has been open for accession by all States of the world.

13. On this occasion I must reiterate that one of the prime objectives of the international policy of Panama is the universalization of the régime of permanent neutrality of the inter-oceanic waterway through our territory. Panama wishes the Canal to remain safe and open for peaceful transit by the ships of all nations on terms of complete equality, so that there will be no discrimination against any State or its nationals and so that the Canal and, consequently, the isthmus of Panama, will not become the object of reprisals in any hostilities between other nations of the world.

14. It would be unrealistic for my country to try to make the régime of permanent neutrality of the Panama Canal universal without taking into account the essential co-operation of the great Powers, in the East and in the West, and particularly of those that have mastered nuclear technology.

15. In the opinion of the Panamanian Government, the régime of the Panama Canal, by reason of its universal character, will be subject to rules similar to those which international practice has established for the Suez and Kiel Canals and which will respect the jurisdiction of the Panamanian State over the inter-oceanic waterway, in accordance with the new agreements.

16. We who come from a modern country with a long tradition of transit through the isthmus feel extremely responsible for the services which the Canal offers to promote economic development in the user countries and to facilitate closer relations between the peoples of the world. We were also very conscious of the need to find a peaceful method of solving the delicate international dispute which seriously threatened the movement of traffic through the isthmus of Panama. The method chosen was that of negotiation, that of the dignified settlement of a long conflict thanks, first to the unswerving faith of our valiant people and, secondly, to the lucid and firm guidance of General Omar Torrijos Herrera, who initiated original and very effective diplomatic actions. We also owe it to the warm solidarity of the peoples of the world who believed in the justness of our cause.

17. The victory of the nation of Panama was made possible by the firm will of our people, aware of the value of freedom, independence, sovereignty and national honour. Our people waited with patience and offered its martyrs. We are a people with profound faith in the anti-colonialist concepts as stated in the United Nations Charter, a noble people capable of creating the necessary conditions for eliminating the colonial enclave at the very heart of our country, which has been a permanent cause of conflict in relations between Panama and the United States and between the latter and Latin America.

<sup>3</sup> Protocol of Exchange of Instruments of Ratification Regarding the Treaty Concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal and the Panama Canal Treaty.

18. The careful cultivation of our national values, the strengthening of our own identity in our country, which is cosmopolitan, with an ancient tradition and a young population, were all essential in order to create the necessary unity among Panamanians, that communion between the men and women of Panama which, like the hardest rock, successfully resisted a formidable challenge: that of destroying, by the force of our ideas, the basis of an unjust and unbalanced relationship with the foremost Power of the world and, later, of building with it a modern relationship based on recognition of our sovereign rights, mutual respect and obedience to the idea of justice.

19. All the energies of the Panamanian people were channelled by one leader, a man totally devoted to interpreting and defending the national cause, a soldier whose only weapons were the unflagging nationalism of our people, and a new and brilliant manner of promoting the cause of Panama in the international community. General Omar Torrijos Herrera, the leader of the Panamanians, had a blind faith in human nature, in its capacity for goodness and justice and for the lofty and grave responsibilities of leadership. As a simple man of Panama and as the representative of the aspirations of that dignified and long-suffering people, he addressed himself to other men, to the leaders of America and of the world, and, without ceremony, he offered an exact and true testimony of the situation of our country and of its aspirations.

20. The reaction of the leaders and peoples of the world was unanimous. Omar Torrijos's pilgrimage throughout the world rapidly brought about the results hoped for. The leaders of Europe, Asia and Africa, as well as those of Latin America, supported us unreservedly. To them, the list of whose names fills whole pages in the annals of friendship and of our nation's dignity, we wish to express the deep and never-ending gratitude of Panama.

21. In this present decade, and as a result of the work of the Government led by Omar Torrijos, the Security Council met on Latin American soil for the first time in its history to consider matters likely to endanger peace and security in Latin America. It was our privilege, Mr. President, to have your enlightened participation in your official capacity as Chairman of the Special Committee on decolonization. The demonstration of world support for the meeting of the Security Council in Panama, and the significant statements made there by Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, led to an understanding in the light of which the United States Government made an attempt to revise its Latin American policies and reconsidered the one-sided attitude it had until then maintained with regard to the legitimate claims of Panama.

22. General Torrijos' work had immense results in Latin America, not only for the cause of Panama, but also for that of the continent. The new Panamanian diplomacy, inspired and directed by him, brought about among the leaders of our region a necessary rapprochement, a strengthening of our Latin American consciousness, and offered to our continent a great, worthy and just cause, the cause of Panama, which perfectly symbolized the efforts and sufferings of Latin America and its rejection of an anachronistic and intolerable imperialism.

23. The effects of the Panama Canal Treaties are the

result of the will of two countries with great responsibilities to the international community. These agreements will serve to resolve a delicate situation which endangered world communications and the peace of the region.

24. This contribution by my country to the strengthening of international solidarity is complemented by our position on the major political problems which are under review in the General Assembly, that is to say by our policy of non-alignment, which is based on Panama's firm support for the premises of the Declaration on decolonization,<sup>4</sup> the declaration on the permanent sovereignty of peoples over their natural resources contained in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)] and the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolution 3201 (S-VI)]. Accordingly, nothing could please Panama more, now that the presidency of the General Assembly is in the hands of an eminent citizen of Africa, than to reiterate unreservedly our support for the aspirations of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and Azania and to reaffirm our solidarity with the front-line States and with the national liberation movements, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the Patriotic Front and the African National Congress of South Africa.

25. Next year's commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on decolonization, of which we were one of the sponsors, commits the United Nations to an intensification of its struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, *apartheid* and all forms of hegemony or foreign domination.

26. We have offered much to other continents, and we are pleased and proud of this. But Panama's contribution to Latin America is exceptional. My country, because of its desire for universal brotherhood and because of the lessons learned through a hard history of struggle for national identity, has always had a special responsibility to promote the ideal of the unity and the integration of Latin America. It is not by chance that Bolívar, in his wisdom, decided that Panama was the most suitable place in which to gather the American nations in the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama in 1826 to lay the foundations for continental unity. Nor is it coincidence that the cause of Panama became the ideal which synthesized the Latin American peoples' aspirations for national liberation.

27. On the threshold of the 1980s, we believe that another meeting, at all levels, of Latin American nations is fully justified. In the economic sphere, this would be fundamental to the attempt to establish a common Latin American front which, together with the efforts made in the Group of 77, would strengthen the position of our region in its participation in next year's special session of the General Assembly. At that meeting we shall evaluate the progress made in the various United Nations bodies towards the establishment of a new international economic order and a new international development strategy for the 1980s will be adopted.

28. Many are the barriers which block the path of Latin American integration and the union to which all

its peoples aspire so intensely. Yet we believe that the lesson of history is that all anachronisms will eventually disappear, as recently happened in heroic Nicaragua, that local conflicts will be resolved and that in the end the dream of the Great Liberator will come true and that, from the Río Bravo to the Tierra del Fuego our countries will constitute a true, modern and effective community of nations.

29. Our most decisive contribution is the example we have given to the world of the ability to solve, by peaceful means but with dignity, the most difficult problems in the hardest circumstances and conditions. In a world tormented by violence in all its forms, this is a precious example which should be appreciated and cultivated earnestly by all countries of the world.

30. With the entry into force of the new Panama Canal Treaties, Panama and the United States will be able to enjoy a harmonious relationship after 76 years of misunderstandings and profound injustices. This new relationship must develop, grow in strength, and become, for the good of all the countries which use the inter-oceanic waterway, a notable example of friendship, international co-operation and mutual respect.

