



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. GOMA (Zambia): I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. I am convinced that with your vast knowledge and experience in international relations you will ably steer the Assembly towards a successful conclusion. I assure you of my delegation's full co-operation. I wish on this occasion to commend your predecessor, Mr. Kitani of Iraq, for having ably presided over the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session. I wish also to commend the Secretary-General for the impressive manner in which he has discharged the responsibilities of his office. We wish him every success.

2. We are meeting once again to continue our collective efforts to find solutions to world problems. Since the last regular session, there is very little that we can point to in the direction of progress that we have achieved. Indeed, the year has been one of the most turbulent in recent times.

3. The international community has witnessed not only the perpetuation of tensions and rivalries, which have now become the order of the day, but has also watched with horror and apprehension as some of these tensions and rivalries have flared into open warfare, resulting in loss of human life and occasioning untold misery for surviving victims. The continuing armed conflict between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Iraq, the conflict in the South Atlantic, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and subsequent massacre of Palestinian civilians in the Shatila and Sabra refugee camps in Beirut, the grave situation in southern Africa and the deterioration in the relations between the super-Powers, among others, have been of great concern to the international community.

4. Of equal concern to us in Zambia is the fact that so many international and regional bodies whose essential purpose is to find peaceful solutions to world problems have been deadlocked. For example, the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the countries of the non-aligned movement have not been able to meet at summit level this year as scheduled. Furthermore, the Security Council, an institution which the Organization established for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security, has been reduced to a mere debating forum and its resolutions are now honoured more in the breach than in the observance. We are thus drifting into a situation where the United Nations will no longer be in a position to

protect the weak or the humble from wanton aggression by the strong and the bully in our midst.

5. We live under the shadow of a nuclear holocaust and in an era where conventional weapons have proliferated and have been perfected. Efforts by the Organization to bring about general and complete disarmament under effective international control have so far not yielded any meaningful results. It is regrettable that at the second special session devoted to disarmament the Assembly could not even adopt a document on a comprehensive programme of disarmament. The current disquieting international situation demands that we rededicate ourselves to the cause of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. As recent public demonstrations supportive of disarmament have shown, the peoples of the world are growing restive and impatient at the lack of progress in the field of disarmament.

6. Allow me now to turn to the problems relating to the state of affairs in the international economy. When the developing nations called for the establishment of a new international economic order way back in the mid-1970s, their aim was not to redistribute the existing wealth throughout the world, thereby scaling down the level of affluence in the developed communities. On the contrary, their primary concern was to create conditions that would allow them to develop their material and human potential to the full and consequently eradicate poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance which are rampant in their own countries. Accelerated development of the developing countries poses no threat to the economies of the developed countries. It can only lead to the attainment of better conditions of living for all mankind and an equitable sharing and utilization of the resources of our one world. However, our concerted attempts to bring about a fair and just economic system have foundered at every turn. Past negotiating conferences such as the Paris talks, the fourth and fifth sessions of UNCTAD, the third conference of UNIDO, the Committee Established under Resolution 32/174, on the preparations for the launching of the global negotiations, and many others have not yielded tangible results. Today the international community is in a much worse condition than it was a few years ago.

7. The developed countries are experiencing least growth rates, persistent and rising unemployment and instability in their currencies. For them the problem is how to rescue their economies from further recession and possible collapse. They have accordingly resorted to protectionism and restrictions in trade, investments and transfer of resources, measures which themselves are exacerbating the already fragile and declining economies.

8. The developing countries, on the other hand, are experiencing decreased export earnings coupled with increased costs of essential imports such as food and energy, an escalating external debt burden and a tight reserve situation. Under these circumstances they have no alternative but to reduce their overall economic activities and as a result per capita gross national product declines from year to year. The consequence of that situation in most developing countries, especially in Africa, has been an increase in the incidence of absolute poverty.

9. These trends do not augur well for the economies of either the developed or the developing countries, especially when they manifest themselves at such an early stage of the Third United Nations Development Decade. Here too we need to review the collective decisions we took two years ago when we set out the policy guidelines of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [resolution 35/56, annex]. Concerted efforts have to be undertaken to reverse the present trends. The international community has already diagnosed the world economy and ascertained that the remedy lies in structural adjustments.

10. My delegation is of the view that the responsibility for promoting development and meeting the needs of our peoples naturally rests with national Governments. None the less, the international community, including the United Nations system itself, should assist in mobilizing the resources and expertise necessary to help those countries in need to resolve their numerous developmental problems.

11. The current situation is more alarming, not only because of the magnitude and dimensions of the economic recession but also because of the erosion of international co-operation and the limitations in certain policies which are instituted to deal with recession. In a world of rising expectations and increasing communications between nations and social groups, a lack of response to the pressing demand for improving the quality of human life can be a real source of conflict not only at the national but also at the international level. In this respect, the level of voluntary contributions to UNDP, to mention but one, has experienced a decline. There is real danger that, if the present trend in voluntary contributions to the various United Nations development-oriented agencies continues, the much cherished and noble aims and ideals of the United Nations body in this regard are likely to be compromised.

12. My delegation firmly believes that institutional changes and structural reforms in the world economy which could contribute to lasting solutions to our current problems can only result from a global and integrated approach to these problems. The global negotiations, which were decided upon by the General Assembly in its resolution 34/138, offer the best chance to the international community to achieve the desired objectives. It is through meaningful interdependence and collective action that economic progress will be achieved. We hope that the global negotiations will be launched in the not too distant future and that they will result in concrete measures which all countries will find it easy to adopt, and thereby bring about the necessary structural changes

leading to the establishment of a new international economic order.

13. The international political agenda is made up of many and complex problems which equally provoke grave concern and require urgent solutions. Let me now briefly reiterate Zambia's position in respect of some of them.

14. We are concerned about the increase in the great-power rivalries in and around the Indian Ocean. We want to see the long-delayed Conference on the Indian Ocean, to be held at Colombo, convened urgently with a view to adopting effective measures to fulfil the aims and objectives of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)].

15. We support the efforts by the Organization, including the good offices of the Secretary-General, to find political solutions and to obtain the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

16. We support the efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to bring about the reunification of Korea and once again call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea.

17. We remain steadfast in support of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus. We call for meaningful progress in the intercommunal talks and for an early agreement on the withdrawal of foreign forces from Cyprus.

18. I wish now to focus particularly on the questions of southern Africa and the Middle East, as well as to outline briefly Zambia's perception of the institution of the United Nations.

19. The situation in southern Africa still looms over us as one of the major factors contributing to the deterioration in international relations. The issues in that perturbed region are well known. I wish none the less to recount them. They are, first, the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa; secondly, the policies and practices of *apartheid* of the South African régime; and, thirdly, South Africa's military aggression against and its destabilization of neighbouring independent African States.

20. Four years have passed since the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978) on Namibia. That resolution was welcomed by the international community as a practical and realistic basis for the termination by South Africa of its illegal occupation of Namibia and for the Territory's process to its long-delayed independence. To date, Namibia remains under illegal South African occupation as the numerous efforts undertaken to put resolution 435 (1978) into effect have been of no avail.

21. This session of the General Assembly takes place against the background of renewed efforts to break out of the impasse over the implementation of resolution 435 (1978). Consultations involving the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the front-line States and Nigeria on the one hand and the contact group of five Western States and South Africa on the other have been held in the last three months here in New York with a view to resolving

outstanding issues pertaining to the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. These consultations resulted in agreement on virtually all relevant issues. The one important outstanding issue concerns the electoral system to be used to elect a constituent assembly in Namibia. South Africa has not made its position known on this issue.

22. It is the firm view of my Government that the momentum which has been generated in regard to the independence of Namibia should not be lost. We wish to see the implementation process begin without further delay. South Africa should not be given any pretext to frustrate further the implementation of resolution 435 (1978). We would, therefore, utter a caution against the introduction of extraneous issues which would have the effect of delaying the independence of Namibia. In this regard, we reject the linkage that is being insisted upon between Namibia's independence and the presence of Cuban forces in Angola. There would be absolutely no justification for Namibia's independence to be delayed on account of issues which are clearly outside the letter and spirit of resolution 435 (1978).

