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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. NGARUKIYINTWALI (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, your well-deserved election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly is a tribute to your personal qualities and, through you, it constitutes unanimous recognition of the important rôle that your country is playing on the international scene. I am pleased, therefore, on behalf of my delegation to join those who preceded me on this rostrum in addressing to you our warmest and most sincere congratulations. We are convinced that, thanks to your qualities as a statesman, as well as your profound knowledge of international affairs, you will be able to conduct our proceedings to everyone's great satisfaction. It is my sincere wish that the high mission which has been entrusted to you will be completely successful. I should like to assure you of my delegation's full and frank co-operation.

2. On behalf of my delegation I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany, who displayed his typical wisdom, devotion and dynamism in directing the work of the thirty-fifth regular session, as well as that of the eighth emergency special session, devoted to the question of Namibia.

3. It is particularly gratifying for me to reiterate the deep appreciation of the Government of the Rwandese Republic to the Secretary-General for the skill and devotion with which he has discharged his noble and onerous mission. The tireless efforts which he continues to make to further the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations have always claimed my country's attention and deserve our gratitude.

4. May I also avail myself at this auspicious occasion to welcome among us the representatives of the Republic of Vanuatu and of Belize, whose admission to membership of the United Nations undoubtedly strengthens the universality of the Organization and contributes to achieving

one of its fundamental goals, that of freeing peoples from the yoke of colonialism.

5. The current session is being held at a time when the international political situation does not give much ground for optimism in view of the continuing factors of tension and instability, which we have already had occasion to deplore last year.

6. Furthermore, the international economic situation is continuing to deteriorate to the detriment of the least-developed countries, and the multilateral negotiations to establish a new international economic order are still deadlocked.

7. Over a year ago we welcomed from this rostrum the independence of the people of Zimbabwe and their entry into the great family of the United Nations after a long and heroic liberation struggle. At that time, it was our opinion that Zimbabwe's accession to independence represented a further step towards decolonization, and at that time we expressed the hope that it would provide encouragement for other peoples still subject to colonial oppression and domination.

8. Although there are reasons today for being pleased at the progress which has been achieved in the field of decolonization we cannot, at the same time, fail to observe that, unfortunately, many peoples are still suffering from the aftermath of colonization and are the victims of domination and racial discrimination. This is particularly true in Namibia, South Africa, Western Sahara and elsewhere where obsolete conditions continue to exist and dangerously threaten international peace and security.

9. Therefore, we deeply deplore the present situation in southern Africa resulting from the arrogance and intransigence of a régime which has raised colonialism, racism, aggression and repression to the level of government policy in contempt of the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations, which has unambiguously condemned *apartheid* as being a crime against humanity, and has unreservedly expressed moral, political and economic support for the oppressed people of Namibia and South Africa.

10. In Namibia the racist and regressive Pretoria régime continues to defy the international community by refusing to implement the United Nations plan for that Territory's accession to independence in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The efforts which have been undertaken continuously in many quarters to put an end to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia have always come up against Pretoria's dilatory tactics and intransigence.

11. The aggressive posture adopted by the South African Government, which is the root cause of the failure

of the pre-implementation meeting on Namibia, held at Geneva in January 1981, the barbaric oppression of the Namibian people, the illegal exploitation of the natural wealth of that Territory, as well as of barbaric aggression against independent African countries in southern Africa, particularly the People's Republic of Angola, Botswana and Mozambique. The international community is duty-bound to condemn these acts unambiguously and vigorously.

12. Rwanda fully supports the Namibian people's right to self-determination and independence. It cannot be sacrificed on the altar of the selfish interests of certain States Members of the United Nations which, despite the repeated appeals made to them, continue to co-operate with South Africa in economic, military, nuclear and other areas, thus encouraging the racist Pretoria régime to continue to hold the decisions of the international community in contempt.

13. The Rwandese Republic continues to believe that the Western countries belonging to what is known as the contact group still have a primary role to play in ensuring the success of the United Nations efforts to compel South Africa to withdraw from Namibia and to secure that Territory's accession to independence. My delegation once again solemnly appeals to the Assembly and to the entire international community to do everything possible to impose the enforcement measures needed to compel the racist South African régime to slacken its grip on Namibia.

14. The delegation of Rwanda would like to reaffirm its unstinting support for the valiant people of Namibia who, under the leadership of its sole authentic representative, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], are waging an heroic struggle for the liberation of their country.

15. We should also like to reiterate our support for our brothers of the African front-line States for the sacrifices which they are continuing to make to help the freedom fighters in southern Africa in their struggle to free their territories.

16. In South Africa itself the racist régime of Pretoria continues its ignominious policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination, which strikes at the black population in particular, and sees fit to defy the resolutions of the United Nations enjoining it to put an end to that inhuman and criminal system.

17. The acts of violence and of oppression which have been perpetrated by those in power in South Africa, the barbaric massacres of innocent people who are only claiming their right to life, freedom, equity and human dignity, are not merely a flagrant violation of human rights and a crime against mankind, but also a factor making for instability in the region, as well as a real threat to international peace and security.

18. My delegation remains firmly convinced that all countries which cherish peace and justice should exert strong pressure, both political and economic, to force the Pretoria régime to put an end to its racist and oppressive policy and to its illegal occupation of Namibia and to end its flagrant violations of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring African States.

19. Still in connection with Africa, the question of Western Sahara is no less a matter of concern to the Rwandese Republic. In recent years the international community has made every effort to find a solution to that problem, which, in the view of Rwanda, is one of decolonization.

20. The Rwandese Republic, which continues to give its unflinching support to the just cause of the Sahraoui people, hopes that, since Morocco, at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held at Nairobi in June 1981, accepted the idea of organizing and holding a referendum in Western Sahara, the Sahraoui people will this time be able fully and without impediment to exercise their right to self-determination and to choose their future freely.

21. Elsewhere in Africa the persistence of fratricidal conflicts and the proliferation of hotbeds of tension dangerously imperil peace and stability in the regions affected. They often provide fertile ground for foreign interference.

22. In the case of all these conflicts, my delegation remains convinced that strict respect for the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and in that of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] should induce the parties concerned to seek a solution to their disputes.

23. For more than 30 years the Middle East has been one of the most dangerous hotbeds of tension, constantly threatening international peace and security because of the aggressive and expansionist policies of Israel, which stubbornly refuses to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

24. The recrudescence in recent months of barbaric attacks by Israel against its neighbours has made the situation even more explosive in that part of the world and provides grounds for disquiet.

25. The Rwandese Government remains convinced that no settlement of the Middle East problem as a whole can be achieved without the full association of the Palestinian people, who, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], their sole and authentic representative, are seeking to recover their legitimate rights.

26. In this connection, I should like to say again, on behalf of the Rwandese Government, that a just and lasting peace will only be achieved in that area when Israel has unconditionally withdrawn from all the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967, including the city of Jerusalem, and has recognized the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, particularly their right to self-determination and to set up their own independent and sovereign State.

27. The situation which at present prevails in Lebanon is a matter of serious concern to my delegation, because the threat hanging over that country's unity and integrity, exacerbated by Israel's aggressive actions against Palestinian camps in Lebanon, constitutes a factor of instability in the region and a serious threat to world peace. We hope that the efforts of the international community to restore peace to that country, so sorely tried by years of fratricidal wars, will lead to lasting results and that the Lebanese people will one day recover the peace and tran-

quillity they need in order to devote themselves to the arduous task of national reconstruction after so many years of suffering.

28. Turning to the delicate problem of Cyprus, which sees its unity and territorial integrity threatened, my country deplores the fact that the numerous resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly with a view to restoring peace to the island have not so far yielded all the expected results.

29. We appeal to the consciences of both communities on the island and urge them to find ways and means of helping to promote the re-establishment of peace in the country and the consolidation of the unity and territorial integrity of that State, the non-aligned status of which should be respected.

30. Rwanda cannot remain indifferent to the situation which persists in Afghanistan and the tensions which prevail in South-East Asia. The persistence of such hotbeds of conflict remains a factor of instability and a serious threat to peace and security in that region.

31. Therefore a political solution should quickly be found on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops and respect for the sovereignty, national independence and territorial integrity of all States in the regions affected.

32. The Korean question is of the greatest concern to the international community. The Rwandese Republic follows with interest and strongly supports the efforts made by the parties concerned to bring about a peaceful and independent reunification of the Korean nation. This approach to the problem presupposes the complete withdrawal of foreign troops from that area to enable the Korean people freely to solve their problem of reunification.

33. The Government of Rwanda has constantly made known its views on the subject of divided nations. It has always believed that the peoples involved have the inalienable right to find ways to end such a tragic situation.

34. That being so, we are gratified by the spirit of détente which prevails in relations between the two German States. It is our earnest hope that the co-operative relations established between these two States will be exploited as thoroughly as possible in attempts to find a peaceful and freely agreed solution to the problem of the reunification of the German nation.

35. Among the major items on the agenda of the present session is disarmament. The first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament succeeded in alerting the international community to the dangers threatening mankind because of the proliferation of weapons of all kinds, and particularly nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction. Following that session a number of important initiatives were seen, such as the signing by the two major Powers of the SALT I and SALT II agreements on the limitation of strategic arms.