31. I believe that I am conscience bound to recognize publicly that successive generations of Panamanians have been able to rely in their struggle on the election of Mr. Jimmy Carter to the presidency of the United States, a fact which made possible the signing, approval and ratification of the new Panama Canal Treaties and their recent implementation. It is only just to recognize his exceptional gifts as a statesman, his lofty conception of justice and his profound sense of history. He fought strenuously and with great courage against certain reactionary circles in his country to achieve a peaceful solution to the question of the Panama Canal. In this way President Carter has won a place of honour among history's great leaders of North America in his relations with Latin America.

32. We are determined to fulfil all the commitments entered into in the Panama Canal Treaties. We are not easily deceived nor are we irresponsible towards our people or the world. We shall be vigilant to ensure that the United States of America also faithfully complies with the serious and solemn commitments into which it has entered with no distortion of the deep meaning of decolonization, justice and dignity.

33. We have become stronger morally in our struggle and we face the future with confidence, always bearing in mind the famous saying that "he who cannot daily win freedom and life does not deserve them." Thus, we point out to all countries of the world that it is our will to protect and strengthen today's conquests to ensure for future generations of Panamanians and for all peoples on earth that the Panama Canal will be an instrument for union and a symbol of hope in the never-ending quest for peace and justice.

34. Mr. PUJA (Hungary) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President I should like, on behalf of my Government, to welcome you warmly and to express my hope that the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly under your leadership will be successful in its work.

35. On behalf of my Government, I should like to

<sup>4</sup> Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)).

are some people who, to put it mildly, are behaving rather strangely. They acknowledged that the Pol Pot régime pursued a policy of genocide and for years had raided the border areas of Viet Nam, but in practice they closed their eyes to it and in this way they justify the "right to existence" of a régime that committed unpardonable crimes against the Kampuchean people. They also serve to justify the acts of the aggressor which invaded Viet Nam from the north.

58. In recent years significant changes have occurred in the Near East.

59. A popular revolution has triumphed in Afghanistan, but it has still to fight counter-revolutionaries and the foreign forces which assist them. My Government expresses its solidarity with the revolution in Afghanistan and stands at its side in its hard struggle.

60. Present-day developments point to an increasingly active participation of Latin American countries in the struggle for a democratic and independent pattern of political and economic development. We welcome the democratic changes in Nicaragua and reject any manoeuvres designed to impose on that country arrangements alien to the interests of the people. It is for the long-suffering Nicaraguan people to choose the path they wish to follow.

61. The Hungarian Government continues to pledge its solidarity with the Arab peoples fighting for the elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression, and is in favour of a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East. The separate peace treaty between Egypt and Israel<sup>7</sup> disregards the concerns of the Arab peoples, tends to increase tension in the region and is a source of new conflicts. That is why we refuse to accept the separate peace treaty and oppose the effort to have it recognized by the United Nations. A just and lasting settlement can be brought about only with the equal participation of all the interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], and that settlement should ensure the right of the Palestinian Arab people to establish a State of their own.

62. The recent Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Havana was a true reflection of the increasing role being played by the non-aligned movement in shaping international political life. Following the movement's traditions, the meeting of Heads of State and Government once again raised its voice against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism, and in favour of disarmament. The Hungarian Government supports the just aspirations of the non-aligned movement and agrees with the substance of the Havana Declaration.

63. My Government is increasingly concerned over some of the alarming phenomena occurring in the world economy which are manifest in no small measure in the protectionist and discriminatory tendencies of the developed capitalist countries and the international monopolies. We find it unacceptable that the capitalist countries should be shifting the burden of solutions to their internal economic problems to other countries, particularly those which are economically less developed.

64. My Government believes that the activity of the United Nations in the field of formulating economic policy should concentrate on the restructuring of international economic relations on a democratic and just basis, on the reorganization of the prevailing pattern of the international division of labour and of the structure of the world economy. The world conferences held in 1979 and scheduled for 1980, particularly the special session of the General Assembly to be held in 1980, have a significant role to play in economic development over the next decade. Our delegation will do its best to promote efforts seeking to ensure that the relevant provisions to be worked out take due account of the positive principles laid down in important United Nations resolutions on economic matters, particularly the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)], and reflect faithfully the real causes of the state of backwardness in developing countries as well as the material and moral responsibility of the developed capitalist countries. These provisions should also make clear the close relations between international economic and political processes on the one hand, and the internal and external conditions of economic growth on the other.

65. As I have had several occasions to state from this rostrum, my Government considers it necessary that the effectiveness of the United Nations should be enhanced. We appreciate the significant personal efforts made towards that goal by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whom we had the pleasure of welcoming to Hungary last July. The Charter of the United Nations contains numerous possibilities that have not yet been sufficiently used to that end. We still hold that the provisions of the Charter on the purposes and principles of the United Nations, as well as on its organs and their functions, provide an appropriate basis for performing the tasks incumbent upon us.

66. The constant and considerable increase in the United Nations budget is a matter of concern. We think that effective measures should be taken to reduce the rate of increase in expenditure.

67. It is with these reflections in mind that I have sought to outline my Government's position on some of the major international issues before the General Assembly. We hope that the work of the present session of the United Nations General Assembly will live up to our expectations and that the world Organization will contribute substantially to the realization of the ardent wish of all of us to establish firmly lasting international peace and security.

68. Mr. AL-NUWEIMI (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of my country, I have the honour of extending my most sincere congratulations to Mr. Salim on his election as President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. I am sure that his choice for this important post reflects the international community's appreciation of his qualities, which we have observed in his discharge of the functions of Permanent Representative of his country. They are qualities, that have been reflected in his very wise conduct of the chairmanship of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and in the important role which he played in bringing about justice and truth in southern Africa and Palestine while he represented

<sup>7</sup> Treaty of Peace between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed at Washington on 26 March 1979.

the United Republic of Tanzania in the Security Council. We are sure that, with his qualifications and experience in international affairs and his dedication to the United Nations, he will be able to fulfil the task entrusted to him in leading the work of the Assembly with total success.

69. We should also like to take this opportunity to extend our appreciation to Mr. Salim's predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, who conducted the proceedings of the last session of the General Assembly so successfully.

70. We should also like to congratulate Saint Lucia, which has just been admitted to membership in our Organization.

71. On behalf of the delegation of United Arab Emirates I should like to express again our respect and appreciation to Mr. Kurt Waldheim for his efforts to achieve the primary objective for which the United Nations was founded: namely, the safeguarding of international peace and security. The Secretary-General has been consistent in his efforts and has carried out a number of visits to various parts of the world, the results of which have been reflected in the excellent report he has submitted to us on the work of the Organization [A/34/1]. In spite of the positive results that have affected international life in certain areas, the main feature of the report is the profound concern we all feel about the fate of mankind because of a continued absence of democracy in international life and the persistence of economic and social injustice in the world today.

72. A review of the international situation—whether from the political or the economic standpoint—since the previous session of the General Assembly, hardly gives grounds for optimism, for, on the political scene, we unfortunately see certain dangerous trends emerging that might reactivate certain aspects of the cold war and lead to a deterioration of the situation in certain parts of the world. This derives from the failure to achieve real progress in solving serious international problems by eradicating their causes, and from a failure to respect the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

73. The Middle East, of which we are a part, is still far from real peace, in spite of the efforts that have been made both inside and outside the United Nations.

74. Our delegation would like to reaffirm that we are profoundly convinced of the truth, accepted by the international community as a whole, that the cause of the Palestinian people is at the very core of the Middle East problem and that there can be no settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict without a global settlement of the Palestinian question. We believe that that settlement should be based on the following: first, Israel's withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and secondly, the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, particularly its rights to return, to self-determination, to have an independent State and to recover its sovereignty over its territory. We also believe that the PLO, which we consider to be the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, should participate in all efforts to settle this question in conformity with the right of

peoples to self-determination and in application of the principle of the inadmissibility of the annexation of territory by force. Respect for these principles alone can bring us to the just and lasting peace so much hoped for by the people of the region.

