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

Tribute to the memory of His Excellency Mr. Pyotr Mironovich Masherov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia

1. The PRESIDENT: We have learnt with regret of the tragic death of His Excellency Mr. Pyotr Mironovich Masherov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia, alternate member of the Politburo of the USSR Central Committee and member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

2. On behalf of the General Assembly, I extend to his family and to the Government and people of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic our profound condolences.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

3. Mr. DONT SOP (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like, first of all, to associate myself with you in conveying, on my own behalf and that of my delegation, our most profound condolences to the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR on the distressing loss it has just experienced in the death of Mr. Pyotr Masherov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia, a death that occurred on 4 October. We wish to extend to the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR our most profound sympathy.

4. Mr. President, since I am speaking for the first time in this Assembly, I should first of all like to tell you how happy my delegation is at seeing you elected unanimously to a post of such prestige and delicate responsibilities as that of President of the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session. You are the distinguished representative of a country which,

through its energy and determination, has won the admiration and respect of the international community. But you are, above all, the representative of a friendly country, the Federal Republic of Germany, whose history has left its imprint on the destiny of my country, the United Republic of Cameroon.

5. That historic encounter between our peoples has served, ever since Cameroon became independent, to enrich in particular the development and strengthening of multifaceted and mutually advantageous co-operation between our two countries, both bilaterally and multilaterally, and especially through our association in the Treaty of Rome through the Conventions of Yaoundé, of 1963 and 1969, and of Lomé, of 1975 and 1979.

6. I wish to assure you of my delegation's complete readiness and firm determination to give you every possible co-operation to enable you to discharge your important functions effectively. Your qualities as an experienced diplomat and your vast knowledge of the problems of the world strengthen our conviction that you will contribute decisively to the solution of the various urgent problems facing our Assembly.

7. I should like also to take this occasion to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, for the patient authority and the distinction with which he conducted the proceedings of the Assembly over the last 12 months. We are grateful to him for having so worthily responded to the hopes placed in him by Africa and the international community.

8. My delegation also takes this occasion to reaffirm our great satisfaction at the manner in which the Secretary-General has been discharging his important and delicate functions, and at his ceaseless efforts to enable the international community to solve the problems of the day in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

9. It is a pleasure for me to repeat here the congratulations of my country to Zimbabwe upon its accession to independence, after one of the most bitter and fierce liberation struggles in the history of decolonization, under the aegis of the Patriotic Front and with the support of the international community. Cameroon looks forward to co-operating with this new sister republic in the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and within the greater family of non-aligned nations, as well as in the United Nations itself.

10. Finally, I wish to welcome the accession to independence of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and its admission to membership of our Organization as its one hundred and fifty-fourth Member State. In spite of the physical

distance between our two countries, the historical and cultural heritage of our peoples makes us feel certain that we will enjoy friendly and fraternal co-operation.

11. The work of the thirty-fifth session of the Assembly is taking place in an international situation which is in the grip of crises: a political crisis because of the resurgence of hegemonistic rivalries that give rise to the tension, instability and conflict that constantly beset the third world and seriously affect the spirit of détente; an economic crisis as a result of the collapse of the lopsided system established right after the Second World War, and of the reluctance of the affluent countries to embrace the concepts of a new, more just and more equitable international economic order and resolutely to commit themselves to its establishment as a way out of our present difficulties; a social, cultural crisis, a crisis of civilization, if ever there was one, because of the generalized uncertainty, fear, mistrust and poverty which are the inevitable outcome of the situation.

12. In Africa, our primary concern and the least developed continent in spite of its vast natural and human resources and potential, the situation remains disturbing because of the persistence of *apartheid* and the instability engendered by various sources of tension, which are themselves in turn generated and revived by the effects of decolonization, by greed and by foreign interference.

13. Against such a background, Zimbabwe's accession to independence was a breakthrough and a decisive stage in the process of the total liberation of our continent from all colonial oppression and racial discrimination. Unfortunately, however, the significance of that far-reaching event, as far as Namibia and the oppressed peoples of South Africa are concerned, does not seem to have been fully grasped by the Pretoria racist régime.

14. In Namibia, indeed, the prospects remain confused. The hopes raised by the adoption of the United Nations plan to permit that international Territory to gain independence through free and democratic elections under United Nations supervision and control have constantly been thwarted by the negatively ambiguous attitude of the South African Government. Its considerable correspondence addressed to the Secretary-General, particularly its letter of 12 May last,¹ which raised new, entirely fictitious, trumped-up difficulties in order to distract the attention of our Organization, is particularly enlightening in this regard. The recent setting up in Namibia of a so-called ministerial council, in our view, marks the beginning of the end of the process of an internal settlement, which we have ceaselessly, denounced and condemned.

15. It is urgent, therefore, for the international community to do its utmost to thwart this cynical design. Those who have assumed responsibility for the conception and adoption of the United Nations plan for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question must make use of the decisive assets they possess to prevail upon South Africa to co-operate with the Secretary-General in implementing the plan. The persistence of the Namibian problem, because of the dynamics of war and the instability caused thereby, and because of the

interests of the Powers in the region, is a threat to international peace and security, in addition to eroding the authority and credibility of our Organization, which has thus far shown a certain laxity in the face of the bad faith and arrogance of the South African régime.

16. In this regard, the position of my country, which has assumed important responsibilities in the United Nations Council for Namibia, is well known. It was recently recalled by the President of the United Republic of Cameroon, His Excellency Mr. Ahmadou Ahidjo. Cameroon supports the struggle of the Namibian people, represented by the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*], and its right to self-determination and independence in a united Namibia, including Walvis Bay. We reject any unilateral solution devised and imposed by South Africa; we support the practical arrangements for implementing the settlement plan accepted by the Security Council in its resolution 435 (1978). Finally, we are convinced of the need to bring to bear against South Africa the enforcement measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter to compel that country to co-operate with the United Nations.

17. This same conviction determines our approach to the situation in South Africa itself, where the criminal policy of *apartheid*, in spite of certain superficial adjustments, continues to keep the overwhelming majority of the South African people in servitude, and receives encouragement through the passivity of certain Powers and the weight of foreign interests.

18. The aggravation of tension and the violent incidents which are proliferating in that country attest to the resolution and determination of the oppressed people of South Africa to throw off the yoke of *apartheid* and recover their dignity. The international community must support this legitimate struggle by active assistance to the South African liberation movements and the actions proposed to this effect by the OAU and the United Nations.

19. In its determination to work for the total liberation of the African continent from colonial domination and racial discrimination, Cameroon will continue to support, as it has in the past, the decisions of those two organizations and to provide aid and assistance to the liberation movements concerned.

20. Apart from the explosive situation which persists in southern Africa, elsewhere on our continent the independence of several young States continues to be threatened by foreign interference, the persistence of fratricidal conflicts and the proliferation of sources of tension.

21. My delegation vigorously reaffirms its view that in order to remedy this situation—with its resulting instability and waste of energy and resources—we should abide by the letter and spirit of the Charter and recognize and respect the inalienable right of every country freely to decide its own destiny.

22. Cameroon, which has always worked for the strengthening of friendship and co-operation among peoples, will continue within the framework of its policy of peace, non-alignment and co-operation with all countries which respect its identity, independence, political options and social and

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/13935.

economic policies, to provide support both within the United Nations and through the appropriate committees of the OAU to the search for an authentically African settlement of these conflicts.

23. Whether they stem from the process of decolonization or result from internal or inter-State conflicts, these crisis situations are accompanied by destruction, poverty and an increasing number of refugees and displaced persons, who in Africa alone number 5 million.

24. The international community should give to the consideration of this problem all necessary attention, in the light of the efforts made by the host countries. It is fortunate that this item has been included in the agenda of this session.

25. We are also pleased to note the consultations under way between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Secretary-General of the OAU with a view to organizing an international pledging conference for refugees in Africa.

26. The principles contained in our Charter, in particular non-interference in the internal affairs of States, the non-use of force or the threat of force, and the peaceful settlement of disputes, should guide us in our efforts to resolve the conflicts which are raging in various parts of the world.

27. These principles must more than ever before govern the search for a just and lasting settlement of the conflict in the Middle East, where dangerous tension continues to develop.

28. Of course, the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council fall within this framework; but the fact that all the interested parties have not complied with those resolutions with a view to their effective implementation, makes the prospect of world peace rather vague and distant.

29. For its part, Cameroon is convinced that the settlement of the Palestinian question is the key to any peaceful, just and lasting solution of the Middle East problem. This means that the Palestinian people, under the aegis of its authentic representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*], should be able freely to exercise all its inalienable rights, including that to a homeland in Arab Palestine, and to participate on an equal footing with all other parties and at all levels in any process for the settlement of the conflict.

30. A just and lasting peace in that part of the world necessarily entails the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied by it since 1967 and recognition of the right of all States in the area, including Israel, to live in peace within internationally recognized borders. It is to be deplored in this regard that, in spite of the resolutions of our Organization and the pressure of world public opinion, Israel continues to strengthen its presence in the occupied Arab territories by multiplying its settlements and its recent decision to make Jerusalem its eternal and indivisible capital.

31. We are pleased to note that the Security Council, in its resolution 478 (1980), adopted on 20 August last, declared

that decision null and void and reaffirmed the international status of the Holy City.

32. My Government has never underestimated the complexity of the Israeli-Arab conflict and the need to exercise patience in order to bring about a lasting settlement. We are also convinced that such a process could be accelerated if all the parties to the conflict showed the same spirit of accommodation and willingness to co-operate.

33. It seems to us to be indispensable to reverse the present trend towards excessive militarization of that region and to promote there a new climate of détente and co-operation free from any outside intervention and hegemonistic rivalries.

34. It is in this spirit that we appeal urgently for the preservation of the independence of Lebanon, its unity and its territorial integrity.

35. In the same spirit, we appeal to Iran and Iraq to put an end to their hostilities, lay down their arms and agree to settle their dispute at the negotiating table. The interest of their peoples demands this. Peace and security in the region make it an urgent necessity.

36. The aggravation of conflicts and the birth in Asia of new crises which continue to threaten international peace and security are of constant concern to us.

37. Whether in Afghanistan or Kampuchea, respect for the cardinal principles of the Charter of the United Nations and those of the non-aligned movement, in particular the obligation on all States in their international relations to refrain from the use or the threat of force, to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of States and not to interfere in the internal affairs of other States, remains the solid basis on which any action to normalize the situation should be founded.

38. We hope that the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General and certain States in the area will very soon make it possible for all the parties concerned to embark upon constructive dialogue with a view to a political solution which will take full account of the principles that I have just mentioned.

39. The same applies to the delicate problem of the island of Cyprus, a founding member of the non-aligned movement, which has been subjected to external interference since 1974 and is now threatened with an explosive situation.

40. Cameroon deplores the fact that the numerous resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly to enable the Cypriot population as a whole to exercise its right to full sovereignty and effective control over the whole territory of Cyprus and its natural resources should have remained dead letters.

41. The resumption on 9 August last of intercommunal talks [*A/35/385-S/14100*] constitutes an encouraging move which should be strengthened by the mediation of the Secretary-General and especially by the declared will of the leaders of the two communities.

42. Cameroon will continue to support any initiative designed to promote fraternal dialogue between the two parties concerned with a view to restoring peace on the island and guaranteeing the sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus.

43. Two years ago, at its tenth special session, devoted to problems of disarmament, the General Assembly attempted to stimulate the efforts of the international community by providing three essential guidelines for the attainment of the objective of general and complete disarmament.

44. It decided, first, to support the initiatives taken by States at the regional level to expand and reinforce the concept of denuclearized zones; secondly, to encourage the search for ways and means to bring about the complete and effective prohibition of nuclear weapons of all kinds and the freezing and reduction of military expenditures, to the benefit of development aid; and, finally, to give all those measures maximum publicity throughout the world through international conferences and existing negotiating machinery and to strengthen them by security guarantees to the non-nuclear-weapon States, the conclusion of appropriate international conventions and the intensification of action designed to reduce international tension.

45. We note that, unfortunately, not only has very little progress been achieved in attaining those objectives but, on the contrary, the deterioration of détente has considerably weakened the political determination of States, if it has not actually led them to a further escalation of the arms race. The continual increase in world military expenditures, which this year have been estimated at about \$500 billion, is scandalous if one realizes that public assistance to development has been stagnating around \$20 billion a year and is even tending to diminish. The constant proliferation of ever more sophisticated means of destruction poses a real threat to mankind, whose peace and security should rather be based on solidarity and co-operation among peoples.

46. That is why Cameroon remains convinced that a binding agreement among the various military Powers, with a view to bringing about the total prohibition of nuclear tests and the limitation and destruction of stockpiles of all kinds of atomic and chemical weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, could contribute significantly to the restoration of a climate of peace and confidence conducive to international solidarity and co-operation.

47. We are ready to make our contribution, in the framework of negotiations and appropriate consultations, to any initiative which could promote the process of general and complete disarmament with a view to development.

48. I have just set forth the views of my Government on the most important political aspects of the crisis of our time, which could at any moment plunge mankind into confrontations with unforeseeable consequences. But to those threats to international peace and security represented by more or less limited regional conflicts we should add those which stem from the persistence of injustice and inequality in international economic relations. Indeed, as is stressed by the Secretary-General [A/35/1, sect. VIII] in his excellent report on the work of the Organization, "peace is as much at

stake in the discussions on economic questions as prosperity and a decent standard of living for all humanity".

49. That axiom, with regard to the present economic crisis caused by the collapse of the economic order as a result of the Second World War, led us to define, at the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, held in 1974 and 1975, the principles and objectives of a new international economic order which would be more just and more equitable because it would give all peoples equal opportunities for progress, well-being and prosperity.

50. However, we cannot but note that that new international economic order is still embryonic, while the North-South dialogue seems to be moving towards a deadlock.

51. The international economic situation during the decade which is ending still constitutes a source of grave concern. The world economy, as we have just been reminded by, *inter alia*, the reports of the World Bank and IMF, is getting steadily worse. In the developed countries signs of an economic revival are hardly perceptible, such is the persistence of recession, inflation, unemployment and deficits in the balance of payments. For the developing countries, there remains the spectre of poverty, disease, hunger and, indeed, total economic deprivation for 1 billion human beings. In our continent, which contains 20 of the 31 least developed countries, and particularly those in special categories whose poverty is such that they are below classification level, the situation is even more tragic. The annual *per capita* income of about \$365 is the lowest in the world. The rate of growth over the last 20 years, taking all the countries together, has barely exceeded 4.8 per cent, while infantile mortality has reached a figure of 137 per 1,000 and almost half the active population is unemployed. With regard to health, the ratio is 1 doctor to 672 inhabitants in urban areas, as against 1 to 26,000 in rural areas.

52. In this situation, which has been made even worse by natural calamities and disasters and aggravated by the rivalries of Powers in search of customers, raw materials and spheres of influence, the developing countries are condemned to the labour of Sisyphus, in a most insensitive international atmosphere.

53. Little significant progress in international negotiations has been made in the course of the last decade. It is appropriate here to express our gratification at the remarkable results obtained by the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. Indeed, by the end of the ninth session a compromise² was reached on essential questions, particularly the functioning of the Sea-Bed Authority and also arrangements for the exploitation of the international zone. We wish to express the hope that the forthcoming convention on the law of the sea will not be frustrated by unilateral legislative measures. That compromise was possible thanks only to the presence of a genuine spirit of co-operation and a persistent political determination to transcend immediate and apparently contradictory interests so as to make a resolute commitment to the building of a world at last reconciled with itself as a result of its being free from injustice and exploitation, and having relations among peoples based on solidarity and co-operation.

² Document A/CONF.62/WP.10/Rev.3 and Corr.1 and 3.

54. How, then, can we fail to regret that such considerations did not inspire all the participants in the eleventh special session, which concluded its work in September. At that session, devoted to development and international economic co-operation, the General Assembly did not succeed in making the decisive breakthrough towards the structural reforms which are indispensable for the achievement of the new international economic order. Some positive results, of course, made it possible to avoid total failure. We are thinking in particular of the resolutions on assistance to the least developed countries [*resolutions S-11/3 and S-11/4*] and also of the consensus reached on the text of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*see A/35/464*]. That Strategy, in which Cameroon would have liked to see the manifestation of a contract for harmonious international development based on solidarity and harmony, does, however, contain weaknesses and ambiguities. While it should, above all, have ensured the promotion of development in the developing countries, the Strategy touches on that fundamental objective only obliquely. Although it should have provided for much more binding commitments by Governments than those accepted in the former development strategies and should have included a precise time-table of objectives to be attained, the new Strategy contains measures of general policy which are so watered down that in the final analysis they amount to nothing more than vague promises to examine or to consider possibilities of action.