23. On the question of *apartheid* and minority rule in South Africa, my country has been unequivocal in condemning that obnoxious system. We have repeatedly warned South Africa that a people cannot be suppressed forever. Already, the struggle by the non-white people of South Africa has become formidable. The march is on, and no amount of arms, mass arrests, police brutality or torture will stop it until the *apartheid* system is destroyed and majority rule is established in that country.

24. It is true that the racist régime has become more ruthless in suppressing the uprising by the oppressed majority, but so too has the people's determination to fight that régime intensified. The policy of bantustanization and the concept of divide and rule, whereby the régime is trying to play the Coloured and Indian communities against the black people by allowing the former a few more privileges than their black colleagues, will deceive no one. They have been exposed for what they are: desperate manoeuvres aimed at perpetuating *apartheid*.

25. The oppressed people of South Africa wish to see the establishment of a democratic system of government in their country. That is a quest for justice that requires support from the rest of civilized mankind, including in particular those countries of the Western world which invest heavily in South Africa, and which, through those strong economic links with Pretoria, could bring maximum pressure to bear on the South African régime to abolish *apartheid* and bring about majority rule.

26. Let those who have interests of any sort in South Africa not be blinded by the massive short-term profits that they are reaping under *apartheid*. It will be in their long-term interest to exert effective pressure on South Africa to abandon the *apartheid* system.

27. My Government is also seriously concerned about South Africa's continued acts of aggression against front-line and other States in southern Africa. As the international community is well aware, South African military forces continue to this day to occupy

part of Angolan territory in flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola. In addition, South Africa persists in carrying out military incursions and cross-border raids into Angola under the pretext of hot pursuit against SWAPO freedom fighters. South Africa is also persistently engaged in clandestine and open operations which embrace military aggression and economic subversion as well as harassment of the neighbouring independent African States with a view to destabilizing them.

28. It is in the light of that situation that I urge those who are allies of the Pretoria régime not only to point out the folly of its adventurism, but also to cease giving support to it. I also urge the Assembly to demand urgently the complete and unconditional withdrawal of South Africa's military forces from Angola, and the cessation of all its acts of aggression against and destabilization of the front-line States and other neighbouring States.

29. With regard to the Middle East problem, I wish to express my Government's indignation at and condemnation of the unprovoked and premeditated invasion of Lebanon by Israeli forces and the cold-blooded massacre of innocent Palestinian civilians in refugee camps. The loss of civilian lives and massive destruction of property caused by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon are reminiscent of the holocaust of the Jewish people themselves in Nazi Germany, and should be unreservedly condemned by all peace-loving peoples the world over. It is ironic that a people which suffered so much under Nazi Germany tyranny should now have become the standard-bearer and apparent admirer of Nazi-type atrocities.

30. I wish to state that the solution of the problem does not lie in the liquidation of the Palestinian people or in their expulsion from Lebanon. It is foolhardy for Israel to believe that it can put an end to the legitimate and cherished aspirations of the Palestinian people through massive use of force of arms.

31. The invasion of Lebanon and the massive loss of innocent lives in that country have highlighted the urgent need to find a lasting solution to the Middle East problem, at the core of which lies the question of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent state in Palestine.

32. We call upon those who have the leverage to exert pressure on Israel to abandon its acts of aggression against its neighbours and to recognize the rights of the Palestinian people. We remain convinced that a just and comprehensive solution to the problem of the Middle East should be found within the framework of the United Nations.

33. The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/37/1], which is before the Assembly, is incisive, frank and objective. He has eloquently expressed the concerns of many people all over the world who believe in the United Nations and want the Organization to be strengthened so that it can meet the challenges of the present-day world and fulfil its historic role in the maintenance of international peace and security.

34. My delegation welcomes the report of the Secretary-General. The events of this year above all

require that we take a critical look at the peace-making and peace-keeping role of the United Nations, particularly that of the Security Council, which regrettably seems to have been reduced to the role of a mere spectator while some of its permanent members have actively pursued initiatives of their own outside the framework of the United Nations.

35. If we truly believe in the institution—the United Nations—we cannot and should not, as its Member States, merely give lip service to the Organization, nor should we seek to find solutions based on narrow national interests to important problems of universal interest and concern outside the United Nations framework.

36. Political will on the part of all Member States is of the essence if we are to strengthen the United Nations and revitalize its role in the maintenance of international peace and security. We need political will to implement and strictly adhere to the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations. We need political will to engage earnestly in a constructive dialogue to examine and perfect the mechanisms for promoting the aims and objectives of the United Nations.

37. Let me say specifically that it remains the considered view of the Zambian Government that all Member States should do everything possible to support the work of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization. No single issue should be considered sacrosanct. The Special Committee should have the latitude to consider all issues relevant to the strengthening of the United Nations and enhancing its effectiveness in resolving the problems which trouble international relations.

38. The United Nations remains the only hope for mankind in the long search for lasting solutions to the multifaceted problems confronting our one world. Let us therefore rededicate ourselves to the purposes and principles of the United Nations and do all we can to ensure that the Organization lives up to the expectations envisaged by the founding fathers.

39. Mr. KASIM (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to convey to you, in the name of the delegation of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, our warm congratulations on your election to your high office. We have full confidence that your experience and competence will contribute effectively towards a successful outcome to this session. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Kittani, who presided over the proceedings of the thirty-sixth session most effectively, for which we thank him. I wish to pay a particular tribute to the persistent efforts of the Secretary-General to increase the opportunities for peace and to alleviate the tensions that prevail in many parts of the world. My delegation takes this opportunity to express its full support for those efforts and to pledge its full co-operation with him.

40. A careful study of the agenda of this session and the grave issues contained therein, which have serious implications for world peace and security, confirms the bleak foreboding which the Secretary-General has clearly and forcefully expressed in his report.

41. Our world today is beset on all sides by dangers resulting from the predominance of the policies of the use of force or the threat of the use of force instead of having recourse to peaceful means of settling problems among nations. This tendency has been intensified by a continuing and relentless arms race, the development and acquisition of the most sophisticated means of mass destruction and the allocation by many States of vast human and material resources to those ends.

42. We also find that the States entrusted by the Charter of the United Nations with a special responsibility for maintaining international peace and security have pursued policies which are at variance with that responsibility. Some of them have resorted to the use of force while others have condoned the fact that States have committed acts of aggression and intervention in the affairs of other States.

43. The failure of those States to put an end to the military option and the use of force and their condoning of the use of force by others have led to the prevalence of an aggressive attitude in relations between States and encouraged more States to take the same course.

44. As a logical and ineluctable corollary of this development, the international situation has deteriorated most seriously, amounting as the Secretary-General said in his report to having brought the world perilously near to a new international anarchy. As a result of this development, the United Nations has been rendered incapable of contributing to the solution of international conflicts. The Security Council, whose principal duty under the Charter is the maintenance of international peace and security, has been immobilized and prevented from performing its task. Its functions have been confined to issuing resolutions which remain unimplemented.

45. Despite the fact that the Charter has laid down a system of collective security in the world, we note that the principles enshrined in the Charter for regulating relations between States have been flouted. That system has been subverted by the prevailing tendency to use force, under different pretexts, whether it be a warped concept of security or alleged self-defence. All those pretexts are actually aimed at imposing hegemony and achieving the parochial interests of those who have the force and the means of using it. Thus we see the blatant military occupation, the colonization of occupied lands, the destruction of property and cities and interference in and manipulation of the internal affairs of other States with a view to serving the interests and aims of the aggressor.

46. It is profoundly disturbing that, instead of taking immediate and decisive action to deter aggressors, assist their victims and prevent the fruits of aggression being reaped, some of the major Powers choose to stand idly by, to condone the aggression or even to obstruct the application against the aggressor of the sanctions for which the Charter provides.

