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*President:* Mr. Ismat T. KITTANI (Iraq).

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): This afternoon the General Assembly will hear a statement by His Excellency the Prime Minister of Thailand, General Prem Tinsulanonda.

2. On behalf of the General Assembly, it gives me great pleasure to welcome him to the United Nations and to invite him to address the General Assembly.

3. Mr. TINSULANONDA (Thailand): It is indeed a great personal privilege and honour for me to be the first Prime Minister of Thailand to address this Assembly. I am here, on behalf of the people of Thailand, to pay a deserving tribute to the United Nations and its achievements. We do so under the compelling mandate of our history: the history of a sovereign nation with a long-standing commitment to the ideals of international peace, co-operation and harmony; a nation resolved to do its share and discharge its obligations as a responsible member of the community of States, be they obligations to peace and security or obligations in the economic, social or humanitarian fields. Equally important, we are a nation truly thankful for the degree of international order thus far achieved in place of the anarchy which might otherwise have ensued, had it not been for the way that the United Nations, time and time again, refused to yield with regard to its principles.

4. Despite the inherent limitations that beset the Organization at its present stage of development, the people of Thailand, as one of the peoples of the United Nations, joins me in reaffirming to you, Mr. President, our continuing commitment to the United Nations. We thank the Organization for its guiding influence in the search for solutions to the problems in our region and for its crucial role in averting a major human tragedy in our part of the world. Above all, we reaffirm our faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and

pledge our continuing co-operation with all peace-loving Member States and with the Organization. The people of Thailand says that with conviction and a clear mandate from history.

5. On this occasion, therefore, I have the honour to convey to you my delegation's as well as my own warm greetings and sincere congratulations on your election to the high office of President of this General Assembly. We are indeed fortunate to have presiding over our deliberations such an experienced diplomat and dedicated internationalist as yourself, especially at a time of heavy schedules and difficult circumstances. We are also gratified to see a President who comes from a country with which Thailand entertains cordial relations and which is also a fellow Asian State and member of the third world. My delegation is confident that under your wise guidance our proceedings will be fully successful.

6. I also wish to pay a warm tribute to Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, President of the thirty-fifth session, for his statesmanlike conduct of the proceedings of that session and of the special sessions. The Organization has witnessed an eventful year and has relied more than ever on the General Assembly as its forum for the consideration of various important issues. Mr. von Wechmar provided the requisite leadership and performed his duty with great distinction. He thus earned our profound gratitude.

7. The delegation of Thailand is highly gratified to see two new Member States at this session taking their rightful places, namely, Belize and Vanuatu. We offer their respective delegations our sincere congratulations and wish to convey to their peoples our good wishes as well as the warm and friendly greetings of the people of Thailand.

8. The Organization is fortunate to have as its Secretary-General Mr. Kurt Waldheim, especially during the past year. His sensitive and skilful handling of world problems, as well as his dedicated efforts in administering the Organization, have earned the deep respect and admiration of the Government and people of Thailand.

9. Despite his tireless endeavours, however, many critical and complex issues persist in various parts of the world. Even though there are certain matters which Governments in their wisdom have chosen to keep outside the purview of the United Nations, it would still be impossible to enumerate all the weighty issues brought to the doorstep of the world Organization. A brief glance at the agenda will be sufficient to provide some idea of the expectations that the world has of the Organization and its Secretary-General. It may also be true to say that many items remain on the agenda because they are intractable issues. This adds not only to the burden of the Organization but also to a sense of frustration shared by us all.

10. The eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly, devoted to Namibia, which concluded recently, focused world attention once again on that important problem, which has been with the United Nations since its inception. In this regard, the legitimate rights and aspirations of the Namibian people remain thwarted by South Africa, which illegally occupies Namibia and uses the Territory as a springboard for aggression against its neighbours. Thailand's consistent policy is to demand the cessation of South Africa's illegal acts and its complete withdrawal from the entire Territory of Namibia without further delay, so as to enable the Namibian people to exercise their right to self-determination. That is why Thailand was pleased to support the proposal made by the group of African States to convene the emergency special session, as well as to render further support during that session to the worthy cause of Namibian freedom and independence. Since Thailand has scrupulously abided by the relevant United Nations resolutions on this question and has for several years voluntarily imposed a trade embargo against Pretoria, my delegation was able to vote in favour of General Assembly resolution ES-8/2 and the call for comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

11. Thailand wishes strongly to urge once again that the Western contact group renew its efforts to bring about an unconditional implementation of the United Nations plan on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). If a peaceful solution on the basis agreed upon by all parties is further delayed, then the alternative of an intensified armed struggle, under the recognized leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], will gain credibility as the only viable solution.

12. Another problem which has been a matter of grave concern to this Organization from the outset is the situation in the Middle East. The seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly, held in July 1980, on the question of Palestine, the recent air attacks on Iraq's nuclear facilities and on the population centres in Lebanon by Israeli war planes, and the protracted war between Iran and Iraq are further manifestations of the disturbing situation in the Middle East. The Palestinian people continue to suffer from denial of their right of self-determination, and Israel continues to occupy Arab territories and to disregard the relevant United Nations resolutions. Thailand joins the international community in reiterating its stand that Israel must withdraw from the Arab territories which it has occupied since the 1967 war, and refrain, in the mean time, from all measures designed to perpetuate its presence. Thailand is convinced that a just and lasting solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict must be based on Security Council resolution 242 (1967), with due recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, as well as the undeniable right of Israel to exist.

13. Each of the foregoing situations has its origin in the denial of the right to self-determination of the Namibian people and of the Palestinian people, respectively. As long as the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, on the one hand, and of Arab territories by Israel, on the other hand, are permitted to continue, a threat to international peace and security will exist. Major-Power rivalry will be exacerbated and will further complicate the search for a peaceful solution. Such situations may at

times pose a challenge to the smaller Powers, especially those nearer the scene of conflict, to help arrest the escalation of the crisis. In so doing, they must act on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations in order to safeguard their own vital interests. Such a role of power-broker has been assumed, for instance, by the non-permanent members of the Security Council, and has proved to be not only useful, but sometimes the only means to avert a catastrophe.

14. In two other crisis areas, namely, Afghanistan and Kampuchea, there are also constructive roles for smaller countries, especially those situated near the scenes of conflict.

15. In Afghanistan, the situation directly involves a major Power, because of its armed intervention and occupation of that country, which has in turn resulted in increasing tension and rivalry. While the Islamic countries seem fully intent on dampening down such rivalry, they are conscious of the real issue, namely, the foreign occupation which deprives the Afghan people of their right to self-determination. Thailand's position is to support wholeheartedly the right of the Afghan people to determine their own future free from external interference and coercion. In this respect, Thailand joins in urging the complete withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan, as well as in calling on all concerned to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan.

16. In South-East Asia, the situation in Kampuchea continues to be of serious concern not only to Thailand, which is in the front line, but also to the international community. The foreign invasion and illegal occupation of that non-aligned country have disrupted the growing co-operation among the countries of South-East Asia, and have led to a more intensified involvement and rivalry among the major Powers. It follows therefore that, so long as the Kampuchean problem remains unsolved, the proposal of the five member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] to establish a zone of peace in South-East Asia<sup>1</sup> cannot be implemented. However, my delegation believes that it is not too late to try to reverse this unfortunate situation. That is why the ASEAN countries have made strenuous efforts, together with other peace-loving nations of the world, to bring about a comprehensive peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

17. Thailand is indeed gratified at the outcome of the International Conference on Kampuchea, which was convened by the Secretary-General in New York in July of this year.

18. The Conference adopted the Declaration on Kampuchea and a resolution on Kampuchea,<sup>2</sup> reaffirming the fundamental principles, as well as providing a reasonable framework for a comprehensive political settlement, and outlining some modalities for achieving a just and durable solution of the Kampuchean problem. In the Declaration, adopted by consensus, the Conference took note of the serious international consequences of the situation in Kampuchea, in particular the escalation of tension in South-East Asia and major Power involvement as a result of this situation. The Conference stressed its conviction that the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea,

the restoration of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the commitment by all States to non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea are the principal components of any just and lasting solution to the Kampuchean problem. The Conference emphasized that Kampuchea, like all other countries, has the right to be independent and sovereign, free from any external threat or armed intervention, free to pursue its own development and a better life for its people in an environment of peace, stability and full respect for human rights. To this end, the Conference called for negotiations on the following important elements: a cease-fire and withdrawal of all foreign forces, under United Nations supervision; measures for the maintenance of peace and order in Kampuchea; and the holding of free elections under United Nations supervision. The Conference also deemed it essential to have agreement on appropriate arrangements to ensure that the result of the free elections will be respected by all parties, as well as agreements by other States concerned to ensure peaceful and stable conditions for Kampuchea.

19. In the resolution on Kampuchea, also adopted by consensus, the Conference established an *Ad Hoc* Committee to assist the Conference and to undertake missions, where appropriate, in pursuit of the worthy goal. The *Ad Hoc* Committee has already held an informal meeting at United Nations Headquarters and has agreed to convene its first formal meeting during the current session of the General Assembly. My delegation places its confidence in the ability of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, and its individual members, to play a useful role in carrying out its mandate.

20. Thailand feels that the international community owes its grateful thanks to Mr. Willibald Pahr, President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, for his leadership, as well as to the Secretary-General for convening the Conference after the widest possible consultations and careful preparations. The results of the Conference, which was attended by an overwhelming majority of Member States, mark a constructive beginning in our common search for a peaceful solution of the Kampuchean conflict in keeping with the principles of the Charter and the relevant United Nations resolutions. My delegation hopes that the General Assembly this year will endorse those results and will proceed to build on that reasonable foundation.

21. One of the most tragic consequences of the conflict in Kampuchea, as well as the recent fighting in other Indo-Chinese States, has been the Indo-Chinese refugee problem. Today, there are half a million Indo-Chinese displaced persons from Kampuchea, Laos and Viet Nam in the holding centres in Thailand and in encampments along the Thai-Kampuchean border. This human tragedy has caused much suffering and created both internal and external problems for Thailand as well. Thanks to international assistance, such problems have been somewhat alleviated, but the unresolved situation calls for further assistance from the international community. Thailand's economic and social circumstances will not permit its Government and people to carry this tremendous burden for an indefinite period of time. It should be recognized that the problem is one of international concern and its ultimate solution depends on a comprehensive political settlement, particularly of the Kampuchean conflict. That is another reason why my Government has spared no effort in trying to achieve a peaceful solution for Kampu-

chea. We appeal once again to all members of the world community to support our endeavours and, pending such a settlement and the safe return of the refugees to their homes, the international programmes of assistance for the Indo-Chinese displaced persons in Thailand as well as along the Thai-Kampuchean border should continue. Meanwhile, I wish to reiterate our sincere appreciation of the support we have received in this regard from the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, the various United Nations agencies, the International Committee of the Red Cross and all the voluntary agencies concerned, as well as from the donor Governments and their generous peoples.

22. Thailand's agreement to offer a temporary refuge to Indo-Chinese displaced persons is a manifestation of its humane policies, which are evident in another important area, namely, its campaign to eradicate the problems of drug abuse and illegal trafficking in narcotics. Here, too, co-operation between Thailand and other countries in and outside the region is essential. The Royal Thai Government has, therefore, entered into agreements with the United Nations and other countries concerned in order to maximize the effect of its anti-narcotics programmes. Although there is relatively limited cultivation of the opium poppy in Thailand itself, my Government, which has been inspired by the projects of His Majesty the King, has undertaken a large-scale crop-substitution programme in the hill-tribe areas of northern Thailand, with assistance and financial support from the United Nations and some friendly Governments. The real problem, however, is that of trafficking in heroin and other derivatives across dense jungles and rugged mountains into Thailand and beyond. It is not a simple matter for countries with limited resources to interdict traffic in narcotics in remote parts of their territories. However, international co-operation, assisted by the dedication and serious purpose of my Government, has thus far yielded encouraging results and should therefore be further strengthened, in order to spare mankind the dangers of drug abuse.

23. The ability of smaller countries to carry out their well-meaning policies and programmes is circumscribed by their capacity to tackle the pressing economic and social issues of the day. The plight of less developed countries, which share similar problems and conditions, has long been on the world agenda. Indeed, approximately 80 per cent of the entire budget of the United Nations system is devoted to tasks of economic and social development. However, there are more than 800 million people still living in abject poverty on this planet, and the irony is that, by the end of the Third United Nations Development Decade, their number will have increased to over a billion.