55. Instead of being a strategy for speeding up the attainment of the new international economic order, it is directed rather at resolving the problem of development within the existing institutional framework. The reservations or interpretations which accompanied the consensus text make absolutely clear the determination of their authors to maintain at any cost the present imbalanced, ill-adapted and unjust order. Those weaknesses and ambiguities explain our concern about the results of the eleventh special session. We are all the more disappointed as it was not possible to agree on either organizational procedures or the agenda for global negotiations.

56. This is the time to remind certain delegations which for various reasons were unable to associate themselves with the compromise reached on the subject that what is truly at stake here is the affirmation and recognition of the central role of the General Assembly in matters of international economic co-operation. We appeal to them urgently to adopt a more positive attitude so as to enable the international community to take advantage of this unique opportunity offered to us to define and orient—by means of a global, coherent and integrated approach—concrete action covering all the major sectors of the economy as well as important aspects of the international economic crisis.

57. Global negotiations, by remedying weaknesses contained in the Strategy, could contribute to the process of negotiations provided for in the framework of the new Strategy with the object of reforming relations and existing machinery in the field of economic exchange between developing and developed countries.

58. The various statements heard in the course of this general debate have given us grounds for hoping that the consultations that will be held during this session will make

it possible to dispel misunderstandings, smooth out differences and achieve a consensus that will make possible the launching of global negotiations on the date initially scheduled.

59. Persuaded that these global negotiations are necessary and that they can open up for international economic co-operation new prospects that will be commensurate with the requirements of the hour, Cameroon, like other developing countries, reaffirms its political readiness to engage in such consultations.

60. For us, this is a serious challenge of history.

61. Permit me to recall the words spoken by His Excellency President Ahmadou Ahidjo before this Assembly over a decade ago, words which remain more timely than ever:

“There is no doubt that mankind finds itself today at a decisive turning-point in its history. This places upon us a very heavy responsibility towards future generations. Our scientific progress may well have little meaning for them if we do not succeed in mastering the human problems with which our societies are confronted, if we fail to bequeath to those generations a world respectful of human dignity, conscious of its unity, and building its destiny in a brotherly dialogue, in peace and in justice, a world which they can possess in peaceful and prosperous security.”³

62. Mr. CHISSANO (Mozambique): First of all, I should like to express, on behalf of the FRELIMO⁴ Party, the Government and the people of the People's Republic of Mozambique, our profound condolences to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the Government and people of the Soviet Union, and in particular to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia, on the untimely death of Comrade Pyotr Masherov.

63. Comrade Pyotr Masherov, who at the time of his death was an outstanding and experienced leader of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, was a true representative of the working class of his country, but most of all he was an internationalist and a good friend of peoples fighting against oppression and for national liberation. As he had fought heroically for the defeat of fascism during his participation in the great patriotic war, so too he contributed throughout the ensuing years to the safeguarding of peace in the world.

64. His demise is a great loss to his country and people, as well as to the international community.

65. On behalf of my delegation, I salute you, Sir, on your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. You have assumed the heavy responsibility of presiding over the deliberations of the most universal organ of the international community at a time characterized by ever-growing tensions. However, we are convinced that, guided by the principles and the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations and by your experience

³ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1780th meeting, para. 29.*

⁴ Frente de Libertação de Moçambique.

in diploma^{cy}, you will be able to maintain the equity and meet the responsibility required of the presidency of the General Assembly. The delegation of Mozambique assures you at the outset of its full co-operation in ensuring that your endeavours are crowned with success.

66. Allow me also to salute your predecessor, Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim, who is not only a friend but also a faithful interpreter of the peoples' determination in their struggles for national liberation. The brilliant way in which he conducted the thirty-fourth session of the Assembly, the sixth and seventh emergency special sessions and the eleventh special session, honours all of Africa, and in particular the United Republic of Tanzania, a front-line country, which has once again demonstrated the greatness of its political stature and sense of responsibility through Ambassador Salim, who presided over the General Assembly until the opening of the present session with great knowledge, perceptiveness, nicety and fairness.

67. The growth of the United Nations family is for us a reason for great joy. It is the materialization of the principle that the determination of peoples in their struggle for national liberation is invincible. In liberating themselves from colonialism, the peoples also liberate the colonizer, making possible the establishment of new international relations.

68. The political, economic and social liberation of peoples brings us closer to the objectives of our Organization—justice, peace and social progress.

69. It is with deep feeling that we salute the people of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines on their attainment of independence and upon their admission as the one hundred and fifty-fourth Member of the United Nations.

70. During the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, we had an opportunity to salute the independence of Zimbabwe, which gave a new impetus to the liberation struggle of the people of Namibia and South Africa.

71. The people of Namibia, under the rightful leadership of SWAPO, their sole and legitimate representative, have for long years been waging an heroic struggle for national liberation and independence. This struggle, which has inflicted heavy defeats on the army of the racist minority régime of South Africa, is a direct consequence of the blind obstinacy of Pretoria, which insists in perpetuating its policies of colonial domination, racism and *apartheid*. For the people of Namibia and for the international community, armed struggle became the only alternative remaining by which to force South Africa to comply with the decisions of the United Nations and the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people.

72. However, SWAPO has always been ready to collaborate in any initiative leading to a peaceful solution of this problem. On many occasions, SWAPO has displayed a spirit of understanding and good sense by making substantial concessions in order to arrive at an acceptable negotiated formula. The whole process of negotiations by the Security Council which culminated in the adoption of resolution 435 (1978) is living proof of this spirit of understand-

ing, good sense and political maturity on the part of SWAPO.

73. With the adoption of that resolution, which approves the United Nations plan for the decolonization of Namibia, we were convinced that we had found the ways and means that would lead us to the independence of the Territory and to the restoration of peace in the area. It is now over two years since that plan was unanimously accepted by the international community. However, South Africa has not yet taken a single positive step since then. To each gesture of goodwill made by the United Nations, to each letter of the Secretary-General, the Pretoria régime has always given evasive answers, accompanied by senseless demands and an unprecedented arrogant attitude which makes even more remote the possibility of achieving a negotiated peace in the Territory.

74. To the positive contributions of the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Zambia and the front-line States in general, Pretoria replies with armed aggressions or military threats, and by promoting, encouraging and supporting puppet groups, all aimed at destabilizing those States.

75. It surprises us that certain Western countries can still say that South Africa's replies contain some positive elements. As a matter of fact, what we do find in them is only the irresponsible and aggressive character of the Pretoria régime.

76. Due to the tolerance shown to South Africa, it feels encouraged to leave the dock and to play the judge who demands that the United Nations and the entire international community withdraw their recognition and any other type of support from SWAPO. And it does this in the name of so-called impartiality.

77. What kind of impartiality is it an impartiality which allows South Africa to perpetuate its colonial domination over the Namibian Territory? Is it an impartiality which facilitates the unrestrained exploitation of the natural resources and bloody repression and continued aggression against its people and which allows constant aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Zambia?

78. South Africa wants us to embrace a kind of impartiality which can lead us to take the criminal for the victim of a crime. We have just talked about the crimes practised by the South African régime against the Namibian people. But the thorniest problem is the *apartheid* practices which still prevail in South Africa itself. The Western Powers' failure to face this problem with due seriousness is to be regretted and even condemned. They tell us that *apartheid* will die a natural death, that the South African people should be patient and that it is not necessary to react violently against *apartheid*.

79. For how long will they continue to give the South African people that kind of consolation? As a matter of fact, it is not consolation that the people need in South Africa. What they want is to liberate themselves from *apartheid*—that kind of nazism which is applied in South Africa, a nazism that should revolt the whole world as Hitler's nazism

revolted us in the past. *Apartheid* and nazism are based on the same political and ideological principle—the superiority of one race over the other races. They use the same instruments to suppress and massacre the peoples.

80. How, then, do people in the West differentiate *apartheid* from nazism? We, in the People's Republic of Mozambique, have no racial resentments but we believe that the difference, then, lies in the nature of the victims. The direct victims of nazism in Europe were whites while those of *apartheid* are blacks. It is forgotten that African people fought against nazism and fascism. Africans in the north and south died for the liberation of Europe, which was threatened by the fury of the dictatorships. And now, the same Africans are told that South Africa nazism should not be fought; that time will solve the problem.

81. And as if that were not enough, they even create conditions for the economic and military consolidation of *apartheid*.

82. South Africa's power and its military self-sufficiency are so great that today the Western countries cannot be proud of their performance with respect to the application of the arms embargo against that racist Republic. The Western Powers, while verbally condemning the Pretoria régime, at the same time prepare conditions for the régime to be immunized against the application of economic mandatory sanctions whenever these are imposed in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter of our Organization.

83. In the country of *apartheid*, students are massacred daily in the towns and suburbs of South Africa. Women, men and children are starving in one of the wealthiest countries of the world and one of the major exporters of food. That is the nature of *apartheid*. That is what the Western press is trying to hide.

84. In the so-called free world, few know about the nature of *apartheid* and of those who practice it. However, the mass media intoxicate public opinion with the so-called Kampuchea and Afghanistan issues. For them, the aggressions in Lebanon have no more than a statistical significance—they are considered normal acts. They make references to those aggressions when they pretend to show their military superiority. In any case, they avoid condemning Israel, which commits the aggressions.

85. The Western Powers do not dare to condemn *apartheid* and zionism, since imperialism, *apartheid* and zionism are fundamental chessmen on the chessboard of their strategy of domination and exploitation of the peoples, in which some of their followers and defenders are no more than mere pawns.

86. Despite brutal repression, the South African people, guided by the African National Congress of South Africa, heroically continues to oppose *apartheid*. Hence, the strikes of the working classes, the growing demonstrations of students—often violent—which mobilize an ever-increasing number of the South African people to fight against racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

87. The African National Congress, when hitting important and strategic economic targets, proves that there are no

obstacles which can impede a people's determination to liberate itself and to exercise its rights.

88. Shaken by the struggle being waged against it by the African National Congress, the minority régime tries to introduce cosmetic reforms which in fact will not touch the essence of the system of racial discrimination. It is within that context that, for instance, they conceived the bantustans, the attempts to create a representative chamber for Coloureds and Indians in the Pretoria Parliament, and so on. That is why certain Western circles, together with the Pretoria régime, try to make us believe that *apartheid* is reforming itself. *Apartheid*, like nazism, can never be reformed; it must be destroyed. It is the duty of the international community to participate by all means in this combat so that Sharpeville, Soweto, Guguletu and Langa shall not be repeated.

89. In the Maghreb area, the Sahraoui people, who are engaged in the struggle for their total liberation, guided by the POLISARIO⁵ Front, are undertaking very important military operations. Theirs is a war imposed on them by the colonial régime of Rabat. It is a struggle in defence of the sacred principles of the OAU and the United Nations. It is a struggle for affirmation of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic's sovereignty and of the dignity of its people.

90. From Port Louis to Freetown the POLISARIO Front has been achieving successive victories on the military, political and diplomatic fronts. The signing of a peace treaty with Mauritania⁶ is the corollary of the justness of the struggle of the people of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic. That Treaty, far from putting Mauritania in a defeated situation, returned to it the dignity and prestige it enjoyed in the international community before its involvement in the Moroccan adventure.

91. At the summit at Freetown, the majority of the States members of the OAU pronounced themselves favourably on the admission of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic as a member of the organization. However, another opportunity was given to Morocco to reconsider its position so that bloodshed might be stopped by a peaceful solution and so that Morocco could recover its honour and dignity. But unfortunately the Kingdom of Morocco, imbued with arrogance and with its expansionist mind, once more did not respond to the good gesture of the OAU.

92. The United Nations must condemn the Government of Rabat and demand the withdrawal of its forces of occupation to enable the people of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic to rebuild its country in peace.

93. On our side, we are honoured by the recent establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic. Once more we reiterate our solidarity with the people and Government of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic and the POLISARIO Front.

⁵ Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1979*, document S/13503.

94. Previous speakers have referred to the critical international situation characterized by the return to the cold war following the emergence of new focal points of conflict and the revival of the aggressive language which characterized the post-war period.

95. It is not by mere chance that this situation came into being. It has been created by imperialism and by military dictatorships. The transnationals, threatened by bankruptcy after the military defeat of American imperialism in Indo-China, are the beneficiaries of this situation. The armaments factories are maintained by war. That is why imperialism creates war where it does not exist. Whenever it is not viable or possible to create a war, they work out propitious conditions for one. Their pretexts are always the same: the need to defend the vital interests of the so-called free world; the need for power equilibrium; the need to guarantee the oil routes; the need to halt the "communist threat", which "violates human rights", and so forth.

Mr. Kasemsri (Thailand), Vice-President, took the Chair.

96. But the truth is that imperialism is frightened by the conquests of the peoples in Africa, Latin America and Asia. That is why it tries to impede their advancement. Once again imperialism uses the scarecrow of "communism" because it knows that socialism is a system that liberates man and brings immediate progress and happiness to the people. That is why those who now speak so heatedly about the so-called situations in Kampuchea and Afghanistan are the same people who unconditionally supported American imperialism in the criminal war in Indo-China. They are the same people who kept quiet when the dreadful B-52s were emptying tons of bombs over Viet Nam and Laos, and then Cambodia, spreading pain, hunger and death.

97. For them, at that time there were no refugees. The Vietnamese, the Laotians and the Cambodians were not human beings then. According to their logic, peace and international security were not in danger. Today, as they intensify the installation of bases and naval forces in the Caribbean and in the Indian Ocean, which threatens the security of our countries, they want to make us believe that in so doing they are protecting us. From whom are they protecting us—from ourselves?

98. The only protection we need is protection from imperialism. It is imperialism that impedes us from controlling our natural resources. It is imperialism that impedes us from developing our countries and prevents us from being happy. The increase in and enlargement of the imperialist nuclear presence in the Indian Ocean is a flagrant violation of General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI), which declares the Indian Ocean a denuclearized zone and a zone of peace, and it is the true threat to international security and peace. All of us must condemn it.

99. In the last two sessions of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean, the collusion of imperialism with certain littoral countries was evident in the attempt to postpone the world Conference on the Indian Ocean, scheduled for 1981, in Sri Lanka. They allege that it is not opportune to hold it because there is a state of tension in the zone.

100. It is precisely because there is tension and war that we are convening that Conference. We want to achieve at that Conference a multilateral treaty that will be able to secure the demilitarization and denuclearization of the entire zone and, at the same time, guarantee the internationally recognized right to freedom of navigation.

101. It is within that framework that the People's Republic of Mozambique supports the convening of a conference at the level of heads of State and Government of the zone of the Indian Ocean and of the big Powers and others, in conformity with the proposal put forward by His Excellency the President of Madagascar, Mr. Didier Ratsiraka.

102. The denuclearization of the Indian Ocean, Africa and the Middle East constitutes a very important step towards the achievement of complete general disarmament.

103. The People's Republic of Mozambique condemns the policies of imperialism, which exploits the difficulties of some littoral States of the Indian Ocean with a view to obtaining concessions enabling it to increase its military presence in the zone and to establish military bases, thus threatening the peace and sovereignty of those same States as well as of their neighbours.

104. The withdrawal of American forces from Guantánamo, which is Cuban territory, is essential in order to safeguard the inalienable rights of peoples and the dignity of our Organization.

105. In El Salvador the people are waging a heroic struggle against a military dictatorship. On behalf of the people and the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique, I affirm our militant solidarity with the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador which, despite the threat of direct American intervention, is triumphantly guiding the people of El Salvador to victory.

106. The people of Chile are maintaining resistance against the Fascist régime of Pinochet and improving their organization and strategy in order to fight and overthrow that evil régime.

107. In Nicaragua, the Sandinist Front—the revolutionary vanguard of the Nicaraguan people—is consolidating the revolutionary process in the country. It is the duty of the international community to guarantee respect for the sovereignty of the Nicaraguan people and to show solidarity with the peoples of El Salvador and Chile in their struggle against the dictatorial régimes.