47. That approach, with its concomitant weakening of the United Nations, has led to the dangerous situation that the world finds itself in today. It has also led all those countries that observe the Charter and support international law to lose faith and confidence that their legitimate quest for security and just solu-

tions to their problems can be pursued within the framework of the existing international order. In the absence of such assured security, those Member States have found themselves impelled to scramble for arms and divert large parts of their limited resources for the acquisition of the necessary means of self-defence in confronting the policies of hegemony and domination being pursued by the more powerful States. We must state that such a development would never have taken place if the major Powers, to which the Charter entrusted the maintenance of world peace and security, had shouldered their solemn responsibilities and duties with firmness and sincerity.

48. The most glaring example of what I have just described is to be found in the Middle East, where the situation is characterized by the use of force and the imposition of occupation, hegemony and *faits accomplis*, to which Israel has resorted persistently, without being subjected to the deterrent action that would force it to submit to the international will and law.

49. Israel occupied the greater part of Palestine in 1948, and in 1967 it completed the occupation of the remainder, in addition to parts of other Arab lands. In the past few months it has occupied large areas of the sister country of Lebanon, rendering homeless and displacing scores of thousands of its civilian population. Israel has destroyed many of Lebanon's towns and villages. It laid siege to Beirut, devastating large parts of it with unparalleled barbarism by incessant land, sea and air bombardment, which claimed thousands of innocent victims in dead and wounded.

50. One of the most heinous massacres in history was perpetrated against unarmed civilians, foremost among whom were women, old people and children. The conscience of humanity is still overwhelmed with revulsion, anger and abhorrence at the spectacle and dimensions of this barbaric massacre, which has its precedent in earlier Israeli massacres of innocent Palestinians at Deir Yassin, Qibya and Kafr Qasim.

51. The main objective of these repeated massacres has invariably been to terrorize and uproot the Palestinian people and to silence them, in the vain hope that such massacres will erase from the consciousness of the Palestinian people their yearning to return to their homeland in Palestine, and that they will abandon that homeland to strangers who falsely claim they have a better right to it than its legitimate owners.

52. Israel's ability to persist in its aggressive, expansionist policies, of which the most recent manifestation is the victimization of Lebanon, can be traced back specifically to the time when the whole world, and particularly those great Powers upon which devolves the responsibility for preserving peace and security, stood idly by or ignored Israel's aggression in June 1967. At that grave moment a fundamental deviation occurred in the international collective security system, when the Security Council was prevented from taking action in conformity with its established practice of linking a cease-fire with the imperative demand for complete withdrawal from all the occupied territories. Israel exploited that in order to reap the fruits of its aggression, by continuing its occupation of Arab territories and refusing to withdraw from them. Moreover, Israel refused to

implement Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which called upon it to withdraw completely from those territories.

53. Israel has persistently sought to cover up its defiance under the guise of its security. Its supporters have sought to justify their massive assistance to it on the ground that a secure Israel would be more willing to make concessions in exchange for peace. Events have proved the fallacy of that claim.

54. We have seen that the greater Israel's military power grows, the more obdurate and inflexible its policies become. It stretches its concept of security to include aggression against the neighbouring Arab States. Israel's doctrine of security has become synonymous with aggression, expansion and occupation. It reached unprecedented dimensions recently with the massacre of innocent civilians. The abominable events in Lebanon have revealed to the whole world, and in particular to the friends of Israel, Israel's true face and have unmasked the falsehood of its security pretexts.

55. Israel's definition of its security is but a slogan which it uses to cover up its continuing expansion at the expense of Arab territories and rights. Israel, expanded since the Partition Plan of 29 November 1947 [resolution 181 (II)], going beyond the Armistice Agreement of 1949 and the cease-fire lines of 1967 to what we see at present in Lebanon, shows that Israel is in no need of security. Israel has annexed Arab Jerusalem and the Golan Heights; it has established Israeli settlements; it bombed Iraqi peaceful nuclear installations; and it has started to build a canal from the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean. Such an expansionist Israel, which has defined its perceived area of security as encompassing all the lands from Pakistan, in the East, to North Africa in the West, is suffering from an abundance of security, not from a lack of it. That is all too clear when we take into account Israel's military nuclear capability which was documented in the Secretary-General's report at the preceding session.¹

56. It has been the consistent pattern that whenever there appear to be indications on the horizon of efforts by the international community to achieve a just, comprehensive and lasting solution to the question of Palestine and the conflict in the Middle East Israel resorts to a pre-emptive military strike in order to occupy more Arab lands, in order to thwart any such international efforts and compel the world to divert its endeavours towards dealing with the complexities resulting from the *faits accomplis* newly created by Israel's aggression.

57. Hence Israel's invasion of Lebanon and its attempts to manipulate Lebanon's political situation and internal affairs in a manner which would serve its objective of spreading its hegemony over the region. Israel was encouraged to launch its invasion by the meek reaction to its earlier invasion of southern Lebanon in March 1978 and its ability to impose its own conditions for a partial withdrawal. Those conditions included the creation of a buffer zone in south Lebanon under the control of mercenaries accountable to its will. When Israel saw that that dangerous precedent had been tolerated by the international community, it embarked upon its further

invasion of Lebanon, which has continued for the past several months. At the beginning of the invasion it declared that its objective was to secure a cordon sanitaire, the depth of which it would decide at will, on the pretext of an alleged need to ensure the security of its citizens in the northern area.

58. Israel has only been encouraged by the launching of the two invasions to carry out further aggression. We warn the international community of the seriousness of Israel's premeditated plans and intentions regarding the Arab States. It is determined to turn its back on the principles on which a just peace could be achieved. We also warn it against Israel's efforts to impose a sham solution of its own making, the preparations for which have already been initiated in declarations by its leaders that a solution to the Palestinian problem lies outside Palestinian national soil.

59. The international community must take a firm and decisive stand in confronting these ominous plans. It must prevent the aggressor from reaping the fruits of its aggression. The international community must also compel the aggressor to respect the principles of international law and good faith in relations among nations, if we are truly committed to the purposes and principles of the Charter and to safeguarding the region and the world as a whole from the serious consequences of allowing the present situation to continue.

60. The international community, both within the United Nations and outside it, has defined the necessary bases for the achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the region. These include the withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories occupied since the June 1967 aggression, the return of the Arab City of Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty, and recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including its right to self-determination in conditions of total freedom on Palestinian national soil. Israel has subverted all the international efforts aimed at the attainment of this goal. The most recent example of this was its outright rejection of the ideas put forward by President Reagan although they could not possibly be considered as prejudicing Israel's security.

61. In contradistinction to these Israeli policies, which are based on the rejection of peace and attempts to achieve hegemony over the region, there is sincere Jordanian and Arab determination to achieve a just peace which would guarantee rights and ensure security and stability in the region. Jordan accepted Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and has used its influence to persuade others to accept it and support its implementation. Jordan has also supported efforts and initiatives formulated both within and outside the United Nations to ensure the implementation of that resolution and the achievement of a comprehensive settlement, in accordance with universally agreed principles.

62. Furthermore, Jordan's role was actively pursued in co-operation with sister Arab States, at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference held in Fez in September, in the formulation of a collective Arab peace initiative compatible with what the international community has resolved should be the framework for peace. We call upon the international community

to support this initiative and to strive resolutely to give effect to it since it offers an historic opportunity which has gained world-wide acceptance, with only Israel dissenting. It is a unique opportunity which must be seized by everyone in order to ensure a just peace and a comprehensive settlement of this whole question, which has threatened international security and the security of the region for the past 34 years.

63. There is another conflict threatening the stability and security of the region in which we live, namely, the Iraqi-Iranian war that has been raging for about two years. This causes Jordan pain and grief because it involves two Islamic States. Jordan, which respects the Charter and international law and accepts its national responsibilities, supports its sister Iraq in its defence of its national territory and its legitimate rights on its land and waters. Jordan adds its voice to that of the international community in asking the Islamic Republic of Iran to respond positively to Security Council resolutions 479 (1980), 514 (1982) and 522 (1982), as well as to the many mediation efforts aimed at ending the war between the two neighbouring countries. Jordan has also welcomed with satisfaction the initiative taken unilaterally by Iraq for the observance of a cease-fire and withdrawal of its troops to within its international borders in order to open the way for a just settlement that would prevent further bloodshed and destruction. Such a settlement would give each party what rightfully belongs to it and lead to the establishment of good-neighbourly relations between the two countries which would undertake not to interfere in each other's internal affairs.