36. Unfortunately, three years after that special session little progress has been made towards disarmament, and détente has given way to rivalry and the intensification of the major Powers' games of influence, thus gravely compromising peace and security in the world.

37. My country has always expressed its grave concern about the growing danger inherent in the spiralling arms race and its damaging effects on the economic and social development of all countries, and particularly the poorest. It is scandalous that while two thirds of mankind live in abject poverty fabulous sums are being spent each day on the manufacture of arms and on building up arsenals of weapons for the destruction of human life.

38. The Rwandese Government repeats its appeal that those sums should rather be devoted to increasing assistance to the least developed countries to improve the standard of living of their peoples.

39. The increased foreign military presence in the Indian Ocean, despite the General Assembly Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*], also causes great concern. Rwanda would encourage any initiative designed to make the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

40. That is why we are among those who believe that an international conference on the Indian Ocean should be held, with the participation of representatives of the major Powers and of the littoral and hinterland countries of the Indian Ocean region, in the hope that this will make possible specific measures to make the Indian Ocean a genuine zone of peace.

41. I should like to make some remarks about the present international economic situation, which is characterized by recession, unemployment, deterioration in the terms of trade, inflation, disorder in the international monetary system, the growing indebtedness of the developing countries and the depletion of energy resources, not to mention the food shortages which so seriously affect some parts of the world.

42. The economic situation and the economic outlook are particularly gloomy for the developing countries. The deficit suffered by all the non-oil-producing developing countries continues to increase and according to certain experts could well reach \$100 billion in 1982. At the same time, official development aid is no more than 0.27 per cent of the gross national product of the wealthy countries, whereas the target decided upon during the Second United Nations Development Decade was 0.7 per cent.

43. The result of such a situation is stagnation—indeed, a slump—in the economies of the developing countries, whose populations are condemned to malnutrition, sickness, poverty and deprivation. This persisting sickness in the international economic system is not a purely transitory phenomenon. It is, rather, the symptom of deep, underlying, structural imbalances, which call for bold reforms in certain important and vital areas, such as food, energy and development aid, and the reform of the international monetary system and the primary commodities system. An effective remedy for the serious international economic situation would be the active participation of all countries, and particularly the developed countries, in the restructuring of international economic relations, but, unfortunately, it must be said that the attempts made so far have been doomed to failure because of the selfishness and lack of political will of certain wealthy countries.

44. Two United Nations Development Decades have passed without achieving the targets set. Similarly, the negotiations initiated after the sixth special session of the General Assembly, which were intended to provide a new foundation for international economic relations, have not yet enabled us to glimpse the possibility of a new international economic order.

45. The action plans which were drawn up successively at Lima, Buenos Aires, Vienna and New Delhi, in the framework of UNIDO and UNCTAD conferences, have not yet even begun to be implemented. More than a year ago the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, which was intended to initiate the resumption of the global negotiations in the North-South dialogue, ended its work without having been able to reach agreement even on matters of procedure.

46. Today, as we enter the second year of the Third United Nations Development Decade, the economic situation is deteriorating more and more for the developing countries, which are the hardest hit by the effects of the international economic crisis.

47. In view of this list of failures and the grave dangers which threaten the world because of the inequality and injustice which are characteristic features of the present international economic situation, the developed countries should evince greater realism and understanding. They should realize that the future of the world cannot be built without taking into account the developing countries, which make up two thirds of mankind. On the contrary, the time is now ripe for solidarity, for co-operation based on justice and equity and for interdependence among all nations. It is high time for the developed countries to reaffirm, today even more than in the past, their political will to work in harmony with the nations of the third world to bring about a new international economic order.

48. Rwanda, for its part, vigorously supports the continuance of the negotiations which are at present under way within the United Nations with the aim of bringing about a new type of international economic relationship. It is our belief that those negotiations should be of a comprehensive nature and should focus particularly on important issues such as development aid, energy, basic raw materials and the reform of the international monetary system. It is our sincere hope that during the present session the General Assembly will be able to remove the last of the obstacles which have hitherto stood in the way of a North-South dialogue, so that global negotiations may be initiated without delay.

49. In the course of such negotiations, special attention should be paid to the least developed and land-locked countries, one of which, unfortunately, is Rwanda itself. Those countries, above and beyond the difficulties which they experience because of the present international economic situation, also have to overcome other problems which are due particularly to their enclaved location.

50. In this connection, we were very pleased by the convening of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris from 1 to 14 September 1981. It is our sincere hope that the measures drawn up by that Conference with the aim of promoting the interests of that category of countries¹ will be transformed

into concrete action which will enable them to tackle their own specific problems.

51. Although we welcomed the special measures adopted by the United Nations in favour of the land-locked developing countries, today, unfortunately, we can only express regret that it has taken so long for those measures to become operational. I am thinking particularly of the United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries, which lacks sufficient contributions fully to play the role for which it was created.

52. Similarly, Rwanda is following very closely the negotiations taking place within the framework of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, although we regret the fact that certain issues have been reopened, thus impeding the work of the important Conference. My delegation would like once again to emphasize that the right of land-locked countries to access to the sea and freedom of transit through third countries should be reaffirmed and guaranteed in the international convention which will result from the negotiations on the law of the sea.

53. Furthermore, my country welcomed the convening of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy at Nairobi from 10 to 21 August 1981. It will provide us with some food for thought as to how to pursue the search for new sources of energy.

54. In the light of the present international economic crisis, which affects all countries but more specifically the developing countries, it is imperative that the developing countries initiate action in order to achieve collective autonomy.

55. In this connection, the Rwandese Republic will continue to give active support to all initiatives which are designed to promote economic co-operation among the developing countries, because this is the only hope of salvation in the face of continual obstruction by the wealthy countries, which hitherto have paid very little attention to the claims of the countries of the third world regarding the establishment of a more just and equitable new international economic order.

56. It is for this reason that Rwanda has very close links of co-operation with neighbouring and fraternal countries in both regional and sub-regional organizations.

57. Similarly, Rwanda considers the Lagos Plan of Action² to be the vital and unanimous expression of the political will of African countries to undertake, step by step, concerted action to ensure endogenous, self-sustaining development leading between now and the year 2000 to the creation of an African common market, which would be the prelude to an integrated African economic community.

58. Finally, we are very pleased that specific links have been established between the European Community and more than 50 countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific. Those links will undoubtedly provide a model for viable and positive co-operation between developed and developing countries.

59. To guarantee international security, to work to promote peace, to foster economic development and to help

colonized peoples to find their freedom—these are all noble objectives to which the Organization has devoted itself with faith and perseverance for 36 years. My delegation is convinced that the United Nations is without any doubt the ideal framework for negotiations in which we can reconcile our differing viewpoints, resolve conflicts and develop a spirit of solidarity and interdependence among peoples despite their ideological and other differences. I should therefore like to reiterate the unshakable faith of my country in the Organization.

60. The Rwandese Republic recognizes that the United Nations has a unique part to play in maintaining peace and justice and in the struggle to ensure the well-being of people throughout the world. We shall never fail to support its efforts in the search for solutions to the various problems of our time.

61. Mr. BOUCETTA (Morocco) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is, Sir, a particular pleasure for me to convey to you our sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

62. The Moroccan delegation feels that that choice is a deserved tribute paid by the international community to the sister Republic of Iraq, one of the founding Members of the United Nations to which Iraq has not ceased to make an effective and constructive contribution.

63. It is, furthermore, a pleasure for me to welcome your election because Morocco and Iraq have maintained close and trusting fraternal relations for many centuries, professing, both in the Arab and Islamic arenas and in the broader international arena the same ideals of dedication to the causes of liberty, justice and peace.

64. Your election also crowns a career during which your remarkable competence has served the Organization. The audience that you have thereby gained is the best measure of your success in discharging the noble task entrusted to you.

65. For its part, my delegation would like to assure you of its full co-operation in helping you accomplish that task.

66. I wish, at the same time, to express to your predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, our complete satisfaction and our appreciation for the skill with which he guided the work of the previous session.

67. It is also with great pleasure that I express to the Secretary-General all my thanks and high esteem for the tireless and perspicacious efforts he has undertaken and continues to undertake in seeking to ensure the application of the resolutions of the Organization, the defence of its ideals and respect for its Charter.

68. The admission of two new independent States, Vanuatu and Belize, which we warmly welcome, is a precious contribution to the Organization and strengthens its universal character.

69. Our current session opens in an atmosphere charged with worry and tensions. Regional conflicts are constantly extending, and their causes are increasing more and more.

International problems and disputes are becoming ever more complex and are severely testing the Organization.

70. The agenda of the session contains problems full of specific threats to international stability and peace. Some of these problems are due to flagrant violations of the Charter and to disregard of international morality. Others are linked with lingering colonialism or its after-effects, attacks on human dignity and human rights and the continuance of the policy of *apartheid*. Other tensions which threaten international peace and stability can be imputed to the growing gap between the prosperity of the developed countries and the continuing impoverishment of the majority of mankind, and also to the insane arms race and the stockpiling of arms.