24. At the same time, annual world expenditure on weapons has risen to \$500 billion and is showing no signs of abating. In this connection, my delegation hopes that the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, to be convened in June next year, will succeed in reaching some of its goals.

25. Rising expenditure on arms is symptomatic of a troubled world and the consequent preoccupation with national security. It is, therefore, imperative that the root causes of international conflicts must be eliminated in order to lessen the inherent dangers and to release greater resources for constructive purposes. Among the basic

causes of conflict are the economic discrepancy and exploitation prevailing among nations. Thus, the vicious circle is completed and we must devote our untiring efforts to breaking the cycle of poverty existing in the larger part of the world.

26. Thailand is a developing country and a member of the third world. While external circumstances have compelled my Government to increase its defence expenditure, the fact remains that the greater part of the national budget is earmarked for economic and social development, particularly in the rural areas of the country. The 1982-1986 Fifth Economic Plan aims at maintaining the growth rate of our economy in real terms in the neighbourhood of 6 to 7 per cent per annum. During the past decade, the average growth rate of Thailand's economy of more than 7 per cent should indicate the level of its economic performance, despite world-wide economic problems and the severe energy crisis. However, there are new and unexpected problems, such as the refugee problem, as well as the implications of a population growth rate of approximately 2.5 per cent per annum. Dependence on oil imports also represents a heavy burden on our economy, although this is gradually being lessened by the availability of offshore natural gas and other new and renewable domestic sources of energy. Moreover, since most of our export commodities are affected by price fluctuations and trade barriers imposed by the industrialized countries, our terms of trade have deteriorated. Therefore, to supplement our internal efforts, we need to rely on appropriate actions in international forums, particularly in the establishment of a new international economic order and the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade. Closer co-operation in economic and technical fields among the developing countries themselves can also open up new possibilities and serve as a viable alternative.

27. Interdependence among countries is a reality, not a mere slogan. Nations may ignore this fact only at their peril. Major issues, too, are interdependent, be they in the fields of trade, investment, technology, money or finance and development. Tackling these issues requires a true meeting of minds at the global level. The interdependence of problems means that there can be no fragmentation of interests and concerns. In other words, reshaping a new economic framework demands an integrated and comprehensive approach. The Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order was adopted in recognition of the momentous and dynamic changes already influencing the entire international economic landscape. The new order was to effect such changes in a comprehensive and integrated manner, thereby attempting to ward off the adverse consequences that disorderly changes would bring.

28. Nevertheless, the last of the diminishing opportunities for a sustained and constructive dialogue on the global level between developed and developing countries was lost when efforts to launch a new round of global negotiations failed, both at the eleventh special session and at the thirty-fifth session. Continued endeavours on the part of the Group of 77 and many of its friends to achieve some forward movement have encountered various moves to procrastinate. Resolution 34/138 was adopted by consensus in the Assembly two years ago. As of today, only a name—the United Nations conference for

global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development—has been agreed upon.

29. In spite of the discouraging trends in present-day international economic co-operation, Thailand remains prepared to play the constructive role it has been playing in all United Nations forums. The policy of my Government calls for greater co-operation with other developing countries in efforts to bring about a better life and greater human dignity for our respective peoples. We shall continue to play our part so that the worthy goals of a restructured world economy can eventually be achieved.

30. It is our fervent hope that after the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, to be held soon at Cancún, all parties concerned will be more willing and ready to proceed with pending international negotiations and concrete actions in many forums, on such matters as dealing with new and renewable sources of energy on the basis of the Nairobi Programme of Action and the resolutions adopted by the United Nations conference in August this year,<sup>3</sup> the question of science and technology for development and the pending issues at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. In all these matters, my delegation wishes to urge the industrialized countries to heed the voice of reason and to have the necessary foresight so that they may see that all mankind will be the ultimate beneficiaries. The world cannot survive a nuclear holocaust; nor can it survive a struggle of attrition between the rich minority and the overwhelming majority who are poor. The human community must rise above the confines of self-interest. The United Nations can still provide Governments with a useful forum as well as a framework not only for the tasks of identifying and focusing world attention on issues, but also for the search for peaceful solutions for such issues. Given the necessary goodwill and political will, States can overcome their differences in the interest of all. Thailand will not be found wanting in that regard.

31. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank the Prime Minister of Thailand for the important statement he has just made.

32. Mr. AL-THANI (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me at the outset, Mr. President, to extend my warm congratulations to you on your election as President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Your election undoubtedly demonstrates great confidence in your abilities and wide experience, which qualify you to steer the work of the session to the success to which we all aspire.

33. I also wish to express my appreciation of the positive contribution made by your predecessor, Mr. von Wechmar, the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, in guiding the proceedings of the preceding session. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General for his sincere, serious and unceasing efforts to enhance the role of the United Nations and its effectiveness in the maintenance of international peace and security and the attainment of justice for all peoples of the world.

34. My delegation extends a warm welcome to the two new States, Belize and Vanuatu, on their admission to membership in the United Nations. Along with the rest of the Members of this international Organization, we hope

that they will contribute to the general good of the international community.

35. The State of Qatar firmly believes in the rule of law and the active pursuit of the maintenance of world security. Therefore it calls for a renunciation of the policy of hegemony and force practised by the big Powers. It is against a resumption of the arms race, which entails confrontation, a return to the policy of cold war, a heightening of tension in international relations, the creation of blocs and alliances and a threat to peace and security in many regions of our globe. We support the call for disarmament and look forward to the achievement of concrete progress in that field. We also hope that the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament will prove fruitful.

36. The heightening of rivalry among the big Powers, particularly between the Soviet Union and the United States, and the presence of their military fleets in the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea endanger the stability of our region and the independence of its States. Claims of the disruption of security and of the need for some sort of foreign military presence in that region are stark falsehoods and but a pretext for that presence. That presence is not meant to protect the region and preserve its independence; rather, it is an attempt to draw closer to the locations of the adversary.

37. Hence, we categorically reject these justifications. We are endeavouring to spare that region from becoming an arena for super-Power rivalry and thus to guarantee genuine security for ourselves. The recent meeting of the Gulf Arab States and their agreement to set up the Gulf Co-operation Council proves to the whole world that our States know their common interests best and are keener than all other parties on the maintenance of our security and stability.

38. My Government follows with deep sorrow the continuance of the hostilities between two neighbours, Iraq and Iran, which it considers to be a bleeding wound afflicting the whole region. We sincerely hope that the ongoing hostilities will end as soon as possible so as to stop bloodshed and spare energy and efforts that ought to be used for the reconstruction, development and welfare of the two States. We support a resumption of the peaceful efforts of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the United Nations and the non-aligned movement aimed at securing a cease-fire between the two countries and resolving their conflict peacefully. We sincerely hope that those efforts will be crowned with success and will put an end to that war and thus ensure stability and peace in the area.

39. Needless to say, security and stability in the Gulf area are organically linked to security in the Middle East, since the former is an integral part of the latter. Neither is it necessary to say that Palestine is at the core of the Middle East question and, as a corollary, peace cannot be preserved in that sensitive region of the world without a just solution of that question. Such a solution is based on the right of the Palestinian people to return to its homeland and to exercise self-determination in its national territory under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO].

40. Israel's uprooting of the Arab people of Palestine from its homeland, which led to the dispersal of that people all over the world, its repeated acts of aggression

against sovereign Arab States, as in the case of the recent bombing of Lebanon and of the Iraqi nuclear installations, and its occupation of territory by force provide ample material evidence that serves to disclose the true nature of Israel. That nature manifests itself in a colonial, military, settler and expansionist entity that seeks to become the Power with exclusive dominance over the area and is the cat's-paw of certain international policies. The signing of the so-called strategic co-operation agreement between the United States and Israel is irrefutable proof of Israel's *modus vivendi* of political dependence. The grave menace to all the Arab countries as a consequence of such a policy is very evident.

*Mr. Shahi (Pakistan), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

41. We call on the United States of America, as a super-Power, to view this matter from the perspective of international peace. In its foreign relations, it should take into account its interests which are linked with the Arab States in order to create parallel and balanced relations that will ultimately be conducive to the maintenance of peace and security in that sensitive area of the world. Our goal is the achievement of a just peace in the Middle East area, and the attainment of progress and prosperity so that its peoples will be able to contribute to the peace and welfare of the entire world. Inspired by that lofty goal, the State of Qatar subscribes to and unconditionally supports the initiative of Prince Fahd ibn Abdul Aziz,<sup>4</sup> Crown Prince of the fraternal Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, aimed at resolving the Middle East question. It considers it to be a positive basis for reaching a settlement and hopes that the international community will wholeheartedly support it for the sake of the maintenance of peace and security and the pursuit of world stability.

42. Proceeding from its belief in the right of peoples to self-determination and freedom, the State of Qatar reaffirms its call for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, for the exercise by the Afghan people of its right to self-determination, and for the free choice by that people of its own system.

43. We stand by the Namibian people in the struggle it is waging for independence. The international community, in this connection, is called upon to assume its full responsibility by applying pressure on the racist régime in South Africa to end its racist practices and by making it comply strictly with United Nations resolutions, especially Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We also stand by the majority of South Africa in its struggle. We denounce the racist practices and the policy of *apartheid* systematically pursued by the present racist régime, as well as that régime's continued acts of aggression against neighbouring African States. Sanctions must be imposed on this repugnant racist régime.

44. The situation in South-East Asia is still a cause for concern. That region is one of the volatile hotbeds of the international community. The situation in Kampuchea remains critical; it requires an acceptable solution which, we maintain, should be determined by the Kampuchean people itself, free from outside interference.

45. Similarly, the Korean question should be resolved through dialogue between the parties, without any interference or intervention whatsoever.



46. We welcome the portion of the Secretary-General's report [A/36/1, sect. IV] which deals with the developments in the ongoing negotiations in Cyprus. We sincerely hope that those efforts will be crowned with success, for the sake of the attainment of world peace and security.

47. The international community has long looked forward to a comprehensive convention organizing relations between States on all issues relating to the seas. We are grateful that the Organization has adopted this idea and has made painstaking efforts to draft such a convention. After those long and painstaking efforts, it was envisaged that the convention would be concluded this year. However, the new United States administration changed its delegation to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. The new delegation has expressed a desire to review and assess the articles of the convention, and consequently its signing has been delayed.

48. My delegation is hopeful that the review process will not be a long one and that agreement on the convention will be reached at the next session of the Conference due to be held in New York in March 1982, for that convention would be conducive to the common good of all the peoples of the earth.

49. The international community is confronted today with a major challenge, manifested in its efforts to grapple with present economic crises. Those efforts require, in the first place, agreed clear-cut identification of the major international economic problems, to be followed by common and concerted efforts on the part of the international community to face those crises and to establish programmes and formulate adequate proposals to resolve them.

50. The State of Qatar wishes once again to draw attention in this forum to the negative economic implications for the developing countries of the present economic policies of the developed countries in the fields of international trade and finance. Foremost among those implications are the balance-of-payments deficits suffered by the majority of developing countries, internal financial imbalances, increasing grinding inflation and the deterioration of the unemployment problem and the food crisis.

51. The international community must agree on the fact that the continuing deterioration of economic conditions in the developing countries will undoubtedly have negative implications for the economies of the developed countries themselves.

52. The flow of assistance and loans from the developed to the developing countries generally falls short at present of the target set by the United Nations.

53. While acceptance at the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris last month, of the principle of the doubling of the development assistance provided to the least developed countries by some developed countries is gratifying, the needs of the developing countries far exceed the assistance they receive.

54. The State of Qatar views the loss of economic stability in the international arena as a real threat to peace and security in many regions of the globe. It is imperative to resume the North-South dialogue in order to establish a new international economic order based on justice and equity, on emergence from the present economic crisis,

and on bridging the gap between rich States and poor States.

55. It is of paramount importance to find feasible and effective formulas for the development of present international economic relations and to set adequate standards for organizing the efforts to face today's strained economic conditions. However, the heart of the matter here is seen by the developing countries as consisting in the various ways and means of technology transfer from the developed to the developing countries. To some extent, this would compensate the economies of the developing countries for the damage inflicted on them by the depletion of their raw materials and the ever-increasing cost of the manufactured goods they import from the developed countries.

56. Before concluding, I wish to express the hope that when we next meet here many of the achievements to which we aspire will have been realized. We wish to see a world in which love, peace and stability prevail.