108. In Asia the people of East Timor are still prevented from exercising freely their right to self-determination and independence because of the annexation and military occupation of their territory by Indonesia, which continues to refuse to conform with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Indonesia's military intervention in East Timor is a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the most elementary standards of international relations. The Indonesian military occupation of East Timor cannot be taken as a *fait accompli*; as a matter of fact, the Maubere people, although surrounded by very difficult conditions, continue to demand

respect for their sovereignty and territorial integrity through an heroic armed struggle for national liberation. For us, the importance of a people does not depend on the size of its territory, the number of its inhabitants or the amount of its natural resources. People are people, regardless of any statistical data. We admire the determination of a people to be free.

109. The Portuguese Government has just taken a very important decision in stating that it does not recognize the annexation by Indonesia. We hope that Portugal will fulfil its historical responsibility by strongly condemning Indonesia and actively demanding its unconditional withdrawal from the territory, so that the Maubere people may develop their country free from any external pressure or threats. My country reaffirms its unconditional support for and solidarity with the people of East Timor and its vanguard, FRETILIN.⁷

110. The reunification of Korea, which is demanded by the people of Korea and by the international community, is a pre-condition of the maintenance of peace in that region of Asia. The People's Republic of Mozambique demands the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea in order to facilitate peaceful reunification.

111. An old and thorny problem continues to afflict the Middle East. Israel, supported by the Western Powers, continues to occupy Palestine and the Arab territories, categorically refusing to recognize the inalienable right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and to form its own sovereign State. That is the core of the entire Middle East problem, the global and ultimate solution of which must be in accordance with the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

112. The Camp David agreements⁸ were not in accordance with such United Nations instruments. That is why we condemned those agreements and will condemn any future efforts to revitalize them. We condemned the agreements because, as practice proved, they did not consider the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence and to the creation of a sovereign State of Palestine. We condemned the Camp David agreements because the PLO was not considered in the process, as it should have been, as the only authentic representative of that people, on the same footing as all other parties at any international conference where the Palestinian problem is being discussed. We condemned the Camp David agreements because their promoters did not contemplate the total withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab territories.

113. Israel's intensification of the repression of the Palestinian people, the imprisonment of the most dedicated Palestinian leaders, the establishment of new settlements in the occupied Arab territories, the constant attacks against the southern part of Lebanon and Syria and the recent declaration of Jerusalem as Israel's eternal capital, all show clearly how vicious the Camp David agreements were and explain Israel's obstinate refusal to seek a global solution to the

problem of the Middle East. The People's Republic of Mozambique reaffirms its support for the struggle of the Palestinian people and of the Arab nation for their legitimate rights.

114. The people of East Timor, like the people of Palestine, are waging an heroic struggle against foreign occupation and colonial domination. Indonesia and Israel find themselves on the same side of the barricade. Foreign domination, colonialism and annexation are the essence of the situations prevailing in the Middle East and in East Timor. In the Middle East, as well as in East Timor, people are being oppressed and massacred, but they are people who resist.

115. When we addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations at the eleventh special session,⁹ devoted to the new international strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, we said that the struggle for economic liberation was an integral part of the entire process of the liberation of peoples started by the struggle for political independence.

116. Our opponents continue to be those same ones who tried to convince us that we were not yet ready to run our own countries. They are the same people who point out to us the energy crisis as being the reason for the ever growing gap between the rich and the poor.

117. While daily wasting astronomical sums of money in the armaments race, the imperialists see illiteracy, disease, malnutrition, hunger and misery as the natural fate of the people of the developing countries.

118. That is why, during the eleventh special session, the imperialist countries kept on rejecting all the measures proposed for the radical transformation of existing international economic structures. This proves that those countries are against justice, equity and people's progress.

119. The new development strategy for the next decade which by itself does not correspond to the totality of the demands of the developing countries will be void of content if the developed countries do not have the necessary political will and realism that the present situation requires of us. The situation requires the convening of global negotiations in conformity with the proposals presented by the Group of 77.

120. It was with deep disappointment and preoccupation that we noted the adverse attitude taken recently by the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom. We appeal to the developed countries and in particular to the aforementioned countries to take a more positive attitude which will permit the adoption of the necessary procedures which will guarantee the convening of global negotiations.

121. The People's Republic of Mozambique supports the declaration of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Group of 77 adopted on 30 September of this year [A/35/506, annex].

⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 5th meeting.

⁷ Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

⁸ 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.

122. As regards the co-operation between the developing countries which this declaration refers to, I had an opportunity during the recent special session of the General Assembly to mention the role which my country is playing, particularly in regard to regional co-operation. It is not my intention to repeat what I said. On that occasion I informed the international community of the difficulties with which we are faced as a consequence of our support for and solidarity with the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. As we also indicated during that session, the report of the Secretary-General on assistance to Mozambique [A/35/297-S/14007] will be discussed in the course of the present session. My duty now is to repeat the appeal which my country made recently in connection with the critical situation resulting from drought which has aggravated the already-mentioned economic hardships.

123. Drought is a misfortune for countries like ours which do not have food security because they do not yet produce enough food for their own domestic consumption. At the present moment two thirds of our country, namely six out of the ten provinces, is heavily affected by the prolonged drought which is affecting one and a half million inhabitants. Besides the lack of rain, there are some additional factors which make the situation even more drastic, namely: lack of hydraulic pumps and their respective spare parts, scarcity of wells, lack of water tanker trucks to provide water to the population and the irregular distribution of the population as a result of the colonial policy of occupying the best lands, while pushing the people into the poorest areas.

124. I will not go into detail since a detailed document of the situation will soon be circulated by the United Nations. However, on behalf of my Government and people, I would like to express our profound gratitude to those countries and organizations which have generously responded to our appeal.

125. The second Conference on the women's decade was held this year at Copenhagen.¹⁰ Generally speaking, we consider that the results were positive. Representatives from the four corners of the world got together to discuss and define concrete programmes designed to achieve greater integration of women into the global process of development. However, we notice that in certain countries women are still held as appendices of men and their faculties are still being questioned. In our country, since the period of the armed struggle for national liberation, women have been taking an active part in the reconstruction of Mozambique which means that they have the right and the duty to participate in every domain of national activity. This is not merely expressed in the Constitution; today, the Mozambican women participate on an equal footing with men in political, economic and social life.

126. We hope that the programme adopted by the Copenhagen Conference¹¹ will not be just another document with no meaning or one that produces no reaction in our respective countries. We bear in mind that all our political and economic goals necessarily include a true integration of

women into the general process of the liberation of mankind.

127. During the decade which will soon begin, the international community will have an opportunity to celebrate, in 1985, the International Year of Youth. This event is of great importance because youth is the guarantee of a nation's future. Youth is a fundamental force in the history of a country through its capacity to assume responsibility for new political, economic, cultural and social values, which respond to a people's aspirations for peace, liberty and development. In the People's Republic of Mozambique youth plays an avant-garde role in national development and in the construction of a socialist society.

128. The People's Republic of Mozambique is prepared to celebrate 1985 in a suitable manner. We hope that the international community will not spare any effort to make the 1985 celebrations successful in bringing about a progressive transformation in young people, as in the case of International Women's Year and the International Year of the Child.

129. At the beginning of this address, we said that Ambassador von Wechmar had assumed the heavy responsibility of presiding over this body at a peculiarly difficult moment characterized by increasing tensions around the world. It is with apprehension that we are following the escalation of war in the Middle East, a region which has been in a state of war for many decades. The present armed conflict between Iran and Iraq could become generalized and increase the threat to international security and peace, as the region is highly sensitive and vulnerable. So we would like to make an appeal to both sides scrupulously to respect the principles guiding the non-aligned movement of which both countries are members. We hope that both Iran and Iraq will observe the principles of the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-resort to violence, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. These are the political, moral and diplomatic standards in accordance with which we think it will be possible to achieve the correct solution of this problem.

130. We want to express our great esteem to Cuba, chairman of the non-aligned movement, and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for their promptness and for the total readiness they have shown in taking the initiative to bring to an end this armed conflict between two sister States, which, we believe, when united can play a very important role in finding solutions to the problems affecting their region and other developing countries.

131. It is, nevertheless, the duty of the international community to be vigilant so that imperialism may not take advantage of the war situation existing between the two countries to interfere in their internal affairs or to reinforce its zones of influence. *A luta continua.*

132. Mr. AL-THANI (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure at the outset to extend to Mr. von Wechmar, on behalf of the State of Qatar and on my own behalf, our warmest congratulations on his election as President of the thirty-fifth session. His ability and long experience in the work of the United Nations, as well as the high

¹⁰ See Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, Copenhagen, 14-30 July 1980 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.80.IV.3 and corrigendum).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, chap. I, sect. A.

regard his country enjoys in the international arena, give us hope and, indeed, confidence that he will guide the work of this session with the wisdom and effectiveness demanded by the complex political and economic problems facing the United Nations at this significant juncture in its history.

133. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to pay a special tribute to his predecessor, the President of the thirty-fourth session, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim. He earned the admiration of all for the keen wisdom and outstanding skill with which he conducted the deliberations of the thirty-fourth session as well as of the three special sessions held this year. The characteristically competent way in which he performed his arduous duties must be a source of pride not only to his friendly country and the rising African continent, but to us all.

134. I take this opportunity to reaffirm our confidence in and appreciation of the Secretary-General of the United Nations for the great unceasing efforts, wisdom and broad knowledge he places at the service of peace and the just causes of peoples in dealing with the complex issues confronting our contemporary world.

135. I also seize this occasion to convey the greetings of the Government and people of Qatar to the Government and people of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines on its admission to the international family. We wish that country all progress and prosperity.

136. At the outset of this session's deliberations, it behoves us to review quickly what this international Organization has achieved, in order to realize, as an international community, where we have succeeded and where we have failed in dealing with the international problems that have confronted us. It is necessary to take stock of our successes and our failures in order to set ourselves on the right path and to discern the course that will lead to a better future.

137. It is a significant source of rejoicing and optimism that at this session it has been possible for the first time to remove from the agenda the item on Southern Rhodesia which had been discussed by the General Assembly for several years. Therefore, we are overjoyed to see among us now the delegation of independent Zimbabwe. Its independence is the culmination of the heroic struggle waged by its valiant people. The United Nations also can congratulate itself on this triumph. Zimbabwe's independence was a goal that the United Nations sought and played a role in achieving. This momentous historical event has, *per se*, other significant dimensions, for it has rekindled the hope of the oppressed peoples still striving for emancipation and independence. This event has given a new momentum to the march of peoples in quest of their right to freedom and independence.

138. While making this review, we cannot fail to note the outstanding achievements of the United Nations in the area of decolonization and the attainment of independence for peoples and in the other various economic, social and humanitarian activities of the United Nations.

139. It is most pertinent to stress the role the United Nations plays—with limited success, sometimes—in containing and restraining regional conflicts and avoiding their

turning into catastrophic world confrontations in an era dominated by the balance of nuclear terror. We must also express our gratification and optimism at the concrete progress achieved this year at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, in particular since this progress was achieved after long years of hard work during which the Conference was sometimes the target of expressions of disappointment and criticism, and even bitter ridicule.

140. We would have preferred to confine this statement to achievements and gains. However, unfortunately, when we view reality we realize that the achievements are fewer and less significant than the setbacks. We even find that some contemporary world issues, far from being solved, have deteriorated and become much more complex.

141. The first and foremost task entrusted by the Charter to the United Nations was the establishment of a solid system for international peace and security. Today the world still lacks such a system. There are numerous political and economic issues that still constitute threats to international peace and security. Some of them are potentially replete with the danger of horrible catastrophes that may engulf the whole globe.

142. The Government of the State of Qatar, as it follows the development of bloody hostilities between the two Islamic neighbours, Iraq and Iran, with profound concern and sorrow, hopes that wisdom will soon prevail. The voice of reason always prompts brothers to settle their disputes peacefully to avert bloodshed and to spare potential that should be used to consolidate the struggle of our Islamic nation in the face of aggression by the common enemy against our rights as Arabs and against our Islamic sanctities, so that we may prevent this conflict from being used as a pretext for foreign interventions. We should all work to prevent that. Therefore, we hope that the Government of Iran will follow the example of the Government of Iraq in responding to the efforts exerted by the Islamic Conference and the United Nations to secure a cease-fire as a preliminary step towards eliminating the reasons for dispute between those two Islamic countries in a peaceful way for their own good as well as for the good of the region, and even of the world as a whole.

143. The serious situation in the Middle East is the primary question, which, if it persists, may seriously endanger the entire world. The whole international community is called upon to exert serious genuine efforts to solve the Middle East crisis. A prerequisite for this solution is a proper viewing of the nature of this question. Ever since Arab Palestine was subjected to the Zionist invasion, the Arab Palestinian people has suffered the most hideous oppression, displacement, persecution and deprivation of political rights, not to speak of the most fundamental human rights. Yet, this valiant people rejected the conspiracy aimed at effacing and eliminating it. With unflinching patience and steadfastness, it has striven to preserve its identity, in the first place, and to attain its right to self-determination and independence in its own homeland, in the second place.

144. The aggressor has had recourse to all kinds of terrorist, brutal means to pursue its racist designs. It has displaced more Palestinians and used military force and terrorism to

dominate the rest of the Palestinian homeland, and even other Arab lands neighbouring Palestine. It has colonized those territories and pursued an expansionist policy at the expense of the indigenous inhabitants of the region, in contravention of all international norms and agreements. The villainous attack that is being conducted today by the Zionist authorities inside and outside Palestine is proof of the terrorist, racist nature that has characterized Zionism since its inception.

145. Needless to say, the Zionist colonial authorities are engaged in a race against time to accelerate the implementation of their expansionist policy in the occupied territory, their expansionist racist designs having already been revealed to the whole world. The entire world is aware today of the extremist terrorist groups that engage, with the consent and encouragement of the Israeli authorities, in activities aimed at the perpetuation of an irrevocable *fait accompli*. This policy of *fait accompli* involves grave dangers, the ominous nature of which must be understood by the international community. The continuous Zionist aggression against Lebanese territory constitutes a flagrant violation of the Charter. The State of Qatar calls on the Security Council to take appropriate measures to end these acts of aggression and to preserve Lebanon's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

146. The whole world has realized that the Palestinian question is the core of the Middle East conflict. Peace cannot be maintained in that sensitive area of the world without a just solution to that question, a solution based on the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, independence and sovereignty, under the leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

147. The Secretary-General has declared in his report to this session on the work of the Organization that "the Middle East situation continues to dominate the affairs of the international community and remains central to the political and economic stability of the world" [A/35/1, sect. IV]. He has underlined the principles on which a solution should be based—principles which are embodied in the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly, especially resolution 3236 (XXIX).

148. The main obstacle standing in the way of a solution to the Middle East crisis arises from Israel's indifference to General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. This intransigent Israeli position remains the major source of danger threatening the region. Moreover, it is a continuous threat to the very being of the United Nations itself. The Secretary-General has referred clearly to this aspect in his report, declaring:

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

149. More than one Zionist leader has stated that United Nations resolutions are not worth the paper they are written on. Practical experience has shown that Israel and South Africa disregard this Organization and its resolutions.

Israel's annexation of Jerusalem as its eternal capital, after having incorporated vast areas of the occupied West Bank in it, is flagrant defiance of the feelings of 700 million Moslems in the world, apart from being a villainous transgression against the rights of the Palestinian people, as well as the entire Arab nation. Furthermore, Zionist practices in the Holy City constitute a criminal transgression against the historical and cultural values inherent in the Holy City of Jerusalem, which are cherished both by the Islamic world and by the world as a whole. The State of Qatar affirms its insistence on adherence to the resolutions adopted by the ministerial meetings of the Organization of the Islamic Conference concerning Jerusalem at Islamabad,¹² Amman¹³ and Fez.¹⁴

150. We wish to thank the States that have implemented Security Council resolution 476 (1980) concerning Jerusalem by moving their embassies from occupied Jerusalem. At the same time, we call on the Security Council to take more stringent measures under the Charter if Israel persists in its intransigence and its refusal to abide by the resolutions on the Holy City.

151. The situation in Afghanistan represents another hotbed of tension that threatens international peace and security. Foreign troops are still entrenched on Afghan territory; the people of Afghanistan are still suffering foreign occupation. The relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Islamic Conference held at Islamabad have not yet been implemented. I wish to reaffirm here the position of the Government of Qatar concerning this question—a position which we stated in the General Assembly and at the Islamic Conference. We also wish to declare our adherence to the position of the Standing Committee of the Islamic Conference on Afghanistan that any political solution to the question of Afghanistan should be based on the aspirations of the Afghan people and on respect for its national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, under a leadership accepted by the Afghan people that pledges to pursue a policy of non-alignment and friendship with its neighbours.