75. In the light of all these facts and principles we rejected the Camp David agreements<sup>8</sup> and the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty because those agreements disregard these facts and principles.

76. The barbarous attacks of Israel upon southern Lebanon, the victims of which are Lebanese and Palestinians, are of profound concern to us, because they are a threat to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon. They also threaten the Palestinian people, which is menaced by total extermination. We address an appeal to the international community to adopt all measures necessary to compel Israel to comply with the resolutions of the Security Council that demand its withdrawal from all Lebanese territory.

77. The development of events in southern Africa, in Zimbabwe and Namibia, are of profound concern to us because we think that the racist minority is still trying to perpetuate its domination and to trample underfoot the dignity of the peoples of that region and to subject them to domination.

78. In South Africa, the racist Government continues to establish bantustans and to apply the policy of *apartheid*.

79. In Namibia, the racist régime of South Africa continues to create obstacles and great difficulties in order to prevent the United Nations from participating in the process of ensuring independence for that people and thus enabling it to exercise its right to self-determination under the leadership of the SWAPO, its only legitimate representative.

80. In Zimbabwe, Ian Smith and his supporters among the racist white minority, continue to subvert any effort made and any conference convened for the settlement of the problem in that region under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, the sole legitimate representative of that people.

81. We are convinced that we should increase material and moral assistance for the African liberation movements until their regions are liberated from the yoke of colonialism and the domination of the racist minority. The United Arab Emirates have always given assistance to the liberation movements, and we shall continue to do so until such time as colonialism and racism have been eradicated from the area.

82. The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization contains another disappointment on an important question that has concerned the United Nations for a long time: the question of Cyprus. The breaking-off of negotiations between the two Cypriot communities is a source of concern with regard to the future security of this island. We can only hope for the resumption of serious negotiations between the representatives of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot

<sup>8</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.

communities, so that they may reach an agreement that will guarantee peaceful coexistence for the people of the island and will safeguard the unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

83. The United Arab Emirates has declared on many occasions that it welcomes the creation of nuclear-free zones. Our State has also supported, since its independence, the United Nations Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)] so that rivalry between the great Powers may be eliminated from that region to which we belong. We have also co-operated diligently and faithfully with our neighbours to bring stability and security to that area.

84. We followed with great interest the long and tedious negotiations of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, and we hope that at the forthcoming session it will be possible to carry out the programme of action that was drafted at the eighth session,<sup>9</sup> so that next year we can have a convention on the law of the sea.

85. The tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, showed the importance that the peoples and Governments of the world attach to this important subject. This subject is intimately linked with the primary objective that led to the creation of the United Nations, namely the safeguarding of international peace and security. It is no longer possible to continue to live in a climate of nuclear terror, nor is it possible any longer to remain silent about the vast resources that are being wasted on armaments at a time when mankind is in dire need of all those resources for purposes of economic and social development. While the tenth special session was very difficult and the negotiations highly complex, it can be said that its results constitute a first step on the long road that should lead to general and complete disarmament. The Final Document adopted by consensus at the end of the special session [resolution S-10/2] stipulates a strategy for disarmament, which will help guide us in all our efforts to this end in the years to come. The special session also recommended the creation of an international organization to deal with disarmament questions in all their aspects, and we hope that the next special session to be held on this subject will make even more progress in order to clear the way for the holding of a world disarmament conference in which all the States of the world will participate and which should be prepared for in such a way as to guarantee its success.

86. We welcome the most recent agreement concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic armaments, the treaty resulting from the second stage of SALT negotiations.

87. Since the thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly, economic problems have grown more complex daily and the gap between developed and developing countries has become wider and deeper. The rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer because of the refusal of the developed countries to participate in serious negotiations to create a new, just and equitable economic system.

88. The current economic systems are no longer adequate. Consequently, it has become necessary to

hasten the conclusion of negotiations between the developing countries and the developed countries under the auspices of the United Nations and in accordance with the relevant resolutions, the most important of which are those adopted by the sixth and seventh special sessions [resolutions 3201 (S-VI), 3202 (S-VI) and 3362 (S-VII)].

89. In order to provide radical solutions to international economic problems, we must find just solutions to a certain number of problems, the most important of which are the indexing of primary commodity prices of exports from the developing countries to the developed countries, and in turn, the establishment of equitable prices for the manufactured goods imported by the developing countries from the industrialized countries. International trade problems should also be settled by alleviating the protectionist policies pursued by the industrialized countries, which prevent the products of the developing countries from reaching markets. There are also the problems of the transfer of technology, of increased and diversified industrial productivity and of limiting the control transnational societies exercise over the natural resources of the developing countries. There must also be a drastic solution of financial and monetary questions because the present monetary system obstructs financial and monetary relations between States. The present system has created distortions in the balance of payments of the developing countries and has increased the rate of inflation in those countries because the developed countries export inflation; it has also caused a deterioration in exchange rates, which has forced the developing countries to limit their development programmes and has imposed on them a heavy burden of indebtedness.

90. The phenomenon of famine, rife in developing countries, is a source of great concern and should be promptly alleviated through a joint international effort, so people suffering from hunger may be adequately fed.

91. We believe that the international community should intensify its negotiating efforts within the context of the North-South dialogue in order to devise a new formula for a new international economic order based on right, justice and equity. We hope that the next special session of the United Nations General Assembly, which will be held in 1980, will provide the opportunity for the realization of this objective.

92. The United Arab Emirates wishes to reaffirm that it will continue to fulfil its responsibilities to the international community and the third-world countries who believe in collective efforts and true international co-operation aimed at establishing a new international society based on the principles of justice and peace.

93. Mr. URIBE VARGAS (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of my Government, I should like to congratulate Mr. Salim on his election as President of the thirty-fourth regular session of the General Assembly. Our Organization has thereby attempted to acknowledge the debt it owes to his country, the United Republic of Tanzania, and its illustrious President, Mr. Julius Nyerere, in the lengthy struggle for the decolonization of Africa, a task that entailed many risks. In Mr. Salim we recognize the continuity of that tradition of struggle for freedom and self-determination of peoples. In the Special Committee on decolonization, we have seen him as a leader of the decolonization movement

<sup>9</sup> See document A/CONF.62/88.

and we were amazed at how well he guided the work of the Special Committee at such an early age.

94. On behalf of the Government of Colombia, I should also like to extend a fraternal welcome to Saint Lucia, the beautiful Caribbean island that has just achieved full independence. It enters the United Nations in its own right, as it has entered our regional group, the Organization of American States. In both organizations, we hope to co-operate with it for the success of our endeavours. We offer it our support in order that its international role may be commensurate with its people's just deserts.

95. The thirty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly is convening against a background of contradictory signs and of threats to world peace. No one can ignore the efforts this Organization has made to preserve security in various continents and its tireless striving to avert conflicts that would inevitably have led to new hostilities. However, speaking objectively, we should note that the United Nations must seek to recover the initiative in and responsibility for the maintenance of peace on the five continents of the world, lest all that does not partake of the spirit of the Charter and that is undertaken without reference to the competence of United Nations bodies should subsequently occasion fresh difficulties on the road of understanding and concord.

96. This is why in my statement to the Assembly last year<sup>10</sup> I emphasized the importance of strengthening the Organization as the nerve-centre of major world decisions. In pursuit of that policy, I now wish to present some views, on behalf of Colombia, on how the functioning of the world Organization might be strengthened in a creative spirit.

