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

**Address by Mr. Mohamed M'Zali, Prime Minister of the Republic of Tunisia**

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning the Assembly will hear a statement by the Prime Minister of Tunisia. I have great pleasure in welcoming Mr. Mohamed M'Zali and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. M'ZALI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Before telling you how pleased I am to address you from this rostrum, I should like to extend the congratulations of my country, Tunisia, to you, Mr. President, on your unanimous election as President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. We know with what distinction you have for many years represented your country, the Federal Republic of Germany, and we are convinced that under your leadership the work of this session will be crowned with success.

3. We should also like to express our admiration and pride at the major achievements of your African predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, who presided over the work of the thirty-fourth session and the three special sessions with impartiality, skill and admirable effectiveness.

4. I must emphasize with what admiration and respect we in Tunisia follow the efforts of Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, in the service of the Organization and the principles of the Charter. I had occasion in Tunisia to confer with him on the major problems facing the international community, and I admired the wisdom and dedication that he brought to bear in his search for a just and equitable solution to those problems.

5. I am grateful to him for having suggested, on the occasion of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Organization, that I come and address the Assembly, thereby giving me an opportunity to discuss our approach to the major problems

of the day, which constitute the back drop of the long agenda that has been assigned to the Assembly at this session.

6. Tunisia's interest in the work of the United Nations is not new. My President, the Supreme Commander, Habib Bourguiba, has on two occasions addressed the Assembly. The first time was in November 1956,<sup>1</sup> just a few months after independence and only a few days after our admission to membership in the Organization. The second time was in May 1968,<sup>2</sup> when he assessed the distance that the Organization had covered in moving towards universality, which made it possible for the Organization to make room for the new countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, representing peoples which only recently had acquired freedom and dignity.

7. I should like today to offer to all peace-loving peoples of good will the greetings of President Habib Bourguiba, who continues to watch over Tunisia and guide us towards economic and social development in democracy and freedom.

8. I take special pleasure in addressing the Assembly, which, having now almost achieved universality, truly represents the entire world. It is not the least of the achievements of the United Nations that it has succeeded in surviving the past eventful 35 years. During this period the world has been transformed and has seen the emergence on the international scene of millions of people who until recently had been exploited by colonialism but who today are standing on their own feet, proud and determined to be recognized for what they are, men.

9. We would remind the many critics of the Organization that the problems of the day are world-wide and therefore complex, and require constant collective consideration, in a manner which only the United Nations makes possible. During the past 35 years the United Nations has gradually given collective effort a meaning, a scope and even a certain effectiveness never before known.

10. In spite of the present state of international relations and the crisis in various parts of the world, no one can deny that the basic tenets of the Charter, advocated and reaffirmed by the United Nations, continue to be our guiding light, because of their moral weight and realism, as we seek solutions to all the problems of the world.

11. That is why we want to see in the United Nations humanism in action. The Organization must pursue and

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, 590th meeting, paras. 167-197.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *Twenty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1658th meeting, paras. 2-24.

speed up the forward march of mankind, in which we must be at the same time witnesses, guarantors and participants. It is the role of the United Nations to be the conscience of mankind, thereby justifying the hopes that untold millions of human beings have placed in it. That is an immense responsibility but one which is not beyond the capacity of nations and peoples which cherish freedom, justice and peace.

12. The past achievements of the Organization in the area of human rights encourage optimism. In less than one third of a century it has developed a unique system of protection which it constantly extends and improves. To this its creativity and sense of justice have rightly been fully and willingly devoted.

13. The Charter of the United Nations, the various Conventions against all forms of discrimination, racial and otherwise, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* and the many declarations and principles attest to the productivity and broad-mindedness of the Organization.

14. Now you are hard at work on a convention against torture. I wish to take this opportunity to express the firm and unreserved support of my country, which considers that torture is a disgrace in our time, especially since it avails itself of the most sophisticated and refined developments in medicine, psychology, chemistry and science in general. I trust that your work here will move rapidly ahead and that this convention will soon be opened for ratification by Member States and then become the instrument protecting human dignity which so many are anxiously awaiting.

15. Things are, of course, far from perfect in the area of human rights, but the efforts that have been made and the results achieved are heartening.

16. Perhaps we cannot say as much for the North-South dialogue, which was intended to bring about a new world order in all areas, primarily in the economic field. It was to be an order based on justice and equity, on a better balance, and therefore more in keeping with today's realities and better able to meet the needs of today's world and to bring about real solutions to the crisis and disorder reigning everywhere, both in the North and in the South.

17. Turning, in particular, to the new international economic order, progress, such as it is, has been slow. That order had, however, been clearly defined in General Assembly texts. Its content, clear and precise, is based on what was to be a common philosophy, one of interdependence.

18. Recent developments in the North-South dialogue are, in our opinion, particularly dangerous and a source of concern to those who fear methods of confrontation and believe in the virtues of a meeting of the minds in finding just and satisfactory solutions to the many structural and other difficulties confronting the world.

19. Is it not a fact that the courageous attempts of the developing countries to convince the international community of the need to launch global negotiations on the more crucial problems have encountered procedural obstacles as

unnecessary as they are harmful? Those responsible for the deadlock at the conclusion of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly seem to be resigned to the risk of causing the failure of an historic initiative, an opportunity that may be unique in reviving the dialogue after the many setbacks that we have all experienced.

20. I have stressed the North-South aspect of the problems of the world, because, in our opinion, that is the dimension which promises most for a satisfactory development of international relations. As we focused all our efforts on these frustrating exchanges, we were more or less convinced that the problems between the East and the West had become somewhat less acute and that genuine détente was about to replace mere peaceful coexistence and to usher in an era of co-operation. Unfortunately, we have now been witnessing a new form of cold war, which gives priority to problems of security, defence and armaments to the detriment of peace and development. I would place the grave crisis in Afghanistan in this general context. Tunisia's position on the matter is well known. It is the same position that has been taken on so many occasions by Islamic countries, namely that foreign troops must be withdrawn from the territory of that country, which must remain independent and non-aligned. The same atmosphere fraught with threats of a return to the cold war has prevented large-scale measures being taken to reduce the arms race. A consequence of that race between the major Powers, which manufacture expensive sophisticated weapons, has been an increase in the transfer of weapons to countries of the third world, thereby aggravating the crises afflicting them which, as we have seen once again, can turn into real, open and fratricidal warfare.

21. Let there be no mistake about it. No country is completely protected from the effects of a crisis. The distressing events that we have been witnessing—and here I refer to the conflict between Iran and Iraq, in connection with which we have expressed our great concern—cause us to fear the effect of that crisis on the prices of a product of paramount importance and show us once again how the whole world can be disrupted by a crisis of any scope at all. No procedural argument, no desire to maintain the institutional *status quo* can be allowed to conceal the primary importance for all countries, developed and developing, of establishing a sound and equitable basis for harmonious and balanced growth, and that is particularly true of countries of the third world.

22. Notwithstanding obstacles and failures, the North-South dialogue must continue. Each side must show restraint and realism and try not to give the other side the impression that its fundamental interests are being threatened. At the same time, we must all recognize and try to correct our own errors. In the third world, every country must make an effort to build a more just and democratic society. Tunisia, for its part, is trying to ensure that economic, social, and political development advance together, because it has certainly not been proved that economic advancement must necessarily come before a free and democratic society.

23. It is of overriding importance for us to fight at one and the same time against underdevelopment and against the dictatorship, arbitrary action and authoritarianism it sometimes produces.