64. Several other parts of the world have been afflicted in the same way as the Middle East region. The racist Government of South Africa continues to practise its hateful *apartheid* policies, to occupy Namibia and to commit acts of aggression against neighbouring African States.

65. The international community is duty-bound to take a firm stand against the practices of this racist régime and to apply all the means of pressure available to it, including the sanctions provided for in the Charter, to compel South Africa to comply with international resolutions.

66. We also call for the implementation of United Nations resolutions pertaining to Afghanistan and Eritrea and for respect for the right of all peoples to self-determination and to express their national will in conditions of total freedom.

67. Jordan also calls for the peaceful solution of the problem of Cyprus through the intercommunal talks under the auspices of the United Nations and within a framework which would preserve the unity, independence and non-aligned status of that country.

68. We support the solution of the problem of Korea by peaceful means through negotiations between the two parts of Korea, in accordance with the joint communiqué issued in July 1972.²

69. It is impossible to separate the gloomy climate pervading the world today, which is based on the use of the military option to solve international issues, from the overall thrust of the arms race. The race to develop or acquire the most modern weapons of

destruction, conventional as well as nuclear, has intensified the tendency to use or threaten to use force and has compelled many States, particularly the developing nations, to seek to acquire arms for their legitimate self-defence at the expense of the satisfaction of their pressing economic and social needs. It is incumbent upon the major Powers to set an example by showing the political will to curb the arms race and to work, guided by the principles of the Charter, to averting aggression, thereby providing an atmosphere of confidence and security for all States that respect international law. It is also imperative to transfer the enormous human and financial resources devoured by the arms race to the task of reforming the international economic order, which is exposed to huge strains and is suffering from a structural disequilibrium. This state of affairs had led many countries, particularly developing countries, into a serious situation, made them incapable of servicing their foreign debts and brought them to the verge of disaster.

70. In this statement I have reviewed some of the gravest problems facing our world today and threatening its present and future. The family of nations, individually and collectively, must exert serious and sincere efforts to deal with the crises. We must not continue to pursue the policies that have brought the world to the state of degeneration which we are witnessing today and which the Secretary-General has strongly emphasized in his report. It is our earnest hope that the imminence of the danger will increase our awareness of the responsibilities incumbent upon the international community so that it may rise to the challenges confronting it and the world may become a better place to live in.

71. Mr. AL-KHALIFA (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I take pleasure in congratulating you, Sir, on your election as President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Your effective contribution to the work of the United Nations and your long service to your country, the Hungarian People's Republic, have won you the confidence of the delegations participating in this session. We hope that your work will be crowned with the success to which we all look forward, so that the resolutions of this session may reflect the aspirations of the international community and deal with the most important questions and issues on the international scene. I am pleased also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Kittani, for the constructive efforts he made and the ability and great skill with which he led the work of the last session and the special sessions of the General Assembly this year.

72. I take pleasure also, on behalf of the State of Bahrain, in congratulating Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar on his election as Secretary-General. His election to this high international position is a recognition of his outstanding skill and experience in the work of the United Nations. I should like here also to commend him on the valuable report he submitted to the General Assembly at this session. It contains a useful analysis of current international relations and the challenges confronting the Organization, and it will assist us in dealing with the questions and issues on the agenda.

73. Since the last session the world has witnessed exceedingly dangerous developments in international

relations, where methods of conflicts and confrontation have pre-empted those of dialogue and negotiation. Rivalry between the combatant groups has intensified, increasing the number of wars and disputes and undermining international peace and security, as has happened in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East. Israel invaded Lebanon and destroyed Beirut, the war in the Falkland Islands broke out, the Irano-Iraqi war continues and Afghanistan is still suffering from foreign military intervention. The situation in Kampuchea is still serious and no settlement of the question of Cyprus has been reached. We live today in a world dominated by selfishness and force, the imposition of the will of the victor on the vanquished and the reaping by the aggressor of the fruits of his aggression. This situation constitutes a serious change in international relations, which further intensifies disputes and regional and international crises.

74. In our review at the twenty-sixth session [21st meeting] of international events, we referred to the establishment of the Gulf Co-operation Council as a viable and constructive institution for collective regional co-operation to meet the aspirations and ambitions of the people of the region. The six member States have agreed in the Charter of the Council to abide by their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, to act together to preserve peace, security and stability in the region without foreign intervention, and to develop political, economic, cultural and social relations among themselves and with other States in the world for their benefit and that of the world as a whole. As a result of the continuous efforts and work of the leaders of the Gulf Arab States, the Council has been able, within the short period that has elapsed since its establishment in May 1981, to co-ordinate the efforts and policies of the States of the region in regard to international issues. The unified economic agreement which was concluded in November last year laid down sound bases for economic self-sufficiency among these States and for the co-ordination of their commercial and economic policies with those of other States and other regional economic groups. The establishment of the Council is a living example of constructive regional co-operation and co-ordination, based on the common interests of the people of the region, to provide them with security, stability and prosperity.

75. The Middle East region witnessed this year the recurrence of serious events which threaten to undermine world peace, as a result of the criminal Israeli invasion of Lebanon, which constitutes a dangerous precedent in international relations and takes humanity back to the law of the jungle. Lebanon is exposed now to the ugliest forms of aggression, occupation and destruction. The Palestinian people face the danger of physical liquidation and mass extermination by unprecedented means.

76. Israel, which claims to be a small State surrounded by other States which surpass it in number and resources claims that it wants peace with its neighbours. At the same time, it occupies Arab territories one after the other, expelling and killing the legitimate inhabitants in order to annex such territories to its racist settlements. It subjects the rest of the inhabitants of those territories to the worst forms

of suppression, injustice and torture in an attempt to drive them out and replace them by Zionist settlers coming from the four corners of the world. It builds settlements on the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights, in addition to annexing Arab Jerusalem and declaring it its permanent capital, annexing the Golan Heights and attacking the Iraqi nuclear reactor designed for peaceful purposes—an attack contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and many resolutions in this respect. We ask the Assembly whether such a policy, based on aggression and expansion, implies in fact a desire for peace?

77. The tragedy of the Middle East arises from the denial of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian question is the core of the Arab-Israeli dispute. A just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East region can be attained only by the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories and the recognition of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, particularly their right to establish their independent State on their national soil.

78. The question of Palestine, which has existed since the establishment of the United Nations, is no longer unknown to anybody in its dimensions and the tragedy of its people. It is the question of a people expelled from its home and land, and denied for more than 34 years the exercise of its inalienable rights. That people, more than any other people in history, is still suffering from homelessness, deprivation and mass extermination at the hands of world Zionism. In spite of the recognition by the United Nations of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to their homeland, Israel denies them these rights and ignores all the United Nations resolutions which acknowledge even part of the inalienable and legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

79. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon aimed at the complete subjugation of that peaceful country and the destruction of its independence and sovereignty and the integrity of its territory. We warned from the start of the consequences that such aggression could have on Lebanon and the repercussions it would have on the situation in the Middle East in general, and the Palestinian question in particular. To inform the world public of the dangers of such aggression, the Arab States have contacted all States permanent members of the Security Council urging them to contain this serious situation, put an end to it and expose its dangers and repercussions. They have asked them to shoulder their responsibilities under the provisions of the Charter for the maintenance of peace and security, and to stop the massacre and acts of genocide perpetrated by the Israeli forces against the Palestinian and Lebanese people. They have also asked for an international move to put an end to such unprovoked aggression, save the independence of Lebanon and the integrity of its territory, implement Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), which call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the invading Israeli forces from all Lebanese territories, and support the efforts of the Lebanese Government to exercise its legitimate authority and complete sovereignty within the internationally recognized borders of Lebanon.