97. First, my country continues to view with concern the ongoing crisis in the Middle East, an area now being shaken by new and disturbing signs of strife. We believe that peace in the region must be sought through the United Nations system and that it must be based on over-all solutions in accordance with the spirit of the oft-reaffirmed Security Council resolutions. These solutions can only lead to progress to the extent that they include the full recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people to a sovereign territory. This situation is analogous in many respects to that which Israel faced in 1947.

98. Accordingly, the initiative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, to convene a special conference with the participation of all parties concerned on the basis of equality is a step forward which should be supported and adopted by the present session of the General Assembly. The indefinite postponement of this problem has brought grave difficulties to the countries of the Middle East, and the call for a just solution deserves universal attention, as does the future status of Jerusalem, a city holy to three of the world's major monotheistic religions.

99. Together with the Middle East, we must emphasize with anxiety the tragic condition of the people of South Africa, where a systematic crime against the indigenous populations is being perpetuated in the sys-

tem of *apartheid*, which is unequivocally rejected by all free peoples. Coupled with genocidal violations of human rights, South Africa's nuclear arms policy now poses a threat not only to the peace of the region but also to world security. The decolonization process which the United Nations has so successfully been carrying forward should now be directed essentially to preventing the racist policy of South Africa from being perpetuated and thus jeopardizing collective security. *Apartheid*, which is perhaps the worst crime of our times, must be eradicated through new and more vigorous policies from the Security Council and the General Assembly.

100. The independence of Namibia and an appropriate solution to the problem of Zimbabwe are also matters of particular concern.

101. Colombia has for some time observed that Article 2, paragraph 3, of the Charter, which makes the pacific settlement of disputes mandatory, has not yet been the subject of orderly development offering possibilities for settlement in many conflicts. The world is aware that the problems of our times stem from a combination of economic, political and social factors which do not always lend themselves to solutions by law. Possibly, the branch of international relations in which there has been the least progress is the settlement of disputes by peaceful means. Both the International Court of Justice and the Permanent Court of Arbitration tend to be kept at one remove from the difficulties which they were intended to solve and for which they were established. It would therefore be a proper task for this Assembly, in pursuance of the imperatives of the Charter, to promote a current of world opinion aimed at devising new and imaginative machinery for the settlement of disputes. Colombia views with favour and lends its support to the initiative of the Government of Austria to establish a centre for research and conciliation which could by its flexible character contribute to the direct settlement of disputes which might arise in future. This plan has been discussed previously in the Assembly but, while there might have been doubts in the past as to its desirability, world security today demands more expeditious and manageable instruments which can be resorted to so as to reconcile conflicting positions and prevent the deterioration of relations among States.

102. Colombia has been an advocate of furthering the work on the review of the Charter, efforts on which have yielded only hesitant conclusions. However, without prejudice to continuing this work, a decision by the General Assembly to create new machinery for investigation and conciliation together with new imaginative approaches to the mediation of international conflicts is not only a timely task but also a very promising one.

103. Our country is firmly convinced that the international crisis we are going through is directly related to the stagnation of programmes for a new international economic order, which the United Nations itself has proclaimed as an undertaking of the Organization and made into a norm of conduct for its Member Governments. It is obvious that the North-South dialogue, which began with so much optimism, has only given rise to new frustrations. As its last session in Manila UNCTAD once again brought to light the lack of understanding of the industrialized countries vis-à-vis the demands of the third world, and we must not hide the

<sup>10</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 33rd meeting, paras. 145-175.

fact that progress was scant, if we bear in mind the magnitude of the programme which should have been covered. Colombia fully supports the proposal for global negotiations as presented by the developing countries [see A/34/34, part III, annex I].

104. With regard to the law of the sea, the intransigence of some Powers has complicated the task of drawing up a harmonious and just code for the use of the oceans. Each time the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is convened, we hear in ever stronger terms the voices of those countries which disregard the achievements of the small and medium-sized countries, achievements which had seemed secure, such as the 200-mile limit of sovereignty over economic resources. With respect to the sea-bed authority, the distribution of powers now claimed dampens our hopes that the future treaty could become a true instrument for the decolonization of the seas.

105. With reference to the question of price-support machinery for commodities, such as coffee and sugar, the major consumers are reluctant to support its operation, which, coupled with the new obstacles to trade in commodities from developing countries, is rendering the world distribution of power increasingly unfair. To that we must add the dwindling financial potential of international bodies devoted to promoting co-operation, which earmark disproportionate sums for administrative expenditures with the concomitant decline in aid programmes.

106. The demand by the equatorial countries that the synchronous geostationary orbit should become part of the resources falling within their full competence, a point on which Colombia reaffirms its full solidarity with the countries of the area, has been persistently rejected by certain Powers, which wish in the matter of outer space as with the use of the seas to reserve resources for their exclusive use.

107. This review of developments which point to a grave deterioration of international co-operation in recent times leads to the conclusion that the concept of the new international economic order is still nothing more than an aspiration which is frustrated at every step.

108. To this negative balance-sheet of international co-operation, which sows mistrust in relations between the affluent nations and the third world, we must add the energy crisis, which has dealt its hardest blows to the small and medium-sized countries.

109. At the Meeting of Heads of State or Government held in Caracas during the term of office of the distinguished Venezuelan leader Mr. Luis Herrera Campíns, on the initiative of Mr. Julio César Turbay Ayala, President of Colombia, the following statement was made:

“Let us avail ourselves of this opportunity to address an appeal to the petroleum-producing countries and to the entire world concerning the need to establish without delay appropriate machinery to permit a logical application of the price of petroleum and its derivatives. Our position is not one of opposition to the establishment of just prices. On the contrary, we need such prices for our products. But we take exception openly with arbitrary price-fixing and an indiscriminate increase in the price of petroleum,

which has been accompanied by substantial speculation on spot-market prices and which deprives our peoples of their prerogatives.”

110. The Caracas declaration, from which I have just quoted, was signed on 12 March 1979 by the Presidents of Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic, as well as by the Head of Government of Spain. The views expressed referred to the urgency of seeking, at an international level, machinery to render less difficult the fulfilment of development programmes for countries which lack petroleum and therefore face critical difficulties.

111. It is worth while emphasizing, in addition, the view expressed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Venezuela, Mr. José Alberto Zambrano, in the statement he made at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Havana:

“As countries members of OPEC,<sup>11</sup> we are fully aware of the imperative need for new initiatives and strategies of preferential co-operation with the developing countries, and this matter will have special priority at the next meeting of OPEC to be held in Caracas at the end of this year”.

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

112. President José López Portillo of Mexico also discussed the desirability of adopting, within the framework of the United Nations, a new policy with respect to energy sources, especially petroleum [see 11th meeting]. All these statements buttress and underscore the urgent need for the General Assembly itself to take steps and provide guidelines in order to deal with the major problem now burdening the developing world.

113. With reference to Latin America, we must welcome as an important development the creation of the Junta of National Reconstruction as the new Government of Nicaragua established in the wake of the heroic victory which overthrew the Somoza dictatorship, a development that was endorsed by the General Assembly itself at its last session [see resolution 33/76] in response to charges of human rights violations brought by the Governments of Colombia and Venezuela. The tragic events which the Nicaraguan people have endured compel us to reiterate the appeal made to all countries to contribute to the task of national reconstruction in a spirit of authentic international solidarity.

114. The signing in Panama on 1 October of the Torrijos-Carter Treaties restoring sovereignty over the Canal Zone to the Republic of Panama should be hailed as a genuine triumph for free peoples.