24. The fight against underdevelopment clearly begins at home and the developing countries must first devote all their own means, and foremost among them their power, to that struggle. It has been said that power corrupts and that absolute power corrupts absolutely. In order to prevent that from happening, I consider that power, if it is to be just and legitimate, must be subject to moral standards, it must be controlled in many different ways by the people and it must be duly institutionalized. There is no legitimate power except within the limits of democracy. The true "Prince"—and I refer to a responsible government—is not a government that acts in accordance with its own whim and passing circumstances. Any government worthy of the name and worthy of the responsibilities of a "Prince" does not exercise power for the sake of power, but exercises power within the strict limits of justice, law and freedom, in a word, within the limits of democracy. It is also important to be able to leave the political arena as soon as one's actions cease to serve the interests of the people and the future of the masses. Power belongs to the people, naturally, absolutely and imprescriptibly.

25. Our developing countries will not be able to overcome the problems of underdevelopment if they devote a sizeable portion of their means to armaments, which are costly and useless since they make them ever more dependent on the suppliers and since, as experience has proved, they are never or practically never used against imperialism, but against other third world countries which then must arm themselves, to the detriment of their developmental efforts.

26. Having made that point, I now wish to say to the industrialized world that it cannot at one and the same time claim to respect great values—democracy, freedom and human rights—and attempt to defend its more exorbitant interests and intolerable privileges. How can certain Western countries reconcile those values with their tolerance for and even protection of the advocates of *apartheid* and zionism?

27. So many countries, so many political parties, so many companies and multinationals all get around United Nations measures and allow the racist hydra to prosper in South Africa and to survive at the price of inhuman opposition to millions of Africans who have committed no crime other than that of having black skin. That is something which exceeds our understanding.

28. The Zionist forces strive to extend their dominion by despoiling the Palestinian people, brazenly Judaizing Arab territories and, without due process, seizing the Holy City of Jerusalem, the city of peace, the sacred crossroads of all the revealed religions. Yet in spite of all those many acts, zionism still finds its unreserved defenders, unbelievable though it may seem. But what is even harder to believe is that the same countries, the same interests and the same circles that support Israel in its annexationist and expansionist policy, assist the racist régime in South Africa in its pseudo-theory of *apartheid* and hold up the North-South dialogue thus preventing those peoples who cherish progress, peace and freedom from realizing their legitimate aspirations.

29. The problem of the independence of Namibia has long received the unanimous support of the international community and yet there are some who still hesitate and pro-

crastinate. That speaks volumes regarding the causes of the weakness of the Organization, where the commitment of the strongest is always conditioned by considerations of the most narrow interests. But the basic requirements are the same for our partners and for ourselves. While involved collectively in disputes with those partners, we spark off conflicts in our own ranks which undermine our cohesiveness and wear away our credibility.

30. That is why we are deeply affected by the conflict that has just broken out in the heart of the Middle East between two fraternal neighbouring peoples which have had and indeed still have every reason to work together to help each other and to love each other.

31. The Security Council has expressed the deep concern which this conflict has aroused in the world and the Islamic Conference has brought us our first hope by offering our two brothers the path to conciliation and reconciliation.

32. We can only welcome that initiative and we praise the meritorious efforts of Mr. Zia-ul-Haq, the President of the Republic of Pakistan, and the efforts of Mr. Habib Chatti, the Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference, as they endeavour to go beyond the stage of confrontation and move towards a settlement on the basis of law and justice and on the basis of Islamic solidarity. We unreservedly support this mission of peace and we believe that its continuation represents for both Iran and Iraq, as well as for the international community, a chance for salvation.

33. The United Nations must bring its full weight to bear as it endeavours to ensure the success of this initiative which, in the spirit of the Charter, complements and strengthens the responsibilities incumbent upon the Security Council.

34. In a world where the interdependence of nations is becoming increasingly obvious, resort to narrow nationalism can only surprise us. The role of the United Nations is precisely to help us learn to live in freely assumed interdependence—and I am referring to interdependence among nations, interdependence among peoples, and solidarity among men, too. To our eyes the United Nations is politics in the service of law, it is the institution in the service of man and it is people coming together in the service of an idea.

35. On behalf of Tunisia and its President, our Supreme Commander, Habib Bourguiba, may I say that our country will spare no effort to help bring about the realization of the principles underlying the United Nations. As in the past, Tunisia will continue to give the Organization its help and support in a spirit of solidarity and fraternity with all men of good will. Our faithfulness to the United Nations is but faithfulness to ourselves, to our martyrs, and to our people's struggle for emancipation. We know what we owe the United Nations, and we shall always be conscious of it.

36. We Tunisians know that we must work in Tunisia for the triumph of the ideals of the Organization. Our accomplishments under the leadership of President Bourguiba in the liberation of man and the emancipation of women—in connection with which we wish to express our great pride that during the United Nations Decade for Women the work of the National Union of Tunisian Women was

honoured by the award of the United Nations Human Rights Prize, which crowned the magnificent activities of President Bourguiba—as well as what we have done to fight hunger, malnutrition and sickness, to educate our girls and boys, to endow our country with democratic institutions, and to ensure that liberty and dignity shall not be vain words or mere slogans all give us reason for satisfaction. But we know that we still have much to do, and that what we have to do must be done in a world of peace and concord and, above all, in perfect harmony with the great communities to which we belong—the Arab-Islamic community, the African community, the third world, of which we are an integral part, and, last but certainly by no means least, this human family that this Organization, our Organization, reflects so well.

37. In conclusion I wish to express anew Tunisia's full confidence in the United Nations, in its organs and in the Secretary-General to succeed in the difficult and untiring effort to promote peace in the world and understanding among men.

38. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly I thank Mr. M'Zali, Prime Minister of the Republic of Tunisia, for the important statement he has just made. On my own behalf I should like to thank him for the kind words he addressed to me and to my country.

39. Mr. AL-KHALIFA (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, I have the pleasure at the outset of offering you the warm congratulations of the State of Bahrain on the occasion of your election by acclamation to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

40. It gives me pleasure also to express my deepest appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, the Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, for the efforts and skill with which he guided the work of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the sixth and seventh emergency special sessions and the eleventh special session.

41. I should like, moreover, to convey to the Secretary-General our sincere appreciation of his ceaseless and tireless efforts in shouldering the duties and responsibilities entrusted to him by the General Assembly, foremost among them being promotion of the cause of international peace and co-operation. We thank him, too, for his report on the work of the Organization [A/35/1] and the international situation during this year, a valuable report which contains a comprehensive presentation of all current international issues and crises.

42. I take this opportunity also to welcome on behalf of the delegation of my country the admission of the two States of Zimbabwe and St. Vincent and the Grenadines to membership in the United Nations. Their admission to our family of nations is a step towards the universality of the Organization. We look forward to the day when we shall see the representatives of the people of Palestine and Namibia and other peoples in the world which are still under colonial domination, occupation and subjection sitting among us in this hall as full Members, in fulfilment of one of the objec-

tives of the Organization, namely, the universality of its membership.

43. Each year we meet here to review together the events of the world in general. We ought at this session, now that we are at the threshold of the 1980s and 35 years after the establishment of the United Nations, of which the commemorative day falls on 24 October, to pause and reflect on the achievements of the United Nations throughout the past years. Has the Organization accomplished the principal aims and purposes for which it was established, particularly the maintenance of international peace and security?

44. The United Nations, after 35 years of existence, has practically attained the objective of universality. It now includes 154 States representing all the corners of the globe. It has become a true symbol of mutual co-operation among States and peoples of various political, economic and social systems.

45. Nevertheless, it has failed to achieve its principal aims and purposes concerning the maintenance of international peace and security and the satisfaction of the aspirations and ambitions of the peoples of the world.