57. Mr. CASTILLO-VALDES (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the Guatemalan delegation, I am happy to congratulate Mr. Kittani on his election as President of the General Assembly for its thirty-sixth session.

58. I also wish to express my satisfaction at the work done by his predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany, who made a valuable contribution to the achievements of the preceding session.

59. My delegation joins in the expressions of appreciation addressed to the Secretary-General who, with his wide experience of international affairs, has so efficiently carried out his tasks.

60. My delegation considers it important to explain in this world forum the philosophy that inspires Guatemala in establishing its objectives and goals in all matters, and to report on its positive and negative experiences; its accomplishments and aspirations; the infrastructure that it has created; its attention to moral, cultural and spiritual matters; the principles and values which inspire its international policy; its thinking in reference to the new international order which the international community is trying to establish; and its position in regard to the problems of international trade. It wishes in this manner to show the world how a developing country is capable of making progress, when its people have the determination to advance it in all respects.

61. The people and the Government of Guatemala, presided over by Mr. Fernando Romeo Lucas García, are continuing to undertake a series of projects aimed at accelerating Guatemala's harmonious and integral development, with respect both to its infrastructure and to meeting its people's cultural and spiritual needs.

62. Those projects are being carried out through the efforts of the Guatemalan people themselves; their conception, design and planning are based on the real needs of the country and the particular character of its people.

63. Among the public works undertaken, I should like to mention the start of the first stage of the national peripheral highway, a project intended to give our country an extensive network of first-class roads, and the construction of hydroelectric plants, provincial hospitals, schools, low-cost housing, health centres, sports facilities and a modern port on the Pacific Ocean.

64. In agriculture, a programme is under way based on a philosophy of its own. This consists of handing over to agricultural workers, under the system of agricultural collectives, the Government-owned farms and ranches, so that all Guatemalans may have their own land to cultivate, without breaking up the existing agricultural units; this allows for their rational management and exploitation with direct benefits, in particular for those who receive the land.

65. The programme does not stop simply at the distribution of the land. Basic services are provided for the settlers, there is access to loans on favourable conditions, and technical assistance is given to improve production capacity, all of which results in benefits for themselves, their families and the people of Guatemala as a whole.

66. To date, the Government of Guatemala has already distributed 51,000 land deeds, which have directly benefited over 1 million Guatemalan citizens.

67. The attention given to agriculture has had the result that Guatemala, in addition to being an exporter of traditional products, has become a prominent exporter of cotton, cardamom and handicrafts.

68. The great success of Guatemala's agricultural programme has led to those international organizations concerned with agriculture becoming interested in our experience, which they wish to make available to other developing nations.

69. In education, the national literacy plan is successfully under way. This is directed to solving the national educational problem, mainly through eliminating, in the first place, the internal causes of illiteracy by giving increased opportunities for primary education to the population between 7 and 14 years of age, especially in rural areas and urban slums; improving primary schools, reducing the causes of dropping out and repeating grades, and increasing the number of schools teaching the full six grades; providing buildings, furniture, equipment and teaching aids; and training teachers and technical and administrative staff.

70. Secondly, by decreasing illiteracy in the various age groups between 15 and 49 years, through an intensive campaign primarily aimed at the rural population, those working in the building sector and the female population working as domestic servants or as housewives; and by reducing the possibilities of regressive illiteracy through the development of follow-up activities with materials for recently taught readers, together with the development of a network of cultural centres and public libraries and strengthening post-literacy options, in the context of extramural education.

71. The results of this significant effort may be summarized in the following data. In the semester from January to June 1981, more was accomplished than had been achieved in the previous 30 years.

72. From 1945 to 1980, several literacy campaigns were carried out at the national level; of a total of 956,799 adults enrolled, 371,428 became literate—that is, 38 per cent.

73. During the first semester of the integral literacy campaign in 1981, an enrolment of 467,461 adults was achieved and 327,222 became literate—that is, 70 per cent.

74. UNESCO has already taken note of this development in our literacy campaign.

75. The follow-up plan in this intensive literacy action is expected to continue until 1985, encompassing initial literacy, follow-up for new literates and strengthening of the post-literacy mechanisms and the extramural educational options.

76. This far-reaching national literacy plan is being financed with national resources.

77. The philosophy underlying the national literacy plan is based on the conviction that the elimination of illiteracy is the road by which every individual can gain access to the heritage of knowledge available to mankind, and by which each society can acquire a command of knowledge which it can put to use in the fulfilment of its basic aspirations.

78. The process of eliminating illiteracy is possible only to the extent to which a coherent initiative is undertaken which integrates the achievement of adult literacy into the general schooling of our youth, within an over-all framework of permanent education.

79. An enterprise of such magnitude as the national literacy plan involves a vigorous mobilization of national energy. In this sense, the people of Guatemala are actively co-operating in its success, and their efforts are all the more praiseworthy in that, having overcome the problems inherent in a programme of such wide scope, they have achieved notable results.

80. This year, our national budget revenues and expenditures amount to 1,200 million quetzales, equivalent to \$1,200 million, and 5 per cent of the budget—664 million quetzales—is allocated directly to public investment. In view of the great investment effort which such disbursement requires in an economy such as ours, we have had \$211 million in external resources, which indicates that external financing accounts for 17.5 per cent of Guatemala's annual budget.

81. The energy sector continues to be one of the most important areas of public investment, in an effort to meet the growing energy needs of the productive activities in the country and of projects which contribute to the country's economic and social development.

82. With reference to hydrocarbons, support continues to be given to oil exploration and exploitation activities.

83. Guatemala's oil production is approximately 6,650 barrels per day. Last year's production reached a volume of somewhat over 1.3 million barrels, of which 539,000 barrels were used for internal consumption and 781,000 were exported.

84. Since Guatemalan oil production is modest, and lower than the requirements to meet its own needs, Guatemala continues to be an oil-importing country; hence it has also been affected economically by the frequent and immoderate rises in the price of that fuel. Therefore, we are preparing to reduce the negative impact of this phenomenon by construction of the Chulac, Chixoy and Aguacapa hydroelectric projects.

85. The Chulac project will have an installed capacity of 440 megawatts which will enable us to reduce our dependence on oil, since it will add 1,742 million kilowatts of energy to the national electricity system, replacing

4,100,000 barrels of oil annually. The total cost of this hydroelectric complex, which is to begin operations in January 1988, will be \$900 million.

86. The Aguacapa hydroelectric plant will have an installed capacity of 90 megawatts, with an annual production of 390 million kilowatts, which will replace 930,000 barrels of oil a year. The total cost of this hydroelectric plant is \$170 million, and it will begin operations this month.

87. The Chixoy hydroelectric plant will have an installed capacity of 300 megawatts, with a total annual production of 1,590 kilowatts, enabling us each year to save 3,780,000 barrels of oil. The cost of this project, which is scheduled to begin operations in June 1982, is \$630 million.

88. A hydroelectric study of the Usumacinta River was begun during the last third of 1980, in conjunction and co-ordination with similar studies of that river being carried out by the Mexican Government, in order to determine the desirability of bilateral use of its waters to generate electric power.

89. Also, for the same purpose of solving the problem of our dependence on foreign supplies of hydrocarbons, we are promoting the development of geothermal projects and special attention is being given to the search for alternatives to conventional energy sources—that is, to new and renewable sources.

90. Throughout the world there are large quantities of organic waste, both animal and vegetable. Since 1952, research work has been done in Guatemala on the anaerobic fermentation process to produce gas fuel—biogas—and high-quality organic fertilizer.

91. The Latin American Energy Organization [OLADE] has recognized that Guatemala is a pioneer in the development of biogas in America, and our progress has been favourably compared with and is perhaps superior to that achieved by countries with more experience.

92. Guatemalan technicians are also participating in the development of an anaerobic system in the United States. In 1980, OLADE used the Guatemalan system, making it available to all the countries in the region. In 1981, the largest biogas plant in existence in Latin America started operations in Guatemala.

93. Thus Guatemala is making great efforts to reduce its dependence on foreign fuels, not only through the construction of large hydroelectric complexes, but also by utilizing its own natural resources and applying technology suited to our environment to make use of the new and renewable energy sources with which we have been endowed by nature.

94. My country places all of this experience at the service of mankind.

95. Sports, which in Guatemala operate with complete autonomy, continues to receive all possible aid from the Government of the Republic, so that our Guatemalan youth may derive physical and spiritual benefits from sports activities, thus contributing to the growth of our country.

96. During the 30-year period from 1949 to 1979, sports received Government assistance to the tune of 5 million quetzales and it is estimated that during the period from 1979 to 2009 sports will receive 300 million quetzales in aid, which shows the importance that Guatemala attaches to the training of youth in sports in general.

97. With respect to the housing sector, the national plan on the subject is being implemented. It contains goals as regards instruments and concrete objectives with an investment of approximately 56 million quetzales earmarked for the execution of programmes of housing development and construction, in order to meet the needs of the population, especially the low-income sector.

98. Government banking institutions dealing with housing have granted loans on favourable terms to a large number of Guatemalans.

99. The direction and execution of Guatemala's external policy rest on the postulates which are the greatest aspirations of mankind, such as peace, universal well-being, international social justice, freedom, respect for the dignity of nations and their territorial integrity and the promotion of co-operation among nations, as objectives for the purpose of providing present and future generations with a better world that will make possible the full material, moral and spiritual fulfilment of all human beings.

100. Within this context, Guatemala's international policy is totally in keeping with its national policy since internally we aspire to attain the same noble objectives. Consequently, Guatemala's international policy is profoundly nationalistic, essentially democratic, fraternally Central American, absolutely sovereign, firmly based on solidarity in the regional sphere, comprehensive and realistic in the face of the crucial problems confronting mankind and based on active participation in the search for the most adequate solutions to those problems. The characteristics of our international policy are honesty, sovereignty, consistency, respect, conciliation, dignity and pragmatism.

101. It is by applying such principles and these characteristics of Guatemalan international policy that we support the position of the Republic of Korea. We believe that the Korean question should be left to the Koreans themselves, who should find an independent and peaceful solution thereto, and also that the United Nations could contribute to creating a propitious climate for the renewal of inter-Korean talks, that is, direct negotiations between the two Korean parties.

102. Guatemala believes that the new international order will not become a reality unless it is based on international social justice. The fundamentals of the new international order, of which the economic aspect is but a part, express a well-intentioned concept of the objectives to be achieved, but which so far have remained mere aspirations.

103. In our opinion, the establishment of a new international order should take into account not only political and economic factors but also social and cultural problems, since the injustices of the present international system are not limited to economic relations, international trade or monetary problems but also involve living conditions, health and education, as well as cultural and spiritual needs.



104. The concept of the new order should be made deeper and broader. The order of which we are speaking should be much more than a type of organization of international relations or a juridical order based on the recognition of rights and obligations.

105. In order that the foundations of a new international order may be established, agreement should first be reached with regard to a system of values and there should be acceptance of a joint examination of these, that is, of the scope of values such as justice, freedom, equality and solidarity.

106. Those values should be approached on a twofold basis: on the one hand from the angle of recognition of the interdependence of the world in terms of the diversity of its peoples, races and cultures, and on the other from the angle of the affirmation of the will for peaceful coexistence, felt not only as a necessity but as a destiny to be forged for all and as a responsibility to the future of the human species.

107. It is not possible, therefore, to uphold the idea that underdevelopment is a mere retardation that can be overcome by means of a linear recuperation process in the context of the world economy, since the establishment of a new international order consists precisely in the adoption of a set of measures that will permit the advent of effective international co-operation.

108. Hence it is necessary for the countries themselves to choose ways and means of development according to their own creative capabilities and in conformity with the values that are inherent in them, reaffirming their own identity and thus contributing to the effective establishment of relations of equality among nations that are fully responsible for their own destiny.

109. The new international order should lead to a new human order based on freedom, justice and equity, on the elimination of inequality among countries, on mutual understanding, on co-operation in the great tasks that are common to mankind and on the participation of all in well-being, education, knowledge and culture.

110. The establishment of a new international order demands the creation of relationships based on the principle of the juridical equality of States. A country's consciousness of its own identity is one of the factors that strengthens most its position in international dialogue. Far from being an isolating factor, the affirmation of its idiosyncrasy is, on the contrary, the very basis for participation in exchanges in which each country's full rights are recognized.