115. Perhaps the most important political development this year in South America was the strengthening of the Andean subregional group, comprising Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela. This constitutes an important step towards economic integration and encourages joint action vis-à-vis various international organizations. The Andean Group, created by the Cartagena Agreement,<sup>12</sup> is perhaps the best exam-

<sup>11</sup> Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

<sup>12</sup> Agreement for Subregional Integration, done at Bogotá on 26 May 1969.



ple of horizontal co-operation and of efforts to cope with the unequal conditions under which third-world countries are labouring in the face of the crisis of international co-operation to which I have referred.

116. The appeal I am making on behalf of the Government of Colombia for the creation of machinery to develop the mandate of the Charter in the sphere of the peaceful settlement of disputes, the urgent need for the United Nations fully to exercise the responsibility for the maintenance of peace that rightfully falls to it, the importance of furthering the new international economic order in the domain of possible achievements and the urgency of arriving at a common policy with respect to the critical energy situation are all things that are not only the aspirations of my country but also undertakings of the United Nations, which should understand the new path it must follow so that economic and social conditions in the world will not trigger a new conflagration of unforeseeable dimensions.

117. For confidence in the future of the Organization to be renewed, as it must be, what is required today is steadfastness and boldness in the quest for a new system of international relations. Because of its urgency, this is something that should be the subject of particular attention by all countries, and it is something which Colombia repeatedly advocates.

118. World peace requires that a supreme effort be made to narrow disparities in development among nations and to ensure that policies based on power alone give way to an order in which human dignity and the fundamental rights of peoples are guaranteed by law. To that end, Colombia, as a deeply democratic country, offers its loyal co-operation.

119. Mr. BOUCETTA (Morocco) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I am happy to extend to you, Sir, on my own behalf and on behalf of the delegation of the Kingdom of Morocco, our most sincere congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. We consider your election as an honour conferred on our continent of Africa and a tribute to your well-known quality and abilities. We are sure that your political experience will be of the greatest benefit to you in directing the work of this session with the requisite wisdom and impartiality so that it may successfully participate in the consolidation of peace and justice throughout the world.

120. I should also like to commend your predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, for his wise actions during his presidency of our previous session, and to welcome Saint Lucia, whose membership in the United Nations will help to strengthen the universal character of our Organization.

121. I also have pleasure in thanking the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his unceasing endeavours in the cause of justice and for the realization of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

122. The political horizon of our world is still clouded with elements of tension and unrest arising from attempts made by certain States which, to satisfy selfish interests, continue to impose political and doctrinal hegemony, persist in abusing the rights of peoples and

plundering their resources, and continue to disrupt their political stability.

123. It is indeed distressing for humanity to observe that political relations among countries of the international community still constitute the weakest link in the chain of human and cultural evolution since these relations have fallen short of the appropriate level that would enable them to keep pace with the significant conquests achieved by mankind in the field of science, technology and culture.

124. The major political and economic Powers in the world are still striving to retain their privileged position at the expense of other regions of the world. This policy of hegemony has, unfortunately, been transmitted to some other nations which have recently started to practise it on a regional scale, which in no way lessens its dangerous effects.

125. After enduring the worst kinds of exploitation and colonial rule, and with some of its southern territories still struggling under the burden of racist and colonial régimes, our African continent, with its wounds still unhealed, is once again suffering from the evils of foreign intervention and attempts to impose regional hegemony and destabilization of its countries.

126. The continent of Asia is also suffering from similar onslaughts in its far eastern and central regions. In its western region, the problem of the Middle East puts this area in the first rank among areas of international tension throughout the world.

127. As part of the Arab nation, Morocco has constantly shown the greatest concern for this problem and is giving its full attention to the question of Palestine, which lies at the heart of the conflict in the Middle East region as a whole.

128. The political and humanitarian dimensions of the question of Palestine constitute a blatant example of international political injustice and provide a clear illustration of Israel's contempt for human rights and its violation of the principles and resolutions of the international community.

129. Indeed, the question of Palestine has, in recent years, witnessed a significant and fundamental change brought about by the recognition given by most countries of the world to the inalienable national rights of the struggling Palestinian people and, primarily, to their right to self-determination and the establishment of their independent State on their land, and the wide international recognition given to the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

130. In spite of this international consensus, Israel is still persisting in its aggressive policy against this long-suffering people and in its policy of colonial settlements on Palestinian land and the physical liquidation of the sons of this embattled people.

131. The Kingdom of Morocco strongly condemns the Israeli policy of aggression, which finds concrete expression in the infringement of every principle of international law, ethics and conventions, and in the most serious violation of human rights, and of the principles and precepts of international relations.

132. After many long years of occupation of Palestine and of some of the territories of Arab States, we see that Israel is still persisting in its policy based on the reckless demolition of houses, the expropriation of property belonging to the Arab population, the eviction of the latter from their lands and the obliteration of their national and cultural identity. Israel persists in its policy of expansion and annexation, the establishment of new colonies and settlements, and of committing every kind of human and economic exploitation of the land and its inhabitants. To this end Israel regards as permissible every sort of repression and terrorism, thus challenging the resolutions adopted by the international community, the most recent of which was Security Council resolution 446 (1979) concerning settlements.

133. Morocco wishes to draw the attention of the international community to the far-reaching and serious dimensions of the recent Israeli decision to permit its nationals to purchase Arab land in Palestine. This decision is only a screen to disguise Israel's new criminal plan designed to consolidate its policy of colonial settlement throughout the land of Palestine in preparation for the Judaization and complete transformation of the human and cultural identity of this Holy Land.

134. This measure should be immediately censured and condemned by the international community and tangible, practical steps should be taken to render it ineffective before it leads to a fait accompli that Israel will exploit in order to further consolidate its expansionist policy.

135. The Kingdom of Morocco, which regards the question of Palestine and the Middle East as its first concern, reaffirms its commitment to support the Palestinian people and the Arab States, part of whose territory has been subjected to Zionist occupation, and reiterates its commitment to the resolutions of the Seventh Conference of Arab Heads of State, held at Rabat in 1974, of which Morocco considers itself to be the trustee, and to the resolutions of the Baghdad Conference.<sup>13</sup>

136. On the basis of these resolutions, Morocco believes that any partial solution not including complete Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories and, primarily, the holy city of Jerusalem, and recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent State in Palestine, will be rejected since, by its very nature, it would not meet the requirements for peace, which can only be established in the Middle East on the basis of a just and comprehensive solution.

137. My country had the honour to host the Tenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held in the city of Fez last May, and subsequently had the honour to welcome the meeting of the Jerusalem Committee, presided over by His Majesty King Hassan II.

138. Those two important Islamic meetings resulted in an overwhelming Islamic consensus in which the

assistance for the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

139. With regard to the situation in the holy city of Jerusalem, which is so dear to the hearts of Moslems as the site of the nocturnal journey of the Holy Prophet and the cradle of divine religions, the Jerusalem Committee, meeting in the city of Fez, regarded the liberation of the city of Jerusalem as a responsibility incumbent on all Moslems throughout the world and stressed that the preservation of its Arab-Islamic identity and its restoration to Arab sovereignty was a joint and collective Islamic duty to be discharged by all Moslem peoples and Governments. This Fez resolution is in conformity with the numerous resolutions adopted by our Organization and, primarily, by the Security Council in 1969 and by UNESCO and the Commission on Human Rights, which condemned Israel's actions in changing the status of the City of Jerusalem and in violating the sanctity of the Holy Places therein.