46. Thirty-five years after the establishment of the United Nations, the cause of international peace and security is still in danger. The arms race among States is still at its peak, not for lawful self-defence but to threaten the independence and sovereignty of other States, and even threaten the annihilation of the human race by various destructive methods. Poor States are still getting poorer and rich States richer. Hunger, poverty and ignorance are threatening the lives of millions of people.

47. The future of the world at the beginning of the 1980s seems to be dim, politically and economically. Most States are increasing their armaments feverishly. We see in every part of the world sparks of armed conflict emitted, which, if allowed to continue and spread, could at any moment set the whole world ablaze. This was clear in the first months of this year, when we noticed a real deterioration in the relations between the two super-Powers, endangering the international atmosphere. We, as a small State in one of the most sensitive regions of the world, feel deeply concerned at the course that events are taking between the two super-Powers. Recurrent political events are causing smouldering hotbeds of conflict to threaten the world with real disaster. The turbulent situation in the Middle East, Indo-China, Afghanistan and southern Africa and the course of events in Latin America and Europe have caused the escalation of the cold war between East and West. The cold war would have turned into a real war but for the self-restraint shown by some leaders.

48. The two super-Powers seem to be competing to implement their policies of world domination, particularly as regards the third world. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, for example, has exposed our region and the whole world to incalculable and unpredictable dangers. It may not be an overstatement to say that current international tensions are very similar to the stormy conditions which preceded the outbreak of the Second World War, owing to the dangerous ventures of some great Powers. If a third world war breaks out, it will no doubt lead to the annihilation of the human

race and the transformation of the world into a complete nuclear desert.

49. We are now at the beginning of the 1980s. A new mode of relations among States is needed. The time has come for us to rid ourselves of old thoughts that govern our action and behaviour. War by proxy among the great Powers waged in the third world has to be discontinued now. We consider that the most important element for the creation of an international atmosphere of confidence is the observance of equitable relations among States. Such relations should be based on respect for the principles of the Charter, particularly mutual respect among States for each other's independence, sovereignty, integrity and security and the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other States. We have explained on more than one occasion and in more than one forum that détente is not confined to Europe; it is indivisible and inseparable and should extend to the whole world. It cannot be confined within Europe, away from developments in other parts of the world. We should never forget that the responsibility for world peace and security is no longer the exclusive right or monopoly of the great Powers alone; it is the collective responsibility of all States, large or small.

50. International peace and security in many parts of the world is at the crossroads, particularly since the world, and especially the world's hotbeds of tension such as the Middle East, has become the scene of recurrent explosive events.

51. The critical situation in our area is a source of worry. The indications are that the continuance of the dispute between Iraq and Iran at the present level of intensity may cause the situation to take a dangerous turn which would have serious effects on peace and security, not only in our region but in the whole world. Therefore we support the appeals addressed to both parties for self-restraint and a cease-fire and to resort to negotiations and respond to the good offices of the Islamic Conference. We welcome the recent decision of the Republic of Iraq to observe a cease-fire.

52. The events taking place in the Middle East have attracted the overwhelming attention of the community of nations, especially after the intensification of the savage and racist Zionist aggression against the Palestinian people. The convening of the General Assembly this year in the seventh emergency special session to consider the question of Palestine and the series of meetings held by the Security Council to consider the explosive situation in the occupied Arab lands are clear proof of the dangerous situation in the area. Israel has built more settlements on occupied Arab lands. It has intensified its measures of oppression, persecution and torture against the inhabitants of the occupied lands and wiped out the Arab heritage of such lands, especially in the Holy City of Jerusalem.

53. The West Bank has been the scene throughout this year of wide national uprisings against Zionist tyranny. The Zionist authorities have met such rejectionist national uprisings by increased measures of oppression and terrorism, in order to Judaize the occupied territories and empty them of their occupants and impose the so-called plan of self-rule on the Palestinians. This plan has been strongly rejected by all the Palestinian people. This has driven the Zionist occupy-

ing authorities to deport three eminent persons from the West Bank and refuse their return to the occupied territories, contrary to resolutions 468 (1980) and 469 (1980) in which the Security Council ordered their return to their homeland. The occupying authorities have continued their repressive and savage measures against eminent national personalities who oppose their occupation and the plan for the liquidation of the Palestinian cause through the Camp David agreements. This has been clearly proved by the attempted assassination of three of the mayors in the West Bank, which resulted in the infliction of grievous bodily harm on them. The international community has expressed its great concern at the explosive situation in the region because of Israel's tightening grip on the inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

54. The situation in the Middle East is passing through a very dangerous and delicate stage because Israel is increasing its challenge by declaring the annexation of Jerusalem as the permanent capital of Israel, thereby flouting Security Council resolutions 476 (1980) and 478 (1980) and General Assembly resolution ES-7/2. The decision of Israel to annex Jerusalem is a grave violation of the principles of the United Nations and its resolutions.

55. The refusal of the international community to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel is a clear indication of the awakening of the conscience of the international community, as Jerusalem is an indivisible part of occupied Palestinian lands. The Zionist annexation of the Holy City involves a radical change in the religious and spiritual nature and status of the city since it threatens the political, human and spiritual rights not only of the Palestinian people but of all Moslems and Christians in the world.

56. Security Council resolution 478 (1980) of 20 August 1980 is of the utmost importance as the first resolution with which most Member States have complied, in conformity with law and justice and the principles of the Charter. Even the closest friends and allies of Israel could not stand by its side on this issue but preferred to be neutral, so as to avoid being accused of acting contrary to justice or condoning the breach of the principles of the Charter. Israel has thus become politically isolated on this issue.

57. We offer in this forum our compliments to the States which have transferred their embassies from Jerusalem in accordance with Security Council resolution 478 (1980). We should like to emphasize in this connection that if all Member States had complied with all the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, Israel would not have been able to challenge the principles of the United Nations and ignore its resolutions on Palestine and the Middle East. We appeal to the world, represented in the Assembly, to move quickly in order to save Jerusalem from the claws of Zionist domination. We also call upon the Security Council to face up to its responsibility to maintain the principles of the United Nations by imposing on Israel the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter to compel it to evacuate all occupied Arab lands, including Jerusalem.

58. There is no doubt that the assistance and support given to Israel by some States, particularly the United States, have encouraged it to challenge and ignore the United Nations

resolutions and proceed with its evil plans to annex Jerusalem and the occupied Palestinian and Arab lands. Such States, by their blind support of Israel, are in fact and in truth acting contrary to the United Nations principles, binding on them under the Charter, which prohibit categorically the occupation of land by the use of force.

59. The aim of Israel, by geographical expansion through the annexation of Jerusalem and the building of more settlements under the pretext of security, is first and last the annexation of the whole of Palestine and the dismissal of its inhabitants. Jewish settlement has been and still is one of the principal policies of consecutive Israeli Governments since 1967. We challenge Israel to declare before the General Assembly its adherence to and respect for the principle of non-acquisition of territories by force, as provided in Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter, and its readiness to evacuate all occupied Arab lands under a just and durable peace in the region.

60. It has become internationally indisputable today that the Palestine question is the core of the dispute in the Middle East and that without the just and durable resolution of the question of Palestine and the Palestinian people, there will be no peace or stability in the area. It has become clear that no just and durable peace can be reached in the Middle East under the umbrella of the Camp David agreements and the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty. The way to peace planned by the Camp David agreements between Egypt and Israel has reached a dead end. An opportunity should be given to the United Nations, as the natural and appropriate body to find a comprehensive, just and durable solution to the dispute in the Middle East, in which all parties concerned participate, including the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], which is supported by the masses of the Palestinian people and the majority of the States of the world.