111. Guatemala believes that any reform in the structure of international trade must be based on the fundamental premise that the present trade mechanisms are defective and distorted. Such mechanisms make it impossible for the developing countries to obtain a fair price for their exports. Furthermore, they tend to maintain unchanged the difficulties of access to markets in industrialized countries. Then our basic products become subject to cyclic fluctuations, which jeopardize not only adequate remuneration for agricultural activities but also the international liquidity of our economy.

112. Economic relations and the general standards that should govern world trade, especially in the field of raw materials, trade in manufactured goods, the transfer of

technology and co-operation in the financial and monetary sectors, require a thorough revision in order to adapt them gradually to the realities of the present-day world while bringing about the new international order.

113. An important condition of the improvement of the prospects of developing countries is the restoration of a more stable and dynamic and less inflationary growth in developed countries with market economies. Consequently, anti-inflationary efforts should be combined with policies whose objective is to restore growth while increasing employment and productivity.

114. That growth, reinforced by less protectionist policies, would broaden the markets for exports from developing countries, facilitate the process of international structural economic adjustment, and promote an increase in the transfer of capital in concessionary terms.

115. What the underdeveloped countries claim in the international economic forum, in order to have a better balanced and just international trade, may be summarized in the following aspirations: remunerative prices for our exports; guarantee of access for our exports to the markets of the industrialized countries; removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers, as well as protectionist measures; and prevention of the constant increase in prices of the products we import in order to halt deterioration of the terms of trade.

116. Guatemala reiterates once again its protest before the international community of the action by the United Kingdom in unilaterally granting independence to Belize and its absolute rejection of that action, by which the United Kingdom is attempting to evade its obligations as a party in a controversy subject to the processes of peaceful solution proclaimed by the Charter of the United Nations.

117. The origins of the dispute are well known. With the achievement of independence by Guatemala in 1821, the territories between the rivers Hondo, Nuevo, Belize and Sibun, that Spain had ceded to Great Britain in 1783 and 1786 for the sole purpose of exploiting their lumber resources, under prohibition not to erect any type of fortification or to create permanent facilities of any kind came under the sovereignty of Guatemala.

118. The weakness of Guatemala as a new State was taken advantage of by Great Britain which consolidated its dominion over the region it had only in usufruct—limited to less than 6,000 square kilometers—and extended it by force towards the south in Guatemalan territory between the Sibun and Sarstoon rivers—an extension of more than 15,000 km<sup>2</sup>—expelling Guatemalan dwellers and preventing by force the exercise of sovereignty over the territory, to which Guatemala was entitled on the day of its independence from Spain on 15 September 1821. To validate this illegal possession, Great Britain coerced Guatemala into subscribing to a treaty in 1859, the so-called "limits Treaty", and disguised a territorial concession in exchange for benefits and compensations which never materialized. Ever since, Guatemala has been claiming the return of the usurped territory.

119. It is worth while recalling the background to the dispute so that it will at no time be believed that Guatemala is abusing Belizean weakness in trying to recover a territory which is rightfully Guatemalan. The con-

troverly with the United Kingdom has not been settled, but on this territory under dispute they have tried in vain to establish a new State; acceptance by the United Nations, in violation of its Charter, of a unilateral declaration of independence for Belize does not change the original situation relating to the territory and does not solve the dispute on the claimed territory, which belongs to Guatemala and never belonged to the United Kingdom.

120. Guatemala has widely and undeniably demonstrated its vocation for peace and its respect for the institutions of international law. The dispute was subject to direct negotiations between the parties and, as a result, on 11 March this year in London we subscribed to the Heads of Agreement, the clear text of which, without ambiguities, as was unanimously agreed, would lead to the final solution of the controversy. We also agreed that such a final solution was desirable in order to stabilize relations of every kind in the northern region of Central America, and also permanently to protect international peace and security. However, when we tried to bring up to the level of a treaty what had been agreed to in the Heads of Agreement, we found distorted interpretations, changes of attitude and a wish to minimize and transform the clear text of the Heads of Agreement, arguing—and this is something unbelievable in relations between States—that the Heads of Agreement could not be met strictly, and that their literal application was not acceptable, but rather that it was necessary to renegotiate, reinterpret and, surprisingly, to make a radical modification in the treaties.

121. This change of attitude, this disregard for the pledge given, was never explained or justified. It was barely hinted that, the local government of Belize having offered to submit any covenant to a referendum, this must be avoided because the Government would probably be rejected in their proposals and might lose power.

122. The United Kingdom has also said at this General Assembly that, the present local government of Belize having been re-elected through almost two decades, and one of the points in their platform being independence, it should be inferred that there had been a sufficient act of self-determination by the people of Belize. Undoubtedly, this has been a contrivance, as many others by the United Kingdom, cunning and with the appearance of truth, but it is a total fallacy. The people of Belize have not been summoned formally to determine freely, as would be proper, their own future, and the people of Belize, or most of them, have never been in agreement with this independence imposed upon them to satisfy the designs of the United Kingdom to avoid its responsibilities in this dispute.

123. Thus, it is clear that it cannot be said, by any stretch of the imagination, that there has been in Belize an act of self-determination with due consultation of the people. What occurred is merely a skilful use of words by the United Kingdom, which gave the name of self-determination to local elections determining questions of immediate concern, and where there was no statement whatsoever about the independence of Belize.

124. The United Nations, which was created, and in particular the Security Council, to maintain international peace and security and to promote the peaceful solution of disputes among States by means of the different mech-

anisms laid down in its own Charter, has failed in its mission, and has been used as an instrument by a powerful nation in order to commit an act of international injustice against a small country, which was one of the founders of the Organization and which has always abided by its principles and acted within the principles of international ethics and morality.

125. Guatemala solemnly reiterates that the independence of Belize is unlawful, that it does not recognize such a State, which does not have as its borders the lines maintained by the British occupation forces. Nor does Guatemala recognize it as an integral part of Central America or as a member of the United Nations, nor will Guatemala recognize its sovereignty or territorial integrity, as long as the dispute between Guatemala and the United Kingdom in relation to the territory of Belize is not solved through the peaceful means established in the Charter of the United Nations.

126. For Guatemala, the lines maintained at the present time by British military forces, or in the future by any unforeseeable combination of forces, are not borderlines. The territorial controversy continues unresolved. This unilateral independence is totally irrelevant to the usurpation and plundering suffered by Guatemala and therefore is despicable and fallacious. We will maintain peace, but our claims and our search for justice continue, now emphasized by this new British mockery.

127. In view of the foregoing, we now state and categorically reiterate the broadest and most express reservation of all rights by the Republic of Guatemala over the territory of Belize. There has been no action whatsoever capable of changing the statement contained in our Constitution, since the only holder of sovereignty over that territory is the people of Guatemala.

128. Guatemala, as I have said, firmly maintains as a basis of its foreign policy an attitude of brotherliness with regard to Central America and everything affecting it. Historically, the five countries of the Isthmus have kept bonds and links that have been such as to make us all partners in the same destiny, so that whatever occurs in one of the sister nations has immediate repercussions on the other four.

129. These singular relationships of affective interests do not rest solely upon memories of our common past; they answer to geographical realities and similarities of need in the light of the imperatives of development. The idea lives, then, not merely in words in some constitutional document, but it has been transformed into a field of action of our economic growth. Prosperity and development in one of the five Central American nations cannot be conceived of without some degree of development and prosperity in the others. Equally, there cannot be depression and suffering in one of the five countries that in some degree will not affect the other four.

130. One of the highest expressions of a common ideal in Central America has always been our rejection of foreign interference. Central American life is full of the scars left on our peoples at the hands of strangers. In the seventeenth century, they were English, French and Dutch pirates and buccaneers. In the eighteenth century, they were British sailors and corsairs of different nationalities.

In the nineteenth century, they were North American freebooters. In the early years of this century, it was the shadow of the Monroe Doctrine that, in creating a monopoly in Central American intervention, was also given expression by the presence of Marines. Today, new wounds are being suggested for Central America as a result of the rivalry of forces alien to the Isthmus. Our historical experience is that there are no benign interventions, for they all pervert and, when trying to help, they strike and destroy. From that same experience we know that if transitorily there are local forces that sympathize with an intervention, they soon show themselves for what they truly are: ephemeral and intransigent in the national destiny of Central America.

131. If it seems that the ideal of Central American fraternity has disappeared in some areas, we well know that in one way or another it will not be long in reappearing, and with new drive. The crucible of the struggle of our peoples to overcome their disadvantages and to improve their standards of living forges new men who will be the bearers of the Central American ideal.

132. At the present time, the Central American ideal takes second place in the presence of the emergencies and needs that gave rise to the terrible and extended violence in Central America. Much of the struggle would cease if it were not encouraged, supported and equipped from outside. Mistaken feelings of solidarity and sympathy lead to meddling and threaten to turn our countries into testing grounds for weapons and ideologies. The cessation of all intervention in the five countries of Central America would not end that violence altogether but it would give the peoples of Central America an opportunity to defend their national values and bring them to fulfilment and to achieve a just peace in keeping with our spiritual, social, political and economic needs.

133. Guatemala has faith in mankind, in the values that represent its greatest aspirations and in the international community as represented by this Organization, which in order to meet its goals and objectives should endeavour to ensure that all Member States act with the same sincerity and wholeheartedness as that with which my country acts—my country which, as a founding Member of the United Nations, has always made its juridical and political contribution towards fulfilment of the principles and purposes of the Charter.

134. The people of Guatemala is noble, dignified, honest and hard-working, mature in civic matters, determined to maintain its values untouched and its democratic way of life, a people proud of its Maya-Quiché ancestry, a people which bases its life on freedom, justice and equality of opportunity for all, conscious of the difficulties it must overcome to advance in its development process and optimistic about its destiny and its future.

135. Mr. TUENI (Lebanon) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Lebanon is particularly pleased whenever another small State is admitted to the United Nations. I should like to welcome Vanuatu and Belize, whose citizens include communities of Lebanese origin of whom we are very proud.

136. I should like also at the beginning of this statement to pay tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, who imparted a new spirit of discipline to the

General Assembly during his eventful term of office. Lebanon had known him as President of the Security Council in difficult days and experienced his friendship as well as his fairness and dedication to justice and peace.

137. Rarely has the election to the office of the President of the General Assembly had such significance as that of the President of the present session. I should therefore like to go beyond the customary personal congratulations that he merits and to speak about his country, Iraq, a country which is close to the heart of every Arab.

138. We are particularly happy to see an Arab elected President of the General Assembly. We take pride and find comfort in his election, despite the most unusual circumstances. Indeed, it indicates a tacit support for Iraq and a condemnation of Israeli aggression against his country's capital city, Baghdad.

139. Baghdad, however, would not have been attacked had the international community taken prior action and deterred Israel when it usurped Lebanese territory and violated Lebanese airspace and territorial waters. Similarly, the failure of the international Organization to preserve Arab Palestine led to the occupation of Sinai and the Golan Heights. This failure led in turn to the violation of Lebanese borders and transported the war into Lebanese territory itself. Should the situation remain unchanged, our speeches about international security and peace in the Middle East will remain purely rhetorical. Aggression will lead to further aggression and the scope of war will expand in ever-varying forms and shapes.

140. Hence, would we be overly ambitious if we were to expect, in this President's term of office, at least an attempt to move the General Assembly from a pattern of resolutions which merely embody principles towards a more practical and pragmatic approach? Meanwhile, we should continue to seek the restitution of our rights and work towards the achievement of a just and comprehensive solution.

141. I say this because between the United Nations and my country there is a covenant of trust and alliance which enables us to speak so freely and confidently. For we have obtained from the international Organization something which other countries have not. Perhaps we stand as the only State that has recovered occupied territory by a resolution of the Security Council. We therefore know the capabilities of the Organization and if we expect more of it, it is because we strongly believe that there is no road to international security except through and within the United Nations framework.

142. It is in the name of this faith that the United Nations, whose Members come to this rostrum to offer support for Lebanon or to cry over its ruins, are responsible, morally as much as legally, for the preservation of Lebanon. The United Nations is duty bound to help Lebanon to recover its sovereignty, to restore its authority over its entire territory, and to preserve its territorial integrity, the unity of its people and of the State. Similarly, the United Nations is morally and legally committed to save Jerusalem from Judaization and to enable the Palestinian people to recover its legitimate rights. The General Assembly has voted year after year for those rights; yet they remain usurped and violated.