140. In the face of Israel's persistent defiance of all these resolutions and its violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter, we call for preventive measures to be imposed against it in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

141. It is with extreme concern that Morocco is following the repeated Israeli attacks on Lebanon, which have recently assumed the form of the occupation, either directly or by proxy, of its southern territory. Morocco most strongly censures and condemns the barbarous raids which the Zionist régime is launching on the towns and villages of Lebanon, and which constitute a serious and continuous threat to peace in the Middle Eastern region as a whole. Morocco reaffirms its full solidarity with the people of Lebanon in their ordeal, and its desire to see that Lebanon is fully independent and sovereign and that its territorial integrity is safeguarded.

142. The African continent, which, during the past two centuries, witnessed the worst forms of colonial exploitation, is even today suffering from the adverse effects of colonial dependence which bequeathed to the land of Africa an enduring legacy of chronic economic backwardness, ignorance and political fragmentation.

143. Southern Africa is still suffering under the burden of odious racist, colonial régimes and is waging heroic wars of liberation in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

144. While saluting the southern African peoples' just struggle for emancipation and liberation, we reiterate our firm resolve to continue to provide their liberation movements with every kind of aid and support. As a dedicated proponent of dialogue and negotiation, Morocco hopes that the current negotiations in London will result in a solution which will guarantee the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe, represented by the Patriotic Front, to full independence and elimination of all vestiges of the racist régime.

145. Pending the achievement of this desired solution, Morocco declares its solidarity with the front-line

146. In keeping with its standard practice, Morocco

<sup>13</sup> See document A/33/400.

condemns the hideous racist régime of *apartheid* in South Africa, which it regards as a stigma of shame on the forehead of mankind in the twentieth century and a crime against humanity. Morocco strongly believes that a concerted international effort must be made to isolate and destroy *apartheid*.

147. With regard to Namibia, which is still subjected to an illegal occupation and domination by the régime of Pretoria, Morocco salutes the struggle of SWAPO, the legitimate representative of the people of Namibia, and declares its continuing support for their struggle to achieve full independence and to preserve their territorial integrity, including Walvis Bay, which is an integral part of Namibia.

148. The problem of disarmament is still an increasing source of concern to mankind since the survival of the human race and the preservation of life itself on this planet depend on the fate of the enormous stockpiles of nuclear weapons and the future course of the frantic nuclear arms race.

149. While expressing our satisfaction at the results achieved by the tenth special session, devoted to disarmament, by way of defining objectives and priorities and establishing the bodies needed for the achievement of full disarmament, we feel that there is an urgent need for greater political will on the part of nuclear-weapon States in order to attain the goal of ridding mankind of the spectre of impending nuclear annihilation.

150. We are still inspired by the hope that the various committees responsible for monitoring this issue will be able to bring about the conclusion of treaties prohibiting nuclear tests and the production of chemical and other lethal weapons which threaten the very survival of life on our planet.

151. I should now like to touch on a matter of direct concern to my country which the Moroccan people regard as an issue affecting their destiny, namely the so-called question of the Western Sahara, for whose inclusion on the agenda of the General Assembly or of the Special Committee on decolonization we can see no justification, since the decolonization of this Territory has been completed in conformity with the principles of international law.

152. I am convinced that the world will one day realize the true nature of this question and will learn that the problem has been fabricated with a view to the attainment of hegemonistic aims and the aims of vested interests disguised behind the veil of the defence of principles.

153. It may be asked why this is an invented question. It is an invented question because everyone knows that the Sahara is a single geographical area extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea and does not confer any ethnic identity of a special nature that could distinguish the inhabitants of the Sahara from the population of neighbouring States belonging to the same area. In effect, the Sahara only represents a natural geographical prolongation of the States adjoining it to the north and south. There is a Moroccan Sahara, as there is a Mauritanian Sahara, a Malian Sahara, an Algerian Sahara, a Tunisian Sahara and other Saharas belonging to every State bordering on this desert.

154. Consequently, anyone wishing to allege the existence of a Saharan people would be better advised to abide by reason and logic and to refer to the Sahara as a whole rather than only to that part which constitutes a natural prolongation and an integral part of Morocco.

155. I emphasize that history has never recorded the existence of a Saharan people distinct from the peoples of the region.

156. The concept of the existence of a people in the Western Sahara was created by Spain, the State which colonized the Territory, and this colonial concept was subsequently resurrected, following the liberation of this land, for reasons relating to a policy of hegemony and expansion out of keeping with the purposes and principles of our Charter.

157. The inhabitants of the Territory are Moroccans who, after their liberation from the yoke of colonialism, have rejoined their homeland, and henceforth, no one can separate them from this homeland.

158. In this context I should like to recall certain facts relating to this matter. It is common knowledge that Morocco, because of its strategic location, was a coveted objective for many colonial Powers, and this finally led to the fragmentation of its territorial integrity and the partitioning of its lands into several zones of influence controlled by more than one colonial Power. Hence, the elimination of colonialism from all of the territory of Morocco was accomplished in several stages and at different periods.

159. Morocco tried hard to recover its remaining territories, which had been colonized by Spain and, when it realized that the latter country had resorted to a policy of prevarication and procrastination, it was obliged—in view of its desire to follow peaceful procedures—to refer the matter to the United Nations. In resolution 2072 (XX) adopted in 1965 the General Assembly did, in fact, request Spain to “enter into negotiations on the problems relating to sovereignty” in the Moroccan territories of Ifni and Spanish Sahara.

160. At the time, Spain turned a deaf ear to that request and persisted in its policy of procrastination, after returning the Territory of Ifni to Morocco in 1969, until its manoeuvres reached a climax in 1974, when it declared before the United Nations that it intended to create an artificial entity in the Saharan Territory, which had always been Moroccan, with a view to keeping the spurious entity that it wished to create under its effective control.

161. There is no need to recall the successive stages through which this issue subsequently passed and which ended with the administering Power's giving in and consenting to the signing of an agreement on 14 November 1975<sup>14</sup> whereby the responsibility of Spain over this Territory would terminate on 26 February 1976.

162. The return of the inhabitants of the Territory to their homeland was the result of a free act of will,

<sup>14</sup> *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1975, document S/11880, annex III.*

fulfilling a desire they had long expressed under colonial rule by the resistance operations in which they had engaged in full co-operation with their Moroccan brethren in the north. On 26 February 1976, those inhabitants gave a clear, free and honest expression of their desire to join the homeland through their local representative council which, in the presence and with the participation of the then administering Power, took its historic decision to keep the Territory within the framework of the Moroccan State.

163. This free expression was a true and faithful implementation of General Assembly resolution 3458 B (XXX) of 10 December 1975 concerning this matter. It is well known that this resolution confirmed the tripartite agreement concluded at Madrid on 14 November 1975, under the terms of which all the powers formerly exercised by the colonial authorities in the Territory were handed back to Morocco after negotiations, which had been called for by the Security Council of the United Nations.

164. When they were subsequently given the opportunity, the population of the Territory of Río de Oro gave free, spontaneous and impressive expression, in the presence of numerous observers and within sight and hearing of representatives of the international press, to their overwhelming desire to join the fatherland. They officially confirmed this when the representatives of the Territory declared their attachment and loyalty to the Moroccan State by taking the oath of allegiance to His Majesty King Hassan II, the King of Morocco.

165. Having recovered its territorial unity, for which it strove and fought so long and for which it suffered so much at the hands of the colonialists, Morocco once again declares that it is still ready to make any sacrifice—however costly—to protect and defend its regained territorial integrity since, for every member of the Moroccan people, this is a sacrosanct issue and a matter of destiny on which there can be no going back and no bargaining.