61. Therefore we should like to reaffirm that to be successful any peaceful attempts to establish a comprehensive, just and durable peace in the Middle East must, in our opinion, be based on certain essential elements: namely, the complete evacuation of Israeli forces from all Arab lands occupied since 1967, including Arab Jerusalem, and the granting to the Palestinian people of their legitimate and inalienable rights, including their right to return home and to self-determination and the establishment of an independent State in their homeland. They should be allowed to participate in any discussion of this question on an equal basis with all parties to the dispute in the Middle East. Accordingly, Bahrain welcomes any initiative or step towards the solution of the Middle East problem in conformity with these just principles, provided that no harm is done to the rights of the Palestinian people or other Arab States whose lands are occupied. We call upon this international Organization, which bears a special responsibility to the Palestinian people, to help and assist them and support their struggle against Zionist occupation, so that they may recover their legitimate and inalienable rights, which have been repeatedly and frequently recognized by the United Nations and the States of the world.

62. Reference should be made here to the development of events in the sister country of Lebanon. The situation in the south of Lebanon has been very serious this year. That

country has been exposed to Israeli attacks which violate all international rules and agreements.

63. Events have proved the true nature of Israel since its implantation by force in the Middle East; it has been revealed as an agglomeration of imperialist, racist, settler and expansionist people who cannot live in the area without the use of force against surrounding countries. The repeated attacks and military raids waged by Israel all over Lebanon without provocation are a dangerous phenomenon which cannot be condoned, nor can they be explained except on the assumption that Israel is a racist entity which lives on expansion and aggression.

64. A question which we would like to pose before the Assembly is, when will the Security Council stop moving in a circle of resolutions condemning the repeated savage military attacks waged by the Israeli forces against Lebanon and the United Nations Forces, resolutions that Israel has always violated with impunity? We call upon the international community to support Lebanon and stand by the Lebanese people against the Israeli challenges aimed at the weakening of Lebanon, the exhaustion of its economic capabilities and its disintegration as an entity.

65. The critical situation in Afghanistan is no less serious than the situation in the Middle East. The convening of the General Assembly in the sixth emergency special session at the beginning of this year under resolution 377 (V), the "Uniting for Peace" resolution, to discuss the explosive situation in Afghanistan is a clear indication of the extent of the seriousness of the situation.

66. We have explained on more than one occasion that we are against all kinds of pressure and all forms of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and all acts of aggression, whether from East or West. We therefore have condemned the Soviet invasion of the non-aligned Moslem country as being an outrageous violation of all international norms and rules and the principles of the Charter. The international community has expressed in General Assembly resolution ES-6/2 its great concern and displeasure at what happened in Afghanistan.

67. We consider that calm and peace will return to Afghanistan only upon the complete withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan, through respect for its sovereignty and integrity as a non-aligned country and non-intervention in its domestic affairs, and only if the people of Afghanistan are allowed to determine for themselves their form of government and their economic, political and social system, without foreign interference.

68. In South Africa, the white minority régime still pursues its policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination by imposing unjust discriminatory laws against the black majority in that country. This has led again this year to mass outbursts of anger and exasperation. The time has come for the racist régime in South Africa to realize that the international community will not stand by, with its arms folded, in face of the open challenges of South Africa to the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

69. The rejection by the racist régime in South Africa of the proposal contained in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) for setting in motion the process for peace and independence in Namibia calls for our condemnation and inspires disgust. Therefore, we support the call for the imposition of mandatory sanctions on the South African régime under Chapter VII of the Charter in order to compel it to abide by and comply with the United Nations resolutions and the will of the international community which it has always disregarded.

70. The hopes that were pinned on the eleventh special session of the General Assembly devoted to international development and co-operation have been frustrated, particularly as more than six years have passed since the Assembly, at its sixth special session, adopted the Declaration on the New International Economic Order and Programme of Action [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*]. Since that Declaration, lengthy and difficult negotiations have taken place between North and South at various levels, within and outside the framework of the United Nations, for the establishment of the new economic order on just and equitable grounds. These negotiations have regrettably not been successful, owing to the uncompromising attitude of the developed countries. The fact that the Assembly at the eleventh special session failed to arrive at an agreement should not shake our determination to find solutions to the pending issues within the framework of the United Nations, and particularly to reach agreement on the procedures and agenda for the global negotiations.

71. Despite the accomplishments of the United Nations over the past years in various fields the road before it is still long, rough and difficult and a lot of effort and sacrifice are required on the part of the peoples and Governments of Member States in order to support the creative role of the Organization in confronting the challenges of this age. We therefore hope that at this session resolutions will emerge which will correspond to the responsibilities and challenges facing our world and satisfy the great hopes and aspirations which peoples and Governments place on the United Nations.

72. For our part, we reaffirm that the State of Bahrain will spare no effort to contribute effectively and positively to the work at this session to the attainment of such noble goals. We would also like on the occasion of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the entry into force of the Charter to reiterate Bahrain's adherence to the principles of the Charter and to declare our great confidence in this international Organization, which has frequently attempted and achieved solutions to the serious problems facing our world today.

73. Mr. HAMMADI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the Iraqi delegation, I should like to express to you, Mr. President, our congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. I am convinced that thanks to your wisdom and great competence, at this session the Assembly will achieve fruitful and constructive results.

74. I should also like to express our thanks and appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, who carried out his duties with excellent ability and competence during the thirty-fourth session, as well as during the sixth

and seventh emergency special sessions and the eleventh special session.

75. Iraq has been one of the staunchest adherents of the policy of non-alignment, which is based on the principles of non-interference in internal affairs, respect for the national sovereignty of all States and the preservation of peace and security in the world. In addition, our foreign policy does not tolerate any interference in the independence of Iraq and the Arab countries, or in our sovereignty, territorial integrity and internal affairs in any form, of any origin or on any pretext whatsoever. In adhering to these principles in its non-aligned foreign policy, Iraq proceeds from a profound need and a long national and pan-Arab experience in this regard.

76. Any disequilibrium in the bases of balance in State relations would certainly impair the rights and sovereignty of one side in favour of another. In order to avoid this phenomenon, which has often led to tension and crisis, it is imperative to found international co-operation on rules that aim at the achievement of common interests within the framework of respect for sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs. That is particularly true in the case of neighbouring States because the geographical reality imposes upon them a policy of good-neighbourliness.

77. In its relations with Iran, Iraq has adhered firmly to that policy, which is based on a number of realities that arise from the historical and religious ties between the peoples of Iraq and Iran. Our policy has always been and still is favourable to any factor that strengthens the relations between the two countries, avoids the outbreak of crisis and takes account of common interests. In this connection, while Iraq has fully understood its international responsibility, at the same time it has not lost sight of its national sovereignty and pan-Arab duties as a part of the Arab nation.

78. The relations of Iraq with Iran have reached a grave crisis point because of the policies of successive régimes in Iran which have considered Iraq and the Arab homeland, particularly the Arab Gulf area, as a sphere for domination.

79. Those policies have been expressed in different forms appropriate to the particular exigencies of the time. During the rule of the Shah, arrogance, aggression, territorial expansion at the expense of others and attempts to harm Iraq's national sovereignty and the inalienable rights of the Arab nation were a constant pattern. Iraq and the Arab nation were regarded as a sphere of influence for the expansionist plans of Iranian interests. That policy has been followed throughout history by the "Persian State" against its neighbours.