152. The people of South Africa are still subjected to a policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* which embodies violation of human rights and dignity. Instead of consenting to the call of the international community to abandon this criminal policy, the *apartheid* régime has perpetrated new crimes this year, thus demonstrating its tenacious clinging to that internationally rejected system. In view of this, we call on the United Nations and the international community to take all adequate measures to eliminate racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

153. We greet the people of Namibia and all the struggling peoples of southern Africa. We share their confidence that the victorious outcome of their just battle is imminent. We believe that Namibia's independence is but an historical inevitability. Any attempt to delay it will only lead to more bloodshed. Similarly, regardless of all delaying tactics and manoeuvres on the part of the racist régime in Africa, the march of history in that continent will not be stopped.

¹² Eleventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Islamabad from 17 to 22 May 1980.

¹³ Second extraordinary session of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Amman on 11 and 12 July 1980.

¹⁴ Tenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Fez from 8 to 12 May 1979.

154. Despite the painstaking and serious efforts that have been made by the United Nations for general and complete disarmament, the most significant result of which was the disarmament strategy adopted at the tenth special session of the General Assembly [see resolution S-10/2], the world is still witnessing a feverish escalation of the arms race. The continuation of this trend increases the menace of a dreadful world nuclear disaster, and continually depletes the world's economic resources. While millions of human beings suffer from fatal famine, available statistics indicate that the world will spend nearly \$500 billion this year on armaments.

155. The Government of Qatar joins the Governments of other States in calling for the channelling to economic development of the resources spent on the arms race. It appeals in particular to the two super-Powers to limit their huge military expenditures and resort once more to negotiations to reach an agreement on arms limitation and subsequently halt and reverse the arms race.

156. This session bears the burden not only of the international problems handed down from previous regular sessions, but of new additional responsibilities left over by the eleventh special session, on international economic co-operation. The failure of that session to reach agreement concerning global negotiations is due to the fact that some developed industrial countries regard the establishment of the New International Economic Order as a process in which what one party gains, the other loses.

157. The deterioration of the economic situation in the third world countries is illustrated by the aggravation of balance-of-payments deficits, economic inflation, rises in prices of processed goods, transnational corporations' control of raw materials produced by developing countries, the widening gap between rich and poor, and the failure of developed countries to pursue an effective energy conservation policy and to find suitable alternatives so that mankind may be able to make use of oil—it being the cheapest fuel available so far—for the longest time possible. This deteriorating condition continues to threaten international peace and security. It is imperative that the international community, represented by this forum, address this problem with determination and genuine co-operation.

158. In conclusion, it should be stressed that this session's success or failure will be an important juncture in the history of the United Nations and in its role in solving international problems. Its success or failure will add new dimensions to the future of international relations. Genuine co-operation and the determination to succeed will surely lead to a fruitful outcome of this session, which assumes greater significance for all peoples as a result of the increasing instability that has afflicted the world.

159. Mr. MUNTASSER (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the delegation of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya I should like to express to Mr. von Wechmar our delight and congratulations on this election as President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. I should like also to commend his predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, for his sincere efforts during his presidency when the General Assembly was engaged in intensive activities represented by three special

sessions in addition to the regular session. I take this opportunity to express the gratitude and appreciation of the Libyan delegation for his efforts.

160. My delegation also wishes to congratulate both Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines on their attainment of independence and welcomes their accession to membership of the United Nations.

161. I should like to commend Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, for his efforts and perseverance in consolidating the opportunities for peace and stability in the world. My country reiterates its support for his efforts in enhancing the role of the Organization and promoting its objectives so that humanity may enjoy peace and prosperity.

162. More than 34 years have passed since the establishment of this Organization and the promulgation of its Charter. No one doubts that it has done a lot in fulfilling the objectives set out in its Charter, which was approved by our countries and peoples. Yet, in spite of the achievements made in the field of international peace, in the area of decolonization and in the economic field, a glance at the current international situation will confirm that humanity, after being optimistic about the establishment of this Organization, is now experiencing a deep sense of despair. Pessimism is replacing optimism. If asked about the cause of this pessimism, our answer would be that there are still peoples deprived of their right to self-determination and others who continue to live under racist and colonial régimes.

163. There are also peoples which are still victims of abject poverty as a result of the reluctance of colonialist Powers to give up their privileges and monopolies in the world, as well as their persistence in exploiting the people, controlling their capabilities and preventing them from exercising their national rights.

164. As a result of the struggle waged by the people and the national liberation movements, as well as the political struggle within the United Nations, colonialism is now witnessing its demise but is still trying desperately to maintain its hegemony and monopolies in various regions of the world.

165. Everyone is aware of the deteriorating situation on the African continent resulting from the continuing imperialist intervention in the affairs of some African States, the war waged against the liberal and progressive régimes, the creation of weak subordinate entities, and the existence of the racist régime in southern Africa, with its repeated attacks on the people of the continent, its disregard for human rights and its persistence in violating the principles of the Charter and pursuing its racist policy. The insistence of the racist régime in South Africa on applying its racist practices against the black majority is an affront to the conscience of man and to the United Nations. It is the historic responsibility of this Organization to eliminate the disease of racism.

166. Our people can never forget that it was imperialism that created the Pretoria racist régime and that it was imperialism that helped maintain and supply it with deadly weapons and various forms of assistance. Imperialism can never

be a mediator, for it is the foremost enemy of the African people. The solution of the Namibian problem is not possible, except by enabling the Namibian people, under the leadership of its national movement, SWAPO, to attain full and immediate independence. That is what we made clear to the United Nations Council for Namibia in the course of its recent visit to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya when we said that the lack of progress in the negotiations undertaken, pursuant to Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), was caused by the manoeuvres of the illegal régime in South Africa that are designed to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya reiterates that a just and lasting settlement of the question of Namibia can be reached only through the direct and full participation of SWAPO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

167. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya affirms its determination to continue all possible forms of support to the Namibian people and other front-line peoples in southern Africa. The racist régimes in the world do not differ in ideology or in style. Although they exist in different locations they remain one and the same. What is going on in southern Africa is no different from what is now happening in our Arab region.

168. The situation in the African continent cannot be viewed in isolation from what is going on in the Arab region. The imperialism that created and continues to help the racist régimes in Africa is the same imperialism that created the Zionist racist régime in Palestine. The American imperialism that succeeded British colonialism supports the Zionist racist régime in Palestine and supplies it with funds and weaponry, not only to strengthen its occupation of Palestine, but also to continue its aggression and expansion at the expense of the Arab nation. Palestine has been occupied and its people uprooted for more than 30 years—a period almost equal to the life of the United Nations. The international community has not taken any practical action to restore to the rightful owners their rights, put an end to injustice and enable the Palestinian people to return to their lands. It is true that hundreds of resolutions have been adopted by this Organization condemning the Zionist racist régime in Palestine, calling for implementation of relevant United Nations resolutions and compliance with international legitimacy. But what has been the fate of those resolutions and why have they not been implemented? Why does the Zionist racist régime ignore them?

169. The absolute bias of the United States Government towards the Zionist entity no longer requires any proof. Everyone knows that the United States extends full support and massive assistance to the Zionist entity in all areas—political, economic and military—to the point where such assistance has become a subject of publicity by the candidates for the presidency of the United States. All of them assert and boast of the fact that their respective parties have given to the Zionist entity much more than the others. Such a stand by the United States, which supports and supplies the Zionist entity, together with its open opposition to the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and its reluctance to recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, is a betrayal of its responsibility both as a super-Power and a permanent member of the Security Council, and also proves that the United States is not serious

in trying to find a peaceful solution to the Palestinian question, as its authorities claim to be doing.

170. The United States, whose every action shows that it is against the rights of the people, and particularly the Palestinians, cannot be the mediator to resolve this issue. It is primarily responsible for the sufferings of the Palestinian people. It bears the full responsibility for the intransigence of racist Zionism in Palestine and its rejection of the relevant United Nations resolutions. The United States is responsible before history for the wars and tragedies from which the region has suffered and for preventing the Security Council from adopting any practical resolution.

171. The Palestinian cause is the cause of people who were driven out of their homeland and whose land was given to alien immigrants, while attempts were made to liquidate them. What is now happening in the Arab region, from moves towards surrender to the signing of the Camp David accords, is nothing but a series of attempts to legitimize the usurper and enable him to expand and occupy more Arab lands. What is called the peace process, namely what is now happening in the Arab region between the Zionist enemy and the Egyptian régime, on the one hand, and the United States on the other, is in fact nothing but a process of liquidation of the Palestinian people, designed to put an end to its existence, destroy its national aspirations and undermine the unity of the Arab nations.

172. What was signed at Camp David cannot be regarded as a basis for peace in the region, as it will only increase tension there and threaten international peace and security. A glance at those accords shows that they run contrary to international legitimacy, for they disregard the cause of the Palestinian people, which is universally recognized as the essence and origin of the Middle East problem. In addition, they deny the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. All that those accords refer to can be called the farce of a spurious rule of autonomy. The parties to the Camp David accords have also disregarded the United Nations resolutions relating to the right of refugees to return to their homes. Those accords also infringe upon the sovereignty of other States by providing that they are to apply to the peace treaties between what is called Israel and its neighbours: Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. It is thus clear that the parties to the Camp David accords have violated the primary principle of the Charter of the United Nations, which affirms "the sovereign equality of all its Members". Moreover, the Camp David accords were signed by parties which did not enjoy the legitimacy or the authority to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people. The United Nations has recognized the PLO as the legitimate and sole representative of the Palestinian people.

173. It has become clear to everyone, especially since the signing of the Camp David deal and the capitulation treaty, that tension in the region has increased and the danger of war has materialized. The best indications of that are the repeated Zionist attacks against Lebanon, the concentration by the Egyptian régime of troops along the borders with the Jamahiriya, in co-ordination and co-operation with the United States, and the declaration by the Egyptian régime of a state of emergency along those borders.

174. My country's stand in confronting and rejecting the Camp David accords is clear and well known. Those accords have been condemned by resolutions of the summit meetings held by Arab, Islamic, African and non-aligned countries. They were even condemned by the General Assembly at its last session and they were condemned and rejected by all sectors of the Palestinian people. Such condemnation of the Camp David accords is the best indication of the fact that they represent only a deal, designed to strengthen the occupation and force the Palestinian people and the Arab nation to surrender.

175. A just solution of the Palestinian question can be achieved only by stopping the migration of invaders to Palestine, by returning the settlers to their countries of origin, and by enabling the Palestinian people to regain its right to self-determination through the establishment of a democratic Palestinian State consisting of Palestinians, Arabs and Jews alike, in which the three major religions shall exist in harmony.

176. It is time for this Assembly to shoulder its responsibility and impose sanctions on the Zionist entity, which not only rejects the resolutions of this Organization but also persists in defying those resolutions, behaviour which is certain to tarnish the reputation of the United Nations.

177. The disdain and rejection shown by the Zionist entity towards United Nations resolutions make it imperative that this Assembly adopt decisive and solemn resolutions to penalize the Zionist entity and expel it from the United Nations, if respect for the Charter and for the resolutions of this Organization is to be restored, in order that it may pursue its noble task.

178. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, out of its firm belief in the right of people to self-determination, in accordance with the principles of the Charter and United Nations resolutions, supports the struggle of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic for the consolidation of its independence and sovereignty, particularly since that Republic has been recognized by over 42 States Members of the United Nations.

179. The United Nations and the international community have sought to achieve the noble objectives enshrined in the Charter. They have some achievements to their credit, such as a number of treaties banning nuclear tests and prohibiting the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and the convening in 1978 of the tenth special session, devoted to disarmament. The convening of that session on the initiative of the non-aligned States was an important step towards disarmament. Moreover, the Committee on Disarmament and the Disarmament Commission are endeavouring to save the world from the ravages of war and to devote all possible resources to the welfare and benefit of the human community.

180. Yet, all those attempts and efforts will not produce a positive result so long as international relations are not based on justice and democracy but rather on injustice, oppression, inequality, selfishness, exploitation and monopoly. The imperialist nuclear Powers are continuing to build up their arsenals and to develop new types of weapons of destruction. In general, they are in a continuous arms race.

Furthermore, they have not tried to share nuclear technology for peaceful purposes with the developing countries. The nuclear Powers seek to benefit from the privileges contained in certain agreements on disarmament such as the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] of 1968, but they do not fulfil the obligations contained therein; they exercise a monopoly and do not wish to transfer nuclear technology to third world countries for peaceful purposes. The aforementioned efforts are also hindered by the existence of foreign military bases, which had been reduced in number because of the liberation movements, but have begun to appear anew. The United States, for instance, is deploying its missiles and bases throughout the world, especially in our Arab and African regions. Those bases are a nuisance and a threat to the security and independence of the areas, a sort of domination, a political, economic and military hegemony, and a control over the capabilities of peoples whose Governments have allowed the presence of such bases on their territory.

181. Consequently, we demand that such bases be removed, especially from the Mediterranean, Africa, the Arab world, South-East Asia, South Korea and Latin America, in order to eliminate the danger of war and contribute to the cause of world peace.

182. All those factors create obstacles and difficulties for the efforts and attempts undertaken by the United Nations in the field of disarmament, and require colonized people and third world States to suffer enormous losses and to set aside substantial proportions of their budgets for the purpose of safeguarding their freedom, their security and their independence.

183. In that connection, I should like to note that, wishing to achieve peace and avoid the dangers of nuclear weapons, my country has signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty. It has also signed an agreement with IAEA on the application in Libya of safeguards under the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The Jamahiriya supports the call for making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and it endorses the proposal made by the Democratic Republic of Madagascar for the convening of a summit meeting on that matter.

184. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, as one of the non-aligned countries, believes in the great role that can be played by the non-aligned movement in maintaining and promoting world peace and security and restructuring the world economy on a just basis that would serve the interests of the entire international community. Recent events have proved that the non-aligned group has played and continues to play a key role in political and economic events in the world, because of the effectiveness of its role in achieving peace, security and prosperity, and through its awareness of the international responsibility entrusted to it. The peoples of the world look up to the non-aligned movement as an impartial movement devoid of any notion of exploitation, monopoly and domination, and hence able to contribute to the achievement of economic and political justice, in the interest of world peace and of well-being for humanity at large. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, confirming its adherence and devotion to the principles upon which the non-aligned movement is based, will do its utmost to support this movement and to help it achieve its objectives of prosperity and security for all the peoples of the world.

185. With regard to the situation in Cyprus, that friendly country with which we have strong relations and which belongs to the Mediterranean basin and to the non-aligned movement, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya hopes that the current efforts will be crowned with success by reaching an agreement that would preserve the rights of both the Greek and the Turkish communities and re-establish the unity, sovereignty, independence and non-aligned status of Cyprus.

186. The situation in Central America is becoming increasingly dangerous and explosive, particularly in El Salvador, where the United States is engaged in open intervention in the internal affairs of a small country with the purpose not only of terrorizing the people of El Salvador but, ultimately, all the peoples of the entire region. We in Libya strongly condemn the American imperialist challenges in the area and declare our solidarity with the people of El Salvador and the other peoples of the region which are waging a struggle for their freedom, independence and dignity.

187. The international economic order is still suffering from the crisis of the late 1960s, whose impact on the system has not diminished, despite all the attempts that have been made. Inflation continues to be the main characteristic of today's economy and unemployment still threatens millions of people. All the attempts designed to reform the international economic order have failed because they were merely superficial measures designed to alleviate the crisis and not to reform the system. This order can only be reformed by its restructuring to conform with current international economic and political conditions, which differ radically from those that prevailed when it was established. The existing economic order has become an obstacle to the developing countries, which did not take part in shaping it because some of them were suffering at that time from colonialist domination in both its political and economic forms.

Today, having achieved their political freedom and entered the stage of economic liberation, those countries face the obstacle posed by the fact that the international economic order does not respond to their just demands for even-handed dealing and an equal opportunity for all nations to contribute to economic decision-making.

188. The whole world has recognized the need to change the economic order and expressed that need in the course of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, at which resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI) containing the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the relevant Programme of Action were adopted by consensus. Unfortunately, it has become clear that recognition is one thing and the will to effect the change is another. Although six years have passed since the adoption of those resolutions, the position of the developed countries still stands as an obstacle in the way of efforts being made by the developing countries and the international community to change the international economic order and implement the United Nations resolutions concerning the new international economic order.