71. Morocco, which belongs to the Arab family, has always attached great importance to the problem of the Middle East and in particular gives a special place to the Palestinian question, because it is at the heart of the problem of the Middle East.

72. The Palestinian question constitutes a striking example of political injustice in the international arena, a clear illustration of Israel's disregard for the principles and ideals of humanity and a flagrant challenge to the resolutions adopted by the international community represented by the United Nations.

73. Although the Organization has been seized of this question for more than 30 years, we must note that the Palestinian people continues to bear the full weight of the occupation by Israel, which is attempting to appropriate its land and its goods and is pursuing a policy aimed at obliterating the personality and changing the characteristics of the Palestinian homeland. We also note that the occupier is ceaselessly intensifying its policy of aggression perpetrated not only against the people and territory of Palestine, but also against neighbouring Arab States, thus defying international public opinion and United Nations resolutions.

74. Despite a radical evolution of the Palestinian question in the international arena, as illustrated by the recognition by the great majority of States of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent State on its land, and by a growing international recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, Israel is bent on pursuing its policy of aggression and the methodical colonial settlement of Palestine. Thus, Israel is pursuing a policy of exterminating the Palestinian people and seeks to distort Palestinian history, to destroy the religious and cultural institutions of the country, and to modify the demographic balance, seeking to eliminate Palestinian identity completely, with total disregard of international opinion and the United Nations.

75. Morocco, which considers the question of Palestine as a priority item, reaffirms its commitment to give steadfast support to the struggling Palestinian people and to the other Arab States with territories that have been occupied since 1967. It reaffirms, moreover, its adherence to the resolutions adopted by Arab summit conferences, in particular those of the Seventh Arab Summit Conference held at Rabat in 1974 as well as those of the summits of Baghdad, Tunis and Amman. Any solution that does not

include Israel's total withdrawal from all occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and that does not safeguard the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent State in Palestine, remains unacceptable. We are firmly convinced that peace in the Middle East can be based only on a comprehensive and just solution.

76. If the question of Palestine is a matter of high priority, the cause of the Holy City of Jerusalem is for us a sacred cause lying at the very heart of the Palestinian question. Morocco, whose sovereign, His Majesty King Hassan II, presides over the Al-Quds Committee of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, reaffirms in his own name and on behalf of the States of the Islamic community their total determination to defend the Arab and Islamic character of Jerusalem, to restore Arab sovereignty over the Holy City so that it will once again become what it has always been, a meeting place for believers of the three revealed religions, a centre where tolerance and creative coexistence among the different religions will be restored.

77. The indignation that arose throughout the world following the decision of the Israeli Knesset to annex the city of Al-Quds and to turn it into "the eternal capital" of the Zionist entity, and the unambiguous condemnation of that measure by the Security Council which, in its resolution 478 (1980), deemed it illegal and called for it to be rescinded, has none the less not prevented Israel from pursuing its outrageous policy of judaization of the Holy City.

78. Quite on the contrary: Israel's defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council has increased. Currently, the Israeli authorities are engaged in so-called archaeological work beneath and around the very foundations of the Al-Aqsa Mosque, and the Sacred Dome of the Rock, in flagrant violation of resolutions of the Security Council, the General Assembly and UNESCO, which have firmly called upon Israel to refrain at once from such undertakings.

79. These criminal acts which, without any doubt, are designed to destroy the Islamic heritage of the Holy City, constitute another flagrant act of defiance of profound Islamic beliefs and international resolutions. The international community as a whole and, in particular, the United Nations, must adopt appropriate measures to put an end to this continued flagrant violation of international resolutions and conventions. The protection of Jerusalem is an international duty and all States of the world must contribute to it without hesitation.

80. This continued excavation by Israel represents a potential threat to international peace and security in the region, because the Islamic community, whose potential and energy is well known, will not long remain with folded arms faced with such a flagrant challenge to the symbols and sacred institutions of its faith.

81. The Israeli policy, based upon violence and aggression, is not carried out only against the Palestinian people in occupied Palestine, but extends its misdeeds into neighbouring Arab States. Over the last few months, Israel has intensified its aggression against southern Lebanon, where it has destroyed towns and villages, killing or expelling

the civilian population, in disregard of international opinion and morality. We have frequently expressed our total support for our brother country, Lebanon, and firmly condemned repeated Israeli acts of aggression perpetrated against its territory. We reiterate today our solidarity with the Lebanese Government in the defence of the independence, the national sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Lebanon.

82. Moreover, the unprovoked aggression perpetrated against Iraqi nuclear installations in Tamuz represented an additional demonstration of Israeli arrogance and systematic resort to the policy of force in violation of international instruments and conventions. The international disapproval expressed after those acts of aggression was illustrated by the unanimous adoption of Security Council resolution 487 (1981) which once again condemned the Israeli policy of aggression against Arab countries and reaffirmed the recognized right of Iraq to utilize nuclear energy to develop its national economy. In reiterating our condemnation of this aggression, I should like to emphasize its grave consequences for the international system established for the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and its consequences for international peace and security. We express the hope that the consideration of this question in the General Assembly will lead to the unreserved condemnation of Israeli aggression and the reaffirmation of Iraq's right to access to the technology necessary to its development.

83. The Organization has adopted many resolutions concerning the Palestinian question and the continued Israeli acts of aggression perpetrated against the Arab nation. It must now adopt the necessary measures to ensure the respect of these resolutions and their implementation. The Organization should not hesitate to have recourse to the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

84. In January this year, the Third Islamic Summit Conference of the Organization of the Islamic Conference was held at Mecca-Taif. During that historic Conference, the Islamic community expressed in the Mecca Declaration, on behalf of its sovereigns and Heads of State, its determination to work for the establishment of a just peace and harmony among peoples and to guarantee human rights, and decided to pursue its efforts in favour of the advent of a new era characterized by international relations based on noble principles and not on the use of force, free from all forms of repression, exploitation and domination. On the same occasion, the Islamic community reaffirmed its commitment to combat Zionist aggression both in Palestine and in the other occupied Arab territories so as to mobilize all its energies to ensure the triumph of law and its restoration to those from which it has been confiscated.

85. The Arab community and the Islamic community have frequently reaffirmed during their summit conferences their will to achieve a peace based upon justice, while Israel has demonstrated by its acts that it does not seek peace but, rather, expansion and the acquisition of new territories. Events have continually demonstrated to the world that, unlike Israel, it is the Palestinians and the Arabs in general who aspire to security.

86. The initiative undertaken by His Royal Highness Fahd ibn Abdul Aziz, Crown Prince of the Kingdom of

Saudi Arabia, has once more demonstrated Arab and Islamic determination to bring about a peace based upon justice. In fact, the 8-point plan proposed by Prince Fahd³ takes into consideration the objective facts in the region and lays down principles which constitute a realistic platform to ensure the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. These principles take into consideration first of all, the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self determination and to the establishment of an independent State on its territory, in accordance with law and justice as well as with resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The Morocco-Saudi communiqué published at the beginning of September after the meeting between His Majesty King Hassan II and His Royal Highness Prince Fahd confirmed Morocco's full support for this Saudi initiative.

87. The artificial tension in north-west Africa was created and has been maintained for nearly six years by hegemonistic ambitions which make use of interference in the domestic affairs of other countries and encroachment on the territorial integrity of States.

88. The problem of what is called Western Sahara is nothing other, in fact, than the result of attempts to impair the territorial integrity of Morocco so as to create an artificial entity in its southern part, in violation of the principle of respect for the territorial integrity of States.

89. The dismemberment of the Moroccan State by the colonial Powers at the beginning of this century was a good illustration of the colonialist appetites which the African continent has experienced, but of which Morocco was particularly a victim because of its strategic importance at the juncture of two continents, two seas and several civilizations. Morocco was thus progressively carved up by the colonial Powers which carved out for themselves different spheres of influence under the domination of various foreign Powers.

90. Since the beginning of colonization, Morocco has tirelessly struggled to regain its independence and to achieve its territorial integrity. It was thus that it eliminated the French and Spanish protectorates in 1956; it then continued the struggle to liberate its other territories still under colonial domination.

91. Later, in 1958, we regained the province of Tarfaya after negotiations with Spain. The Spanish authorities having shown reluctance and delay in returning the other Moroccan territories still under their domination, Morocco had recourse to the United Nations, which called for new negotiations with Spain. Those negotiations led to the return to Morocco in 1969 of the province of Ifni which, in fact and in law, was an integral part of what today is called Western Sahara.

92. In its efforts to liberate the parts of its territory still under Spanish domination, Morocco turned in 1974 to the International Court of Justice, which reaffirmed, in an advisory opinion of 16 October 1975⁴ the permanent existence of legal links between the State of Morocco and the provinces of Western Sahara, as well as bonds of allegiance and *Beia* (fidelity) between the Saharan population and the Kings of Morocco. Following that decision, the Green March was organized, making it possible for Morocco to recover the Saharan provinces, whose return to the mother country was welcomed with universal satisfac-

tion by the Saharan population. Since then those people have frequently expressed their attachment to their Moroccan identity and their determination to continue it, thus following the example set by their ancestors over the centuries.