80. Terrorism has become the overt policy of Israel, as confirmed by the tragic events which have taken place recently in Lebanon. The world public has expressed its deep anger and disgust at the appalling slaughter engaged in by Israel and its followers against the unarmed civilians of west Beirut and the ugly massacres perpetrated against the inhabitants of the Shatila and Sabra camps, causing the death of hundreds of Palestinian families, mostly children, old people and women. This brings back to our mind the massacre carried out at Deir Yassin in Palestine in 1948 by the terrorist Irgun Gang, led by the present Prime Minister of Israel.

81. Israel, acting in violation of the agreement made with the Lebanese Government and the three States participating in the multinational peace force in Lebanon, carried out these ugly massacres after the departure of the Palestinian fighters from west Beirut.

82. At this crucial time, we appeal to the conscience of the world, which is represented by the members here, to see to it that the Organization moves from the stage of adopting resolutions of condemnation to that of implementing those resolutions. We consider that it is the duty of the General Assembly to request the Security Council to reconsider the relations of the United Nations with Israel, which is not a peace-loving Member and is bent on aggression and expansionism, as shown by its violations of international agreements and persistent breaches of the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations.

83. Israel claims that peace and security are the reason for its invasion of Lebanon, its annexation of the Golan Heights and its inhuman practices against the inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, but it is in fact bent on more expansion, aggression and domination. No Member of the United Nations may invade and occupy the territory of another Member on the pretext of strengthening its security and defending its borders. Israel has made its security the excuse for perpetuating its expansionist policy in Arab territories.

84. Israel's annexation of the Golan Heights, in spite of Security Council resolution 497 (1981), means that it has no intention of withdrawing from the Arab territories occupied since 1967 but is aiming at the Judaization of those territories to serve the ambitions and interests of Zionism in the region.

85. Israel's occupation of Arab territories does not confer on Israel any sovereignty over those territories, however long that occupation may last. Its attempt to legitimize its occupation of those territories is in clear breach of the principles of international law, particularly the Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.

86. It is indeed regrettable that the world has witnessed the aggressive and criminal practices of Israel in Lebanon, the West Bank and the Golan Heights without the Security Council having been able to carry out its responsibilities and deter Israel from pursuing its aggression, because of the use of the veto by the United States of America time and time again to prevent the Security Council from adopting deterrent measures under Articles 41 and 42 of the Charter.

87. We believe that it is necessary to impose sanctions on Israel, to compel it to respond to the will of the international community. We ardently hope that the General Assembly will urge the Security Council to carry out its duty of maintaining peace and security in the Middle East by adopting the necessary measures under Chapter VII of the Charter in order to compel Israel to stop its aggression and end its occupation of Lebanon and other Arab territories and its annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights. We also hope that the United States of America will take a stand in keeping with its great responsibilities as a permanent member of the Security Council.

88. We support the international call for an investigation of the atrocious crimes committed by Israel against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples and call for an international trial of Israel for the mass killings and criminal acts it perpetrated by using internationally banned shells and weapons and destroying buildings over the heads of their occupants in one of the harshest and ugliest acts of genocide, which was witnessed daily by the whole world through the mass media.

89. The Palestinian people have proved their fighting ability by their heroic stand against the Israeli invasion. They have proved to the world that they are not merely a tiny group of terrorists, as Israel claims but people struggling to regain their legitimate rights. The Palestinian people's heroic struggle, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], has enhanced the prestige of that organization as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and strengthened the loyalty of the Palestinian people to the PLO.

90. Early last month, the leaders of the Arab States held the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference at Fez. My country was one of those Arab States that participated in the Conference. The Conference issued a unified Arab plan for the solution of the Palestinian question [see A/37/696]. This plan represents a genuine desire to find a durable solution of the Palestinian question and the problem of the Middle East. It consists of eight points, which, in our view, are a good basis for the solution of the problems relating to the situation in Palestine and the Middle East. It is based on international legality as represented by the principles and relevant resolutions of the United Nations, starting with General Assembly resolution 181 (II) on the partition of Palestine.

91. The plan ensures respect for international resolutions and guarantees the Palestinian people the minimum of their rights as prescribed in United Nations resolutions, including their right to sovereignty, self-determination and the exercise of their inalienable national rights on their national soil. It guarantees freedom of worship to all religions in the Holy Places.

92. The plan consists of the following eight points. First, the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, including Arab Al Quds; secondly, the dismantling of settlements established by Israel on Arab territories after 1967; thirdly, the guarantee of freedom of worship and practice of religious rites for all religions in the holy shrines; fourthly, the reaffirmation of the Palestinian people's right to self-

determination and the exercise of its imprescriptible and inalienable national rights, under the leadership of the PLO, its sole and legitimate representative, and the indemnification of all those who do not desire to return; fifthly, the placing of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip under the control of the United Nations for a transitory period not exceeding a few months; sixthly, the establishment of an independent Palestinian State with Al Quds as its capital; seventhly, the guaranteeing by the Security Council of peace among all States of the region, including the independent Palestinian State; and eighthly, the guaranteeing by the Security Council of respect for these principles.

93. This plan is in keeping with United Nations resolutions on the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East. It strengthens the role of the United Nations in establishing durable peace in the region. It is in line with the call of the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization to establish a more stable system in the world based on international collective security and to encourage the use of the machinery of the Charter for this purpose.

94. We believe that this plan provides a good opportunity for the solution of a question which has proved difficult to solve during the past three decades—a question which, if it remains unsolved, will threaten the whole world with grave dangers. Therefore, we appeal to all States to support this plan and work towards its implementation, in order to maintain peace and security in that sensitive part of the world.

95. The Iraqi-Iranian war has now entered its third year, since it broke out in September 1980. This war has begun to take on new and more dangerous dimensions threatening to create an explosive situation in the whole region. There is no doubt that if this war continues, it will spread and drive the whole region into the turmoil of an international conflict.

96. We have on more than one occasion expressed great concern and deep sorrow at the continuation of the dispute between Iraq and Iran and called for a stop to this long and bloody conflict in order to avert more bloodshed and rescue both countries from the ravages and destruction of war.

97. We earnestly hope that these two neighbour States will be able to negotiate a just and durable solution to their dispute, particularly after the withdrawal by Iraq of its forces from the international border and its declaration that it is ready to negotiate with Iran and solve the differences existing between them by peaceful means. We also hope that the good offices of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the non-aligned countries and the United Nations will succeed in securing a cease-fire between the two countries and finding a solution to their differences by peaceful means. We continue to welcome, as we did before, the response of the sister country of Iraq to the mediation efforts of the Good Offices Committee, particularly its readiness to observe a cease-fire and withdraw its forces to the international border. We hope that the Islamic Republic of Iran will also respond to the mediation efforts of that Committee in the same manner as Iraq has already done.

98. The situation in the Horn of Africa is still a source of concern and instability. We hope that dis-

putes and differences in that region will be solved by peaceful means within the framework of the OAU so that a peaceful settlement that will be just for all parties may be reached and so that the people and States in that region of the world may be enabled to live together in peace, security and amity.

99. As regards Western Sahara, we regret the failure of the efforts of the OAU to settle that question peacefully, and we hope that collective efforts will be made to find a just solution to this dispute so that peace and stability may prevail in the region.

100. We welcome the efforts for the independence of Namibia made by some Western States in the contact group. We welcome the positive steps taken to implement the United Nations plan for the independence of that country pursuant to Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which is the proper legal framework for the peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. We should like to reaffirm Bahrain's support for and solidarity with the just struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO. We appeal to all States Members of the United Nations to put pressure on the Government of Pretoria and to impose sanctions against it under Chapter VII of the Charter in order to compel it to abandon the detested policy of *apartheid* it practises against the black majority of the people of South Africa and to support the struggle of that majority to regain its legitimate rights to freedom, equality and human dignity.

101. Faithful to the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States, the State of Bahrain has called for an end to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. We have made clear before the Assembly our stand with regard to the settlement of the Afghan question. We are still convinced that there should be a political solution to this question in accordance with the United Nations resolutions that call for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan, for respect for its sovereignty, independence and non-aligned status and for respect for the right of the people of Afghanistan freely to choose their political, economic and social system free from any foreign intervention in their domestic affairs.