80. When the revolution of 17 July 1968 took place in Iraq, Iraqi-Iranian relations experienced two rival phenomena. On the one hand, the Shah of Iran was being prepared, with great assistance from the West and in particular from the United States of America, to play the role of policeman in the region. On the other hand, the new régime in Iraq was struggling to build up a new society and for the consolidation of national independence.

81. Thus the Iranian régime found its policy of exerting pressure on others met with resistance from Iraq and it was

consequently necessary to destabilize Iraq. This began with a propaganda campaign in various forms, which was escalated to a political crisis coupled with a consistent and continuous policy of interference in the internal affairs of Iraq, whether through the exportation of plots or the backing of rebellion.

82. The Shah at first began to consolidate Iran's territorial encroachments upon Iraq's land frontiers. Iranian border posts were pushed forward inside Iraqi territory and roads were opened between them in such a way as to include large areas of Iraqi lands inside Iran. All that was done with the support of military forces in order to impose those encroachments by force. Then the Shah began to demand changes in the frontier of the Shatt-al-Arab, contrary to the legal situation then prevailing. When that demand was met by Iraq's refusal, the Shah unilaterally terminated the Boundary Treaty of 1937. Then, in order to achieve his political aims and territorial demands, the Shah began to exert military pressure, directly and indirectly, thus abandoning the traditional means he had followed in the past to achieve his ambitions. He thought that by military means he could ensure the achievement of his expansionist aims and ambitions. So Iran committed its armed aggression against Iraqi border areas in central and southern Iraq in 1974, regarding which Iraq brought a complaint against Iran before the Security Council. A more dangerous step was exemplified by the broad co-operation which the Shah initiated with the reactionary secessionist rebellion in northern Iraq. He began to exercise a direct role in the field in order to dismember Iraq.

83. The Shah's support for the secessionist rebellion was limitless. He provided the reactionary leadership of the rebellion with huge quantities of modern and sophisticated armaments and put at its disposal all kinds of facilities—material, military and political, including the services of his advanced information system. In that respect, the Shah was like Israel, whose Prime Minister declared on 29 September 1980, as reported in *The New York Times* of the same day, that it had provided Barzani with weapons, equipment and instructors and provided the rebels with training from 1965 to 1975. Iraq, with its devoted sons from all sects, religions and national minorities, fought a vicious conflict against that agent clique and those who stood behind it. We were inspired by the honour of Iraq and the duty to defend the unity of our homeland. Our people made all the sacrifices required by the battle.

84. The military situation reached a dangerous point when the Shah advanced his military forces on numerous occasions to fight directly against our forces on various fronts with a view to supporting the military position of the agent rebellion. The situation reached a more dangerous level in relation to Iraq's capability when we were surprised by the October war of 1973, in which Iraq had inevitably to participate in consonance with its pan-Arab position and responsibilities.

85. In 1975, however, when the late President of Algeria, Houari Boumediène, took the initiative of communicating with Iraq and Iran and suggesting direct negotiations between them in Algiers regarding all their differences, Iraq

agreed to that initiative in the interests of preserving Iraq's security and national unity. Those negotiations met with success and resulted in the conclusion on 6 March 1975 of the Algiers Agreement, which represented a settlement. The political and juridical aspects were balanced in the agreement in a manner that made the impairment of any element thereof a violation of that balance and a reason for the total failure of the agreement. That was explicitly provided in paragraph 4 of the Agreement.

86. What follows logically from that Agreement is that in implementing it the two parties should have achieved the balanced gains that they had agreed upon. But what happened in fact was that Iran achieved a direct and instant gain as soon as the Algiers Agreement entered into force. Iran's position on the Shatt-al-Arab became that of a partner in sovereignty over a large part of the river on the basis of the new delimitation of the frontier line therein on the basis of the thalweg. As against that, Iran agreed to give up the Iraqi lands which it had previously encroached upon and to stop its support for the secessionist Barzani.

87. Then, the new régime in Iran came to power. Iraq saw that event as a welcome sign, because it ended a régime whose policies were based on aggression and interference in the internal affairs of others and in particular of Iraq and the Arab homeland.

88. Iraq presented through its President its felicitations to the Iranian peoples, expressing the hope that the new republican régime would work actively for the maintenance of Iran's role in the service of peace and justice in the world and the forging of the strongest relations of friendship and good-neighbourliness with the Arab countries in general and with Iraq in particular. When the new régime in Iran announced its willingness to have Iran join the non-aligned movement, Iraq was the first country to bless that move and declared its welcome to and support for Iran's application to the membership of the movement.

89. Iraq pursued all possible avenues with genuine good will to establish relations with the new régime in Iran with a view to achieving fruitful co-operation in all fields. Iraq expressed this sincere intention through Iraqi official statements and through diplomatic channels.

90. But the actual state of affairs indicated that the sincere effort that Iraq was making was being met by contrary intentions which did not preserve the basis that permitted the two countries to establish good and fruitful relations. Moreover, the relations between the two countries were marred by an intentional act on the part of the new authorities in Iran, which aimed at the disruption of the existing relations between the two countries and which dangerously aggravated the situation. It was later established that the new régime in Iran had been harbouring those contrary intentions since the first days of its assumption of power. The Iranian régime recalled to Iran from the United States the leaders of the rebel faction of Barzani, his sons and followers. After the death of Barzani his sons and followers returned to Iran, where they were granted refuge, assistance and permission to use Iranian territory as a base of operations for threatening Iraq and interfering with its internal security and national integrity.



91. Moreover, the Iranian Government has never ceased harming the good-neighbourly relations between the two countries. It facilitated acts of infiltration of a subversive nature. In many Iraqi towns, acts of murder, sabotage and poisoning of water and fishery resources were committed with the support of the Iranian Government. The situation was not limited to such activity. The Iranian acts went further to instigate trouble, sectarian and religious dissension and the commission of acts of plunder in the border areas by groups called "revolutionary guards".

92. It is worth emphasizing that the Government of Iraq addressed numerous diplomatic notes to the Iranian Government through its embassy at Baghdad. In those notes, all the Iranian violations regarding the matters I have mentioned were clearly stated. In order to give an idea of the number of those violations, we have distributed to the delegations of Member States a brief account of a sample of the violations and a map indicating Iranian encroachments on our land frontiers—frontiers that were delimited clearly and drawn jointly on the new maps by the two parties, and re-demarcated on the land by building anew the old frontier pillars of 1913, which number 126, and the new additional pillars, which number 593, established in 1975. We shall also distribute a detailed study with maps on the evolution of the legal régime of the Iraqi-Iranian frontier since 1520.

93. What I should like to mention now as an example is that during the period from June to September 1980, Iran committed 187 violations and military actions across the Iraqi frontiers against populated cities and villages, roads and border posts.

94. On 4 September 1980 a dangerous turning point in the chain of those violations occurred. The Iranian military forces used American-made heavy artillery of 175 mm. calibre to bombard the towns of Khanaqin and Mendili, causing thereby severe loss of life and damage to property. It is worth mentioning that that concentrated savage bombardment was carried out from the area of Zain Al Qaws which is situated between frontier pillars 46 and 51 deep inside Iraq's territory.

95. At noon on 7 September 1980, there was again the same savage bombardment. We called the chargé d'affaires of the Iranian Embassy at Baghdad to the Foreign Ministry on that date and delivered a note to him. In it we stated that Iranian military units had encroached upon numerous areas of Iraqi territory as was the case, among others, in Zain Al Qaws, and that those encroachments had continued, contrary to the Frontier Treaty of 1975 between the two countries. We requested him to convey to his Government that it should immediately end those encroachments. But the Iranian forces continued their bombardments until nightfall of that day. On the following day, 8 September 1980, the Iranian chargé d'affaires was again called in to the Foreign Ministry and we handed him another note. In that note we stated that the Iraqi military forces, in the exercise of our legitimate right to self-defence, were forced to end the Iranian occupation of Zain Al Qaws and regain the occupied Iraqi territories.