93. That devotion to the Moroccan homeland had already been demonstrated when the Saharan tribes rose up to protest the deportation by the colonials of His Majesty King Mohamed V and his family, thereby strikingly expressing their devotion to the father of the Moroccan nation.

94. It was again demonstrated when the inhabitants of the Sahara joined the liberation army in the north, in 1958, to expel colonial armed forces from the Sahara. It took the collusion of the colonial Powers, in the operation known as "Ecouvillon", to put an end to that resistance and to re-establish colonial domination over the Saharan part of Morocco.

95. When the Moroccan people undertook their unifying march—the Green March—in 1975, the population of the Saharan provinces also undertook their own enthusiastic popular march to welcome their brothers from the north.

96. Then on 26 February 1976 the unanimous vote of the *Jamaâ*—the representative council of all the tribes and populations of the Sahara—came out in favour of the return of the Sahara to the motherland.

97. In the last five years, the inhabitants of the Saharan provinces have on several occasions had the opportunity to reaffirm their Moroccan identity through legislative, local and public-service elections.

98. Morocco's recovery of its Saharan provinces was, therefore, carried out on the basis of international legality and responded to the aspirations of the populations involved.

99. Despite the evidence of Morocco's rights over its Sahara, and despite our respect for international law, the enemies of our territorial integrity resorted to acts of violence and destruction, subjecting our country to acts of aggression commanded, organized and financed from abroad so as to create a situation of artificial tension in the region.

100. But Morocco has never strayed from the path of wisdom and reason and has demonstrated cool-headedness in order to avoid any escalation that might lead to open war with serious consequences for the whole of north-west Africa.

101. The OAU has made frequent attempts to find a reasonable solution which would put an end to the tension in our region. We all know that the OAU has narrowly avoided paying dearly for the blind policies pursued by those who persisted in maintaining this dangerous tension in north-west Africa. Manoeuvres designed to force the OAU to take positions running counter to its charter and its principles have nearly led to its break-up. Morocco had always considered that the African organization had to be given all necessary latitude to resolve this conflict as it was the most qualified—indeed, the only—organization able to grasp the facts and their implications. In the framework of the OAU, Morocco's contribution to the

search for a solution to this crisis has always been constructive and untiring. The idea of forming the Committee of Wise Men in order to follow the development of the crisis and to reach a definitive settlement was the initiative of Morocco, which presented it to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its fifteenth ordinary session, held at Khartoum in July 1978. The OAU at once approved that initiative.

102. When the conditions necessary for the solution of the problem had been established, at the OAU Assembly at Freetown in 1980, His Majesty King Hassan II went to the Nairobi Assembly last June to announce Morocco's initiative of organizing a supervised referendum in the Sahara so as to give the population of the territory another opportunity to express their choice, in full freedom, with regard to their attachment to their Moroccan identity.

103. Morocco, which took that initiative fully convinced of the legitimacy of its rights over its recovered provinces, made that gesture to meet the wishes of a number of friendly States which regard the proposed referendum as the best way out of the crisis in the region. His Majesty King Hassan II stated on 26 June 1981 at Nairobi:

"Therefore, because we desire with the full force of our will to save our African community from that which might threaten its break-up and dissolution, because we have tirelessly desired to preserve the OAU's world image as a coherent, aware and responsible organization, we have decided to consider a supervised referendum, whose mechanisms will be in accordance both with the recommendations of the *ad hoc* committee—the Committee of Wise Men—and with Morocco's belief in its legitimate rights. . . .

"By deciding to turn to the solution of holding a referendum—which is highly esteemed in Africa, and which was advocated by the Wise Men, we are first and foremost responding to the request made of us by many friendly African, Arab and European Heads of State."

104. We consider that because of its experience and its know-how the United Nations could contribute to the proper holding of that referendum.

105. The Implementation Committee on Western Sahara that was set up by the Nairobi Assembly held preliminary meetings from 24 to 26 August and laid down the stages for the implementation of the decision to hold a referendum. We announced our willingness to co-operate fully with the OAU and its Implementation Committee by making available to them all the facilities necessary for the holding of the referendum.

106. In a letter addressed a few days ago to Mr. Daniel Arap Moi, President of the Republic of Kenya and current President of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, King Hassan II stated:

"As we assured the Committee, we shall spare no effort to facilitate, in the context of Moroccan sovereignty, the holding of the proposed consultation, which should herald the return of peace to the Western Saharan region.

"In particular, the Moroccan authorities will provide all assistance necessary for the impartial organization of the referendum envisaged in the pertinent paragraphs of the resolution. In this connection, we shall give appropriate instructions to the civilian and military authorities with whom the interim administration is to co-operate."

107. In view of the resolution that was adopted at Nairobi on Western Sahara, logic, legal considerations and wisdom all require that those States which previously held a position conflicting with that resolution, in that they recognized a non-existent entity, should withdraw that recognition in conformity with the spirit of that African resolution.

108. In this connection Morocco hopes that the United Nations will join in this peacemaking effort on the part of Africa by endorsing the African resolution, which, we hope, will make it possible for security, peace and tranquillity to return to the Arab Maghreb and will usher in a new era based on co-operation and brotherhood and directed towards progress.

109. The African continent remains the theatre of antagonisms and struggles for political influence which seriously imperil its stability and threaten its economic and social development. Our African continent, however, is determined to oppose any attempts at hegemony or seizure of its wealth, while remaining open to fruitful co-operation and equitable dialogue, with due respect for its special characteristics.

110. In southern Africa, the Namibian people continues its admirable and heroic struggle to free itself of South African colonial occupation. The manifold actions undertaken by the United Nations in order to bring about Namibian independence have been thwarted by the manoeuvres and procrastinations of the Pretoria régime, which has given no genuine sign of accepting Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and was responsible for the failure of the Geneva pre-implementation meeting.

111. My delegation commends the struggle of the fraternal Namibian people and would like to assure it of Morocco's support in its fight for total independence and territorial integrity. We would request the United Nations to take all the energetic measures possible without delay to enable that people to accede to independence and sovereignty.

112. The unprovoked aggressions which have been visited upon the territory of Angola by the troops of South Africa have given a new dimension to the struggle for Namibian independence. Those aggressions, which my delegation vigorously condemns, jeopardize the sovereignty of a member State of the OAU and through their repercussions may well further exacerbate the already tense situation prevailing in that part of our continent.

113. At a time when the world is becoming more and more aware of the need to respect the rights and dignity of all human beings in all latitudes, we have seen that the racist régime of Pretoria is entrenched in its policy of *apartheid* and collective repression of the people of South Africa.

114. The effective support which that régime continues to receive undoubtedly enables it to continue a policy that affronts human dignity and violates all the principles of international morality.

115. We shall never cease to call on those who continue to help the South African régime economically and militarily to apply the decisions of the United Nations and immediately put an end to their collusion with the racist régime of Pretoria.

116. In Western Asia, the Moslem people of Afghanistan has for almost two years now been prey to foreign military occupation.

117. Morocco, whose concern it is to preserve the links of friendship and co-operation that have been forged with the Soviet Union, and which, with the rest of the Moslem world, shares responsibility for defending the heritage and the ideals of Islam, is in duty bound to reaffirm its support for the Afghan people and to assure it of its complete solidarity, in the context of the Islamic Conference and other international institutions, the first of which is the United Nations, in seeking a solution that will guarantee the Afghan people the right to choose the sort of régime it desires and also will guarantee its identity as an Islamic people and its status as a non-aligned country.

118. Like the rest of the international community, the Islamic world is deeply disquieted by the destructive war, which has lasted for more than one year now, between two neighbouring Islamic States, Iraq and Iran. My country, which gave its full support to the resolution of the Islamic Conference calling for a cease-fire and the start of constructive dialogue between the two countries, once again expresses its hope that peace will be restored between the two neighbouring States, a peace based on respect for the principles of State sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and the rules of good-neighbourliness, while at the same time guaranteeing the historic rights of Iraq over its territorial waters and national territory.

119. As far as Democratic Kampuchea is concerned, Morocco believes that every measure should be taken to ensure the implementation of the Declaration and the resolution adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea which met in New York in July 1981.⁵

120. In the Mediterranean region, Morocco has devoted itself for several years now to devising and establishing, with all the countries that border that sea, the foundations for the type of co-operation that will assure all coastal States of permanent security and prosperity. We are today deeply concerned by the ugly clouds of tension that can be described there.

121. Because of its geographic location and the strategic position that it occupies, Morocco is fully alive to the particular responsibilities it bears in seeking conditions guaranteeing the security of that sea, especially in the Strait of Gibraltar.

122. That is why we declare our readiness to join in the efforts of all those coastal countries which wish to turn the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and security.

123. In this connection, we are very pleased that the work of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe will shortly be resumed, and we are anxious that our own concerns be set forth there and, as far as possible, heeded, particularly with respect to the Mediterranean where we are seriously concerned.