102. With regard to the Korean question, the State of Bahrain, respecting the will of the Korean people, welcomes the efforts made to settle peacefully the dispute between North and South. We hope these will lead to the establishment of peace and security under a unified State free from any foreign intervention.

103. The world economic situation is no better this year than it was last year. The world economy still suffers from recession and inflation. The gross national product of some developing countries has diminished because of the scarcity of national resources and the decrease of financial aid and loans from developed to developing countries, particularly to those of low income. The global negotiations for the establishment of a new international economic order still face difficulties that are caused by the policies and positions of the developed countries. The hopes that were pinned on the International Meeting on Economic Co-operation and Development, which was held at Cancún in 1981, to establish a just and fair new international

economic order have been dashed. No tangible progress has been made in the global negotiations between the developed and the developing countries in narrowing the gap between their policies, although both are equally convinced of the fact of the interdependence of interests in world economic relations. We cannot conceive of a just and fair international economic order that would solve the problems and meet the needs of the world without changing current international economic relations to remove the injustice and inequality that exist in the present international economic order.

104. It is indeed regrettable that the second special session on disarmament, held last June, ended without any appreciable results in the efforts of the United Nations to adopt a comprehensive programme of disarmament valid to the end of this century. The failure to adopt effective measures at that session is the result, in our view, of the deterioration of the international situation, regional conflicts and the policy of confrontation in the relations between the great Powers, shrouded as they are in suspicion, as well as rivalry, the arms race and non-adherence to the concept of collective security prescribed in the Charter.

105. In this context, we applaud the report of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues prepared under the chairmanship of Olof Palme and entitled "Common Security—a programme for disarmament".³ That report stresses the importance of survival, rather than the annihilation that threatens humanity, in an objective, impartial and independent way and points out the fatal dangers in the manufacture and trade in arms. It emphasizes the need for confidence among States before an attempt is made to achieve international disarmament.

106. We hope that the General Assembly will consider the report with the attention it deserves so that the huge amounts of money spent on armaments may be rechannelled to projects for economic and social development, for the maintenance of security and for affording prosperity to mankind.

107. After nine sessions of negotiations and exhaustive discussions, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea was able to adopt a comprehensive convention which is regarded as a great achievement by the United Nations in the field of the regulation and codification of the rules of the law of the sea and the exploitation of the resources of the seas and oceans, which are the common heritage of mankind. We hope that all States participating in the Conference will accept the Convention⁴ after it is signed at the final session of the Conference.

108. In spite of the failure of the United Nations to accomplish many of the purposes and principles for which it was established, particularly those having to do with international disputes and crises, it has been able to do great and positive things in many fields—economic, cultural, humanitarian and others. This emphasizes the importance of its existence and the need to support its principles and activities and to act for the implementation of its resolutions so as to strengthen its role in international life.

109. My country's delegation hopes that at this session the General Assembly will adopt appropriate

resolutions to strengthen confidence among Member States and to meet the aspirations of the people of the world. I have the honour to state from this rostrum, on behalf of the Government and people of Bahrain, our complete readiness to act in this direction, with the other peoples and States represented in this international forum, for the achievement of peace, justice and prosperity. Bahrain will continue to abide by its obligations to the United Nations and to be faithful to the Charter, for the accomplishment of the goals for which the Organization was established in 1945.

110. Mr. BOUCETTA (Morocco) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure, Mr. President, to extend to you, on behalf of the delegation of the Kingdom of Morocco and in my own capacity, our congratulations on your election as President of this session of the Assembly. There is no doubt that your diplomatic career and your knowledge of both international and United Nations affairs will assist you in bearing the considerable responsibility that is now yours. The delegation of Morocco assures you of its full co-operation in making your presidency a success, particularly because of the relations of friendship and co-operation our two countries enjoy. It also gives me pleasure to commend your predecessor, Mr. Kittani, for his untiring efforts during an eventful year in which he evinced admirable foresight and patience, which was very much appreciated.

111. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to extend my cordial congratulations to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar on his election as Secretary-General. I am sure that his considerable experience in international affairs and the respect and confidence he enjoys among the world community qualify him to work creatively and positively in the defence of international peace and to ensure the triumph of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. I wish also to congratulate his predecessor, Mr. Waldheim, on his action and efforts at a time characterized by tension and danger.

Mr. Lusaka (Zambia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

112. It is traditional in this Hall at the beginning of each session of the General Assembly for our common hopes and aspirations for the strengthening of peace and understanding, the triumph of justice and right and the emergence of an era of prosperity and well-being for mankind to be expressed. It is regrettable to note at the beginning of this debate that hotbeds of tension are still giving rise to serious threats to international peace and security and that the international situation is deteriorating because of the new obstacles which have recently almost shattered our hope of establishing genuine and comprehensive détente.

113. This state of affairs will persist as long as there are those who wilfully violate the principles of the Charter and flout international law, infringing the dignity of man and his basic rights; as long as colonialism, racial discrimination and the deterioration of the international economic situation, which results in increasing impoverishment of the world population, continue. In addition to this, the arms race and its

attendant dangers threaten the achievements of mankind.

114. Because it is a member of the Arab world, the Islamic group and the African continent, and because of its geographical situation at the crossroads of three civilizations, Morocco attributes great importance to what happens in all these areas.

115. The question of the Middle East, and especially the Palestinian question, occupies a place of the highest priority among the concerns of my country. For more than 30 years the Palestinian people have suffered exile and deprivation and have been the victim of war and destruction. In spite of the voices raised every year from this rostrum condemning Israeli practices and demanding that the Palestinian people regain their inalienable rights, despite the resolutions adopted by the Assembly and the Security Council in support of the rights of that militant people, Israel is persisting in its expansionist and repressive acts with all the means at its disposal, including the use of internationally banned weapons, in order to continue to occupy the Arab territories and annihilate the Palestinian people, in an attempt to eliminate them, suppress them and liquidate their leaders in the form of the PLO.

116. Although the United Nations archives are filled with reports on massacres and assassinations carried out by Israel against the Palestinian people for more than 30 years, the tragedy and suffering resulting from the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the massacres of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples are beyond all bounds and beyond imagination.

117. The abominable massacre planned by the Israeli army of occupation in the camps of Sabra and Shatila claimed more than 4,000 victims among innocent Palestinians, including women, children and old people. It reminds us of a similar massacre carried out by Menachem Begin in the Palestinian village of Deir Yassin in 1947, and it transcends in atrocity and the manner in which it was committed the deeds of the Nazis during the Second World War.

118. This butchery shows beyond doubt that the real aim of Israel is not security, as it claims, but the total physical elimination of the militant Palestinian people and expansion at the expense of the Arab nation. Morocco pays its tribute to the memory of the martyred victims of Israeli terrorism and expresses its gratitude and appreciation to those that have condemned and denounced this atrocious massacre and taken the side of right and justice. All the States of the world have expressed their individual condemnation of that massacre and the international community has denounced it collectively. The General Assembly, at its seventh emergency special session, adopted resolution ES-7/9 on 24 September 1982 condemning the criminal massacre and reaffirming Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) demanding that Israel withdraw all its military forces to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon.

119. In the face of this human tragedy it is more necessary than ever for the General Assembly to take all the measures called for, including the imposition of sanctions, to compel Israel to put an end to its aggression against the Palestinian people, to withdraw forthwith and unconditionally from the territory of

Lebanon and to comply with the resolutions of the Security Council.

120. Morocco, a sister State of Lebanon, takes this opportunity to reaffirm its full solidarity with Lebanon in its time of trial and to assure the Lebanese Government of its support for the measures necessary to guarantee the unity, independence and sovereignty of Lebanon.

121. The two parts of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference were held in Fez, Morocco, under the leadership of His Majesty King Hassan II. My country thus had the honour of acting as host to this historic conference which restored unity to the Arab ranks and placed Arab solidarity on firm foundations.

122. The Arab Summit Conference was convened in extremely delicate circumstances for the causes of Palestine and the Middle East, and the Arab heads of State shouldered their historic responsibility and agreed to the plan designed to enable the Arabs to regain their rights. They did so because of their conviction that the Arab nation can achieve its aims and overcome the consequences of the Israeli aggression.