143. We say this with agony in our hearts. Lebanon would have wanted to be in a position to discuss world issues, rather than see the world preoccupied with its own problem. Lebanon, for instance, would have wanted to contribute more effectively to the North-South dialogue, given our geographical position and our traditional role as a forum for dialogue and a point of encounter in the history of civilization.

144. Yet how can we, when our land has been torn asunder and our people are uprooted and dispersed because the North and South, as well as the East and West, have chosen to draw their borderlines across our bodies? Our cities, which were once houses of peace, are now in ruins and our people speak one language—not the language of reason, but that of madness and despair.

145. In his annual report to the General Assembly, the Secretary-General stated that since 1975 "The situation in Lebanon has remained a major preoccupation of the Organization up to the present time" and that it has been "a major and tragic feature of the international scene" [see A/36/1, sect. II].

146. No one ignores or can pretend to ignore the infinite wisdom of the Secretary-General in his assessment of events and the caution with which he calls on the United Nations to assume its responsibilities under the Charter. From this perspective, his discussion of the situation in Lebanon acquires particular importance when he states:

"The ongoing tragedy of Lebanon is a telling reminder of the absolute necessity of embarking on the path of negotiations, however steep and difficult it may prove. The recently arranged cease-fire provides an opportunity that must not be missed, for it will not easily recur. No cease-fire, peace-keeping operation or other expedient for containing the conflict can, in the end, prevent new outbursts of violence as long as the basic elements of the problem are not tackled in negotiations involving all the parties concerned." [Ibid., sect. IV.]

147. The words of the Secretary-General, though calm and measured, are none the less a warning. Ever since the war started on our soil, the Government of Lebanon has been sounding the same alarm in the Assembly, year after year, as well as in the Security Council and before the appropriate regional organizations. Mr. Waldheim's words are a definition of the framework of the Lebanese question. They compel us, first and foremost, to declare in utter frankness that the cease-fire called for by the Security Council in resolution 490 (1981) of July 1981 is not an end in itself. In need, we cannot allow it to be considered an end or to become a goal. We cannot confine ourselves, as more than one speaker has called for in the Assembly, to consolidating it, to expanding it, or to be satisfied simply with maintaining it.

148. Of course, our concern that hostilities not be resumed is no less intense than the concern of others. For, although we have not been a party to the hostilities, our own house has been destroyed and the majority of those killed and wounded have been innocent Lebanese civilians. Our attitude is dictated by our belief that a cease-fire is only a temporary measure. If a cease-fire is allowed to become permanent, or semi-permanent, it can only serve to exacerbate the plight of the victims of aggression.

149. What we demand, therefore, is that Lebanon, the victim, should not remain at the mercy of that fragile and uncertain cease-fire, lest the world forget that the enemy is indeed inside our borders. Our case against Israel in the Security Council should remain whole. What we are seeking is the total withdrawal of Israel, an end to its current attacks against us and the full and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978) and subsequent resolutions. Thus UNIFIL must be deployed fully and effectively and our internationally recognized borders should become secure and respected again, as stipulated in the provisions of the General Armistice Agreement between Israel and Lebanon signed on 23 March 1949.<sup>5</sup>

150. May I now express Lebanon's gratitude and appreciation to those Governments, friends and brothers, from near and far, who have proclaimed before the Assembly and elsewhere Israel's guilt and have defended the cause of Lebanon. May I mention in particular the non-aligned countries and the European group. At this juncture I would merely suggest that we take note of the many constructive ideas proposed in the Assembly and outside it to enable the United Nations to assume its responsibilities in Lebanon fully.

151. The international responsibilities assumed by the United Nations in Lebanon are varied and they are increasing every day, especially in the fields of development and reconstruction. International agencies and organizations perform in certain areas tasks which the Lebanese authorities are sometimes unable to assume, for well-known security reasons. Our deep gratitude is extended to those international agencies and organizations—particularly UNICEF—for their act of faith in Lebanon.

152. We also wish to pay a particular tribute to the peace-keeping forces for the heroic task they are accomplishing. They have come from far-away lands, from east and west, and they have shed their blood for peace. We pray that Lebanon be worthy of those martyrs and deserve the faith of those who believe in its cause.

153. Before the most recent Israeli aggression, Lebanon addressed a memorandum to the Secretary-General stating that in response to the Security Council and in compliance with Security Council resolution 488 (1981) of June 1981, it was determined to send contingents of the Lebanese Army to the barracks at Marjayoun, Tyre, Nabatiyah and Hasbaya, where they would assume their security tasks. Such contingents would supplement the Lebanese Army detachments now performing in areas of UNIFIL operation under UNIFIL command.

154. In calling for a summit meeting to discuss the problem of south Lebanon, Lebanon informed the League of Arab States that the Lebanese Army was determined to assume its full duties in defending Lebanese territory in the face of any new Israeli aggression, and that Lebanon was also requesting assistance from the Arab States within the framework of the Joint Defence and Economic Co-operation Treaty Between the States of the Arab League,<sup>6</sup> to bear along with it the responsibility for what would happen in the south, where our territory had become the sole battlefield in the Arab-Israeli confrontation and where a war of attrition was being waged, a war which was consuming Lebanon alongside the Palestinians and the entire Arab world.

155. As we have referred to the Joint Defence Treaty, we should like to affirm solemnly before the Assembly

that article 11 thereof expressly provides for non-encroachment on the rights and obligations emanating from the Charter of the United Nations and the responsibilities assumed by the Security Council. Lebanon has clearly stated to the parties concerned and wishes to reiterate here that whatever it may request in accordance with the Joint Defence Treaty is not and will not be contrary to its obligations under the General Armistice Agreement of 1949, Security Council resolution 425 (1978) and subsequent resolutions. Indeed, it is Israel which persistently violates the General Armistice Agreement and defies international resolutions, while Lebanon abides by those resolutions and constantly calls for the reactivation of the Agreement.

156. We fear that in the south we may be facing a new "West Bank". The international community must not permit that to happen. Ours, too, is a sacred land and it is neither for sale nor for hire. We are confident that the world community will reject, as we do, Israel's determination to profit from south Lebanon as just another commodity in its bazaar of ambitions. Neither Lebanon nor the United Nations can remain forever hostage to a state of "no war, no peace", maintained by Israel. For such a situation would perpetuate the Israeli occupation and pave the way for the conspiracies of displacement, resettlement and partition rejected by all and recognized by none.

157. In the past, it may have appeared convenient for friends and foes alike that the south, and perhaps the whole of Lebanon, should remain in a state of flux, at the mercy of a cease-fire here and a resumption of hostilities there. Let us remind this Assembly that the pertinent Security Council resolutions do not merely affirm Lebanon's independence and territorial integrity, but also commit the Organization to assist Lebanon in re-establishing its sovereignty and authority over all of its territory, so that the south may be transformed into a zone of peace. For, just as war came to Lebanon from the south, so must peace originate there if it is ever to return to the entire country.

158. The tragic situation in Lebanon, the sometimes blazing and oftentimes half-blazing war, whether in the south, at Beirut, or at Zahle, is sufficient to prove that we cannot forever solve crises by a cease-fire and a return to the *status quo ante* and present that as a victory for peace. Hence, the necessity for us all to allow international as well as regional decisions to assume their full and undiminished political dimensions. Let those who are committed to those decisions declare that their commitment is not in words but in deeds, that it can be implemented and that they will co-operate unequivocally and without reservations in establishing peace in the south and throughout Lebanon.

159. If the war in Lebanon, as frequently stated here, is connected organically and historically with the Middle East question, peace in Lebanon cannot wait for regional peace to be established and for a just and comprehensive solution to be found. In so far as peace in Lebanon was destroyed by the Palestinian wars, we fear today that peace in the Middle East may in turn become a casualty of the war, or indeed wars, now being waged in Lebanon. Furthermore, if peace in the Middle East does not emanate from Lebanon, we fear that it will falter and its course will be hindered forever.

160. Let us present the following facts as proof of our argument. First, by allowing international and regional conflicts to continue in Lebanon, the country has been

increasingly transformed into a series of time-bombs that will explode and destroy both State and society in the region through despair, revolution and civil wars. By attempting to destroy Lebanon, by nurturing ambitions to devour its dismembered body and by usurping its role, the region not only has divided the Lebanese people but has lost its own balance as well. Has not one Government after another been proclaiming its fear that it would become another Lebanon? In reality it is Lebanon that must ask itself and others: can the Arabs still save themselves if they lose Lebanon?

161. Secondly, Israel's war against Lebanon, waged on the pretext of striking at the Palestine resistance movement, is only a more brutal aspect of its regional strategy. When the enemy carves away at the South and contributes to the creation of objective conditions for blowing up Lebanese society and government, and instigates fratricidal wars within Lebanon between Lebanese and their brethren, it does so to divert the Arabs away from the Holy Land, to distract the Palestinians with an alternative revolution, to lure them with an alternative homeland and to dangle before them the illusion of an alternative State as well. That deception has already erected walls of hatred and fear, both inside and outside Lebanon, and has given the impression that even Lebanon's international borders are in question. If this situation is allowed to continue, what will be in question is not only the integrity of Lebanon, but also the boundaries, the frontiers and the very independence of each and every country in the area. The States of the region and their borders constitute in reality an integrated whole. If they are tampered with, the independence of all countries will be at stake and the way will be opened for a redrawing of the entire map of the Middle East.

162. Thirdly, the displacement of the regional centre of gravity towards the Gulf for economic and geopolitical reasons has not reduced Lebanon's importance. On the contrary, while oil is produced and exported from the Gulf, the lifeline of the Middle East continues to take its course through Mediterranean shores. Everything is imported through our routes: civilization and the revolt against it; prosperity and terror; liberation and colonialism; the forces for stability as well as the forces which make for destruction when released by hatred and anger.

163. These are not fantasies and mirages we are unleashing in this Hall and in the corridors of Arab and international politics to torture ourselves and others. They are realities. They are the tragic and bitter truth as it reveals itself to the scrutinizing eye.

164. Nevertheless, we come here to affirm that Lebanon can still be saved despite the dangers that continue to besiege it and that threaten it with a fate similar to that which has befallen other peoples and States. What, then, is Lebanon gambling on? What is it that inspires Lebanon with such confidence?

165. In his speech of 23 September 1981, made on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of his assuming the Presidency, Mr. Elias Sarkis, the President of Lebanon, stated:

"In the beginning and in the end, Lebanon represents a national consensus on a model homeland of freedom governed by democracy. . . .

"Lebanon has patiently suffered unbearable wounds. More than once in the course of its history, it has re-



mained steadfast, confronting dangers that threatened its very existence. Lebanon has always overcome its adversities and recovered its vitality, thus earning from the world admiration following upon sympathy and concern following upon indifference. . . .

“Credit for such achievements is due first to the unity of the Lebanese national will, which is manifest in its tenacious sense of belonging to the one Lebanon, where an urgent need has been universally felt for legitimacy based on freedom, democracy and national sovereignty. . . .”

President Sarkis went on to say, “I am staking our future on this united national will. No option other than dialogue can save our homeland”.

166. The Lebanon of dialogue, always rising from the ruins, counts not only on its national unity, but also on its Arab identity and its ability to perform its historical mission in its own environment and in the world at large.

167. The trials that Lebanon has suffered and survived have proven beyond doubt that what divides the Lebanese is much less important than what unites them. What distinguishes them as a group even from those nearest to them is more profound than what distinguishes them one from the other within the national community.

168. Suffice it to say that there is no one in Lebanon today who does not give his allegiance to Lebanon absolute priority over any other friendship, relationship, partnership or alliance which could distract him from the community and its institutions. The differences, which are getting thinner and thinner on the ground every day, can be absorbed by the framework of democratic institutions, which, although scarred, have overcome eight years of being held hostage.

169. Violence has not succeeded in stifling liberty. The ferociousness of the Lebanese in defence of their beloved land has been legendary. Rarely has a small country been able to endure all that we have endured and still remain united and sovereign, clinging to life with tenacity, and able to survive. Whenever a house was destroyed, another was built there, on the same spot. Whenever a source of livelihood was ended, several were rediscovered in its stead. And whenever the clouds of war disperse and the sound of bombs is lulled, Lebanon comes back to life with zest and confidence, as though death were not a reality but merely an illusion.