124. Morocco, which is pleased with the good relationships which it has with all the countries on the northern coast, would like to emphasize the particular ties that we have with one of those countries, because of a certain historical closeness. The positions which are occupied by Morocco and Spain both in the Mediterranean and in the Atlantic call for even more trusting and fruitful co-operation between the two countries. But we must, on both sides, be aware that that sort of co-operation, if it is to develop further, must be protected from certain vicissitudes which have been inherited from the remote past. I am referring to the enclaves of Ceuta and Mellila and the surrounding islands, in connection with which Morocco, my country, cannot give up its rights to sovereignty. Morocco remains wedded to the idea of seeking a frank and free exchange of views on that point in order to remove the after-effects of the past, which have been rejected by the international community and which Spain itself has constantly condemned when it has claimed, from this very rostrum, the rightful return of Gibraltar to Spanish national sovereignty.

125. International public opinion is demanding with increasing assertiveness that conditions be brought about that will make détente possible in international relations, and will ensure peace and guarantee international security. We note with some distress that the few results that were achieved by that tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, have had no impact on the headlong race to develop all types of armaments.

126. The continuance of nuclear tests, apart from violating the non-proliferation régime, indicates the absence of any political will on the part of the main nuclear Powers to conclude a treaty prohibiting such tests.

127. The unprecedented accumulation of the means of waging war is undoubtedly not likely to preserve peace. It is regrettable that the great Powers have been indulging for more than four decades now in a rivalry in which considerable effort has been devoted to armaments research.

128. Instead of giving rise to an atmosphere of security and hope, scientific and technological progress only leads to anxiety and distress.

129. Morocco, which has always been a staunch supporter of disarmament, both internationally and regionally, hopes that the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament which is to be held next year will tackle this problem in a determined fashion and lead to the conclusion of international conventions, particularly in the fields of nuclear testing and of chemical weapons.

130. International relations, which are marked in general by uncertainty and the state of the world economy, continue to deteriorate.

131. This situation has a particularly alarming effect on the developing countries. Their growing indebtedness,

which in 1980 reached the intolerable level of \$450 billion, their persistent dependence on others for food and the deterioration in their terms of trade have created phenomena which hamper their development and threaten their political stability.

132. International economic institutions and various conferences have taken up the situation and have recognized that there is a need to examine the world economic order. Partial and unilateral solutions are merely expedients and in fact hold up the application of a remedy that will have more lasting results. Faced with economic injustice, the appeals of the third world have met with a total lack of political will on the part of their interlocutors, who obstinately reject equitable solutions. Indeed, the most developed countries are stepping up their protectionist policies, reducing their foreign aid and adopting measures which have a negative impact on growth and employment in the developing countries.

133. The hesitancy which has been shown by certain developed countries with respect to the rather moderate goals of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, which was initiated this year, has increased our fears, particularly since the Second United Nations Development Decade was a total failure.

134. The United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, held at Nairobi in August 1981, did agree on a programme of action,⁶ but this may well remain simply a pious wish if there are no specific financial commitments. More recently, the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris in September 1981, simply took a few first-aid measures, with no precise timetable for their implementation.

135. That series of deadlocks in partial and sectoral negotiations makes it even more essential that the global negotiations which have been demanded by the countries of the third world be started. Those negotiations should result in genuine international co-operation and the effective implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Third Decade. The forthcoming International Meeting on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries at Cancún should be the occasion for a frank and, we hope, fruitful exchange of thinking that will help to remove the obstacles preventing the initiation of global negotiations under the aegis of the United Nations.

136. Although the same reasons for concern are always encountered at each of these sessions, it is nevertheless heartening to see that every year the Assembly echoes with voices that are almost unanimous in their desire for friendship and co-operation among peoples and for peace in the world. Our sincere wish is to contribute to this in the best way we can, and it is our undying hope that an era of harmony and prosperity will dawn to the benefit of mankind as a whole.

137. Mr. PAHR (Austria): May I first extend to you my country's sincere congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. In view of the difficult tasks we face in the coming months, we are particularly happy to see the General Assembly guided by such an experienced diplomat, whose

political experience, negotiating skill and conciliation ability are so widely respected.

138. We consider your election a tribute to you personally and to your country, to which Austria is linked by traditional bonds of friendship. Your assumption of the presidency of the General Assembly also represents recognition of the role of the non-aligned movement by the whole international community. As a permanently neutral country, Austria considers the movement a very important factor in the stability of international relations. On its twentieth anniversary I would like to express to the non-aligned movement the warmest congratulations on behalf of the Austrian Government.

139. To the Secretary-General I wish to express my Government's sincere gratitude for his untiring work for world peace. We feel that it is precisely at a time of increased tension, of world-wide political and economic crises, that his experience is an invaluable asset to the community of States.

140. With the admission of Vanuatu and Belize, the Organization has increased its membership to an impressive total of 156 States. We congratulate very cordially the delegations of the new Member States and express our hope for close and fruitful co-operation.

141. At the thirty-first session [27th meeting] I had the honour to present Austria's position on the world situation to the General Assembly for the first time. The political climate at that time was still marked by the common desire of the United States and the Soviet Union to continue the policy of détente. There was good reason to hope that the principles adopted by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held at Helsinki in 1975, would be respected in practice and would permeate all areas of international relations.

142. Meanwhile, East-West relations have gravely deteriorated. Distrust of each other's plans and intentions weighs heavily on the relations of the two super-Powers, creating a world-wide feeling of insecurity. We hope, however, that both the talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko and United States Secretary of State Haig and the beginning of the theatre nuclear force negotiations this year at the end of November will lead to the resumption of a substantive dialogue between the parties, based on the full realization of our common interests and their joint responsibility for world peace and survival.

143. We also hope that the follow-up conference to the Helsinki Conference, which has now been in session for more than a year, will be favourably influenced by the beginning of bilateral talks between the United States and the Soviet Union. So far, the negotiations in Madrid have taken place in a strained political climate. There exists a widespread pessimism on the possibility of solving the problems still pending with respect to the substantive final document.

144. I do not share this pessimistic assessment. What has already been achieved, particularly in the areas of economic co-operation, humanitarian issues and information, is so important that it must not be lost. Moreover, the Helsinki process is too essential to Europe and to the world to be jeopardized. We should, therefore, devote all our energy to solving the remaining problems. Austria, in

co-operation with the other neutral and the non-aligned States of Europe, will do everything possible to achieve meaningful results and ensure the continuation of that process.

145. The reasons why I am placing so much emphasis on United States-Soviet relations lie in our conviction that the aims of the United Nations can be accomplished only if there exists a necessary minimum of co-operation and trust among all of its Members and, in particular, the major Powers.

146. An objective analysis of world political developments further strengthens our conviction that there is no meaningful alternative to a constructive, world-wide policy of détente, based on a stable balance of forces. This is the only sensible way to achieve secure coexistence and fruitful co-operation among States and peoples. It is the prerequisite for the gradual building of a world order in which the interests of the North, South, East and West are balanced and harmonized.

147. When we speak of détente we mean a continuous, dynamic process in which conflict and co-operation among States with different political, economic and social systems interact. It does not mean the end of all conflicts.

148. The expression "détente" is perhaps misleading in so far as it gives rise to unjustified hopes. Perhaps in the future we should speak rather of a "*modus vivendi* for coexistence and co-operation". But, whatever expression we choose to denote this policy, we do not in any case see it as something abstract and remote. For us it is a concrete and tangible matter. We experience its consequences right on our doorstep, a few miles from our capital.

149. Our relations with Switzerland, Liechtenstein, the Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary and Yugoslavia are close and essentially free of problems. Our relations with Czechoslovakia, unfortunately, have not yet reached this stage and are overshadowed by a number of problems and events. However, our long common border and our human and cultural ties commit us to seek good-neighbourly relations through pragmatic talks. Austria has a very great interest in good and friendly relations with Czechoslovakia. We understand from statements made by Czechoslovak leaders, confirmed yesterday [19th meeting] by the speech of the Foreign Minister, Mr. Chňoupek, that Czechoslovakia is guided by the same interests. On the basis of this common desire for understanding, it should not be difficult to find satisfactory solutions to existing problems.

150. In our relations with Italy, a country to which we are linked by good-neighbourly and friendly relations, the problem of South Tyrol is of particular importance. It is now 12 years since Austria and Italy agreed on autonomy for South Tyrol. Nevertheless the full implementation of that agreement is still pending. At the thirty-fifth session [20th meeting] I informed the Assembly of the impatience of the South Tyrolean people and the increased concern of the Austrian Government about that delay. I regret that I must report today that the situation has not improved since and that no further substantial progress has been achieved.

151. Particular emphasis has to be laid on a matter which is at the heart of the protection of any ethnic group, namely, the use of their mother tongue in the courts and in dealing with administrative authorities; two thirds of the South Tyrolean population still have no such guarantee. That means that one of the most important elements of the agreements between Austria and Italy has not yet been implemented.