123. The Arab nations, out of their concern to use all ways and means at their disposal to re-establish in the Middle East peace based on justice and to contribute to the efforts exerted by all the peace-loving forces in the world, in the vanguard of which is the United Nations, and on the basis of international law, adopted the Arab peace plan, with the following elements: first, Israel's withdrawal from all the territories it has occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem; secondly, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, to the exercise of its inalienable rights under the leadership of the PLO, its sole legitimate representative, and to the establishment of an independent State on its land; thirdly, the establishment by the Security Council of guarantees for peace among the States of the region.

124. A study of those principles should convince the Assembly and the world public that the Arab nation desires peace based on justice and a solution to the Middle East problem that guarantees to the Palestinian people its right to self-determination and to establish its own independent State and that makes it possible for all the States of the region to live in peace, with Security Council guarantees.

125. Morocco, whose Sovereign, His Majesty King Hassan II, presided over the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, calls upon all peace-loving States, and especially the great Powers, permanent members of the Security Council, to support right and justice, to study the Arab peace plan carefully and to adopt the principles contained in that plan as the basis for the solution of the Middle East and Palestine problems. We hope that there will be a favourable reaction to this Arab initiative and that it will usher in a new era that will restore peace and stability to the Middle East region and bring to an end the state of war which has afflicted the people of the region for so long.

126. The favourable reaction and the broad support with which the Arab peace plan has met on the international scene is encouraging. We hope that all States especially the great Powers permanent members of the

Security Council, will support the plan and that the high-level committee set up by the summit conference will be able to establish contacts with the permanent members of the Security Council and to achieve positive results.

127. We should like to note also that Mr. Reagan's plan for peace in the Middle East gives cause for optimism. Morocco regards this plan as a measure that opens new prospects for a solution to the Middle East problem, and that places on record the commitment of the President of the United States of America to the principle of the restoration to Arab sovereignty of the Arab territories occupied by Israel in 1967. At the same time, we note that this plan omits basic points essential to the process for the establishment of peace in the Middle East. We hope that during the forthcoming contacts between the Arab countries and the United States of America these gaps will be filled so that a just and lasting peace can be achieved in the Middle East and that region may once again be the cradle of constructive coexistence and a centre for the dissemination of creative thought.

128. In north-west Africa there is still artificial tension resulting from a policy which runs counter to the noble principles established by the international community, which is based on desperate attempts to undermine international law and which resorts to hegemony as a means of achieving selfish interests. The so-called problem of Western Sahara serves as a pretext and an instrument to that end. Morocco has always made it clear that its desire to regain its Saharan territory is based on solid historical rights and legal ties, as well as international law. After the Moroccan liberation army had engaged in an heroic struggle against the colonizers in Saharan territory, Morocco called for the restoration of the land usurped at the beginning of the colonial era of this century. Because of the colonial authorities' procrastination in returning this land to the mother country, Morocco had recourse to juridical bodies. It submitted the question to the United Nations and to the International Court of Justice. That resulted finally in the conclusion of the Madrid Agreement, confirmed by the General Assembly in 1975.

129. Morocco has clearly set forth here on several occasions the political and historical circumstances in which Moroccan territory had been divided into various regions and subjected to various colonial systems. It has also clearly indicated that the restoration of the amputated parts of its country was also—by the very nature of things—carried out in various stages.

130. Because of Morocco's faithfulness to international legality, and because of its desire to give that legality a new form that would bode well for the future, His Majesty King Hassan II, at the eighteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, which was held at Nairobi in June 1981, stated that Morocco was prepared to hold a referendum in the region of Western Sahara, thereby opening the door to a final, peaceful solution to this conflict. Morocco put forward that initiative because it was convinced of its inalienable right to the Territory and of the fact that its children in the region of the Sahara had chosen to remain for ever an integral part of the mother country.

131. His Majesty King Hassan's initiative was in part in response to the wishes of Morocco's friends and also was intended clearly to show the world public and to assure it that the inhabitants of the Sahara region wished to belong to the mother country and, through a referendum, to confirm what they had expressed on many occasions and in many different ways: their Moroccan identity, to which they are very attached.

132. The whole world welcomed this initiative, finding in it the ideal means for ending the long-standing tension in that part of north-west Africa. Morocco made every effort to give this initiative the chance to bring about peace, and to have it acted upon. Morocco, represented by its sovereign, thus made an important contribution to a settlement of the problem of Western Sahara at Nairobi, in August 1981. The African leaders laid the foundations for such a settlement by establishing the OAU's Implementation Committee, which was to concern itself with the cease-fire and the referendum.⁵ Morocco thus made an effective contribution to the success of that African meeting, whose goal was to move the peace process forward to its desired end. The Implementation Committee continued working effectively to bring about the implementation of the resolutions of the OAU Assembly, especially since the adoption by the General Assembly of its decision 36/406, the text of which had been sponsored by Kenya, then Chairman of the OAU Assembly, calling on the United Nations to extend technical and financial assistance in this field to the OAU.

133. The Implementation Committee met again on 8 and 9 February 1982, to decide on a time-frame for the cease-fire and referendum. In co-operation with African leaders, Morocco worked with sincerity to put the final touches on this African effort, which would have ended one of the disputes which have been the concern of the OAU over the past years. Good will dictated that all efforts made by the African leaders should be given a chance to bear fruit, but there are those who do not wish to find a solution to this problem, and that fact led to the cancellation of the initiative. When it became clear that there was a serious turn of events which would lead to the derailment of failure of hegemonist expansion plans and confirm the inalienable rights of Morocco through free consultation under United Nations and OAU auspices, attempts were made to abort that process and to undermine the resolutions adopted at the OAU Assembly at Nairobi. The well known plot thus took place at Addis Ababa which immobilized the work of the OAU and its activities halted when certain countries, in secret collaboration with the OAU administrative Secretary-General, tried to impose a group of mercenaries as participants in the thirty-eighth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU. That wanton act was in flagrant violation of the OAU Charter, which stipulates in more than one place that membership is confined to independent sovereign States. That act was, furthermore, a conspiracy to undermine all the practical measures adopted by Africa to solve the Saharan problem in a peaceful manner.

134. The leaders of the African nations, represented by the "wise men", the founders of the OAU, opposed

that conspiracy against legality, and 19 delegations withdrew from the session of the OAU Council of Ministers held at Addis Ababa in February 1982, which is where the conspiracy was acted out. That session was therefore illegal because there was no quorum as required in the OAU Charter.

135. To overcome this crisis, the African continent was the scene of intense political activity aimed at saving the OAU from collapse. Some African leaders called for a special session of the OAU Assembly to solve the problem; Morocco was among the first to take such an initiative. His Majesty King Hassan II sent a letter to the President of Kenya, Mr. Daniel Arap Moi, in February this year, requesting that a special session be held to consider the existing crisis before it worsened. But the forces fighting against legitimacy worked to prevent that meeting.

136. Once more, we see that enlightened Africa, which has opted for legitimacy, has shown itself to be above submitting to the policy of *fait accompli*. It refused to attend the OAU Assembly scheduled to be held at Tripoli unless African legitimacy, in accordance with the OAU charter, was restored to the OAU. The frustration and failure of the session of the OAU Assembly at Tripoli is a testimony to legitimacy and justice and the failure of attempts to violate the African Charter.

137. That failure caused the immobilization of the work of the OAU at all levels—political, economic, social, as well as in the field of information; but we are convinced that the OAU—which is backed and supported by every sincere African—will once more play its constructive role, thanks to the efforts made by the sincere sons of Africa, who value legitimacy and higher African interests above all other considerations and narrow selfish interests.

138. Morocco—which has played a pioneering role in crystallizing the idea of African unity through the African Charter, adopted in Casablanca in 1961, and which is one of the founders of the OAU—would very much like that organization to continue. Morocco will thus do its utmost to maintain and support the OAU so that it may continue to play its vital and effective role as an instrument of common African action. Morocco is extremely concerned that legitimacy be restored to the OAU and that the organization's administrative bodies should concern themselves with the implementation of African resolutions with integrity and neutrality, free of any bias and without becoming involved in current disputes among certain member countries.