189. The developing countries believe that their economic and social development cannot be carried out under this system, and they are therefore determined to change it. Their efforts in this field began in the 1960s with the creation

of UNCTAD and were continued during the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, by the adoption of the International Development Strategy for the first and second United Nations Development Decades, and finally by the proposal for launching a series of global negotiations designed to examine economic problems on a comprehensive and coherent basis with a view to reaching comprehensive agreements. In those negotiations, studies will be conducted simultaneously on raw materials, energy, development and trade and money and finance, in order to ensure a coherent and integrated approach to the issues being negotiated.

190. The year 1980 is the last year in the second United Nations Development Decade. Although the Decade is nearing its end, the objectives set forth in its Strategy have not been achieved. Again, the failure of the Strategy is due to the fact that the developed countries have not fulfilled their obligations towards the developing countries. Even the goal of committing 0.7 per cent of their gross national product for official development assistance has not been met. On the one hand, those countries complain that the economic conditions do not allow them to increase the rate of assistance in real terms, and on the other, they hinder the changing of these conditions by avoiding implementation of the resolutions relating to the new international economic order. Military expenditure reaches approximately \$500 billion annually, while development aid to developing countries has not exceeded 5 per cent of that figure. This is a clear indication of the unwillingness of the developed countries to assist developing countries in their development efforts.

191. The topic of the development strategy goes far beyond the appropriation of a certain percentage of the gross national product as development aid and embraces the universal recognition of the need to advance third world economies and to eliminate the elements of backwardness and hunger. Without this recognition and the necessary political will, no development could be achieved or any objectives met.

192. The international monetary system has become unable to fulfil the aspirations of the developing countries. This system, established under the Bretton Woods Agreements¹⁵ when United Nations membership was 55 States, is no longer compatible with present-day aspirations. Since the establishment of this system, there have been major changes in the political and economic balance of power. Consequently, a change in the system has become unavoidable, if it is to conform to the new economic and political conditions. This system, which actually collapsed in August 1971 when the United States stopped the conversion of the dollar into gold, has become a counter-productive factor instead of being a helpful one in international economic co-operation in general and in the development plans and programmes of the developing countries in particular. This system, which relies on the dominance of one currency, has become incompatible with our era, the era of equality and mutual respect. It has become unacceptable, not only politically but also economically. All attempts to reform it have failed for one simple reason, that is, such reform was carried

¹⁵ Adopted at the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, from 1 to 22 July 1944. For the texts, see United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 2, p. 39.

out under the auspices of an institution that is still controlled by a group of developed countries. No serious attempts at reform can be expected within the framework of such an institution. The reforms are still being made in the absence of the developing countries, which remain mere spectators. They are not given any significant role in this field. Reform of this system must be carried out in connection with the series of international global negotiations and in a forum of universal representation where every voice is heard and all points of view are taken into consideration.

193. The oil price increase is still one of the most important subjects preoccupying the mass media in the developed countries, as though it were the only problem now facing the world. These institutions continue to depict the oil-exporting developing countries as if they were responsible for the problems that the world economy faces. They have even influenced some of the officials in developing countries, for we hear every now and then statements from them that are consistent with what the mass media in developed countries are saying all the time. Officials in developed countries are lamenting the state of affairs in which the developing countries find themselves as a result of the increase in oil prices, while they forget their obligations towards those countries. This contradiction refutes the allegations of those countries and figures prove beyond doubt that the international economic crisis has developed as a result of the world economic system, on the one hand, and the extravagant and wasteful utilization of natural resources, on the other. Indeed, one is surprised to find that an individual in the United States consumes in one year an amount of energy equivalent to what an African consumes in 95 years and a citizen of a nation member of the Organization of Oil Exporting Countries [OPEC] in 26 years. These figures demonstrate an extravagance which characterizes the behaviour of developed countries in their use of limited natural resources. Even the claims we hear from time to time that developed countries have taken measures to reduce consumption are groundless, for the reduction of energy consumption was a result of international economic conditions and the recession that ensued and was not the result of a planned economic policy. The economic crisis is due to the unbridled increase in government expenditure in developed countries and wage policies which follow political slogans and which are not based on economic facts, and thus lead to a rise in world inflation rates.

194. The world has never before witnessed a small group of countries performing a service such as that proffered by the OPEC countries. They provide the developed countries with unlimited supplies of oil, in economic circumstances that allow only a certain level of production to comply with their limited economic goals. Recognizing the need to protect the world economy, those countries have been producing quantities of energy exceeding their current financing requirements of their only resource from which they finance their various development programmes and which belongs to future generations. As for the developing countries, the OPEC countries have extended to them every kind of financial assistance, at ratios exceeding 10 per cent of their gross national product in the case of some countries, and 5.6 per cent for the Organization as a whole.

195. Co-operation among developing countries is the right approach to achieve political and economic solidarity. It is

also another means of achieving economic and social development for those countries. The importance of co-operation has increased especially after the failure of the dialogue with the developed countries and after the latter proved that the only thing they wanted to achieve from that dialogue was furtherance of their own interests, regardless of the pressing needs of the developing countries. Co-operation among developing countries has progressed considerably and has been further reinforced in the wake of the ministerial meeting held during March 1980.

196. In this connection, I should like to express the support of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for that dialogue aimed at achieving the desired aims of co-operation and solidarity of the developing countries and at contributing to their economic and social development.

197. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, which has always affirmed its support for the United Nations and its adherence to United Nations resolutions, believes that it is high time for this Organization to assume a more positive role in achieving its objectives of bringing about peace and security, the realization of freedom for human beings and the elimination of injustice and colonization. The Jamahiriya believes that it is high time to re-evaluate the role played by this Organization and to eliminate everything that hampers its effectiveness and its contribution to seeking appropriate solutions to international political and economic problems. In this context, the Libyan delegation believes that it has become necessary to amend the Charter of the United Nations. For this Charter, which was formulated at a time when the membership of the United Nations was no more than one third of its membership today and in international circumstances that we all know, is no longer suitable for or compatible with current international conditions. Keeping the veto limited to a small number of States is one of the main factors that hamper the effectiveness of the Organization and prevent it from playing its desired role. It is time to amend the Charter to ensure equality among States, regardless of their human and material resources, in order to enable all Member States to contribute effectively towards the achievement of peace and prosperity for the world.

198. At the thirty-fourth session, the General Assembly, as a result of pressures exerted by the big Powers, failed to decide on the draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee in paragraph 21 of its report;¹⁶ paragraph 1 of that draft resolution provided that the Special Committee on the United Nations Charter and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization should review the rule that requires the unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council in the adoption of decisions concerning non-procedural matters, and that the Committee, in so doing, should bear in mind certain considerations, including: (a) the principle of equality among States; (b) the fact that maintaining world peace and security is a great responsibility requiring the active participation of all the countries and peoples of the world; (c) strengthening the Security Council's role in maintaining world peace and security.

199. That draft resolution also included a provision concerning the preparation by the Secretary-General of a study

¹⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 114, document A/34/769.

on the question of the right of veto so as to clarify, in particular, the following: (a) the views expressed within the interested United Nations bodies concerning the difficulties posed by the use of the veto with regard to the fulfilment of the United Nations aims and objectives; (b) the attempts made in the past to alleviate the impact of using that right and the effectiveness of those attempts; (c) the proposals made within the United Nations bodies concerned, to alleviate the impact of the use of the veto and the alternative formulas which might replace it.

200. The failure of the General Assembly at the last session to adopt the recommendation of the Sixth Committee in this regard and the consequent practices relating to the use of the veto during the past period have proved that the right of veto represents a weak point in the structure of this international Organization, that it limits its role in maintaining international peace and security and contravenes the principle of equality among States.

201. Consequently, the question of the right of veto should, objectively and with a sense of international responsibility, be reviewed and studied in a comprehensive manner, to determine the best ways of ensuring progress for the Organization and enabling it to exercise more successfully its responsibilities in maintaining international peace and security, by enhancing its ability to adopt and implement effective resolutions.

202. The territory of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya was a theatre of operations for the belligerent Powers during the Second World War. It was even turned into a battlefield. All the Libyan cities and lands suffered from destruction and sabotage. The damage incurred, whether in lives or in property, was serious. What is worse is that Libya, even 35 years after the end of the Second World War, is still suffering from the scourges of that war as a result of the minefields planted by those forces at that time. Thousands of Libyan victims were killed or maimed because of minefields that sowed death and destruction on Libyan soil.

203. Due to the selfishness and reluctance of the belligerent States, which are responsible for what has happened as a result of those mines, and their refusal to reveal and to co-operate in providing the maps showing their locations, the number of victims continues to increase.

204. The international community is now aware of this fact, which comprises three elements: first, that the countries and peoples of the third world have suffered damage in life and property, due to the colonialist wars that were waged on their territories; secondly, that the economic development programmes in those countries have been adversely affected by the vestiges of those wars, such as mines and so forth; thirdly, that the warring States and the aggressive colonialist Powers continue to be reluctant and evade their responsibility to eliminate traces of their war operations by not giving the location of planted minefields and failing to provide compensation for the losses in life and property caused by them.

205. The international community reaffirmed its awareness of these facts and its clear desire to find solutions for them through several international resolutions concerning

the elimination of the traces of war, including planted minefields, especially those resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, the non-aligned countries, the Islamic Conference and the Board of Governors of UNEP. The latest of these resolutions was adopted by the Eleventh Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers held at Islamabad from 17 to 22 May 1980 [A/35/419-S/14129, resolution 26/11-P]. It stressed that the colonialist Powers must compensate the developing countries for losses incurred because of mines planted on their territories. It also emphasized that the colonialist countries should not be allowed to evade their responsibility for the enormous damages resulting from those mines, that full responsibility must be shouldered by them and that they should take the initiative in compensating the affected countries for those losses.

206. In the context of United Nations concern with human rights problems, in 1976 the General Assembly declared [resolution 31/123] 1981 the International Year for Disabled Persons, with the theme of "Full participation and equality" [resolution 34/154], on the proposal of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. In this connection, we should like to take this opportunity to make a sincere humanitarian appeal to the international community to help make that year successful and help it achieve its humanitarian objectives. Initial statistics show that there are in our world more than 450 million disabled persons, most of whom live in the developing countries. Those persons, like their peers who are not handicapped, are entitled to enjoy a free and decent life.

207. We should like to take this opportunity to extend our thanks and gratitude to the United Nations and to all the international and non-governmental organizations that have made positive contributions to the preparations for the International Year for Disabled Persons and to ensuring its success. Given the importance of this subject, my delegation proposes the inclusion of an item on the International Year for Disabled Persons among the items to be discussed at plenary meetings of the thirty-sixth session, which will take place during the International Year for Disabled Persons.

208. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is following with most profound sorrow and concern the events taking place between its brothers in Iran and Iraq. It believes that such events should never have taken place, that the blood of innocent people should never have been spilled, and that all their strength should have been preserved to confront the real enemies, headed by colonialism and zionism. The Jamahiriya therefore appeals to those brothers to put an end to the bloodshed, to take steps to find peaceful solutions so that the war may be terminated and their dispute settled amicably.

209. In conclusion, I am happy to point out that, on the basis of the fundamental goals cherished by the masses of the Arab nation throughout the Arab homeland—that of achieving Arab unity, building socialism and liberating the occupied territories of the Arab homeland—and in the belief that Arab unity is that nation's destiny and fate and that in Arab unity lies its future and its salvation, a declaration of the establishment of a merger between Syria and Libya has been made, a merger for which we wish complete success and fulfilment and which we hope will be the nucleus of the unity of the Arab nation as a whole.

210. Mr. KASIM (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset I wish to extend to Mr von Wechmar, of the Federal Republic of Germany, congratulations on his unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session. The confidence that the Assembly has shown by electing him to that high office is an expression of the international community's acknowledgement of his outstanding political and diplomatic qualities and the recognition of the important role played by the Federal Republic of Germany in the maintenance of international peace and security. Its efforts are evidenced by the ever-expanding bilateral relations with other countries as well as by its active role as a member of the European Community in the family of nations.

211. My country attaches great importance to its friendship with the Federal Republic of Germany, which is based on co-operation and mutual respect. I am confident that Mr. von Wechmar's extensive experience and diplomatic acumen will contribute to ensure a judicious and constructive dialogue aimed at the solution of the various questions on this session's agenda.

212. I also wish to express our deep gratitude to his predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, who shouldered the arduous task of presiding over the thirty-fourth session and several special sessions. His exemplary qualities and dedicated leadership in grappling with the most complex issues earned him the respect and admiration of the United Nations. These sentiments we feel in equal measure for his friendly and esteemed country, the United Republic of Tanzania, and for the great continent of Africa as a whole.

213. I wish to take this opportunity to acknowledge with profound appreciation and gratitude the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, to augment the effectiveness of the United Nations system in preserving peace, stability and justice throughout the world. Those achievements have entailed incessant efforts with a view to restructuring relationships in the economic, social and cultural fields on the basis of greater equality among nations.

214. We have learned with deep regret of the tragic death of Mr. Masherov, one of the eminent leaders of the USSR and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia. On behalf of the Government and people of Jordan, I extend to the peoples of the USSR our sincere condolences on the loss they have suffered with the passing of that great man. I would request our colleagues in the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR to convey our heartfelt sympathy to Mr. Masherov's family.

215. My country supports unswervingly the struggle of all peoples to attain freedom. It is with deep joy that I convey the congratulations of His Majesty King Hussein and the Government and people of Jordan to the Republic of Zimbabwe and its people, and extend a hearty welcome to that Republic on its accession to membership in the community of nations. We are confident that it will play its rightful part in supporting the causes of freedom, progress and peace.

216. I also wish to welcome to membership in the United Nations the State of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and to address our sincere congratulations to its delegation.

217. The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the United Nations [A/35/1] deserves our highest commendation. It is an objective appraisal of the current world situation and of the achievements in and the obstacles that impede progress in the political and economic fields.

218. The substantial progress and agreement achieved at the ninth session of the Third Conference on the Law of the Sea, held last August, concerning the law of the sea and the exploitation of the resources of the seas and the oceans are truly a landmark in the annals of the United Nations.

219. My Government shares the Secretary-General's concern, reflected in his report, pertaining to the important issues of which the United Nations is seized. In the words of the Secretary-General:

"It is rightly a matter of general concern that the decisions of the Security Council and the resolutions of the General Assembly often go unheeded, so that problems which should have been brought under control persist, proliferate and pose continual threats to international peace." [*Ibid.*, sect. II.]

220. We also agree with his comment that "the will of the majority in the United Nations has too often been flouted and that the reasonable demands of its resolutions have been ignored". [*Ibid.*]

221. This serious difference in the visualizing of international issues indicates two diametrically contradictory positions. The first is based on the free expression of the views of the majority of Member States on questions relating to peace and the right of all peoples to self-determination; the second is based on power politics and the imposition of *faits accomplis*, which some States continue to practise in the mistaken belief that such a course is the best way to solve conflicts.

222. In spite of the gravity of the situation, our faith in the collective judgement of that majority and the moral weight it brings to bear upon the work of the United Nations will have an increasing impact on the role of the Organization in preserving world peace and the political, economic and social advancement of mankind.

223. The accelerating arms race and the ever-increasing threat of destructive wars have been and continue to be the nightmare which overshadows the fate and future of all peoples. That is the stark reality, in spite of the bitter experiences we have passed through and notwithstanding all the decisions and resolutions which the United Nations has adopted and which reject the use of force and advocate peaceful means for the settlement of international conflicts.

224. The policy of dividing the world into spheres of influence has created international tensions which have compelled the countries of the third world to seek the protection of their national interests by arming themselves inordinately, quantitatively and qualitatively, beyond their means and at the cost of undermining their own progress and economic and social betterment.

225. The enormity of this tragic situation is illustrated by the fact that the arms race has imposed upon the world the

expenditure of more than \$500 billion in 1980. A sizeable proportion of that wasteful expenditure has been borne by the countries of the third world. The denial to the poor countries of the third world of a propitious atmosphere for concentrating on internal development and their propulsion into the arena of international conflict which threatens their very existence have forced them to focus their primary energies on the paramount issue of survival.

226. Disarmament is imperative to the peace and security of the world. The negotiations on the limitation of strategic weapons and the Helsinki Final Act¹⁷ are steps which, we hope, will transform relations among nations from "power politics" to wider levels of détente which will find concrete expression in scientific, cultural, economic and human co-operation.