152. Prime Minister Spadolini, on assuming office, gave assurances before the Italian Parliament to implement the outstanding measures as quickly as possible and in close consultation with the representatives of the ethnic groups concerned. From those assurances and the efforts so far undertaken by the Italian Prime Minister we derive the expectation that, in the interest of all, substantial progress will be made in the near future. That would mean, in particular, the continuation of the process jointly initiated by the two countries in 1969, in consultation with the South Tyroleans. Otherwise, serious doubts would arise as to Italy's readiness and desire to comply with its commitments and to act in accordance with the guidelines set forth in General Assembly resolutions 1497 (XV) and 1661 (XVI).

153. I am reporting on our policy of good-neighbourliness because we believe that efforts to promote peace must begin at home and in our immediate vicinity. However, that does not relieve us of the duty to contribute to the maintenance of peace and security in all other regions as well. In view of today's realities and interdependence, destabilizing events in any part of the world have immediate repercussions around the globe. Austria is therefore greatly interested in the peaceful settlement of all conflicts and is ready to contribute actively to their solution.

154. The situation in the Middle East remains a major source of danger to world peace and alarms us greatly. The Arab-Israeli conflict has escalated to a new and dangerous point. The Israeli actions in the south of Lebanon, the bombing of targets in Beirut and the attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor near Baghdad constitute new violations of international law. Israel's settlement policy and its attempt to bring about a one-sided change in the status of Jerusalem continue to create serious obstacles to a peaceful arrangement. There is still no solution in sight to the key problem of the Middle East conflict—the Palestinian question. The fact that an agreement on a cease-fire in Lebanon, with the participation of the PLO, was possible and is still in force, establishes the validity of the basic tenets of our Middle East policy as presented to the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly by Chancellor Kreisky [49th meeting] and myself [9th meeting]. Today we are more than ever convinced that a peaceful settlement in the Middle East can only be achieved on the basis of direct talks between Israel and the Palestinian people, represented by the PLO. Such talks might, at a later stage, lead to negotiations in a larger forum under the auspices of the United Nations.

155. The illegal occupation of Afghanistan continues to threaten the stability of the region and gravely hinders the policy of détente. In accordance with the position expressed by the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations, Austria urges the withdrawal of all foreign troops and advocates a political solution which ensures the right to self-determination of the people of Afghanistan.

156. The explosive situation in the Middle East and the prominence attached to the question of Afghanistan in world public opinion must not cause us to forget the tragedy of the Kampuchean people, who have suffered human rights violations on an inconceivable scale, and foreign military intervention as well. Austria's feelings of solidarity and sympathy with Kampuchea are widely shared. That was clearly demonstrated by the large number of participants in the International Conference on Kampuchea. The recommendations of that Conference³ will be submitted to the General Assembly for endorsement.

157. I should just like to reaffirm here what I, as President of the Conference, consider its guiding principle: the Conference on Kampuchea is directed against no one; rather it is an attempt to contribute to a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. One of its main functions is to initiate a dialogue with the non-participating parties. May I take this opportunity to appeal to all of them to accept that invitation.

158. South Africa's military invasion of Angola, which we condemn as a gross violation of the principles of the United Nations, has demonstrated once again the urgency of a solution to the problem of Namibia. The emergency special session of the General Assembly on Namibia again emphasized the Security Council's responsibility for the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 435 (1978). While we understand and share the impatience of the African States, we still hope that the efforts of the Western contact group will yield results as soon as possible. It will indeed be a great day for the Organization when we can welcome an independent Namibia as a new Member State.

159. The tragic conflict between Iraq and Iran continues. We should like to encourage our Secretary-General and his Special Representative, as well as the Islamic and the non-aligned States, to continue their efforts to promote an equitable settlement.

160. The importance of negotiations in resolving tensions and crises has been clearly underlined in Cyprus. We welcome the fact that the intercommunal talks, through the mediation of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, have been resumed and continue on a regular basis. We hope that on the basis of realistic proposals progress can be achieved towards a comprehensive settlement.

161. Hotbeds of international tension do not exist only in Asia and Africa. Events in Central America also cause particular concern. Social justice and political pluralism are conditions for improving the situation in that part of the world. Those conditions will only be achieved in cooperation with all the social and political forces of a country, including the opposition. That applies, in particular, to El Salvador. I hope that there too one of the most important principles of our Charter will be respected: the right of every people to determine its own future without outside intervention from any source whatsoever.

162. The principles that apply to Central America apply to Europe as well. Full respect for the principle of self-determination and non-interference is also urgently required with regard to the situation in Poland, a country whose fate is of particular concern to us. We are confi-

dent that the great Polish people, to whom Austria is tied by strong historic bonds, have the ability to solve their problems themselves, through their own efforts.

163. This brief review of the gravest international crises demonstrates how far removed we are from the declared goals of the Organization—peace, security and justice. The failure to achieve substantial results in three main areas—disarmament, development and human rights—is primarily responsible for our not having reached those goals.

164. In his annual report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General rightly expressed his deep concern about the escalation of the arms race [see A/36/I, sect. V]. It is indeed a most disturbing fact that in the three years since the first special session of the General Assembly on disarmament we have failed to achieve any substantial progress, despite universal agreement on the urgency of the problem.

165. Here we are facing a dilemma to which we have so far found no solution: the same Governments that advocate disarmament and arms control have no inhibitions about following the opposite course in their actual behaviour, when they feel that their security so requires. Everybody agrees that in the long run disarmament would increase security. But, for the present, every State attempts to enhance its security by military means.

166. Nevertheless, there appears to be general support for disarmament as a process of progressive and balanced lowering of the level of armaments. In this context the verification of the actual military strength of the States concerned is of critical importance. The problem is how to determine and define military strength.

167. I believe that uncertainty about the true military strength of States is one of the main reasons for the continuing arms race and for the failure to achieve balanced disarmament. If we succeeded in developing objective procedures for assessing and verifying the true level of armaments in the world, we could achieve tangible progress towards a balanced arms reduction. Existing international practice and institutions provide sufficient mechanisms for the establishment and evaluation of relevant facts. I should therefore like to propose that the United Nations study the possibility of making use of those or similar mechanisms in order to verify and evaluate the actual state of armaments on an objective basis. My delegation would appreciate reactions to this proposal and wishes to reserve the option of offering more specific details during this session.

168. Austria is convinced that North-South issues are a central element of world politics today. Even though at present the East-West conflict seems to be the focus of world public attention, it would be wrong to view the North-South problem as a secondary one.

169. In dealing with the problems of development we should not look back to the past but rather towards the future, for which we all bear a common responsibility.

170. In view of the unsatisfactory progress made in recent years, we fully understand the impatience and frustration of the developing countries. We therefore consider

it a matter of urgency that agreement on global negotiations be reached at this session of the General Assembly.

171. Although the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development scheduled to take place this month at Cancún is not formally linked to the global negotiations, we hope that it will have a positive influence on them and will provide the necessary political impetus.

172. The Meeting, which is to be jointly chaired by the President of Mexico, Mr. López Portillo, and the Austrian Chancellor, Mr. Kreisky, is not a forum for negotiations. It is intended to provide an opportunity for an exchange of views at the highest level on the entire range of North-South issues. We should not expect immediate substantive decisions from the summit. Instead, it is the idea of the summit to create a more positive political atmosphere for North-South relations and thus to establish the political will needed to begin and conduct negotiations on a comprehensive policy for development and co-operation.

173. Austria has always held the view that global economic questions can be considered in a meaningful and action-oriented manner only if we also address the problems of energy. We therefore welcome the Programme of Action which the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy⁶ agreed on as a first important step by the United Nations in dealing with this question in the over-all context of North-South relations. We support all ideas and initiatives aimed at strengthening international energy co-operation. We therefore also favour the establishment of an energy affiliate of the World Bank.

174. It is our hope that this session of the General Assembly will also be able to contribute significantly to the promotion of the interests of the least developed countries. We support the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s adopted by the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries.¹

175. The United Nations plays a very important role in our quest for a world in which human rights and human dignity will be respected. His Holiness Pope John Paul II underlined this issue in his fundamental statement before the Assembly at the thirty-fourth session [17th meeting]. There is growing recognition that peace and human rights are indivisible. When human rights are not ensured, peace is endangered, and when there is no peace, human rights are jeopardized.

176. Violations of human rights in various regions of the world, caused or aggravated by political and military conflicts and unrest, clearly illustrate this interrelationship. Human suffering often assumes catastrophic proportions. We are all aware of the growing tragic flows of refugees, of the spread of acts of senseless violence and terrorism, of arbitrary violations of human dignity, unjustified arrests, torture, the taking of hostages, forced re-settlements and summary executions.

177. In this connection, I should like to submit to the General Assembly a proposal which was discussed in detail and generally endorsed by the Fourth Armand Hammer Conference, held at Aix-en-Provence in August of this year. It deals with the creation of an international corps of trial observers to be set up within the United Nations system, whose duty would be to be present and

report on legal proceedings in which human rights are affected. These observers should in no way replace or supersede the successful activities of non-governmental organizations working in this field, but should supplement them in cases in which they are not accepted. We should welcome it if Member States made their views on this proposal known to us, so that we could follow it up in the Third Committee of the General Assembly with these reactions in mind.

178. Among the many violations of human rights which we are witnessing, let me refer to two in particular.

179. We are witnessing today a resurgence of the death penalty, the most inhuman punishment, which is also only too often applied in contravention of the basic principles of criminal procedure. We fully support all efforts to abolish that penalty and congratulate France on the decision recently taken in this regard.