170. The Lebanese people look forward today more than ever before to a near future—perhaps a rendezvous with hope—when the State will return with all its institutions intact, strong and able to restore its legality and establish its authority over every span of land in Lebanon. A most potent expression of that confidence was the working paper submitted by Lebanon to the follow-up committee established at Beit ed Dine by a decision of the Arab summit conference. Lebanon is legitimately confident that the Arab States, especially our sister-State of Syria, will contribute not only to the achievement of a short-term national reconciliation but also to the creation of the appropriate atmosphere and conditions for a new historic covenant, a pact of unity to be manifested in a new society and new institutions capable of meeting the challenges of the crisis and of its solutions: the challenges of war and of peace.

171. Lebanon, which has come to believe that its strength lies not in its weakness but in its ability to defend its territory and its rights, considers that its primary duty is now to complete the reconstruction of its army, with assistance from brother Arab States as well as all its friends, so that it may gradually shoulder alone its full and undiminished defence responsibilities and participate—fully and with undiminished involvement—in Arab strategic actions. Then, and only then, will a secure Lebanon become a true guarantee of the peace of its brethren rather than a source of fear for its own security as well as for theirs. Then, and only then, will it cease to derive—often unsuccessfully—its own security from the security of others.

172. Although acts of heroism throughout Lebanon’s ancient and modern military history have been many and meaningful, we know that they will never be Lebanon’s greatest and most important achievements. It is important, however, to remember that they have always been associated, as in our heyday, the era of Emir Fakhreddine, with the integration of the Lebanese communities in the national entity. The challenge of civilization compels us to follow that example. The world around us is disturbed by fear of communal strife whose victims have not been confined to Lebanon, and it is perturbed by currents of religious politics which, if allowed to dominate, would doom Lebanon to destruction.

173. Significant in this context is the testimony of Ignatius IV, Patriarch of Antioch and All the East, in his address to the Third Islamic Summit conference, held at Mecca-Taif from 25 to 28 January 1981, when he equated Lebanon with Jerusalem:

“In Jerusalem we seek the face of God, and we also seek it in Lebanon. . . .

“Lebanon is a source of warmth for all. It is a place for the meeting and interaction of ideas so that all ideas may belong to all. The beauty of the meeting there of Christians and Moslems is unparalleled. It is a goal and an aspiration, a forum for innovation and creation, a bright face smiling on everyone. Indeed, it is a consolation for all. . . .

“Our unity is affected by the unity of Lebanon, and our health is a function of its health. Its unity is its right; its health is its right; its peace is its right. . . .

“Lebanon today craves Jerusalem in its uniqueness and originality, and Jerusalem today craves Lebanon in its uniqueness and originality. . . .

“Jerusalem and Lebanon are the two poles and the two pillars of the Arab world. Each of them is necessary for any peace in that world.”

174. Peace! Peace! Never has peace been such an existential historical necessity as it is today. Not only is it our goal in Lebanon; it is also the national objective around which we in the Arab world unite.

175. I should like to conclude my statement by returning to international politics. I should like to cite a few attitudes that will prove our concern for peace and our understanding of the conditions for its achievement.

176. First, there is the Arab consensus, especially in Lebanon, to reject the autonomy negotiations agreed upon

at Camp David, because they seek to achieve peace where it is not to be found. The Palestine question belongs to the Palestinians. Real peace must be peace for the land and the people alike. Only the establishment of the Palestinian State in the Palestinian homeland through negotiations with PLO, the legitimate representative of Palestinian rights, can achieve such a peace. No peace would be achieved in Palestine or in the Middle East if, as a result, the Palestinian people were to continue to be displaced and their revolution were to be perpetuated in some eternal diaspora, whether in Lebanon or elsewhere.

177. Secondly, there is the continued Arab support of United Nations resolutions for a just and comprehensive solution of the Middle East question. More than one Arab official has, both before this Assembly and elsewhere, pointed out what might be derived from these and incorporated into an integral peace plan based on the recognition of the rights of all peoples and States of the region, including the eventual Palestinian State, to achieve security based on mutual recognition.

178. Thirdly, there is the Arab opposition to the establishment of a strategic alliance between Israel and the United States at a time when the world expected Washington to use its influence to prevent Israel from persisting in its aggressive policy and using the pretext of security to project its borders where greed and expansion take it, thus threatening the world with the danger of a nuclear war. It is obvious that that "strategic alliance", if continued, will prevent any serious American contribution towards ensuring stability in the area, through what Washington has described as a "strategic consensus". Needless to say, a strategic consensus is destined to remain an illusion unless it expresses the peoples' rights and their common faith in their freedom and the justice of their cause.

179. Fourthly, there is the Arab positive response, including Lebanon's, to the Soviet call for an international peace conference on the Middle East. Such a call must, however, be based on United Nations decisions and must solely seek their implementation. It should not lead to another "strategic consensus", nor should it seek to establish an ideological partnership whereby one system will confront another, whether inside or outside the Middle East.

180. I have voiced before the Assembly some expressions of the Arab approach to peace as perceived by my country. Indeed, we work for peace in the belief that it shields Lebanon, its safety and its unity. This, then, is not only the policy of rulers; rather, it is the deep expression of popular yearning in the hearts of tortured and helpless nations.

181. The twentieth century has witnessed their liberation from colonialism and their resurgence into the light—only to see themselves threatened by a new, multi-dimensional form of colonialism, even before the end of the generation that witnessed their renaissance. This neo-colonialism prevents them from advancing along the path of freedom and prosperity, unable to enjoy their newly-developed natural wealth and to contribute constructively to the creation of a new world, East and West, North and South.

182. That is the reality of Arab idealism. And yet it is also the deeper meaning of the Arab tragedy manifested in both the Lebanese question and the Palestine question.

183. For colonialism has equated the two peoples. The injustice inflicted on one people led to the infliction of injustice on the other. The loss of the Holy Land led to the destruction of what was the homeland of liberty and love: Lebanon. It caused the torture of its people and their dispersion. Peace cannot return to the Middle East, and there can be no return to the Holy Land, unless Lebanon recovers its vitality, its unity and its liberties and until peace returns to its martyred land.

184. Hence, it is in the name of that peace that our tortured people cry out today before the nations of the world herein assembled: give us back our homeland. We shall neither forget nor forgive, nor shall we compromise or submit, until Lebanon is returned to us.

185. Mr. AL-THAWR (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): First I should like on my own behalf and on behalf of my delegation to express our deep satisfaction at the election by the General Assembly of Mr. Kittani to the high office of President of this session, which is being held in a very complex international situation with a great many areas of tension. His election as President of this session indicates that our brother country, Iraq, indeed occupies an important position in international relations. His knowledge of international affairs and his ability to deal with political matters will certainly result in the success of our work. At the periodic sessions of the General Assembly, States Members have common aims, aspirations and objectives. The meetings which take place, particularly during the regular sessions of the General Assembly, demonstrate that the United Nations is the most appropriate place to discuss complex international issues. We can thus reaffirm the willingness of the international community to work for peace and the well-being of all.

186. We should like to assure the President of our full co-operation in the fulfilment of the great responsibilities which he bears during this session.

187. We should like to express our admiration for his predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, for the efforts that he made and for the productive methods that he used during the thirty-fifth session, which enabled the Assembly to achieve fruitful results.

188. We should also like to extend our congratulations to the Secretary-General for his important role. He has undertaken sincere and wise initiatives in an effort to reduce international tension. He has been sensitive to and aware of what is needed to achieve peace in the Middle East and in other hotbeds of tension in the world.

189. The Yemen Arab Republic wishes also to welcome Vanuatu and Belize, which have become new Members of the United Nations family.

190. My delegation sincerely wants to see this session lead to better results than previous sessions. We can achieve this only by thorough and responsible discussion and constructive criticism. We must go beyond traditional procedures of adopting positions. We must be totally committed to the recommendations and resolutions of the General Assembly of the Security Council. This will reaffirm the effective role of the Organization and then we shall be closer to the noble purposes and principles of the Charter once security and peace have been attained.

191. We must implement to the letter the recommendations and resolutions of the Organization and of the spe-

cialized agencies. This is more pressing than ever if we wish to avoid warfare and destruction.

192. Like all peace-loving peoples of the world, we had hoped that there would be an end to international crises so that the world could live in peace and there would be peaceful coexistence and equality among all States regardless of political or economic differences between the various régimes. None the less, 36 years after the Organization's inception, there is still a great deal of tension and the arms race is accelerating beyond control. The territorial integrity of numerous countries is violated daily and we see increasing interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The racist régimes of Israel and South Africa shamelessly infringe human rights and attack neighbouring countries.

193. As a result of this policy, many third world countries have had to make many human and economic sacrifices in order to achieve freedom and make progress. They continue to make such sacrifices with resolution, to achieve better international relations in accordance with the Charter and with the principles of law, justice and equality.

194. We see peace and security as being universal and complementary; they cannot be divided as some would wish. Thus, the instability of the present international situation can be reflected in the growth rates of several countries. Our Arab peoples waged a struggle for their freedom and won it from traditional colonialism, but there is a new kind of colonialism which would grab their lands and their future. We are facing a Zionist occupationist colonialism which resorts to repression, murder and destruction and to seizure of our lands by force so as to maintain its presence there.

195. The Zionist entity has been carrying out this savage policy since it came into being. It is not only the Palestinian Arab people, expelled from their own lands—from their homeland—and dispersed, who have suffered, but the Arab peoples as a whole; they are all threatened and any progress made in their long struggle for freedom will be incomplete as long as the Zionist entity continues to usurp Arab territory and as long as it puts obstacles in the way of all attempts at progress in the Arab nation. We have suffered greatly from this strange entity which is occupying our lands because, after seizing Palestinian Arab territories, it is carrying out a policy of expansionism into neighbouring Arab lands.

196. Since its aggression in 1967, and despite the adoption of numerous international resolutions condemning the policy of annexation and occupation which this racist entity is following in Arab lands and demanding its withdrawal from the land seized in 1967, Israel has arrogantly defied the international community by flouting those resolutions. Israel's aggressive behaviour and expansionist intentions have continued only because of the military and economic support it receives from the imperialist world. It is high time to put an end to this Israeli arrogance and aggression, to defend the just rights of the Palestinian people and to support the struggle of the Palestinian nation, which seeks to regain its land and establish its own State.

197. Equally, it is the responsibility of States—and, in the first instance, of the United States, which offers arms to the Zionist entity as well as financial, political and diplomatic support—to review their unjust and biased position. It is shameful and sad to see that this Zionist

expansionist policy—by which Palestinian rights are usurped, the lands of Arab States Members of the Organization are occupied, and all the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and by the Security Council are rejected—is encouraged to pursue this aggressive and savage attitude, an attitude which is today considered to be the root cause of a threat to the stability and security of this vulnerable region of the world.

198. Such conduct, which runs counter to all the norms of international order, and continued defiance of the Organization by Israel bring the Middle East closer not to peace but to war. The whole world, will, of course, pay the price. We remember the political clamour surrounding the Camp David agreements, but they were simply a mask for the expansionist Zionist policies. They cannot ensure peace. Camp David was a total failure: there is more tension in the political situation in the Middle East now, three years after the Camp David agreements were signed. Because of those agreements, Israel continues to carry out acts of aggression against the Arab nations, particularly Lebanon, which is exposed daily to Israeli military action. Young and old are killed, villages and cities are devastated, all with the knowledge of the international communities. Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories are spreading in concentration and breadth, at the expense of their legitimate owners. The administration of all this is to be found in Arab Jerusalem.

199. All these acts of aggression are based on the Camp David agreements. We rejected those agreements, and the Arab people as a whole rejected them. We said at several international meetings and conferences that we were convinced that those agreements were not in the service of peace and would not enable the Palestinian people to return to their homeland to build an independent State on Palestinian soil, since there was no recognition of their legitimate rights under the leadership of PLO, their sole legitimate representative. Those agreements merely suited the Zionist entity's policy of expansionism and occupation.

200. The Organization should face up to Israeli occupation, expansionism and colonialism in Palestine and in the occupied Arab territories, to oppose Israeli aggression against Lebanon, to prevent Israel from continuing military action against the sovereignty of Lebanon and interfering on various pretexts in its internal affairs. Israel is responsible for the successive explosions in Lebanon, of which there are dozens of innocent civilian victims.