96. In the note, the Government of the Republic of Iraq also expressed its hope that the Iranians would learn from that event and give back the Iraqi lands which Iran had

encroached upon in previous times, as was agreed upon in the 1975 Treaty hence avoiding the possibility of wider confrontation between the two countries. But the following days witnessed concentrated military activities by the Iranian military forces inside the Iraqi territories that had been encroached upon. My Government found it necessary once again to call in the Iranian chargé d'affaires to the Foreign Ministry on 11 September 1980. He was handed a detailed note this time stating three points.

97. First, from our observation of Iranian conduct and reactions, we had reached various conclusions the first of which was that, because of the confusion in Iran and the disordered structure and information sources of the Iranian State, the Iranian leadership might not have been aware of the fact that Iran had encroached upon Iraqi territories in contravention of international law and past agreements between the two countries, including the Algiers Agreement of 1975. If this was so, we advised the Iranian leadership to ask the Iranian authorities responsible for matters of frontiers and agreements in order to ascertain our point of view and thus base its action on knowledge rather than myth.

98. Secondly, the Iranian leadership had to realize that striking at cities populated by civilians, as it did in bombarding Khanaqin and Mendili, was neither a simple matter nor a game of violence of the sort with which the Iranian officials entertain themselves at times inside Iran. Striking at Iraqi cities is considered a grave matter which should be avoided by Iran, if it does not wish relations between the two countries to deteriorate dangerously. The rulers of Iran alone will bear the responsibility of those aggressive actions before God, the Iranian people and world public opinion.

99. Thirdly, Iraq has no ambition with regard to Iranian territories.

100. But all those diplomatic notes went unheeded, as we received no response to them.

101. In view of the continual Iranian violations of the Algiers Agreement of 1975 and the insistence upon the justification for those violations, which was made clear by the announcements of official Iranian circles to the effect that the Agreement was suspect, that it did not meet Iran's interests and that Iran did not consider itself bound by it, it was established by the Government that the Iranian Government had violated the elements of the comprehensive settlement contained in the Algiers Agreement and that it had terminated it. Consequently, the Government of the Republic of Iraq decided to consider the Agreement and those following and based upon it as terminated on the part of Iraq after Iran had terminated them by word and deed. This was done in accordance with paragraph 4 of the Algiers Agreement and article 4 of the Treaty on International Borders and Good-Neighbourly Relations of 1975, which was based on the Algiers Agreement. On that occasion Iraq called upon the Iranian authorities to accept the new situation and act rationally and wisely in view of the exercise by Iraq of its legitimate rights and full sovereignty in all its land territories and fluvial territory in Shatt-al-Arab, as was the case before the Algiers Agreement.

102. The Government of the Republic of Iraq was forced to take the measures I have just indicated since the ruling

authorities in Iran persisted in gravely violating their international obligations. Having exhausted all the peaceful means of persuading Iran to heed its obligations, my Government was left with only one choice, namely, the exercise of self-defence for the purpose of restoring Iraq's sovereignty over the totality of its territory.

103. Despite the fact that my Government had declared through its highest officials that it did not wish to have any war with Iran, that it did not want to extend the conflict beyond the limits of the restoration of Iraq's legitimate rights of territorial sovereignty, and that Iraq did not have any territorial ambitions in Iran, the Iranian Government nevertheless escalated the conflict. On 19 September it began to bombard with heavy artillery and bomber planes densely populated areas in Iraq, vital economic establishments, Iraqi and foreign incoming and outgoing vessels in the Shatt-al-Arab and the navigational channels in the river, as well as its approaches in the Arab Gulf.

104. In the face of these savage acts, my Government issued a statement warning the ruling authorities in Iran of the consequences of that escalation and the indiscriminate strikes which they had committed, putting the full responsibility upon those authorities. My Government also explained in that statement that the acts committed by Iran made it necessary to direct preventive strikes against Iranian military targets inside Iran with a view to protecting the safety, security and vital interests of Iraq. Thus, once again, Iraq was forced to exercise its right to preventive self-defence in accordance with international law, in order to repel aggression.

105. The existing Iraqi-Iranian armed conflict on which the eyes of the whole world are focused represents, as I have shown, an indissociable component of an established Iranian policy. That policy has been practised by different Iranian Governments throughout history, irrespective of their declared intentions, against Iraq and the Arab nation. What I have shown the General Assembly of the developments that led to this conflict is fully corroborated by the statements of the various Iranian officials. We have already had occasion to reply to those statements in our letters, which have been distributed as documents of the General Assembly and the Security Council [*A/35/201-S/13918 and A/35/404-S/14117*]. If the ruling authorities in Iran do not really intend to expand at the expense of Arab national interests and if they honestly stand for the defence of those interests against the Zionist enemy, then we are entitled to wonder about the reasons for their retention of the three Arab islands, Abu Moussa, the Greater Tunb and the Lesser Tunb, which Iran occupied in the time of the Shah.

106. In addition, if the Iranian Government really intends to co-operate fruitfully with its neighbours through the establishment of friendly and good-neighbourly relations, then why has it not fulfilled its obligations towards Iraq and the Arab nation, when all in the Arab world gave their blessing to the Iranian revolution when it occurred?

*Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

107. Iraq would like to emphasize from this rostrum a number of points previously declared by us on numerous occasions. First, Iraq is not responsible for the armed con-

flict with Iran to which past events have led; rather, it is the ruling authorities in Iran who bear the full responsibility. Secondly, Iraq is defending its legitimate right to sovereignty, honour and dignity, and is ready to make all the necessary sacrifices to defend those rights. Thirdly, Iran must realize that we shall not sacrifice the rights and interests of Iraq and the Arab nation as a whole. We shall oppose any attempt to interfere in our internal affairs, sovereignty and pan-Arab interests. Fourthly, Iraq realizes fully the importance of preserving international peace and security and world economic interests, in particular those relating to the flow of oil. We shall do all we can to prevent the ruling authorities in Iran from adversely affecting those interests. Fifthly, Iraq has expressed recently in the Security Council and through President Saddam Hussein in his letter addressed to the Secretary-General on 29 September 1980<sup>3</sup> its readiness to halt the hostilities immediately if the other side will undertake to do the same and to resort to negotiations, directly or through a third party or an international body or organization, in order to find an equitable and honourable solution.

108. Moreover, Iraq expressed, as stated again by President Saddam Hussein through President Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq of Pakistan during the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Islamic Conference, held in New York on 1 October 1980, its readiness to declare a cease-fire unilaterally from 5 to 8 October 1980 in order to create the best conditions for the noble efforts aimed at stopping bloodshed, achieving peace and stressing the humanitarian and legitimate content of Iraqi and Arab rights.

109. Finally, I should like to end my statement by quoting what the President of our Republic said in his comprehensive speech on 27 September 1980.

“We are not of those who are tempted by power and who lose their senses in victory and impose illegitimate conditions on others, even if they are aggressors with evil intentions. We do not impose illegitimate conditions, nor do we have any ambitions. We establish clear and noble principles: the principles of right, goodness and peace before the Iranian peoples, the countries of the region, the Arab nation and the world as a whole. What we demand is the clear, legal and actual recognition by the Iranian Government of Iraq's historic and legitimate rights over its lands and waters, the adherence by it to the policy of good-neighbourliness, the renunciation of its racist, aggressive and expansionist attitudes and its evil attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries of the region and the return of every inch of the homeland which it has usurped. The Iranian Government should look upon its rights, as well as those of the Arabs and Iraqis, on these bases and it should respect international law and custom, as well as international covenants.”