180. Likewise, we note a growing and alarming tendency to religious intolerance in many parts of the world. We welcome any action to counter this inhuman trend. All those advocating intolerance are obstacles to peace.

181. I am firmly convinced that the problems of today can be resolved only by peaceful change. This principle is enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and is at the basis of all peace efforts. All of us—States, Governments, international organizations and individuals as well—must accept this challenge.

182. Mr. AL-KHALIFA (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like at the outset to offer you my warm congratulations, Sir, on the occasion of your election as President of the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session. Your wide experience and valuable contribution to the work of the Organization over many years will be of great benefit to the work of this session, which we hope will succeed in serving the cause of peace and international co-operation, in affirmation of the principles and goals of the United Nations. Your presidency is a positive indication of the increasing role played by our brother State of Iraq and by the Arab group as a whole in contributing to the attainment of the goals of the Organization and the strengthening of its efforts for the prosperity and well-being of the world.

183. I also wish to offer my thanks and appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany, for conducting the work of the General Assembly at its previous session with ability and dedication. I should not fail to pay a tribute, in the name of the delegation of Bahrain, to the efforts and the performance of the Secretary-General, who has contributed so much over the last 10 years to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the accomplishment of its goals and in facing the many serious challenges that have confronted it. This praiseworthy effort deserves our deepest gratitude.

184. I should also like to welcome the admission of both Vanuatu and Belize to membership in the Organization. We hope that it will not be long before we see the national liberation movements, that sit with us now as observers, occupying their seats as Members, after their struggling peoples have triumphed over imperialism, occupation and racism and obtained their legitimate rights to

freedom, self-determination and independence—for there is no doubt that the will of peoples who are fighting to attain their legitimate rights will inevitably triumph.

185. The thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly is meeting in a world beset by burning international issues which threaten international peace and security, where serious international crises may break out at any moment in the most sensitive areas of the world. World economic conditions are in no better state than the political situation—and they are no less important.

186. Under such circumstances, it is incumbent more than ever upon the United Nations to play a greater role in the resolution of the international problems which confront mankind, so that international relations may be maintained in order to meet the serious challenges which face our world. We therefore consider it the duty of the General Assembly to review and examine carefully the events of today's world in order to assess their effects on the life of mankind and their implications for the future, and so avoid their possible dangerous consequences. In this context, we face many questions which require satisfactory answer: with regard to the problems that confront mankind, and foremost among these are the following. How are we to eliminate hotbeds of tension and conflict in the world, maintain détente, increase confidence between the two super-Powers and strengthen international peace and security? How are we to stop the arms race, particularly in the field of weapons of mass destruction, put an end to all forms of hegemony, domination and subjugation by the great Powers and narrow the gap that still exists between the rich and the poor? And how are we to put an end to imperialism in all its forms, particularly the colonialist and racist imperialism practised by Israel and South Africa?

187. These and other questions require, in our opinion, careful and thorough scrutiny by the family of nations in this troubled period in the history of international relations. No effective and satisfactory solutions can be found to such problems except through constructive dialogue and a genuine desire to abide by the principles of the United Nations and respect for the right of peoples to self-determination.

188. We live in critical international conditions marked by turbulence and ambiguity. It is no overstatement to say that we live in a world in which terror arising from the arms race and confrontation between the two super-Powers prevails. Relations between the two super-Powers over the last year have been marked by a return to the policy of the cold war and rivalry over spheres of influence in the world. The policy of recourse to the use of force has again taken the prominent place in modern international life—a matter which is of concern to the world, and particularly to those States which have not aligned themselves with either of the two super-Powers. The two super-Powers are seeking to impose their policies of hegemony and to attract the developing countries both politically and economically, so as to use them as pawns in their game of power politics. There are still many areas in the world, including Europe itself, which are considered to be probable regions of wide-scale confrontation between the two super-Powers if a radical change were to occur in the balance of power between them. Therefore, the developments which have occurred in the international

arena are a source not so much of optimism as of caution and fear.

189. We have expressed on more than one occasion our opinion regarding the ways and means of building sound and equal international relations among States, irrespective of their political and economic status, in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations, with particular emphasis on the need to abandon the use or threat of use of force in international relations, to respect the sovereignty of States, the integrity of their territories, the sanctity of their borders, non-interference in their domestic affairs and equality of rights among them all. In the light of this, allow me to present my point of view with regard to current and pressing international issues and the developments which we consider to be of especial importance which have taken place since the last session.

190. We consider the establishment of the Gulf Co-operation Council by the Arab Gulf States an important and positive historic event in our region and a great step towards the fulfilment of the aspirations of the peoples of the region to strengthen their present and future ties. Following immediately upon the declaration establishing the Gulf Co-operation Council, the six States members of the Council—the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain—confirmed that the Council was not a group directed against anybody, and that it had been set up in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the non-aligned movement. The Gulf Co-operation Council represents a political, economic and social grouping of the six member States designed to face up to the challenges and external threats which confront the region and to keep it away from spheres of influence and international strife.

191. The leaders of the six member States of the Gulf Co-operation Council emphasized in their final communiqué issued after their first conference, in Abu Dhabi on 26 May of this year, that the security and stability of the Gulf is the responsibility of the States of the region, that those States are capable of assuming that responsibility and that nobody has the right to interfere in their internal affairs. The rejection by the leaders of the region of any foreign intervention, whatever its source or nature, reaffirmed the determination of those States to resist all endeavours to link the region to international conflicts that are inconsistent with the principles of non-alignment and the Charter of the United Nations. The Gulf Co-operation Council, which reflects the hopes and aspirations of the peoples of the region and highlights the historical, social and economic ties existing among them, is not only aimed at facing up to external challenges and threats, but also at developing self-sufficiency among those States in various fields of economic and social development, to strengthen peace and stability in the region and to contribute to the prosperity of the peoples of the Gulf and of the world at large.

192. The question of Palestine and the dispute in the Middle East have occupied a central place in international events this year. We do not need to repeat the details of the Palestinian question or its implications for the different elements involved, but it is necessary to highlight the importance of finding a rapid, just, lasting and comprehensive solution to this problem, considering its decisive

impact on the maintenance of international peace and security.

193. The question of Palestine was and will remain at the core of the dispute in the Middle East. There will be no stability in the region if a just solution to that question is not found. The events in the Middle East and their consequences indicate that the conflict in the region has entered an extremely grave phase. It looked this year as if the Middle East were on top of a volcano that could have erupted at any moment. The perpetuation of the situation in the Middle East will provoke turmoil in the area, with all the resulting complications threatening world peace and exposing international relations to danger. The dangerous situation in the Middle East is the result of the continued occupation by the Zionist entity of Arab lands and the constant refusal of Israel to abide by United Nations resolutions, of that entity's confiscation of Arab lands, demolition of houses, building of settlements and colonies on occupied land, expulsion of the Arab inhabitants, violation of their human rights and subjecting them to all sorts of torture and humiliation, the eradication of Arab landmarks and the desecration of the holy places.

194. The continued profanation of the holy places by the Zionist occupation authorities, in particular the continuation of excavation under the Moslem Sanctuary of the Mosque of Al-Aqsa, proves the evil and aggressive intentions of the Zionists towards the holy places. It is a challenge to the feelings of all Moslems and a flagrant violation of the resolutions of the United Nations and UNESCO, which have declared Jerusalem and its ancient walls to be part of the heritage of mankind. We appeal to the world community to recognize the gravity of the excavations being carried out by the Zionist occupying authorities under the sacred Dome of the Rock, which are aimed at destroying one of the holiest places for Moslems in the Holy City of Jerusalem. The international community is therefore required to make an effective move to stop Israeli aggression against the holy places in the occupied Arab lands.

195. Among other new evidence of the expansionist and aggressive intentions of Israel in the region is its recent decision to proceed with the implementation of a plan to dig a canal linking the Mediterranean Sea to the Dead Sea, commencing from the occupied Gaza Strip and going across the occupied West Bank and the Jordan Valley. We should like to bring to the attention of the world the gravity of that plan which is intended to bring about fundamental geographical, demographical, environmental and economic transformations that would have serious consequences for the entire region, and in particular for the inalienable rights of the Palestinians and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. We call upon all States and peoples to refrain from providing any assistance or support, financial or technical, for its implementation. Failure to heed this call would be regarded as a hostile act against the rights of the Arab nations.

196. The international community has used all methods of condemnation, denunciation, censure and protest in regard to the continued Israeli aggression against Palestinian people and the neighbouring Arab States, but it has not imposed any sanctions regarding such continued aggression—a fact that has led Israel to perpetuate and expand its aggression. Unless the international community can restrain Israel by imposing on it economic and political

sanctions, it will continue its aggression against the Palestinian people and the neighbouring Arab States.

197. There is no need to recall the stand of Bahrain regarding this question and the need for a comprehensive and just solution. We have explained on more than one occasion that a just and durable peace in the region should be based on recognition of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of their own State, the recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories, foremost among which is the Holy City of Jerusalem.