227. It is our earnest hope that the second review session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to be held at Madrid, will provide a new opportunity to achieve a *modus vivendi* for consolidating co-operation and peaceful co-existence in other parts of the world. This is particularly the case as Europe is presently called upon to play its rightful role in building international peace and security and also to promote balanced relations between the two super-Powers.

228. Jordan is deeply concerned about the dangers of nuclear proliferation and fully supports the United Nations efforts in the field of non-proliferation. In that context it is our earnest hope that the world Organization will succeed in guaranteeing that the Middle East remains a nuclear-free zone. This has assumed greater urgency since the development of a nuclear arsenal at its centre, in Israel, which still believes that hegemony, expansion and aggression are the overriding principles of its policy. That is amply demonstrated in the occupied Arab territories; it is also exemplified in the aggression against Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The tragedy which has befallen its people and the effectiveness of the role of the United Nations there have become an acid test of the extent of our adherence to the principles of the Charter.

229. One of the most important and urgent issues confronting the international community is the establishment of a new economic order, on a more just and equitable basis, to supplant an inherited and outdated economic system which was created under conditions different from those which exist today. The international economic order has reached a stage of crisis where our aspirations to find appropriate solutions can only be described as a struggle for the survival of the human race, particularly in the least developed parts of the world. Abject poverty, ignorance and disease are becoming an increasing threat to whole societies. Drought and desertification are menacing other societies in Africa and Asia.

230. In spite of the alarming magnitude of the situation, it has failed to galvanize adequately the political wills of the developed countries to an extent commensurate with the magnitude of the challenges. It has failed to lay down new moral imperatives based on justice, equity and solidarity among nations.

¹⁷ Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

231. My delegation believes that the United Nations has a central role to play in a basic restructuring of the existing international economic order and the establishment of a new one. We also believe that there should be a moral order to guide relations between the developed and the developing countries. It is also our conviction that international trade is impaired because of the unjust principles on which GATT is based.

232. We believe that the new international economic order must be directed to ensure coherent and well balanced food security for the whole international community. To that end, modern technology should be directed towards arresting the problems of desertification, reclamation of unused lands and development of water resources.

233. Jordan attaches considerable importance to regional co-operation among developing countries and is contributing to its application in accordance with the recommendations of the special session of the Arab Economic and Social Council which met at Amman on 6 July this year. Jordan stresses the imperative need to apply such regional co-operation in various other geographical regions as complementary to and not as a substitute for international co-operation.

234. We have followed with keen attention the proceedings of the eleventh special session, devoted to development and international economic co-operation, which concluded its work on 15 September last. We have also considered with the utmost attention the recommendations issued by that special session. We wish to express Jordan's deep satisfaction that the emergency aid to the least developed countries, previously proposed by the Secretary-General, was unanimously approved. We also noted with satisfaction the consensus among Member States regarding the imperative need to proceed forthwith with the adoption of the new International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade.

235. Notwithstanding our disappointment over the failure to achieve consensus in the interrelated field of global negotiations, we hope that negotiations concerning the differences between the developed and the developing countries will be resumed in the course of the current session.

236. Inspired by its Arab and Islamic legacy, Jordan ardently believes in human rights as a lofty and all-encompassing goal which must be attained without any discrimination. It should be kept apart from varying ideological struggles. It is therefore deeply dismaying to see the cause of human rights practised selectively.

237. The deprivation of a whole people, the Palestinian people, of their most fundamental right to self-determination in their homeland is therefore a matter which evokes perplexity and deep concern.

238. The denial of fundamental Palestinian rights is all the more obnoxious as that denial comes from a State which had misguided the world into thinking that it was an oasis of democracy. It had also for a while deceived public opinion in the West into thinking that it was a centre of freedom and justice in the Middle East.

239. The Western world, weighed down by a guilty conscience, has for some time been led to believe that Israel must be created, sustained and consolidated to atone for the misdeeds of the Nazis against the Jews. It is incredible that Israel itself, which has incessantly reminded the world that the Jews were among the victims of nazism, should today be practising the ugliest forms of fascism and racism against the Palestinian people. The numerous reports issued by fact-finding commissions of the Security Council, the General Assembly and many other bodies have revealed the ideological and behavioural practices which dominate the Israeli mentality and which match in magnitude the ugly practices of the racist South African régime in its policy of *apartheid*.

240. It is incumbent on us to warn of the grave consequences which will ensue from the existing collaboration between the two racist régimes of Israel and South Africa in the political, cultural, economic and military fields. The collaboration has extended to the nuclear field in the exchange of uranium and technical know-how. Its most telling manifestation has been the combined atomic explosion in the Indian Ocean, which poses a threat to international peace and security.

241. We subscribe to the Secretary-General's assessment that the situation in the Middle East continues to be the central issue in the international situation and is of paramount importance to the political and economic stability of the world.

242. Arab efforts have therefore been directed towards the achievement of a just and comprehensive peace in the region, within a framework acceptable to the international community. On the other hand, we find Israeli practices which are prompted by a mentality based on aggression, hegemony and expansion. This was clearly asserted in the statement by Israel's former Minister for Foreign Affairs, General Moshe Dayan, in which he said that his connotation of security for Israel was that its limit was coterminous with the farthest spot on which an Israeli soldier stood. It has also been reflected in the latest Knesset resolution declaring the Holy City of Jerusalem as the unified capital of Israel. It is likewise manifested in the expenditure of the equivalent of \$3 billion, or roughly 15 per cent of Israel's annual budget, for the construction of new settlements, in addition to supporting expenditures to sustain those colonies.

243. Israel's massive military build-up in consequence of the material, military and moral support of some Powers, and specifically of the United States of America, has created a security imbalance in the region and has enabled Israel to achieve predominance. In consequence, Israel has unabashedly persisted in its defiance of the international will and in refusing to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. It has simultaneously implemented its ideology of expansion and of exclusivism, in which the legitimate Palestinian presence in Palestine and the Arab region around it is regarded as a human and material barrier which must be destroyed and overcome to enable Israel to achieve its long-standing plans to consolidate its hold on the lands which it occupied by means of colonization and expulsion of the inhabitants, achieved through all military and political forms of terrorism.

244. In describing the situation which prevails to this Assembly, Jordan warns that its continuance will have a great bearing on international peace and security.

245. Israel's declaration of Holy Jerusalem as its unified capital, in defiance of Security Council resolution 478 (1980) of 20 August last, is the climax of these heedless and dangerous illegal policies. The Knesset enactment has made the search for comprehensive and just peace virtually impossible. Moreover, it is Israel's declared intention to annex the occupied Golan Heights.

246. Jordan, by virtue of its geographical location and its historical and national commitment to the Palestinian cause and the rights of its people, has faced the tragedy of Palestine with the optimum degree of responsibility. While the Palestinian people are to this day living victims of deprivation and dispersal from their homeland, Jordan has experienced the consequences of this human tragedy in its manifold political, military and economic dimensions.

247. The Act of Unity between the Palestinian West Bank and Jordan of 24 April 1950 was but an expression of this national commitment. The Act of Unity unequivocally attests to Jordan's support for the historic rights of the Palestinian people and the preservation of all Palestinian rights, in any final settlement, in accordance with national aspirations, international justice and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

248. Inspired by its Arab national commitment, the Jordanian citizen has shared with his brethren whom aggression has dispersed an honourable life, his home, his school and also the trenches. Jordan has also shouldered and continues to shoulder the consequences of a human and a political issue which was created by unjust and misguided international action. Jordan's commitment to the Palestine cause has been expressed in its rejection of unjust resolutions which accorded legitimacy to the Zionist entity at the expense of the Palestinian people, in conditions which are all too familiar to this Assembly.

249. Jordan's organic association with the Palestinian cause and its ramifications has always been clear-cut in its vision and its basic principles. Jordan has given clear support to all international efforts pertaining to the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East. Jordan has taken a positive attitude, subject to its declared principles, towards the various efforts aimed at achieving a just and comprehensive peace within an acceptable formula under which the international community could shoulder its responsibility for achieving a solution.

250. Just as we have reacted positively and clearly to every genuine effort which might contribute to a just and comprehensive settlement of the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East, so we have reacted clearly and vehemently against the Camp David accords because this transaction runs counter to the vital rights and interests of all the parties concerned, with the exception of Israel.

251. The framework of the Camp David agreements totally ignores the core of the issue, save for short-sighted and partial solutions; it repudiates the most elementary of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

252. Jordan furthermore regards the Camp David agreements as infringing the basic elements accepted by the international community for any comprehensive and just settlement, elements to which the Arab leaders committed themselves at their Summit Conference, held at Baghdad in November 1978,¹⁸ where they laid down the minimum requirements for such a settlement: first, total Israeli withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in 1967; secondly, the return of Arab Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty; and thirdly, recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination in their land and their national territory, under the leadership of the PLO.

253. The best evidence of the failure of the Camp David agreements in tackling the question of peace—quite apart from its perpetuation of Israel's policy of the *fait accompli* and of separate agreements—is that the signatories to the framework agreements are suffering today a loss of direction. Some of those signatories have conceded that they have reached an impasse. That Camp David framework has encouraged Israel to ignore the General Assembly resolutions and the Security Council decisions, which are presumed to be binding upon all States. The Camp David framework has brought the region nearer to the perils of war, contrary to its declared purpose of leading the region in the direction of peace, for it has given Israel the opportunity to direct all its military forces against the other Arab fronts with a view to imposing its military dominance over them. Needless to say, it has also enabled Israel to consolidate its occupation and to impose the policy of the *fait accompli*.

254. The positive and categorical resolutions adopted by the non-aligned movement, the Islamic Conference and the OAU and all other peace-loving States Members of the United Nations—whether through their own regional conferences or through their positions at the General Assembly—constitute the basic pillar in support of our legitimate and just rights.

255. Jordan considers the Venice Declaration issued on 13 June this year by the European Community [A/35/299-S/14009] as reflecting a positive and responsible change which we hope will be further developed and articulated until it meets the aspirations of the Arab peoples and all peace-loving States. Europe's move on the correct path and its readiness to participate more actively towards a solution of the question of Palestine and the Middle East are a tangible demonstration of the European Community's heightened awareness of its international responsibilities in the cause of peace and in sparing the region the scourge of war, which will not be confined to the area but might threaten the world in its entirety.

256. The Government of Jordan, as part of its efforts towards rectifying the wrongs that are still being perpetrated against Palestine and its people and as a manifestation of its commitment to international legitimacy, has, following consultations with its brethren, decided to request the General Assembly to seek an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice concerning the Israeli practices and the legal status of the occupied Arab territories, whose character Israel is striving to obliterate, whose history is being assiduously distorted and whose occupation Israel is

bent on consolidating by murder, annexation, Judaization and colonization.

257. Jordan, as an Arab and Islamic country, is deeply pained by the fratricidal events that are currently occurring in our region between two neighbourly Islamic States. Jordan, whose adherence to resuscitating the Islamic identity is a cardinal principle of its policy, views Islamic solidarity as a vehicle for consolidating Islamic principles and values. This policy makes a salutary and effective contribution to the preservation of international peace and security.

258. Jordan, inspired by its fidelity to the Charter of the United Nations and to the norms of international law and in its unequivocal national commitment, stands by the sister State of Iraq in the latter's defence of its national soil and legitimate Arab rights. It is our hope that the Islamic Republic of Iran will respond positively to the Iraqi initiative for a cease-fire, which would provide a propitious atmosphere for achieving a just settlement based on good-neighbourly relationships and non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

259. We wish to take this opportunity to express to President Zia-ul-Haq of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan our gratitude and appreciation for his goodwill efforts on behalf of the Islamic Conference, and our hope that these efforts will be brought to fruition in the achievement of a just and honourable solution.

260. I should also like to pay a tribute to the efforts of Mr. Agha Shahi, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan, and to Mr. Habib Al-Shatti, Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference, for their efforts to achieve a solution of this conflict.

261. Our immediate and overriding concern is to stop the bloodshed and destruction and to accord to each side its rightful due, on the basis of international legitimacy, upon which the Charter of the United Nations rests.

262. Mr. CASTILLO-VALDÉS (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the delegation of Guatemala, I extend to Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar my warm congratulations on his election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. The unanimous confidence which the Assembly has shown in him by electing him to such a high office is fully justified by his participation in the activities of the United Nations and his qualities as a diplomat and international negotiator.

263. I also wish to congratulate his predecessor, Mr. Salim A. Salim, of the United Republic of Tanzania, for having successfully presided over the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

264. My delegation joins in the tributes paid in this forum to the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who has done his utmost to tackle the many serious problems confronting the world community.

265. We have read with great interest the Secretary-General's annual report on the work of the Organization [A/35/1] and we express our appreciation of that important document, which reflects judgements based on his years of

¹⁸ Document A/33/400, annex.

experience in his post during which he has always worked with patience, diplomacy and discretion, thus fully deserving our admiration.

266. I also wish to take this opportunity to convey a cordial welcome to the countries which have just joined the Organization. We support their admission in conformity with the principle of universality, an aspiration which, strengthened by the observance of the provisions of the Charter, is aimed at the maintenance of world peace.

267. My delegation would like to convey its condolences to the Byelorussian SSR on the tragic death of Pyotr Masherov, alternate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of that country, which occurred on 4 October.

268. The Government of the Republic of Guatemala, under General Fernando Romeo Lucas García, considers that it is important to describe to this world Assembly what the people of Guatemala are doing at all levels to accelerate the integral and harmonious development of all sectors of the country.

269. Large-scale projects of direct benefit to the people are being carried out in Guatemala. For example, a comprehensive road-building plan has been launched to ensure that Guatemala is endowed with a perfect road network. Work is proceeding to equip the country with hydroelectric plants. Building operations have started to provide Guatemala with a modern and functional port on the Pacific Ocean. The construction of hospitals, health centres, schools and recreational establishments is being accelerated, and we have continued to build housing projects mainly for the low-income sectors.

270. We are also carrying out a land reform policy with the aim of providing farmers not only with land they can own but also with farm credit, training and technical assistance to ensure the best use of the land, effective support for agricultural activities, assistance with the industrialization of agricultural products and construction of the infrastructural works necessary to ensure that farmers have all types of facilities for the marketing of their products.

271. We must note the progress of work in the northern fringe of the country, which comprises an area of 9,140 square kilometres. This area is being incorporated into the activity of the country and is designated for social transformation, since the land is being handed over to be worked mainly on a communal basis. This will allow the settlement of numerous families in that large area assigned for agricultural development.

272. Moreover, the work of reforestation has been intensified through a series of programmes to protect the ecology of the nation.

273. We are continuing to give strong support to the national co-operative movement, mainly with the aim of improving the living conditions of the small producers, most of whom are in the rural areas. We have promulgated the appropriate legislation necessary to strengthen the co-operative movement and have set up the bodies required for

the implementation of a comprehensive policy of aid to the workers.

274. Recently, a substantial increase was decreed in the minimum wage of agricultural workers to allow them to cope with the increase in the cost of living, a phenomenon which affects all nations.

275. For the first time in the history of our nation, sports, which are carried on in a fully autonomous manner, enjoy the financial resources required if sports are to be engaged in for the benefit of the country. The State has promulgated legislation granting all kinds of support and encouragement to sports at all levels. The sporting spirit is being fostered among children and young people as a means of creating unity and strengthening feelings of friendship, achievement and solidarity, in accordance with the principle that sports are a patriotic activity.

276. We have begun to harvest the fruits of this policy: young people have discovered that the practice of sports is not only a recreation but a stimulus to their participation in the enhancement of Guatemala's greatness.

277. With reference to hydrocarbons, we are strongly encouraging oil exploration and development. We have already exported modest amounts—a total of 520,000 barrels—of Guatemalan crude oil.

278. The execution of our educational plan is given high priority, since it is aimed at equating education with the needs and aspirations of Guatemalan society, with the improvement of the quality of education and of the system, so as to serve the whole population.

279. Every encouragement to cultural development is given and the participation of all social sectors in cultural activities is promoted. Guatemalan folklore, one of our people's sources of pride, is thus protected.

280. Guatemala, as a country in the process of development, is like all other developing countries, faced with a number of problems. Our situation has become worse as a result of the constant and unreasonable increase in the price of oil and its derivatives, and of world inflation whose effects are more strongly felt in the underdeveloped countries, which are more vulnerable to external phenomena.

281. To this we must add the unfair conditions of international trade.

282. In order to continue with development programmes in Guatemala, as in all developing countries, it is urgent to improve the conditions of trade and credit, to obtain easier access to markets and to secure a higher price for the raw materials and industrial goods of the underdeveloped nations, in order to achieve greater equity in the distribution of profits.