110. Mr. GURENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Ukrainian delegation would like to join in addressing congratulations to Mr. von Wechmar on his election to the position of President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. I am convinced that under his presidency the Assembly will deal successfully with the burning issues before it.

<sup>3</sup> *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980, document S/14203.*

111. We note with satisfaction that the family of the United Nations has now become still bigger. After their successful struggle against racism, the people of Zimbabwe have won their independence. We also welcome Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to the United Nations.

112. In a few week's time, on 24 October, it will be 35 years since the Charter entered into force. During that period mankind has lived through many trials and tribulations. In the course of the complex and at times controversial development of the historical process there have been, along with indisputable successes achieved by the forces of peace and progress in strengthening international security, repeated manifestations of the imperialist policy of *diktat*, the whipping up of tension, interference in the internal affairs of States and the unleashing of military conflicts. Yet, whatever the course developments followed, the most outstanding achievement of this period has been the demonstration of the fact that it is possible to break the tragic cycle in which peace is only a short breathing-space between world wars.

113. The 1970s have left their mark in world history. Without exaggeration it can be said that this past decade has been most productive in terms of the transition from confrontation to co-operation on terms of equality among States with different social and economic systems. During this period, as a result of efforts by countries in the socialist community and other peoples and States genuinely seeking to preserve peace, the policy of peaceful coexistence has been strengthened and has begun to take on real meaning. Moreover, the process of *détente* has gained momentum, and favourable conditions have been created for the solution of pressing problems.

114. Recently, however, the international situation has worsened. Leaders of the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], and of the United States in particular, have directed their foreign policy towards undermining *détente* and ensuring military superiority over the socialist community.

115. The well-known NATO decision on a large-scale and long-term increase in military budgets and the plans to deploy in Western Europe new American nuclear missiles testify specifically to that. The United States has frozen the ratification of the SALT II Treaty<sup>4</sup> and at the same time adopted a "new nuclear strategy" which makes the real danger of the unleashing of a thermonuclear war immeasurably greater, for it is based on the concept that a "limited nuclear war" is possible.

116. The partnership between those in militaristic and reactionary quarters in the West and Beijing, hegemonists who are seeking a further build-up of tension to achieve their chauvinistic great-Power designs has a negative impact on international relations.

117. Consequently we are compelled to state that the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly is taking place in a very complicated international situation.

<sup>4</sup>Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms. Signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979.

118. The Government of the Ukrainian SSR feels that today, more than ever, the United Nations must concentrate its efforts on preventing and eliminating threats to peace, strengthening *détente* in the political, military and other fields and adopting concrete measures to limit the arms race and achieve disarmament.

119. As was emphasized in a statement on 30 August at Alma-Ata by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR: "For States and peoples today, no task is more pressing than to prevent the imperialist policy of positions of strength displacing *détente*, and the spiral of the arms race gaining greater and more highly dangerous speed".

120. The Soviet Union and the entire socialist community have advanced a broad programme of measures to strengthen peace, end the arms race and achieve disarmament. Guided by the programme for the further struggle for peace and international co-operation and for the freedom and independence of peoples, which was adopted by the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the USSR has put forward in the United Nations far-reaching proposals offering realistic approaches to a solution of the crucial problems of today. These initiatives have been supported and approved by the General Assembly.

121. The documents adopted at the meeting on 14 and 15 May of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, imbued with an awareness of the historic responsibility for the destinies of peace, contain, *inter alia*, a proposal for an early convening of a meeting at the highest level of leaders of States from all continents [see A/35/237-S/13948]. The socialist countries are convinced that, despite the aggravation of the situation brought about by the actions of imperialist circles, there nevertheless do exist socio-political forces capable of preventing any slippage towards a new cold war, of ensuring normal peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems, and of averting the threat of a world thermonuclear conflict, and objective possibilities of doing all this. This conviction is shared by all the Soviet people and by the working people of the Ukrainian SSR who fully support the Leninist foreign policy line of the Soviet State.

122. In their desire to strengthen international security the socialist countries are stepping up their struggle for *détente*, for ending the arms race and for disarmament and we call upon other States to do likewise.

123. The proposal entitled "Urgent measures for reducing the danger of war" [see A/35/241], submitted by Andrei Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, serves to confirm the constructive approach to the main problems of the world today.

124. The Ukrainian delegation fully supports that proposal.

125. Urgent measures to be implemented include the prevention of the expansion of existing military alliances or the

creation of new ones; the cessation, as of 1 January 1981, of the build-up of armed forces and conventional armaments by all States and primarily by the permanent members of the Security Council and the countries which have military agreements with them; the strengthening of security guarantees for non-nuclear States; and the renunciation by all nuclear Powers of all nuclear explosions for one year. All of this would certainly have a restraining effect on the growing danger of war, would contribute to reducing tension in inter-State relations and would serve as a good basis for reaching agreement on the most pressing problem of strengthening peace and international security.

126. The Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community have submitted for negotiation, in particular in the General Assembly, several specific proposals covering a broad spectrum of measures for disarmament, some partial and some very radical. They are dealt with in detail in the USSR memorandum entitled "Peace, disarmament and international security guarantees" [see A/35/482]. The Ukrainian SSR believes that the speedy implementation of those proposals is a major task facing the Assembly at this session.

127. We attach primary importance to ending the nuclear arms race, which creates the greatest threat to universal peace and the very survival of civilization. Despite the tremendous complexity of the problem, we believe mankind can halt the unbridled build-up of nuclear potential. The Ukrainian SSR favours the immediate initiation of effective talks to end the production of all types of nuclear weapons, gradually to reduce their stockpiles and then to eliminate them completely.

128. Another pressing matter is completing the tripartite talks on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. In the interests of reaching a mutually acceptable agreement on this issue, the Soviet Union has taken important steps to meet its partners in the talks halfway. Yet I must note with concern that the United States and the United Kingdom are clearly protracting the negotiations, often renegeing on the proposals they themselves put forward.

129. The Ukrainian SSR believes that nuclear disarmament should be accompanied by the strengthening of political and international legal guarantees for the security of States, and this includes the drafting and conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

130. Alongside the most destructive type of arms—nuclear weapons—chemical weapons, an extremely dangerous means of mass annihilation, have been in existence for many decades. Moreover, the United States has expanded production of chemical war agents while actively developing and testing new varieties of these lethal weapons. We strongly advocate an immediate ban on the development, production and stockpiling of such chemical weapons and the destruction of their stockpiles. The socialist countries, including the Ukrainian SSR, have made their contribution to drafting a relevant international convention. We appeal to all States to make an energetic effort to complete the drafting of this international legal instrument as soon as possible.

131. The Ukrainian SSR has consistently advocated banning the production of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. Of particular relevance today is the prevention of the development and deployment of the neutron weapon. The drafting of a convention banning radiological weapons must also be completed.

132. It has frequently been stated from this very rostrum that the arms race represents a heavy burden for mankind. While creating a threat to universal peace, it also consumes enormous material and intellectual resources that could more properly be used to raise the standard of well-being of peoples and overcome the economic backwardness of developing countries.

133. The problem of streamlining international co-operation to preserve the environment and nature on this planet has become particularly urgent today. The consideration at this session of the Soviet proposal [see A/35/194] for the inclusion of an item entitled "Historical responsibility of States for the preservation of nature for present and future generations" on the agenda of this session will certainly serve that objective. Our delegation believes that primary attention should be devoted to the nefarious consequences of the arms race for environmental protection.