198. In accordance with those principles, Prince Fahd ibn Abdul Aziz, the Crown Prince of our brother country, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, put forward an eight-point plan for a just and comprehensive solution of this question³, which speedily met with a favourable response all over the world. The clearly formulated plan of Prince Fahd proves our deep conviction that our problems can be settled by peaceful means within the framework of the United Nations and international legality. Nevertheless, Israel remains silent and refuses to respond to any move towards peace. A further complication has arisen out of the announcement by the United States, which is considered to be a pillar of the Organization and a leader of the Western countries, that it intends to conclude an agreement on strategic co-operation with the Israeli aggressor, which is occupying the lands of others by force of arms and rejects all international values and principles. Undoubtedly, this will complicate matters further in that sensitive area of the world. We therefore call upon the international community to support the eight-point plan and upon the Security Council to adopt it as a framework for a just and comprehensive solution to this question.

199. For this purpose we support the call for the convening of an international conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations, a conference in which the PLO would participate on an equal footing with the other parties, particularly in view of the fact that events in the Middle East have proved beyond any doubt the importance of the participation of the PLO in any process for the establishment of genuine peace in the region.

200. Israel is responsible for the serious tension prevailing in Lebanon which is exposed daily to Zionist aggression and its destructive effects. While we emphasize our concern for the independence of Lebanon, the integrity of its land and people and its sovereignty over all its territories, we see that this cannot be achieved unless an end is put to Israeli aggression which aims at setting fire to and destroying Lebanon. It has been learnt by experience without any doubt over the last six years that Israeli aggression against Lebanon will intensify and increase every time that efforts to bring about peace in Lebanon approach success.

201. To rescue Lebanon from the ordeal which it has been through over the last six years is an Arab and a human goal. But Arab attempts to reach that goal have always been thwarted by Zionist designs aimed at perpetuating the ordeal of Lebanon in order to intensify domination over it and to keep the region continuously on the boil. In such circumstances we call upon all States and the Security Council to put effective pressure on Israel to

make it stop its continued interference in Lebanon and aggression against that country.

202. The Israeli raid last June on the Iraqi nuclear research centre, used for peaceful purposes, is a dangerous precedent in international relations and a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and international norms. No State in the world has ever perpetrated such an act of aggression; Israel is thereby trying to replace international law by the law of the jungle.

203. In fact, the deliberate and barbaric aggression committed by the Zionist entity against Iraq is an indivisible part of a plan to weaken, threaten and destabilize the Arab countries. It is a direct and serious threat to the present and future of the Arab nation, culturally, politically, economically and socially. The intention behind the Israeli raid on the Iraqi nuclear reactor is to prevent the Arab States from acquiring advanced technical knowledge. Israel intends by such aggression to convince the world that it is the supreme Power in the area and that it can force the Arab States to submit and surrender.

204. Bahrain, which has denounced and strongly condemned this unprovoked aggression, considered by all the States of the world, including the friends and supporters of Israel and those who defend it, to be an act of piracy and intimidation against our brother country, Iraq, would like to reaffirm once again its complete support for and solidarity with the Government and people of Iraq in their struggle against Zionist aggression.

205. This aggression has threatened the security and peace of the whole region and the international community should impose on Israel the sanctions prescribed in Chapter VII of the Charter. There is no doubt that the huge material and military support which is offered to Israel by the United States is the main reason for the perpetuation of Zionist aggression against the Arab States. The Zionist entity, in fact, would not have had the courage to perpetrate its aggression against our brother country, Iraq, but for the support Israel receives from some Western countries, particularly the United States.

206. The absence of international deterrence has encouraged Israel to persist in its arrogance and reliance on force to achieve its ambitions and expansionist goals. We call upon all States, particularly those that support the Zionist entity and supply it with economic, political and military assistance, foremost among which is the United States, to refrain from giving such assistance to Israel, in order for it to abandon its aggressive policy in the Middle East.

207. More than a year has passed since war broke out in the Gulf between our brother State of Iraq and the neighbouring Moslem State of Iran. It is a matter which is of concern to our region and the whole world. We cannot hide our great anxiety and deep regret concerning that war waged between two Moslem countries with its excessive loss of life and the destruction of economic and architectural institutions and establishments in both countries.

208. Since the war broke out we have appealed to both Moslem neighbours to cease hostilities and enter into peaceful negotiations to settle the issues that caused the war and to find a just and final solution to the painful

dispute between the two countries. We appeal again with all sincerity to both Iraq and Iran to stop the fighting and to settle the existing dispute between them by peaceful means, responding to the sincere offer of the good offices of the United Nations, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned movement in the search for a peaceful and just solution of this problem. The response of Iraq to these initiatives has been encouraging and positive. We hope it will not be too long before peace prevails in both these neighbouring countries.

209. The Afghan people are still resisting and rejecting the Soviet occupation of their country, which took place almost two years ago. The United Nations and other international bodies have called for the withdrawal of the armed forces from Afghanistan. Unfortunately, the Soviet Union has not responded to the appeals of the international community.

210. In this context I should like to reaffirm that the solution of the Afghan problem involves the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan and the recognition of the right of the Afghan people to have the system of government of its choice in all freedom and without external interference, the maintenance of Afghanistan as an independent non-aligned country and the creation of the necessary favourable conditions for the return of the Afghan refugees to their homeland in dignity and safety.

211. The situation in southern Africa, and particularly in Namibia, is increasing in gravity and complexity. The hopes concerning the future of Namibia that were pinned on the Geneva pre-implementation meeting held at the beginning of this year have been disappointed because of the obduracy of the authorities in South Africa and their resistance to the efforts of the United Nations to secure the independence of Namibia in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). In this context, we should like to confirm the support of Bahrain for the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its eighth emergency special session to give new momentum to the liberation of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the people of Namibia. I should like also to declare our support for the legitimate struggle waged by the persecuted majority in South Africa against the policies of *apartheid* practised by the racist minority régime in Pretoria. We also support the international call to impose mandatory sanctions against that racist régime to compel it to abide by the United Nations resolutions and we strongly condemn the co-operation and alliance existing between the racist régimes in South Africa and Israel.

212. We should like, in connection with the recent developments in the continent of Africa, to welcome in the name of Bahrain the decision reached by the OAU on Western Sahara. We hope that the proposal for a referendum submitted by our brother country, Morocco, on this problem at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held at Nairobi in June last, will provide a favourable climate for ending that painful dispute.

213. The economic conditions and situation in the world are no less serious than the political situation referred to above. The world economic situation is in constant decline and only slight progress has been made towards the establishment of a new international economic order

based on equity, justice and interdependence. It seems from the stand of the advanced industrialized countries that they pay no heed to the conclusions reached by the Brandt Commission,⁷ which emphasized the common destiny of humanity as a whole. There are still many regions in the world threatened with famine and drought, where millions of people die of starvation. This makes the beginning of the 1980s and the end of the twentieth century a dark era in the history of humanity. Unless the advanced industrialized countries increase the aid they give to the countries of the third world and listen to them more attentively, no tangible progress will be made towards the establishment of a new international economic order, particularly since the world economy is suffering from inflation, instability of prices and the devaluation of the currencies of the advanced industrialized countries, which has serious harmful effects on the economies of the developing countries.

214. The failure of the eleventh special session, devoted to global negotiations on the new international economic order, should not prevent efforts being made to carry out such negotiations. We hope that the economic summit meeting to be held this month at Cancún will produce positive results, leading to agreement between the advanced industrialized countries and the developing countries on current economic problems.

215. Among the encouraging initiatives in the sphere of development and humanitarian aid is the establishment in Bahrain of the Arab Gulf programme for United Nations development organizations, which aims at aiding developing countries by financing development and humanitarian projects to be carried out by the United Nations. This programme was initiated by the allocation of \$40 million to UNICEF, which is proof of the conviction of the founders of this programme, namely the Arab Gulf States, that it is necessary to supply developing countries with financial aid and support United Nations development institutions.

216. The tenth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which was held this year, has not resulted in the adoption of a general and comprehensive agreement on the law of the sea, but it has made progress in solving some of the hard-core issues. This leads us to hope that the Conference will be able to adopt the desired convention at its next session.

217. Bahrain, as a peace-loving country, would like to be able to live in a world in which peace, freedom and dignity prevailed. We hope that this session will contribute to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the search for the necessary solutions to the problems facing the cause of peace, liberty and justice in the world. This can only be accomplished if all States are prepared to make a sincere and concerted effort to put an end to injustice, backwardness and domination. We know very well that this objective cannot be achieved overnight and that together we must make every effort to allow the family of nations to succeed, within the framework of the United Nations, in establishing an international community in which justice, peace and prosperity prevail.

218. In this context, we should like to declare that the State of Bahrain is prepared to work with other peace-loving nations within and outside the framework of the United Nations for the achievement of these noble goals and purposes.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.

NOTES

¹See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

²See A/S-11/14, annex 1.

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

⁴*Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1975, p. 12.*

⁵See *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annexes I and II.

⁶See *Report of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.24), chap. I, sect. A.

⁷*North-South: A program for survival*; report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1980).