166. We are deeply and utterly convinced of the justice and legitimacy of our cause. However, our firm resolve to defend our rights in no way means that we shall turn a deaf ear to the call of peace, since Morocco has always been an advocate of peace. We have often given proof of our full willingness to seek peace and ways of reaching a mutual understanding even with those who contest our right to recover our territorial integrity and who incite their agents to create a fictitious, artificial entity intended to constitute a focal-point of tension and instability in the region.

167. As an expression of Morocco's desire to overcome this fabricated problem, His Majesty King Hassan II, the King of Morocco, in a letter addressed to the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] on 28 August 1979, proposed the holding of a summit conference of Heads of State and Government of the countries bordering the Sahara, with a view to examining the measures to be taken for the achievement of co-ordinated and joint economic development in keeping with the aspirations of its peoples and for the benefit of all the inhabitants of the greater Saharan region, since the Sahara—as we have already indicated—is not confined to what used to be known as the Western Sahara, which was occupied by Spain, but extends from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea.

168. In taking this initiative, Morocco is eager to make its position absolutely clear right from the start. This proposal does not involve prevarication and is not intended to be an ephemeral, *ad hoc* proposal, vaguely conceived and hedged with doubts. We say here quite clearly that the Sahara, which was under Spanish administration and which is an integral part of Morocco, has been united definitively with the motherland in a final and definitive manner from which there is no going back.

169. Our proposal is aimed at overcoming the spurious, artificial problem, which was created regarding the question of the Sahara, and calls for a future solution based on sound and true mutual co-operation.

170. We address this call for co-operation to the countries bordering on the Sahara. This vast sea of barren sand has always been a meeting ground for neighbouring countries and has never formed a barrier between them. Trade between these bordering countries flourished throughout the ages prior to the colonial expansion, and the inhabitants of this region were linked by solid bonds and ties of ethnic, cultural, religious and economic relations until the advent of the colonial age, when these links were severed. We must now re-establish these links in the interest of the population of the region as a whole and within the framework of a comprehensive view of the future. Hence, in his proposal to the current Chairman of the OAU, His Majesty King Hassan II made the following point:

“You will undoubtedly share our view that Africa is currently passing through a crucial stage in its quest for true economic and political emancipation. Instead of dissipating our endeavours and our meager resources, both human and material, in an effort to solve spurious problems, we feel that it is necessary to devote ourselves fully to work which will ensure the harmonious development of Africa and a more comfortable life in keeping with the aspirations of all Africans.

“In this perspective, and in order to co-ordinate our endeavours, we believe that a summit conference, held under your chairmanship, and with the participation of Heads of State and Government of the countries bordering on the Sahara and of the esteemed members of the Committee of Wise Men, would constitute an effective contribution to the quest for this economic emancipation for which we all hope. If we pool our human and material resources and set as a fundamental objective the general prosperity of our continent within a context of mutual assistance and fraternal co-operation, we will have proved to the whole world that we are able to manage our own affairs in a clear-sighted and perspicacious manner.”

171. His Majesty also proposed that these countries should jointly formulate a plan that would enable landlocked countries such as Mali, Niger and Chad to have access to sea ports as a necessary benefit. In His Majesty's own words:

“We would thus also be able to jointly formulate a policy based on the right to utilize the sea. Such a right will be of vital importance for life and for the supply of food after the year 2000, yet many countries bordering on the Sahara are deprived of this right as a

result of their land-locked position in the centre of our continent.”

172. In addition to achieving fruitful co-operation and numerous other commendable benefits and banishing the spectre of tension and confrontation from this region, this initiative is conducive to the achievement of many other advantages, the beneficial effects of which would be even more far-reaching.

173. One of the aims of the OAU is the promotion and encouragement of co-operation among its members in all fields throughout the continent, beginning at the regional and local level, because this is the natural and practical way to achieve general continental co-operation.

174. This initiative on the part of Morocco offers a practical plan for co-operation within the framework of the African co-operation plan which is being promoted by our African organization.

175. In another broader context, this initiative might represent a connecting link that could give positive, concrete form to African-Arab co-operation and provide new scope for joint and fruitful action, since it is common knowledge that one of the main objectives of the Declaration on Afro-Arab Co-operation<sup>15</sup> was to urge and encourage the Arab and African States to implement as many joint projects as possible in order to strengthen and consolidate their mutual co-operation. To that end, a special committee was established, called the Standing Commission on Afro-Arab Co-operation, of which Morocco and most of the African countries concerned with this initiative are members. Consequently, this initiative will open up new vistas for African-Arab co-operation in a region which has until now been neglected.

176. This initiative could also be placed in a wider geographical context in which inter-African and African-Arab co-operation would eventually benefit from the results of European-Arab co-operation achieved through the European-Arab dialogue. If this Moroccan initiative is faithfully implemented, it will turn this region into a natural meeting-point for such tripartite co-operation in which capital from one party would participate side by side with technical expertise from another party in the profitable development of the region's resources for the benefit and general good of the population of the region as a whole.

177. This initiative is in total harmony with the concept of co-operation between the African, Arab and European communities which was highly extolled by the President of the Republic of the Sudan, the former Chairman of the OAU. Indeed, it provides a practical opportunity for the implementation and realization of this concept in a tangible manner.

178. This initiative is aimed, above all, at endowing inter-African co-operation with a lofty significance so that it can stand as a model and a shining example of assistance to help the land-locked countries of the region obtain the right of access to the sea, which could be of considerable benefit to them.

179. In short, this initiative is intended to turn this

region into a region of peace and mutual understanding instead of allowing it to remain a theatre of confrontation and tension. As already indicated, it would thus achieve the aims of many regional organizations and institutions in addition to one of the noble objectives for which our Organization is striving, namely the strengthening of international co-operation.

180. This initiative would bring prosperity and development to tens of millions of people who have so often been the victims of natural disasters such as drought, and would help to mobilize abilities and resources to put an end to the misery, disease, illiteracy and ignorance which are the distressing symptoms of backwardness.

181. In view of the importance and broad scope of this initiative, Morocco is submitting it to the OAU, the United Nations, the League of Arab States, the Islamic Conference, the European Common Market and the FAO.

182. In so doing, Morocco is offering to the world a sincere and living example of true co-operation and firm solidarity for which it is striving in the interests of the peoples of the region at a time when the world is deluged with narrow-minded selfishness, controversies, doctrinal disputes, interference in the affairs of others and armed aggression.

183. The international economic situation is still a matter of grave concern to us since the gap between the wealthy and the poorer nations of the world is increasing at a time when we had hoped that it would be narrowed or closed.

184. This situation has caused most of the poorer nations—and the majority of them are African countries—to lose hope of ever escaping from the clutches of economic backwardness.

185. Although the international community has realized the extreme urgency of bringing about a radical and thorough change in international economic relations, the lack of political will on the part of the industrialized nations for the establishment of a new international economic order still constitutes a stumbling-block against which the hopes that most of the countries of the world entertain regarding the establishment of such an order have been shattered. This can clearly be seen in the failure of the North-South dialogue to achieve the desired results.

186. The new international economic order has become a necessary alternative to the currently prevailing system of economic prejudice and injustice, especially since the principle of international integration and interdependence has become a self-evident reality in economic relations among States.

187. It is truly distressing for us to see the industrialized nations resorting to subterfuge, hiding behind the walls of economic protectionism and turning a deaf ear to the developing countries' appeals for aid and assistance. Those nations should realize that the basic interest of their peoples lies in the abandonment of the old economic order and in agreeing to make economic relations more democratic.

188. We are still living in a world in which the main

<sup>15</sup> See document A/32/61, annex III.

fulfilling a desire they had long expressed under colonial rule by the resistance operations in which they had engaged in full co-operation with their Moroccan brethren in the north. On 26 February 1976, those inhabitants gave a clear, free and honest expression of their desire to join the homeland through their local representative council which, in the presence and with the participation of the then administering Power, took its historic decision to keep the Territory within the framework of the Moroccan State.