134. The struggle for a peaceful future for peoples, for strengthening international security should be conducted in all directions.

135. The Ukrainian SSR attaches paramount importance to strengthening security in Europe. In recent years there have been extensive and strenuous efforts to implement agreements reached at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe which was held at Helsinki in 1975. The USSR and countries of the socialist community are playing an active role here. The basic approach they take in European affairs and world politics as a whole is to continue and deepen détente, to flesh it out with effective measures in the field of military détente and to develop equal co-operation and strengthen security.

136. A specific example of that policy is the Soviet proposal to start talks on limiting medium-range nuclear missile arms in Europe simultaneously in organic relationship to the question of United States forward-based nuclear systems in the region.

137. Much remains to be done to ensure stable peace and security in Europe. It is important, in particular, that the forthcoming second review session of the Conference at Madrid be held in a constructive spirit and be crowned with positive results and that a conference be convened on military détente and disarmament in Europe.

138. Strengthening peace and security is in the interests of the peoples of all continents. As has frequently been noted at this session of the General Assembly, there are now several hotbeds of conflict that have emerged as a result of imperialist and militaristic actions. Their elimination would certainly be facilitated by the proposal submitted by the socialist countries on limiting and reducing the level of military presence and military activities in the relevant

region, be it the Atlantic, Indian or Pacific Oceans, the Mediterranean Sea or the Persian Gulf.

139. Attempts are being made to step up tension in the Caribbean. We declare from this rostrum our solidarity with socialist Cuba, which continues to be subjected to pressure by United States imperialist circles.

140. Recently the situation in the Middle East has become still more explosive. The separate talks conducted on the basis of the Camp David accords cannot bring about a settlement of the conflict. Israel has been expanding the network of its settlements in occupied lands and in a recent brazen move it proclaimed Jerusalem to be its "eternal capital", a move quite properly condemned by the Security Council in its resolution 478 (1980).

141. At the seventh emergency special session on the question of Palestine, the General Assembly stressed that the key to a comprehensive settlement in the region lies in granting the Arab people of Palestine the right to self-determination up to and including the creation of their own State. Such a settlement would require the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, including East Jerusalem, and ensuring the sovereignty and security of all the States of the region. All parties concerned should participate in the settlement, including the Arab people of Palestine, with the PLO as its sole and legitimate representative. Other problems of the region also require political settlement by peaceful means.

142. A tense situation has been created around Afghanistan, which pursues a policy of non-alignment. An undeclared war inspired and directed by the United States of America and China is being waged against that country. Attempts are being made to strangle the Afghan revolution and to turn Afghanistan into a staging area, threatening the Soviet Union and the peace-loving independent countries of the East. The Government of Afghanistan has put forward a proposal for a political settlement of the situation. Essentially it calls for a complete and guaranteed cessation of all forms of hostile activities against the Government and people of Afghanistan. It is now up to those who brought about the tense situation in that region to respond. As to the introduction of the so-called Afghan question in the agenda of this Assembly, we consider it to be gross interference in the internal affairs of the Afghan people.

143. The United States and China have recently been seeking to aggravate further the situation in South-East Asia. We fully support the programme for the normalization of the situation in the region submitted by Viet Nam, Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea [see A/35/347 and Corr.1].

144. The Ukrainian SSR advocates the peaceful reunification of Korea on a democratic basis without foreign interference and the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea. Recent events in South Korea confirm the urgency of that demand and make still more pressing implementation of General Assembly resolution 3390 A and B (XXX).

145. Attempts to revive the cold war are inseparably linked to a new offensive against human rights and to massive violations of the rights of working people in capital-

ist countries. The United States has not ratified the International Covenants on Human Rights, and it is in fact in the United States that those rights are most blatantly flouted. This year alone massive reprisals have been taken against participants in actions to defend the rights of black people in Miami and other cities of the United States. American arms are used to suppress human rights in Chile, Bolivia and El Salvador, and some United States allies are not lagging far behind. The Government of Great Britain has been taking punitive measures in Northern Ireland, accompanied by the use of torture and other inhumane treatment. With the connivance of the authorities, pro-Nazi forces and organizations are rearing their ugly heads in a number of Western European countries. Does that not constitute the flouting of the well-known principles of the Helsinki agreements, which representatives of capitalist countries defend in their speeches?

146. Human rights are grossly and extensively violated in the Arab territories occupied by Israel. South Africa persists in its infamous policy and practice of *apartheid*, while racist excesses continue in Namibia. All this is taking place with the obvious connivance of the leading imperialist Powers, whose co-operation with South Africa and Israel is in fact the main obstacle to ending those crimes against humanity.

147. Socialism ensures human rights—not only in words but in deeds. In our Republic they are guaranteed by the provisions of the new Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR. My delegation can state with satisfaction that our Republic's reports regarding compliance with international conventions and the International Covenants on Human Rights have been recognized by the Committee on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council as comprehensive and consistent with the requirements of international agreements.

148. Twenty years ago the General Assembly, acting on the initiative of the Soviet Union, adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], an important instrument in the struggle against colonialism.

149. However, in order to ensure the complete elimination of the vestiges of that shameful system, to grant independence to the peoples of Namibia, Micronesia and other colonial Territories, and finally to eradicate *apartheid* and racial discrimination, it will be necessary to overcome the resistance of neo-colonialists and imperialists and to strengthen the unity of action of peoples fighting against colonialism in all its manifestations.

150. The working people of the Soviet Ukraine, a republic of 50 million inhabitants, along with all Soviet people, support national liberation movements, contribute to the strengthening of the statehood of newly independent countries, and protect their sovereignty against the intrigues of imperialist mercenaries and the agents of monopolies.

151. The final collapse of colonialism and the attainment of full independence by the developing countries are closely linked to the struggle for economic liberation from imperialism and the sway of foreign monopolistic capital, primarily transnational corporations.

152. My delegation would emphasize that the current attempt of the United States to revive the cold war seriously undermines the prospects of economic co-operation among States. Today the United States and its allies are resorting to economic blockades, sanctions, trade embargoes and financial boycotts; they are freezing foreign assets and reneging on obligations entered into in respect of the development of relations in the economic, scientific and technological fields. Those actions are in violation of the Charter and international law, and they are in conflict with the progressive provisions of the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

153. The imperialist policy of the West is reflected in the deliberate procrastination in talks on restructuring international economic relations on a democratic and equitable basis and in the desire to sidetrack us from the truly urgent economic problems. That was once again demonstrated most vividly at the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, on economic problems.

154. The Ukrainian SSR is taking an active part in the foreign economic relations of the Soviet State, and it makes a tangible contribution to the development of the economic, scientific and technical co-operation of the USSR with fraternal socialist countries and developing countries. We consistently advocate extensive business-like relations with all interested States on an equal, non-discriminatory and mutually beneficial basis.

155. We are now completing our tenth five-year plan. The forthcoming Twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will be marked by new achievements, and the Twenty-sixth Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party will sum up the results achieved. During the current five-year period the economic potential of our society has grown immeasurably, and our social, political and ideological unity has become still stronger. A major stride forward has been taken in raising the living standards of our people and also in education and culture.

156. As V. Shcherbitsky, member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, has emphasized, "our objectives are clear, and they are noble—namely, durable peace, security and mutually beneficial co-operation—and we shall persistently work for their realization".

157. Our Government believes that the thirty-fifth session of the Assembly should become an important milestone in intensification of the struggle of peoples to reduce the danger of war, to eliminate tension, to preserve détente as the leading trend in international relations, and to strengthen peace and the security of peoples.

*The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.*