283. The strength of the developing countries must be based on the justice of their cause and on their unity. This strength should reside not only in their number but also in the awareness that they constitute the majority of nations and the majority of the world's population. It should be

emphasized that their aspirations therefore acquire special significance for the future of mankind.

284. Guatemala considers that the implementation of the decisions agreed to for the establishment of a new international order is a collective responsibility which we are required to support with unshakable faith, co-operation and political will. Any delay or postponement will increase tensions, which will run counter to the interests of all peoples.

285. We have the opportunity to establish a new international order in which all nations can maintain harmonious and just relations with one another.

286. With renewed determination and genuine co-operation, all of us, both developed and developing countries, must respond with courage and determination to this difficult and important challenge.

287. Guatemala is a country which respects and guarantees universally recognized human rights. Such rights, as far as Guatemala is concerned, have been elevated to the category of constitutional precepts since the promulgation of our Constitution on 11 December 1879.

288. As regards fundamental human rights such as the right to life, to education, to free and fairly remunerated work, to decent housing, to health, to access to all levels of education and, in general, to a dignified existence, I have already described the progress which the Guatemalan people, by hard work and their own efforts, are making in pursuit of these noble and so human aspirations.

289. As regards individual human rights, in Guatemala all human beings are free and equal in dignity and rights. There is no discrimination on grounds of race, sex, religion, birth, economic or social position or political opinions. Everyone has the right to do what the law does not prohibit. No one can be persecuted or harmed because of his opinion or acts that do not involve an infringement of the law. Any act preventing or impeding a Guatemalan from exercising his rights or fulfilling his duties as a citizen is punishable. No one may be detained or imprisoned except for an offence and by virtue of an order issued in accordance with the law by a competent judicial authority. In criminal proceedings no one may be obliged to give evidence against himself or his relatives. There is no imprisonment for debt. No one may be convicted without being summoned, tried and sentenced in legal proceedings held before competent and pre-established courts, where the essential legal formalities and guarantees are observed. The domicile and correspondence of all individuals are inviolable. There is complete freedom of movement, of individual or collective petition to the authorities, of peaceful meetings and of association for the different purposes of life. There is freedom of thought without censorship and it is not an offence of slander or insult to denounce, criticize or censure public officials for purely official acts performed during their public duties. There is complete freedom of religion. There is freedom of industry, trade and work. There is freedom of access to the courts to bring proceedings in accordance with the law. The documents of the Administration are public. Suffrage is universal, direct and secret. There are institutions for controlling the conduct of public officials such as parliamentary questioning, the use

of *amparo* (right to legal counsel) and *habeas corpus*, the law of responsibilities and the law of probity. Congressmen enjoy parliamentary immunity. There is complete freedom of the press, which enjoys special protection.

290. With regard to social human rights, there is freedom to form trade unions for purposes of economic protection and social betterment. There is a system of social security. The right to strike is recognized. Labour legislation is based on principles of social justice with safeguards for the workers. The enjoyment of all kinds of labour benefits is guaranteed, and there is a special labour jurisdiction.

291. With regard to civil legislation, which in a number of aspects falls within the purview of human rights, Guatemala has very advanced provisions, such as those ensuring non-discrimination against children on grounds of birth, the investigation of paternity, the freedom to dispose of property, equal status, with certain requirements, of *de facto* and civil marriage, so as to guarantee the unity of the family and the rights of the children. There is divorce by mutual consent and divorce on specific grounds. The rights of minors are specially protected and there are special family courts.

292. Penal legislation is designed basically to rehabilitate the delinquent. There are provisions for the remission of penalties through work and the training of prisoners is encouraged so that, on regaining their freedom, they can be useful to society. When penal law favours the accused, it may be applied retroactively. The penalties of life imprisonment, solitary confinement, exile or loss of nationality do not exist in Guatemala.

293. With regard to public liberties, since Guatemala is a free, sovereign and independent nation, it has chosen a republican system of government and it is a parliamentary democracy. The exercise of sovereignty is delegated to the legislative, executive and judicial branches, which are all equal.

294. In Guatemala the President may not be re-elected; nor may congressmen, mayors and other members of municipal corporations be re-elected before a certain time has elapsed.

295. In Guatemala there is complete political freedom. At the moment there are eight legally registered political parties with different ideologies and tendencies. A number of them are opposed to the present Government.

296. We Guatemalans have experienced all kinds of political systems: a colonial régime, a federation, liberal, conservative, revolutionary, leftist, dictatorial and *de facto* governments, presidents for life, *juntas* and triumvirates; but we have found our right institutional path through suffrage. Thus, so far, we have elected four successive governments by popular vote, the first time we have achieved this in our history.

297. Democracy is a living reality in Guatemala where the universities, the central bank, the social security system and the municipalities are autonomous. There are other bodies which enjoy decentralized or semi-autonomous status for the better fulfilment of their objectives.

298. There are now four ex-Presidents living in Guatemala, together with all the persons who have held high office in former administrations.

299. In Guatemala there is not a single political prisoner and no citizen has been exiled. The right of asylum is respected and the few persons who have sought asylum in the diplomatic missions accredited to Guatemala have been granted safe conduct out of the country, in accordance with our domestic legislation and the international conventions to which Guatemala is a party.

300. We Guatemalans seek through our political system to be genuine and authentic persons, we try to find our own path and to live in peace, with dignity, in a free society, engaging in fruitful and productive work and enjoying to the full the aptitudes and qualities of citizenship and all the advantages of material, moral, civic, intellectual and spiritual development.

301. In this way Guatemalans enjoy, exercise and observe all human rights in the broadest possible sense and the State guarantees the exercise of such rights.

302. Our Government feels it is important to refer to the campaign which certain groups and individuals abroad have been waging against Guatemala in an attempt to undermine its international prestige. They have not succeeded in this aim because they have encountered the rock-like unity of the Guatemalan people, which rejects any kind of interference in its domestic affairs.

303. Precisely for that reason, in the face of the campaign directed against the people of Guatemala by foreign sectarian organizations, we have extended an invitation—already accepted—to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States to visit Guatemala in order to observe our full enjoyment of human rights.

304. In the same spirit, on behalf of the people and Government of Guatemala, I invite citizens of all countries of the world to visit Guatemala and see how things really are in our country.

305. Despite the fact that Guatemala enjoys all possible freedoms, some groups, inspired by political and economic doctrines alien to the people of Guatemala, instead of channelling their aspirations through civic participation in the political parties, have chosen the path of violence as a means of usurping power and enslaving our people.

306. This tortuous campaign, which is instigated, supported and financed from abroad, has given rise to the formation of clandestine groups which compete with each other in acts of terrorism and murder, spilling the blood of Guatemalans and bringing mourning and sorrow to Guatemalan homes.

307. These subversive factions, by public statements and announcements sent to the news media, have arrogated to themselves the right to commit acts of violence.

308. The Guatemalan people rejects the activities of these factions. There is a fervent desire for peace among the

population who is profoundly concerned at the climate of violence now existing in Central America.

309. Thus, farmers, workers, organizations, associations, groups, political parties, universities, professional schools, trade unions, and in general all the sectors which make up our population have made public appeals to the warring factions and have called upon them to cease their activities and to understand that dialogue is the best way of settling differences—a view which the Government of the Republic fully supports.

310. This year saw the beatification of that venerable servant of God, Pedro de San José de Betancur, the first Guatemalan saint. That apotheosis met with the spontaneous approval of the Guatemalan people and the date of the beatification, 22 June, was declared Peace Day in Guatemala.

311. Also, upon popular request, it was decided to construct a peace plaza as a symbol of the overwhelming aspiration of the people for peace.

312. In addition, we were visited this year by Mother Teresa, winner of the Nobel peace prize and a missionary who has dedicated her life to the cause of the poor.

313. The people of Guatemala have made public their profound desire for peace in the country and there have been many spontaneous demonstrations in favour of peace throughout the country.

314. On 7 September last, in the capital, there was a huge demonstration in favour of peace in Guatemala. More than 500,000 persons participated, prompted by their own convictions and desires. They came from all parts of the nation and belonged to all social sectors: peasants, workers, students, professionals, private and State employees, businessmen, industrialists, farmers and so on. They condemned the extremist factions which spread subversion, terrorism and death. That massive demonstration showed the fervent desire for peace that lies in all Guatemalan hearts.

315. We Guatemalans hope that peace will once again reign in our country and we are doing our utmost to secure that noble objective.

316. We are convinced that, with God's help, we shall achieve in Guatemala the peace so fervently desired by the whole people.

317. The groups abroad who are fostering a climate of violence in Guatemala are completely out of touch with our social situation, traditions, special qualities, the spirit of unity of our people, the political history of the country and the values inherent in our Guatemalan nationhood. It is precisely because of that ignorance that they are making false allegations against the Guatemalan people.

318. In the international field Guatemala is following a policy which is fully in accord with its national policy. Thus we support the decisions adopted by the world community which are designed to uphold certain fundamental values: peace, freedom, justice and social progress, democracy, the

promotion and observance of human rights and respect for the dignity of nations.

319. The foreign policy of Guatemala is based on principles enshrined in international law, such as non-intervention in the internal or external affairs of other States, the territorial integrity of nations, ideological pluralism, the sovereignty of countries, the peaceful settlement of disputes between States, good faith in the fulfilment of international undertakings and the development of international co-operation and solidarity.

320. With regard to the Central American countries, Guatemala is following a policy of fraternal association with their peoples and respect for their Governments. It is a sincere believer in Central American integration at all levels, aimed at the early reconstruction of the Central American fatherland.

321. In pursuit of that noble aim of our peoples, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Central American nations met at San José, Costa Rica, in March this year to work out effective machinery to give it practical effect. At that meeting we adopted, on 15 March, a very important document entitled the Declaration of San José. It sets forth the basic points for implementing a series of measures designed to increase the fraternal links between the countries of the region on the basis of mutual respect, and to advance the process of integration of the Central American countries. Regular meetings of the Central American Ministers will continue in order to evaluate the progress made and to take the action necessary to secure the goal we have described.

322. At the Latin American level, Guatemala maintains cordial relations of diplomacy, friendship and co-operation with all nations. We extend our support to all just causes and we are doing our utmost to strengthen our region to enable it to participate in decision-making on the grave problems confronting the world and so that the importance of the Latin American continent may be recognized within the international community.

323. At the world level, our policy is to understand the problems besetting the human race and to search for solutions to them.

324. As a founding Member of the United Nations, Guatemala has continued to make its political and juridical contribution to the United Nations, with the aim of promoting the achievement of the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter.

325. We are convinced that the United Nations has been and still is the most important instrument yet devised by the family of nations for the maintenance of peace and security in the world and for the promotion of the principles of freedom, justice and human dignity.

326. We support the appeal which has been made for strengthening the United Nations so that it can play a more effective role in tackling the serious political, economic and social problems we are facing.

327. To sum up, the international policy of Guatemala is sovereign, democratic, realistic, responsible, honest and dignified. We seek friendship and co-operation with all nations, we have faith in international organizations and we respect all countries. Our foreign policy is carried out with the aim of helping to establish an international community in which the rights of peoples to determine freely their own destiny are recognized and international peace and security are not mere aspirations but effective realities.

328. My delegation wishes now to refer to the long-standing dispute between Guatemala and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland over the territory of Belize.

329. Guatemala reaffirms in this world forum that Belize is an integral part of our national territory.

330. It also reiterates that the rights of Guatemala over the territory of Belize are unquestionable. They are founded on solid historical, geographical, legal, political and moral arguments, of which the international community is well aware.

331. It solemnly declares, once again, that Guatemala cannot accept, recognize or permit the unilateral granting of independence to Belize by the colonial Power which usurped the territory. That would involve the dismemberment of our native land, a matter on which we cannot compromise because it affects the integrity of our territory, which we are pledged to defend at all costs.

332. In that respect, it is pertinent to quote paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which states:

“Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.”

333. The dispute over Belize is subject to a process of direct negotiation among the parties involved: Guatemala, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the representatives of Belize.

334. In other words, the dispute is governed by one of the procedures set forth in the Charter of the United Nations for the peaceful settlement of such disputes. Hence, the United Nations must not intervene or take a stand on this question. If it does so, instead of helping to solve the problem, its intervention will constitute interference in bilateral negotiations. It would be seeking a political solution to what is a territorial dispute in which very special elements are involved.

335. Guatemala rejects in this case the intervention of the United Nations and restates its position that it will not consider itself bound by the resolutions which have been adopted or which may be adopted on this question.

336. Similarly, it repudiates the interference of Governments which have absolutely nothing to do with this dispute but which arrogate to themselves the right to dispose of the territory of another nation. This is contrary to the principles of non-interference in the internal or external affairs of other

nations and to the respect which States must show to each other, as laid down in the Charter of our Organization.

337. More than two years ago Guatemala and the United Kingdom began a new series of direct negotiations, in which they have made some progress. They are sure they can reach a solution that will be honourable and just to all the parties concerned.

338. Guatemala has come to the negotiating table with the sincere desire to accept conciliatory formulas for the equitable settlement of the dispute, taking into account the legitimate rights of Guatemala over the territory of Belize and the vital interests of the inhabitants of that territory.

339. Within this round of negotiations, there was a meeting on 19 and 20 May 1980 in Bermuda between the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala and the United Kingdom. Officials from Belize also attended.

340. I visited London at the end of June and the United Kingdom Minister of State for Commonwealth Foreign Affairs was in Guatemala in the early part of August.

341. Also, on 7 and 8 July 1980, a meeting of technical officials from Guatemala and the United Kingdom was held here in New York.

342. At all these meetings we viewed the dispute from different angles, determined to find a solution to it. We shall continue our future discussions along these lines. The next meeting is to be held in New York.

343. Obviously, the problem is complicated, but we feel that if the parties concerned show goodwill a just settlement to this territorial dispute will be found.

344. I wish to extend my best wishes to the President for the success of this session of the Assembly under his experienced guidance, and I reaffirm the faith of my country in the United Nations.

345. This world body has played an important role in the maintenance of international peace, security and understanding.

346. The establishment of a new world order is the responsibility of all countries, great and small, developed and developing. This objective can be attained if all nations are ready to sacrifice a small part of their interests for the benefit of mankind.

347. Guatemala will always associate itself with all efforts to achieve peace, social justice, freedom, democracy, support for and observance of human rights, friendship among peoples and the prosperity and development of nations.

348. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the general debate for this afternoon. However, the representative of the Byelorussian SSR has asked to make a statement, and I now call on him.

349. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): We are deeply

moved by the condolences and the sympathy expressed to the Government and people of the Byelorussian SSR by the President and members of the General Assembly on the tragic death of Pyotr Mironovich Masherov, alternate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian SSR, hero of the Soviet Union and hero of socialist labour.

350. The Byelorussian people have lost a true son, a citizen, a patriot, an eminent activist in the Communist Party and the Soviet State. Pyotr Mironovich Masherov was a member of a poor peasant family who throughout his life devoted himself to serving the people. He was a secondary-school teacher during the war, an organizer of the partisan movement and the Communist underground in Byelorussia during the great patriotic war of 1941-1945, a leader of the Komsomol and later of the Communist Party in Byelorussia in the post-war years. These are the highlights in the life history of Pyotr Masherov.

351. Involved in the struggle for independence and freedom of our socialist motherland, Pyotr Mironovich Masherov demonstrated tremendous organizing abilities and heroism. He shed his blood—he was wounded twice—for the ideals of peace, freedom and social progress which are the very foundations of the United Nations.

352. His constant devotion to the great Communist ideals, his passionate devotion to the task of ensuring the full flowering of our peoples and his great personal qualities brought him great authority and recognition within the Communist Party and with the people. We are deeply grieved by his untimely death, which has brought us great sadness. The cause to which he devoted his entire life will live in our people, as will his constructive and selfless work in the building of a Communist future.

353. I thank the President and the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Cameroon, Mozambique, Jordan and Guatemala, who have spoken today, and all heads and members of delegations who have addressed words of sympathy to us in the grief that has befallen us at the tragic death of Pyotr Masherov. We shall transmit these condolences to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia and the Supreme Soviet, the Government and the people of the Byelorussian SSR, as well as to the relatives and close friends of the deceased.

354. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on representatives who have asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply. May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes and should be made by representatives from their seats.

355. Mr. CHAN YOURAN (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): In his statement on 3 October last in this Assembly [23rd meeting], the Minister for Foreign Affairs of India saw fit once again to attempt to justify the decision of his Government to recognize the Vietnamese régime in Phnom Penh, adducing his own reasons for this.