201. We in the Yemen Arab Republic are convinced that the Camp David agreements and everything deriving from them, such as the question of Palestinian self-determination which is mentioned therein, do not meet the aspirations of the Palestinian people or correspond to the requirements of peace in the region. Those accords in fact change nothing. We believe that any political solution to the problem must take the following elements into account: first, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination in Palestine and to establish their own independent State, under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, PLO; secondly, the withdrawal of Israel from all lands occupied in 1967; thirdly, the cessation of all attempts to install an Israeli Government in Arab Jerusalem, the dismantling of all settlements established by Israel in the Arab territories and the cessation of all measures of Judaization in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip intended to modify the Arab character of the occupied

Arab territories; and, fourthly, participation by the PLO in all international meetings for the purpose of adopting measures to solve the problem of the Middle East by peaceful means, on an equal footing with the parties concerned. Peace is possible if we take these principles into account. If we do not, peace will never be achieved and the fighting will continue as it has for more than 35 years already.

202. My country is particularly disturbed to see Israel threatening peace and security in the Middle East and terrorizing the population by the introduction of nuclear weapons. Our Organization must take the necessary steps to put an end to such action, to counteract Israel's nuclear programme and to ensure inspection of its nuclear facilities and programmes by the United Nations and its appropriate specialized agencies. There must also be international condemnation of the collaboration between the two racist entities of South Africa and Israel and strict sanctions must be imposed against these two entities in order to preserve peace both in Africa and in the Middle East.

203. Not content with terrorizing the Middle East region through the introduction of the nuclear weapon and endangering international security, Israel has also attacked the Iraqi nuclear facilities, although their purpose is peaceful and Iraq is a signatory to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. France, which installed the nuclear reactor in Iraq, as well as IAEA, ensured that it was to be used for peaceful purposes and for development. We call upon the entire international community to condemn the Israeli acts of aggression against the Iraqi nuclear facilities. Those aggressive acts are particularly serious at the international level because they constitute the preliminaries to a war the consequences of which cannot be measured.

204. We expect détente, peace and just solutions in the Middle East achieved with the aid of the two great Powers. Instead of that we see a new agreement between the United States and Israel which makes Israel the site of a new American base with a large number of weapons of destruction which not only threaten the stability of the region but also threaten world peace. We hope that the United States will review its position and make every possible effort to ensure the attainment of peace.

205. We are particularly grieved by the continuation of the Iran-Iraq conflict. We ask the two parties to cease hostilities and solve their problem on the basis of the rights of each and through direct negotiations. We support the initiatives taken by the fraternal country of Iraq with a view to accepting the good offices of the United Nations, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned movement, in order to find a solution to this problem in the interest of the well-being of the peoples of Iran and Iraq. We call upon the Iranian authorities to respond favourably to these initiatives.

206. The Yemen Arab Republic will continue to reject any military presence—whatever its origin or form—in the region of the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. We appeal for the need to consider that region a zone of peace, without foreign military bases or international rivalries. We would also like to point out the danger that could be caused by the facilities which have recently been granted by the United Kingdom to the United States in Diego Garcia, in the Indian Ocean, particularly to all the peoples of the region, as a result of the decision by the United States to install strategic weapons on that island.

207. It is essential that the Conference on the Indian Ocean meet at Colombo as soon as possible so that the major Powers and all the interested parties can discuss this problem, in accordance with the recommendation contained in General Assembly resolution 34/80 B, with a view to reducing tensions in that vulnerable area of the world and guaranteeing freedom of navigation. We are convinced that the security of the Arabic Gulf is closely linked to the security of the Arab countries as a whole, and that responsibility for maintaining it is the concern of the States of that region exclusively.

208. As regards the problem of Afghanistan, we believe that the Afghan people must be allowed to choose their own future without interference from any other party. Diplomatic channels must be found through which the Afghan people can achieve this objective.

209. We are particularly disturbed to note that the arms race continues unabated in both conventional and nuclear weapons. Despite the many resolutions adopted by the Organization in this field calling for the cessation of the arms race and of the production of weapons of destruction, that arms race is constantly accelerating and mankind is thus threatened with annihilation. It is therefore the duty of the Organization to put an end to that terrible race and move towards disarmament so that mankind may live in peace and have confidence in its future. The immense resources devoted to preparations for war must be used for the achievement of constructive economic goals which will help, in particular, the developing and least advanced countries.

210. Every sincere effort to halt the arms race is welcome. We ask the great Powers, in particular the United States and the Soviet Union, to continue their negotiations with a view to ending the nuclear arms race. That is the only way to safeguard mankind and all the attributes of civilization.

211. My country has always followed an international policy aimed at trying to end the causes of international conflicts which erupt from time to time in various parts of the world. Thus we believe that the crisis which exists in Korea between the two parties concerned must be resolved. A serious dialogue must be started between the two Koreas so that political and economic relations can be established which will enable them to advance towards unity on a democratic basis acceptable to both parties. The Yemen Arab Republic calls for the withdrawal from the region of all foreign troops in order to create a climate favourable to Korean unity.

212. As regards the problem of Cyprus, my country believes that a solution must be found which is acceptable to both the Greek community and the Turkish community and that the island must be reunified on a democratic basis, with freedom of religion and equality for all. The Organization must contribute to the safeguarding of peace and to ending the crisis in Cyprus. All the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council must be applied and made the basis of the solution of the problem of Cyprus.

213. Coming to the question of Namibia, we believe that the fact that a racist régime is occupying that Territory is a challenge to the international community and to the United Nations, the resolutions of which are being flouted. Concerted efforts must be made to end that odious colonial occupation. Assistance must be given to



the Namibian people in its just struggle under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole authentic representative.

214. If the racist occupation of Namibia is a challenge to international will, the presence of the racist régime in Namibia is in itself a blot on this page of the history of mankind. Occupation by racist expansionists is particularly serious. The United Nations must be aware of that racist entity and its policies because it is assisted by certain imperialist Powers which plan to allow the racist entity in southern Africa to be as strong as possible. In that way it can strike anywhere in Africa with force and without hindrance.

215. The Pretoria régime is getting ready to develop its nuclear and military potential in order to carry out acts of aggression against its neighbours and to sow terror throughout Africa and persecute those that are fighting for freedom there. My country has suffered oppression and subjugation, therefore we support the liberation movements fighting for independence and against all forms of racism. The international community must put an end to Israel's and Pretoria's racist actions.

216. Day after day we see the gap widening between the developed and the developing countries, and it is the present world economic system which causes this. It has an adverse effect on the developing countries and on their growth rates. We need a new international economic order that will guarantee justice to the developing countries, so that they may be masters of their own wealth and avoid becoming victims of unemployment and inflation originating from the advanced countries. It is essential now to work for real progress so as to ensure the establishment of a new international economic order on a democratic basis that will allow the developing countries to promote their own potential, to raise their standard of living and to put an end to their balance-of-payments problems. These problems are caused by the fact that the cost of the industrialized products bears no relation to the prices of primary commodities.

217. The international economic situation is deteriorating. The consequences are particularly serious in the sphere of international economic relations, particularly those between developed and the developing countries. We must therefore get back to the North-South dialogue in order to maintain stable economic relations and stability, prosperity and peace throughout the world.

218. Our dialogue must be maintained. If it has ceased it is because certain countries refuse to accept their responsibility for the difficulties suffered by the developing countries. The developed countries must no longer persist in that attitude. They must accept their responsibilities and face the deteriorating economic situation throughout the world.

219. Our Republic places great hopes in the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, to be held soon at Cancún, in the implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the least developed countries, adopted in Paris in September this year,<sup>7</sup> and in the Nairobi Programme of Action for the Development and Utilization of New and Renewable Sources of Energy, adopted at the Nairobi conference last August.<sup>3</sup> Those conferences represented a step towards the solution of the economic problems of the developing countries.

220. We must reform the international economy. That is a responsibility that falls on all countries, particularly the most advanced. Our Organization must begin to work to this end yet again, otherwise it will no longer be possible to avoid these dangers.

221. We follow political events very closely, but that does not stop us concentrating on our internal development. Our people have achieved a great deal. We have made many gains. We are building a modern State and overcoming the obstacles and difficulties, thanks to the wisdom and determination of our people.

222. Democratically speaking, we have made a great deal of progress. Trade unions have been set up. Municipal authorities have also been set up on a healthy democratic basis, because we are convinced that a free people forms the proper foundation for a free society. We shall soon be holding new free elections for the people's council, which will be the legislative assembly of the country. We are completing our democratic institutions, which will be responsible to the Government of Yemen.

223. In the economic field, our various bodies and the national capital will put into practice our five-year plan. New economic and scientific projects are being undertaken which will be applied throughout the country.

224. We look forward with great interest to the unification of the two Yemens under the wise guidance of President Ali Abdullah Saleh. Many economic, social and cultural agreements have been concluded and a number of joint projects have been established between the two Yemens. The union committees continue their work towards the attainment of the unification of the two Yemens, longed for by all. The Presidents of the two Yemens had a very important meeting last month at Taizz, which ensured the continuity of the efforts to achieve the reunification of the two Yemens within the shortest possible time and the establishment of a new, unified Yemeni State, the emergence of a new political entity, unity of the people, territorial integrity and permanent sovereignty. This will undoubtedly contribute to the stability and security of the region; it will help its peoples to establish conditions conducive to close regional co-operation for the benefit of all the States of the region and will also contribute to safeguarding international peace and security.

225. Mr. JAMEEL (Maldives): I should like first of all to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Kittani, on behalf of the Government of Maldives and my delegation, on his election to the high office of President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

226. We see in him a man of distinction and remarkable experience attained through long association with and involvement in the work of the United Nations, and we see in him the representative of one of the leading and prominent members of the non-aligned movement and of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, with which the Maldives has fraternal and close relations.

227. I should like to express at the same time my country's heartfelt gratitude to the outgoing President, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, who discharged the duties of his office in an outstanding manner.

228. I also wish to thank the Secretary-General for his continued dedication to the cause of the United Nations and his commitment to international peace and stability.



My delegation wishes him well in carrying out his important task.

229. It gives me great pleasure to welcome, on behalf of my delegation, Vanuatu and Belize to membership in the Organization, thus marking a further step towards complete decolonization and the attainment of universality by the United Nations.

230. The world is again passing through a disturbing stage in which tension prevails and is deepening and attaining everywhere alarming proportions. At this time one could simply say that the daring trend of interference in the internal affairs of sovereign and independent countries and the irresponsible return to the arms race are the major causes of the deterioration in the international climate, while the world community is suffering from the long-standing ailments of mistrust, fear and deliberate injustice. A few years ago we were heartened by the spirit of détente, by the development of a positive dialogue between the super-Powers, and by the trend of a general consensus that the disaster of another world war must be avoided. But now we see that, instead of consideration for mutual interest and respect for shared opinion, naked aggression has become fearfully frequent. The right of people to self-determination and freedom is being denied by those who continue to defy the cause of justice and human dignity.

231. The recent acts by South Africa against the people of Namibia and the neighbouring independent African States, and the escalation of military action by Israel against the Palestinian people and the neighbouring Arab countries, could be seen as symptoms of an added malignancy in the international atmosphere. The aggressors appear to be protected in the interests of the mighty and powerful. Similarly, we see foreign troops which intervened to change the course of events in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, and in many other places in Africa and Asia, stubbornly remaining in those countries despite repeated calls for the world community for them to withdraw and let the peoples of those countries determine their destinies.

232. Then comes a round of the arms race in which the super-Powers are engaged not only in developing new types of destructive weapons, but also in a dangerous effort to use outer space for their military advantages. For the world community, even the thought of a nuclear war, however limited it may sound, is a nightmare. We feel that serious and immediate efforts must be made to decrease the continually rising international tension, which is driving the promoters of the arms race to a devastating frenzy. There is no justification at all for the technologically developed Powers to enter into an arms production process in which enormous financial resources are deployed while the world economy and even the domestic economies of individual countries are suffering from the difficulties of the current economic crisis. Unless all these developments are presumed to be a game where the only players are the super-Powers and the spectators are the rest of the human race, there is no meaning to this irrational and inhuman trend.

233. The international community has had enough bitter experiences in the past when the logic of supremacy, domination and colonization prevailed. We should like to believe that the world community, which includes the big

and the small, the rich and the poor, is now mature enough to appreciate the dangers of war and the virtues of peace and peaceful coexistence. It is the responsibility of all nations to contribute to world peace and stability. The principles of peace, justice and equality are clearly prescribed in the Charter of the United Nations. It is our solemn duty to uphold those principles and to fulfil our commitments to the human race.