139. The United Nations followed closely the African meetings held last year to discuss the question of Sahara. Its representatives gave to the African leaders useful help by describing the experience of the United Nations in the holding of referendums. They know the stages that must be gone through in arriving at a cease-fire and holding a referendum.

140. Morocco, which has always proclaimed its adherence to international legitimacy, reaffirms its commitment to the resolutions of the eighteenth session of the OAU Assembly concerning Sahara, which were supported last year by the General Assembly. It sees the way chosen by Africa as the best means of ending the artificial tensions in north-west Africa. Proceeding from that premise, Morocco

appeals to all States to work for the success of that African solution and to frustrate all attempts to block and obstruct it, so that the conflict can be ended and peace and stability can be restored to this area.

141. Morocco, as a part of the African continent, attaches special importance to the events that take place there. It works in co-operation with its African brothers to support the independence of the countries of the continent and ensure the progress and development of their peoples, so that the whole continent may enjoy well-being and prosperity and play its role in building a world society founded upon justice and peace.

142. In the southern part of this continent, the brother people of Namibia is still suffering under the yoke of an unjust racist régime and waging a valiant war of liberation to restore its usurped liberty, independence and territorial integrity. Morocco, which has always supported the just struggle of the Namibian people, hopes that the day when independence is restored to that people will soon be here. On this occasion, we appeal to the contact group to redouble its efforts and negotiations so that a final settlement of the Namibian problem may be reached in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

143. The people of southern Africa are still suffering from the tragedy of the régime of racial discrimination imposed by the Government of Pretoria, despite the many resolutions condemning that régime and denouncing *apartheid* as a "crime against humanity".

144. Morocco reaffirms its support for the people of South Africa, which must regain its dignity and freedom. It calls on those countries which have relations with Pretoria to break off their economic and military collaboration with it in order to induce it to end that régime, which is a challenge to the most basic legal and ethical principles.

145. Morocco, which is pledged to defend all struggles for liberation, reaffirms its determination to defend all struggles for liberation in Africa, in the south, the Horn of Africa, Eritrea or elsewhere in the continent.

146. For more than two years a destructive war has been raging between two neighbouring Islamic countries, Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran. Those two countries were the cradles of ancient civilizations that helped to develop the thinking, science and progress of humanity. It is regrettable that the war between those two countries should still be going on despite all the untiring efforts to bring it to an end. We hope that it will soon be possible to reach a settlement that will effect a cease-fire, safeguard the inalienable rights of the two States, and restore stability and security to the area, within the framework of Security Council resolutions 514 (1982) of 12 July 1982 and 522 (1982) of 4 October 1982.

147. The initiative taken by our sister nation of Iraq recently, which took the form of withdrawing its army to the borders it had held before the hostilities, is, we believe, a positive step towards the restoration of peace and the consolidation of relations of good-neighbourliness. Iraq's response to all mediation efforts to end this conflict deserves our encouragement and praise. We also pin great

hopes to the efforts of the Peace Committee of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, presided over by Mr. Ahmed Sékou Touré, President of Guinea, efforts directed to restoring peace and security to that important part of the world.

148. In Afghanistan the people is still suffering from the injustices of the invasion of that land three years ago. It is still fighting to preserve its Islamic faith and its identity as a Moslem and non-aligned nation. Morocco, which is linked with the Moslem people of Afghanistan by ties of religion, culture and civilization, calls for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghan territory, enabling the people to choose the political system it desires in full freedom.

149. In Democratic Kampuchea, we note that the Vietnamese army has not responded to the call of the international community to withdraw from that country so that its people can freely choose its own political system. We still believe that the Declaration and resolution adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea⁶ constitute the basis for the best solution of this problem.

150. As for relations between the two parts of Korea, we hope that the Governments of the North and the South will resume a positive and constructive dialogue with a view to bringing about gradually the peaceful reunification of Korea.

151. Morocco has always maintained good relations with the States of the Mediterranean Basin, and is striving to create favourable conditions for that region to be transformed into a zone of peace and co-operation, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 36/102. On that basis, and within the framework of the efforts of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, Morocco has supported and still supports the efforts made to strengthen peace and security and ensure co-operation in the region.

152. It is a recognized fact that international détente is linked to disarmament and that the arms race is a serious threat to the existence and the survival of man. It is the two blocs that motivate the arms race, but it is the developing countries that are the principal victims, because it prejudices their economic and social progress, increases their debt burden and lessens their security.

153. It is regrettable that the international efforts to change the situation have so far produced no positive results. This is especially true of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which failed to achieve any concrete progress in this respect.

154. Morocco, associating itself with those who work for disarmament at the regional or the international level, appeals to the super-Powers, which bear a special responsibility for the maintenance of peace, to redouble their efforts to reach agreement on a comprehensive programme of disarmament, with a carefully prepared timetable, so that disarmament does not become a mere theory which cannot be put into practice.

155. The utmost attention must be paid to tackling the chronic injustice of the world economic system, particularly since the developing countries are the

most affected by this. International economic institutions in all fields and areas of competence recognize the urgent need for a radical change in the world economic system, especially following the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, which stressed the inevitability of such change. Certain achievements benefiting the third world, such as the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, the generalized system of preferences and the Integrated Commodities Programme and certain such concepts as the common economic self-sufficiency of the developing countries and the new international economic order, must have positive effects on North-South relations. In order to make the establishment of the new economic order possible, the third world States have called for the beginning of a series of negotiations on all aspects of international co-operation for development, in accordance with the programmes of action approved by the General Assembly or recommended by various international bodies, in particular UNCTAD, with a view to the attainment of the objectives of the Third United Nations Development Decade.

156. Experience has shown that partial economic solutions in the narrow national context and negotiations limited to specified sectors are only palliatives. The real solution is to be found in global negotiations leading to collective solutions to world economic problems.

157. It is regrettable that the developed countries remain deaf to the appeals of the countries of the third world and that they have strengthened their protectionist tariff and non-tariff measures and reduced the level of their external aid, which has had a serious effect on the terms of trade, the balance of payments and the employment situation. The deterioration in the terms of trade and the increase in indebtedness have shattered any hope of achieving economic and social development in the developing countries, in particular the least developed countries.

158. The latest annual report of the World Bank showed the weakness of the third world economies and drew attention to the dangers facing the poor countries, particularly as regards agricultural production and food deficits. The rich countries must therefore abandon their selfishness and their narrow national interests and recognize the interdependence of the economic progress of the North and the need to speed up the economic, social and technical development of the South, because their common interests impose on all the parties the joint responsibility for

establishing a new international economic order and building a better world for all mankind.

159. The entire international community should rejoice at the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea by the majority of States Members. That Convention, which will be signed officially in Jamaica in the first two weeks of December, is the culmination of tremendous efforts. We hope that certain Member States will prove to be more flexible regarding their objections so that this Convention may come into force after its signature and ratification. This would make possible the establishment of a new era of fruitful co-operation.

160. The Organization is a haven of peace and security in a world swept by fierce winds of conflict, war and violence, and in which there is much underdevelopment, poverty and injustice. It is a source of hope for the alleviation and elimination of the evils of fear and underdevelopment. Since its inception in 1945 the Organization has made possible profound changes in the political map of the world. It has supported weak, conquered nations and helped them to achieve independence; it has devoted its efforts to conciliation and the settlement of conflicts. It has also opened up new perspectives in the field of international economic, scientific and cultural co-operation.

161. Despite all this, an enormous task lies ahead and demands our full support so that the noble mission assigned to the United Nations under the Charter may be fulfilled—that of contributing to the prosperity and the well-being of mankind as a whole and of spreading peace and security throughout the world.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See A/36/431.

² *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

³ See A/CN.10/38 and A/CN.10/51.

⁴ *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, vol. XVII, document A/CONF.62/122.*

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981, document S/14692, annex.*

⁶ *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York, 13-17 July 1981 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annexes I and II.*