In this connection, my delegation would like to make the following comments.

356. First, we share the view of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of India that for many centuries there have been close ties between our two peoples which, furthermore, share the same ideals of peace, justice and independence over and above their common and deep-rooted attachment to the sacred principles of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence among nations, principles of which Jawaharlal Nehru was one of the most illustrious proponents.

357. But, secondly, what we must emphasize here is the constant desire of our people and our Government to seek to develop and to strengthen relations with India—relations which we hope will be friendly and fraternal—on the basis of the ideals and principles to which I have just referred. And, although today the state of our relations with that great country are indeed not equal to our hopes, that is solely because of reasons which are well known and which we shall not go into here. That is something which is beyond our will and it cannot be changed by the sincere and admirable efforts which have been made by so many countries which are friends of both India and Kampuchea. No one here can cast any doubt on the determination of these countries to defend uncompromisingly something which they consider to be most sacred and vital for all and for our Organization, that is, respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and for international law, which are the very bed-rock of international order and the non-aligned movement itself. Without those principles and laws which govern international relations, there can be no peace and security in the world and no independence and justice for the small and medium-sized countries in the five continents.

358. Thirdly, something which we should like in particular to draw to the attention of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of India is the very nature of this war of aggression of which the people of Kampuchea is the victim. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of India seems to be unaware of the fact that this war is by no means a civil war but quite definitely a war of aggression which has been imposed by more than 250,000 Vietnamese troops on the people of Kampuchea, with the unavowed aim of exterminating the nation of Kampuchea and destroying the civilization of Angkor, which was so aptly referred to by the representative of India.

359. It is precisely because this war is a war of aggression that the international community and the United Nations condemned it and that General Assembly resolution 34/22 requested the unconditional withdrawal of all Vietnamese armed forces from Kampuchea, so that the people of Kampuchea could freely decide their own destiny without any foreign interference.

360. We sincerely hope that India, a founding Member of the United Nations and of the non-aligned movement, will bear this in mind in view of the beneficial effect this could have on international peace and security as well as on the future of the non-aligned movement itself. For our part, our people and Government have been and will continue to be faithful to the principles of the Charter and to those of the non-aligned movement, of which Kampuchea is a founding member.

361. Fourthly, moreover, the Government of India must know that the Phnom Penh régime, which has been installed for the purpose of aggression, is nothing other than a purely Vietnamese Administration. Without the presence of more than 250,000 Vietnamese soldiers, that régime would not be able to survive. That is the true "reality of the political situation" now prevailing in Kampuchea. Nothing can disguise that reality, no matter what sophistry may be used.

362. Fifthly, with respect to a solution to the problem of Kampuchea, all countries that love peace and justice agree on what it involves. It will be found only when the Vietnamese aggressors show respect for the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of non-alignment.

363. To attempt to resolve the problem of Kampuchea by recognizing the Vietnamese régime installed in Phnom Penh would be to recognize the *fait accompli* of the invasion of Kampuchea by Viet Nam and to encourage foreign armed interventions in the internal affairs of other States, in other words, it would be to award a prize for the violation of the sacred principles of non-alignment, of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law. Finally, it would be tantamount to permitting Viet Nam to pursue its policy of genocide against the people, the nation and the civilization of Kampuchea.

364. The problem of Kampuchea can only be resolved in accordance with General Assembly resolution 34/22, namely, by the total withdrawal of the occupying Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea and the exercise of the sacred right of the people of Kampuchea to decide their own destiny, particularly to choose their national Government, without any foreign interference, by means of general and free elections, through direct and secret ballot, under the supervision of the Secretary-General of the United Nations or his representatives.

365. The solution of the problem of Kampuchea would bring peace, security and stability to the region of South-East Asia, make possible the development of the region and contribute to safeguarding world peace and security. All the peoples and countries of the region would then be able, in an atmosphere of independence and honour, to devote themselves to the economic and social development of their respective countries.

366. Mr. ANDINO-SALAZAR (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): This afternoon the delegation of Mozambique referred to my Government in terms that we categorically reject.

367. In El Salvador there is a Government which emerged as a result of the exercise by the people of El Salvador of their right to rise up and overthrow a military dictatorship, as they did in October 1979, beginning thereafter an irreversible process of structural reforms in the economic, political and social fields, which will culminate with the establishment of a true democracy.

368. El Salvador has respected and will continue to respect the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of countries, a principle which is accepted by the international community. Thus, the Government of El Salvador rejects

any foreign intervention, from whatever source, since it would impinge on national dignity and sovereignty.

369. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): On 1 October, the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in his address to the General Assembly [18th meeting] referred to the failure of the United Nations to fulfil its promise to the people of the States of Jammu and Kashmir to decide their future in accordance with its relevant resolutions. He further stated Pakistan's resolve to continue the process of normalization of relations with India on the basis of the Simla Agreement of 1972, a process which the President mentioned would be accelerated with a peaceful settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. The President of Pakistan affirmed that Pakistan's position on this question was founded on universally recognized principles.

370. Referring to those remarks by the President of Pakistan, the Minister of External Affairs of India, in his statement of 3 October [23rd meeting], chose to comment on the question of Jammu and Kashmir and relations between India and Pakistan in a manner which was unwarranted and indeed regrettable.

371. The statement by the Indian Minister of External Affairs accused Pakistan of alleged aggression against India in the past. It questioned Pakistan's commitment to the Simla Agreement and contended that Pakistan's reiteration of its principled position on the question of Jammu and Kashmir in international forums was contrary to the Simla Agreement and was an attempt "to set the clock back".

372. According to the Simla Agreement, the Government of Pakistan and the Government of India agreed as follows:

"(i) That the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations shall govern the relations between the two countries;

"(ii) That the two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them. Pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries, neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation . . .

"...
"(iv) That in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations they will refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of each other."¹⁹

Specifically referring to the question of Jammu and Kashmir, the Simla Agreement contained the following reference:

"In Jammu and Kashmir, the line of control resulting from the cease-fire of December 17, 1971 shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognized position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from the threat or the use of force in violation of this line."²⁰

373. Therefore, in regard to the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, the above relevant provisions of the Simla Agreement make it abundantly clear that, first, the relations between the two countries shall be governed by the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, which impose on Member States an obligation to settle their disputes by peaceful means under Article 33 of the Charter. Secondly, the two sides have agreed that under the Simla Agreement, pending the final settlement of any of the problems, neither shall unilaterally alter the situation. That provision of the Simla Agreement equally applies to the final settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. No party can through unilateral action alter the status of this internationally recognized dispute of long standing. Thirdly, the Simla Agreement calls for respect for the line of control resulting from the cease-fire of 17 December 1971 "without prejudice to the recognized position of either side". Pakistan's position on this dispute is based on the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

374. Clearly there is an agreement between the two sides to seek a final settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir question as part of the process of normalization envisaged in the Simla Agreement.

375. Having set out the correct position on the status of Jammu and Kashmir as reflected in the Simla Agreement, my delegation wishes once again to reiterate the resolve of the Government of Pakistan to seek final settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and in the spirit of the Simla Agreement. It is our firm belief that such a settlement would complete the process of normalization of relations between India and Pakistan and would usher in an era of durable peace in the south Asian subcontinent.

376. The charge of alleged aggression by Pakistan against India cannot stand examination. I do not wish to go into the details of the background to the events of 1971, when Pakistan was dismembered by naked aggression. Pakistan can never espouse ambitions against India, and much less can it contemplate an aggression against that country. India is 10 times the size of Pakistan. It has vast natural resources and a highly developed industrial base. Its armed forces vastly outnumber those of Pakistan. In addition to having qualitative superiority in weapons as compared to Pakistan, India's land forces, navy and air force are also three to five times larger than those of Pakistan.

377. While India is building a huge military arsenal for itself, it is surprising that it should have launched a relentless propaganda campaign against Pakistan when, following grave developments in a neighbouring country in December last, the United States offered a military sale credit of \$200 million to Pakistan, which the Government of Pakistan rejected. It is difficult to understand why India is always seeking an opportunity to accuse Pakistan of an arms build-up, which is no more than a myth and a baseless allegation.

378. It is a matter of concern that the Minister of External Affairs of India has accused Pakistan of turning away from the Simla Agreement, which, as my Government has repeatedly stated, provides the framework for the normalization of relations between the two countries based on peaceful co-existence and good neighbourliness. Pakistan is firmly

¹⁹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 858, No. 12308, p. 72.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

opposed to a confrontation in the subcontinent. It is determined to devote its energies and resources to the development, progress and prosperity of its people—an objective which can be realized only in an environment of peace and freedom. But, in its struggle to safeguard its political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, Pakistan remains opposed to attempts by any country aimed at seeking hegemony or domination in the region.

379. A logical consequence of our determination to follow an independent but peaceful course of relations with other countries is that we cannot accept the imposition on us by other States of their perceptions and strategies. India and Pakistan have an entirely different perception of events in our region and in other regions. The issues of foreign military intervention are not notional but matters of grave substance. However, the differences in perception on various questions should not become an obstacle to co-operation between the two countries to strengthen the peace and security of our region. I may once again reiterate the categorical position of the Government of Pakistan in favour of seeking normalization of its relations with India in accordance with the Simla Agreement on the principles of peaceful coexistence and good neighbourliness, which include respect for sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. It is our earnest hope that India will in full measure reciprocate our sincere desire for the normalization of relations between the two countries and for peace and progress in the region.

380. Mr. BENHIMA (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): A short while ago the representative of Mozambique, in a fit of delirium, vented his spleen in slandering my country by calling it expansionist and colonialist. My delegation wishes to react to that extravagant language and to say that that representative seems to have forgotten that the people of Mozambique, during its struggle, received the greatest support and aid from Morocco. The representative of Mozambique himself benefited from our warmest hospitality. The demagoguery he resorted to as he vacillated between emotion and hypocrisy barely conceals his compromising dealings with the Pretoria Government. History and the black people of South Africa will judge Mozambique's behaviour. Mozambique is calling for the adoption of incendiary resolutions by this Assembly while it sends 6,000 of its citizens to work in the country of *apartheid*, places the port of Beira at the disposal of Pretoria and welcomes South African tourists. In the name of its honour and dignity Mozambique must end its betrayal of Africa.

381. Mr. MISHRA (India): First, with reference to an earlier speaker who was exercising the right of reply, may I say that the question of Kampuchea is being debated next week, not today.

382. The representative of Pakistan has referred to the statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of India on 3 October [23rd meeting], in which he had referred to the statement made by the President of Pakistan on 1 October [8th meeting] in regard to Jammu and Kashmir, which is an integral State of the Indian Union.

383. The representative of Pakistan, speaking just now, in what he described as an exercise of the right of reply, referred to the provisions of the Simla Agreement. But I

must confess that he did not go on to read the first quotation which he took from the Simla Agreement. That quotation goes on like this:

“Pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries, neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation and both”—

and this is where he missed the crucial point:

“shall prevent the organization, assistance or encouragement of any acts detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations”.²¹

384. I must confess that the references to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, which is an integral part of the Indian Union, by the President of Pakistan on 1 October and the various references made this afternoon by the representative of Pakistan go against the provisions of the Simla Agreement—specifically the provision which I have just quoted. In fact, this afternoon's statement by the representative of Pakistan has gone into matters which are not germane to the situation at all. His statement, at least the first half of it, was full of inaccuracies. It tried to project a position of India which is totally contrary to fact and which is in fact propagandist—so propagandist that it violates the provisions of the Simla Agreement.

385. Reference has been made to the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971. This is a matter for another State to talk about. As far as we are concerned, a people liberated themselves in 1971. If it was dismemberment, it was a result of Pakistan's own actions, the actions of people who did not take into account the human rights of their own people. But I am not going to comment on the position of a country which is an independent State and which is a Member of this august body. It is for them to take up the matter if they wish to do so.

386. Reference was made to the armed forces of India and Pakistan. Again this is not germane. Again this goes against the spirit of the Simla Agreement.

387. It has been said that the size of the Indian armed forces is so much and that the size of Pakistan's armed forces is not commensurate with that. Are we going to discuss the balance of forces in the subcontinent? Are we going to discuss the obligations on Pakistan and on India respectively to maintain their territorial integrity and to defend themselves? As long as the representative of Pakistan keeps on attacking the territorial integrity of India—and a reference to Jammu and Kashmir is nothing but an attack on the territorial integrity of India—we cannot but take measures to defend it. Such statements in this Assembly, we are sorry to say, are contrary to the provisions of the Simla Agreement, which provided for the settlement of all issues between the two Governments in terms of that Agreement by bilateral means and not in this body or any other international forums.

388. First the representative of Pakistan tried to prove that India was trying to alter the situation unilaterally. That is certainly not so. India's position since the very beginning has been that Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of the

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

Indian Union. It is Pakistan that is trying to alter the position. It is Pakistan which is attacking the territorial integrity of India.

389. If it is true that the Pakistan Government continues to adhere to the Simla Agreement, then paragraph 6 of that Agreement is the most relevant in that regard. It says that

“Both Governments agree that their respective Heads will meet again at a mutually convenient time in the future and that, in the meanwhile, the representatives of the two sides will meet to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace and normalization of relations, including the questions of repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees, a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir and the resumption of diplomatic relations.”²²

390. Can any agreement be more clear than that? And is it not true that it is through this provision of the Simla Agreement that there has been a process of normalization between India and Pakistan? Then why this insistence on taking up the question of Jammu and Kashmir in international forums? We have stated our position in the past, and on 3 October the Minister of External Affairs of India reiterated it when he said:

“India’s stand, on the other hand, has remained constant, and we continue to be prepared to settle all matters with Pakistan through bilateral channels.” [23rd meeting, para. 162.]

391. In concluding I should like to say that we welcome the last part of the statement made by the representative of Pakistan, and that is that all problems, including the alleged problem of Jammu and Kashmir, can be settled through the implementation of the Simla Agreement. If there is sincerity in that commitment, then I am sure that the process of normalization between India and Pakistan will not only continue but increase in its intensity.

392. There is one final point I should like to make. Today the representative of Pakistan said that the President of Pakistan spoke here as the head of State of Pakistan, but on 3 October another representative of Pakistan speaking here referred to “the address by the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan delivered on 1 October in his capacity as Chairman of the Islamic Conference” [*ibid.*, para. 310].

393. It must be borne in mind that the question of Jammu and Kashmir to which the President of Pakistan referred is, as far as I know, not relevant to the Islamic Conference.

394. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Pakistan. May I remind him that for his second statement the five-minute rule will apply.

395. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): The representative of India has reiterated the well-known position of his Government on the question of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. That is India’s position. It is not universally accepted. The General Assembly has not accepted it; the Security Council has not accepted it. The Security Council is still seized of this matter which was initially brought to the attention of the Security Council by the Indian Government itself. Moreover, the Simla Agreement itself recognizes the existence of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute.

396. Therefore, we do not see the logic in what my colleague has stated here this evening—that any reference to this outstanding dispute regarding Jammu and Kashmir constitutes an attack on the territorial integrity of India. Both India and Pakistan are parties to the Simla Agreement, and we are gratified to note that the representative of India has reaffirmed the commitment of his Government to the implementation of the Simla Agreement.

397. So far as the question of Jammu and Kashmir not being relevant to the Islamic world is concerned, I would just say that the vast majority of the population of Jammu and Kashmir are Muslims and that the denial of fundamental human rights to the people of Kashmir is as much a source of concern to the entire Islamic world as any other issues relating to the denial of self-determination to people who are still under alien or foreign subjugation.

398. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of India. I remind him also that for his second statement the five-minute rule will apply.

399. Mr. MISHRA (India): I had hoped that the representative of Pakistan would restrain himself. Apparently there is on his part a misunderstanding of the Simla Agreement. The Simla Agreement provides a bilateral basis for the settlement of all issues between India and Pakistan. It also enjoins upon both Governments that they shall prevent the organization, assistance or encouragement of any acts detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations.

400. It is our contention that every time a reference is made to a bilateral problem in international forums it harms the process of normalization between India and Pakistan. So long as this fundamental point is not understood we shall continue to have these exchanges.

401. So far as fundamental human rights are concerned, the entire world—not merely those who are sitting in this hall, but the entire world—is aware of the record of India and Pakistan on these issues. Let the world judge whether human rights are respected in India or whether they are respected in Pakistan.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

The meeting rose at 7.35 p.m.