163. This free expression was a true and faithful implementation of General Assembly resolution 3458 B (XXX) of 10 December 1975 concerning this matter. It is well known that this resolution confirmed the tripartite agreement concluded at Madrid on 14 November 1975, under the terms of which all the powers formerly exercised by the colonial authorities in the Territory were handed back to Morocco after negotiations, which had been called for by the Security Council of the United Nations.

164. When they were subsequently given the opportunity, the population of the Territory of Río de Oro gave free, spontaneous and impressive expression, in the presence of numerous observers and within sight and hearing of representatives of the international press, to their overwhelming desire to join the fatherland. They officially confirmed this when the representatives of the Territory declared their attachment and loyalty to the Moroccan State by taking the oath of allegiance to His Majesty King Hassan II, the King of Morocco.

165. Having recovered its territorial unity, for which it strove and fought so long and for which it suffered so much at the hands of the colonialists, Morocco once again declares that it is still ready to make any sacrifice—however costly—to protect and defend its regained territorial integrity since, for every member of the Moroccan people, this is a sacrosanct issue and a matter of destiny on which there can be no going back and no bargaining.

166. We are deeply and utterly convinced of the justice and legitimacy of our cause. However, our firm resolve to defend our rights in no way means that we shall turn a deaf ear to the call of peace, since Morocco has always been an advocate of peace. We have often given proof of our full willingness to seek peace and ways of reaching a mutual understanding even with those who contest our right to recover our territorial integrity and who incite their agents to create a fictitious, artificial entity intended to constitute a focal-point of tension and instability in the region.

167. As an expression of Morocco's desire to overcome this fabricated problem, His Majesty King Hassan II, the King of Morocco, in a letter addressed to the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] on 28 August 1979, proposed the holding of a summit conference of Heads of State and Government of the countries bordering the Sahara, with a view to examining the measures to be taken for the achievement of co-ordinated and joint economic development in keeping with the aspirations of its peoples and for the benefit of all the inhabitants of the greater Saharan region, since the Sahara—as we have already indicated—is not confined to what used to be known as the Western Sahara, which was occupied by Spain, but extends from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea.

168. In taking this initiative, Morocco is eager to make its position absolutely clear right from the start. This proposal does not involve prevarication and is not intended to be an ephemeral, *ad hoc* proposal, vaguely conceived and hedged with doubts. We say here quite clearly that the Sahara, which was under Spanish administration and which is an integral part of Morocco, has been united definitively with the motherland in a final and definitive manner from which there is no going back.

169. Our proposal is aimed at overcoming the spurious, artificial problem, which was created regarding the question of the Sahara, and calls for a future solution based on sound and true mutual co-operation.

170. We address this call for co-operation to the countries bordering on the Sahara. This vast sea of barren sand has always been a meeting ground for neighbouring countries and has never formed a barrier between them. Trade between these bordering countries flourished throughout the ages prior to the colonial expansion, and the inhabitants of this region were linked by solid bonds and ties of ethnic, cultural, religious and economic relations until the advent of the colonial age, when these links were severed. We must now re-establish these links in the interest of the population of the region as a whole and within the framework of a comprehensive view of the future. Hence, in his proposal to the current Chairman of the OAU, His Majesty King Hassan II made the following point:

“You will undoubtedly share our view that Africa is currently passing through a crucial stage in its quest for true economic and political emancipation. Instead of dissipating our endeavours and our meager resources, both human and material, in an effort to solve spurious problems, we feel that it is necessary to devote ourselves fully to work which will ensure the harmonious development of Africa and a more comfortable life in keeping with the aspirations of all Africans.

“In this perspective, and in order to co-ordinate our endeavours, we believe that a summit conference, held under your chairmanship, and with the participation of Heads of State and Government of the countries bordering on the Sahara and of the esteemed members of the Committee of Wise Men, would constitute an effective contribution to the quest for this economic emancipation for which we all hope. If we pool our human and material resources and set as a fundamental objective the general prosperity of our continent within a context of mutual assistance and fraternal co-operation, we will have proved to the whole world that we are able to manage our own affairs in a clear-sighted and perspicacious manner.”

171. His Majesty also proposed that these countries should jointly formulate a plan that would enable land-locked countries such as Mali, Niger and Chad to have access to sea ports as a necessary benefit. In His Majesty's own words:

“We would thus also be able to jointly formulate a policy based on the right to utilize the sea. Such a right will be of vital importance for life and for the supply of food after the year 2000, yet many countries bordering on the Sahara are deprived of this right as a

result of their land-locked position in the centre of our continent.”

172. In addition to achieving fruitful co-operation and numerous other commendable benefits and banishing the spectre of tension and confrontation from this region, this initiative is conducive to the achievement of many other advantages, the beneficial effects of which would be even more far-reaching.

173. One of the aims of the OAU is the promotion and encouragement of co-operation among its members in all fields throughout the continent, beginning at the regional and local level, because this is the natural and practical way to achieve general continental co-operation.

174. This initiative on the part of Morocco offers a practical plan for co-operation within the framework of the African co-operation plan which is being promoted by our African organization.

175. In another broader context, this initiative might represent a connecting link that could give positive, concrete form to African-Arab co-operation and provide new scope for joint and fruitful action, since it is common knowledge that one of the main objectives of the Declaration on Afro-Arab Co-operation<sup>15</sup> was to urge and encourage the Arab and African States to implement as many joint projects as possible in order to strengthen and consolidate their mutual co-operation. To that end, a special committee was established, called the Standing Commission on Afro-Arab Co-operation, of which Morocco and most of the African countries concerned with this initiative are members. Consequently, this initiative will open up new vistas for African-Arab co-operation in a region which has until now been neglected.

176. This initiative could also be placed in a wider geographical context in which inter-African and African-Arab co-operation would eventually benefit from the results of European-Arab co-operation achieved through the European-Arab dialogue. If this Moroccan initiative is faithfully implemented, it will turn this region into a natural meeting-point for such tripartite co-operation in which capital from one party would participate side by side with technical expertise from another party in the profitable development of the region's resources for the benefit and general good of the population of the region as a whole.

177. This initiative is in total harmony with the concept of co-operation between the African, Arab and European communities which was highly extolled by the President of the Republic of the Sudan, the former Chairman of the OAU. Indeed, it provides a practical opportunity for the implementation and realization of this concept in a tangible manner.

178. This initiative is aimed, above all, at endowing inter-African co-operation with a lofty significance so that it can stand as a model and a shining example of assistance to help the land-locked countries of the region obtain the right of access to the sea, which could be of considerable benefit to them.

179. In short, this initiative is intended to turn this

region into a region of peace and mutual understanding instead of allowing it to remain a theatre of confrontation and tension. As already indicated, it would thus achieve the aims of many regional organizations and institutions in addition to one of the noble objectives for which our Organization is striving, namely the strengthening of international co-operation.

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requirements are security, tranquillity, economic self-sufficiency, respect for the dignity and humanity of mankind and the avoidance of the evils and afflictions of wars from which so many have suffered as a result of the failure to listen to the voice of reason and wisdom.

189. Morocco is once again endeavouring to help to create a better political and social climate for the inhabitants of its region by calling for fraternal, local co-operation in which hands and minds can join together for the general good in order to build, develop

and improve by turning away from the sources of enmity and the evils of war.

190. The promotion of local neighbourliness is a first step towards reconciliation among nations and greater mutual love and respect among mankind, which would enable the human race to devote its energies to building a better and happier life in which brotherliness, prosperity, progress and dignity would prevail.

*The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.*