234. Maldives continues to be guided by the policy of non-alignment and has always endeavoured humbly to contribute its modest share in order to strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations, which remains the most prominent forum for solving international issues and consolidating the efforts of the world community towards justice and equality. It is our firm belief that the capabilities of the United Nations to move effectively into the areas of its sacred mandate should be increased. That will be possible only when the Member States fully recognize the efforts and appreciate the role of the United Nations in global issues and accept the virtues of common interest and the facts of universal partnership.

235. The question of Namibia has reached a stage where vigorous efforts have to be made and effective measures taken to compel South Africa to accept world opinion and yield to the legitimate will of the Namibian people. We should by no means remain mere spectators while the Pretoria régime escalates its oppression of the Namibian people and even crosses international borders at will. Maldives remains committed to support the Namibian people in whatever way it can in their struggle for self-determination and freedom under the leadership of their national liberation movement, SWAPO, and will support any measure taken by the world community, collectively or individually, towards the achievement of the independence of Namibia. It is our hope that soon we shall be celebrating the end of this complex episode, as we did not so long ago in the case of Rhodesia and other colonial territories in Africa.

236. The situation in the Middle East has deteriorated during the last one and a half years with the continuation of the Israeli occupation of the Arab territories and its persistent aggressive policies against the Palestinian people, who are fighting for their legitimate right to a fully sovereign and independent nation of their own, which cannot be denied under any decent human consideration. The recent indiscriminate bombing of Lebanon by Israel and the newly-organized terrorist activities aimed at the liquidation of the Palestinian struggle are further evidence of a policy of callous disregard for the norms of international behaviour. The events which continue to occur in the area make us believe that unless firm measures are taken towards bringing an end to the Israeli occupation and towards the solution of the Palestinian issue, the Middle East will remain a dangerous hotbed of tension, affecting not only that region but also the whole world.

237. I should like to make special reference to the totally unprovoked attack by the Israeli forces on the Iraqi nuclear plant, which clearly demonstrated the dangerous strategic policies adopted by Israel with absolute disregard for the principles accepted by the world community, including the closest friends of Israel.

238. During this session we are coming back to discuss the outstanding issue of Palestine, and I presume that we are going to reiterate again our firm belief in the legiti-

mate right of the Palestinians to self-determination, without thereby making any further progress in solving the real issue of the Palestinian people.

239. My delegation shares the view with many other delegations that the Middle East is the most potentially dangerous region in the world. And if we are concerned about the preservation and maintenance of world peace, it is imperative that we make still greater efforts to solve the question of Palestine without any further delay. A solution to the issue cannot be reached unless Palestinians are given the full right to express their free will through their legitimate representatives, the PLO, in all deliberations concerning this serious and complex issue. We will not believe that there is a partial solution to the problem that can be worked out unilaterally or bilaterally without their participation. Maldives remains fully committed to supporting the Palestinians in their struggle to return to their homeland and establish their own nation.

240. I referred at the beginning of my statement to the new trend of intervention in internal affairs of independent nations. We can count many incidents of this unacceptable behaviour during the past few years, which range from covert plotting to overthrow Governments to blatant military interventions to change the political status and history of countries. As far as my Government is concerned, we perceive these acts of intervention with very grave concern, whether they are committed by a country in the West or in the East, and under any pretext. We feel that while the idea itself is bad enough, the prevailing international atmosphere demonstrates a lack of confidence among the countries, in each other, thus confusing an already difficult situation where no steps could be taken to determine if such an intervention took place for the purpose of helping the Government of a country or for the purpose of domination.

241. I do not want to repeat the views of my country concerning the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan and in Kampuchea, views which have been made clear on previous occasions and are reflected in our stand in the Assembly, within the non-aligned movement and in the Organization of the Islamic Conference. I shall only stress again our firm belief in the principles of the Charter of the United Nations which deplore interference or intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign States and guide us to solve conflicts and issues through peaceful means.

242. While talking about the solution of conflicts by peaceful means, I wish to refer to the yet unresolved question of Korea. My Government feels that all efforts must be made, collectively and individually, to facilitate the continuation of the dialogue between North Korea and South Korea for the purpose of achieving a peaceful reunification as envisaged by the Korean people themselves without any foreign interference.

243. Similarly, I wish to reiterate our support for the people of Cyprus in their efforts to consolidate their independence within the framework of national unity with equal rights for all citizens.

244. My delegation believes that the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones is a rational and effective measure towards world peace. In this context, we supported the proposal to establish a nuclear-free zone in South Asia, which we hope will eventually cover a wider region, or at least will pave the way to creating more subregional nuclear-free zones in Asia and the Pacific.

245. As far as the Indian Ocean is concerned, Maldives is committed to continuing its policies of non-alignment, as it is determined to keep its territories free from nuclear weapons and not to permit any foreign military bases within its territories. Furthermore, Maldives will continue to work with the littoral States and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean towards the achievement of the objective of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. It is our earnest hope that, through co-operation between the countries of the Indian Ocean and the other concerned Powers, we will be able to find practical ways of fulfilling the aspiration of our peoples regarding this important issue.

246. Turning to the international economic situation, we feel that the commencement of the North-South dialogue is essential and that we should not spare any efforts within the framework of the United Nations and with the regional organizations to overcome the disparities of the present economic situation. Reason clearly shows that no single nation, whatever its economic capacity or technological advancement, can build its economy in isolation from the rest of the world. The United Nations is now fully aware of all the dimensions of the problem of the gap between the rich and the poor nations. It would be quite wrong to believe that it is the responsibility of the developing countries to rectify the faults in the current economic situation. The painstaking efforts of the developing countries in the South and the very survival of the least developed countries depend heavily on the establishment of a new international economic order based on equality and justice. Hence it is only fair to expect an early resolution of the remaining difficulties that impede the launching of the global negotiations under the auspices and within the framework of the United Nations.

247. Despite the adverse attitudes shown by a few developed countries, the deliberations which have taken place under the auspices of the United Nations since the inception of the idea of a new international economic order have led to positive results, and we look forward to greater progress. We hope that the forthcoming International Meeting on Co-operation and Development at Cancún will be a further step towards the realization of a new international economic order, based on mutual benefit and co-operation.

248. We are also pleased to note that at the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, which was recently held in Paris, it was possible to project the magnitude of the problems faced by the least developed among the developing countries. The least developed countries are resolute in their efforts to improve the social and economic conditions of their peoples, and have already embarked upon ambitious development projects in their countries. However, as we all agree, their efforts and resources alone will not be sufficient for the implementation of those projects. To meet the immediate requirements for assistance to the least developed countries for the first half of the decade and greater requirements later in the decade, the international community, and particularly the developed countries, should increase their concessional assistance at least fourfold by 1990 as compared to the level reached in the late 1970s. At the same time, we feel that there is a need to look back at the criteria on which aid flow is decided. Maldives, being one of the smallest and poorest among the least developed countries, faces difficulties arising from the existing criteria, which

are sometimes ineffective and often do not look after the needs of the smaller countries. Donors, including the international agencies, may decide on the quantity of aid on a purely per capita basis, with the result that countries that cannot count their population in millions are left out in the cold. Maldives does not want to remain for ever a least developed country. However, because of our limited resources, on the one hand, and the difficult geographic and demographic conditions of the country, on the other, we face a dilemma in our efforts to come out of the present situation without depending considerably on external assistance. We are indeed grateful to all the countries and international agencies which are assisting us in the development process and we hope their support will continue.

249. Before the conclusion of my remarks, I wish to reiterate my country's commitment to upholding the principles and the objectives of the United Nations, with their inherent implications of responsibility towards peace and justice and international co-operation. The Maldivian people will continue to work with the United Nations and the world community as a whole for the fulfilment of these lofty objectives.

250. I hope this session will be a successful one.

251. Mr. MOUSSAVI (Iran)\*: The Islamic revolution of Iran, an anti-imperialist, anti-colonial and anti-despotic revolution led by Imam Khomeini, embraced victory on 11 February 1979 at the cost of the blood of some 60,000 martyrs and the crippling of over 100,000 persons whose holy motto was *Allahu Akbar* (God is great) followed by the political slogan of "Independence, Freedom, Islamic Republic".

252. Having its roots in the sublime teachings of the Holy Koran, our Islamic revolution aims primarily at the establishment of equality, fraternity and equal rights for all mankind irrespective of such petty considerations as race, language or the colour of a man's skin.

253. Our revolution considers man, the noblest of God's creatures on earth, as the principal theme in the making of world history, and strives for the elevation of man's spiritual status and his progress towards moral perfection, as the most important and perpetual mission of the revolution; it has, therefore, set itself as its first priority obligation the struggle for the liberation of man from all colonial and inhuman bondage.

254. Since struggle, political action, mysticism and religious faith do not form separate categories in the minds of our nation, it necessarily follows that the guidelines and the general direction of our foreign policy are already decided by the sublime doctrine of Islam which, above all, aims at creating men and women of virtue. For this reason, there is perhaps no other revolutionary nation which believes more deeply in peace for humanity than the Iranian people and none other more prepared for every sacrifice for the establishment of a peace which would guarantee the interests of the deprived and the oppressed throughout the world.

255. In carrying out our policies, we are determined not to slip an inch towards the West or the East, towards the United States of America, the Soviet Union or China; we intend to remain independent.

256. We are determined to build a new world on the basis of the sublime teachings of Islam for the salvation of mankind and to offer humanity, which thirsts for justice, a new framework of human values. We assure the people of the world that revolutionary Islamic Iran does not seek to create turbulence anywhere in the world. We declare, with our revolutionary frankness, that the key to the understanding of the foreign policy of Iran lies in the comprehension of the motives behind the unusual resistance and sacrifices of our people and that this understanding may lay the foundation of a series of new relationships based on respect for the independence of the oppressed countries and for their sovereignty.

257. For over a century our country has been exposed to mundane Western values—the worship of money, material luxuries and power. Therefore one of our most challenging post-revolutionary tasks has been the breaking down of this non-human value system, but we can now declare that our people's great revolution has, at the price of the blood of numerous martyrs, succeeded not only in defeating Western-oriented tendencies, but in completely revolutionizing the value system dominating our society. It is for this reason that American imperialism and other oppressive powers are trying to recruit sympathizers from among the well-to-do strata of our society, who have been more or less affected by the nonsensical slogan "the American dream". An investigation into the human structure of our so-called leftist organizations, some of which hid themselves behind Islamic masks, will show that even here the organizational membership originates in the families of capitalists, technocrats, property barons and bureaucrats of the overthrown régime of the deposed Shah, whose interests have been smashed by the Islamic system of our revolution. Our late President, the martyr Rajaie, who was murdered at the hands of the terrorists of such interests groups, was a poor street hawker and our late Prime Minister, the martyr Bahonar, earned only enough money to keep his body and soul together. All our present statesmen come from the poor and the oppressed families of Iran, that is, the same people who made a victorious revolution with their bare hands and raised fists.

258. In Iran today, a man is not valued for his position as president or premier; nor is he assessed by his wealth or power; the determining factors are his scruples, his virtues and his self-sacrifice for the good of society. It is exactly for this reason that the leader of our revolution, Imam Khomeini, says: "Our real leader is that 13-year-old boy who threw himself under an Iraqi tank with a bomb tied to his body and destroyed it". The martyrdom of some 80 statesmen, including a President, a Prime Minister, a President of the Supreme Court and many ministers and deputy ministers, as a result of terrorists' bomb explosions, and their immediate replacement by other revolutionaries ready to die for the cause of Islam, was another glittering example of our new system of Islamic values as opposed to an American-inspired anti-human value system.

\* Mr. Moussavi spoke in Persian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

259. Today, United States imperialism is making its last desperate attempts through a variety of henchmen and agents in Iran, ignorantly believing that by murdering our leaders and statesmen and by terrorizing our revolutionary people it might one day return to Iran. The Yankee imperialists fail to understand that our great Islamic revolution does not depend on individuals, that it relies only on God Almighty and the Iranian masses who are constantly present on the political scene, and that the current of revolution is a river of no return. This has been clearly witnessed when hundreds of our leaders and administrators have fallen victim to political assassination and ruthless terrorist bomb attacks. Had this happened in any other country, regardless of its political system, the Government of the country would have plunged into anarchy and chaos, whereas in our Islamic revolution martyrdom serves only to strengthen the determination and unity of our people.

260. The Iranian people and their revolutionary leader regard their selfless efforts for the consolidation of an Islamic republic in Iran as a struggle for the victory of truth over falsehood, and revolutionary death as a blessed step in the direction of the eternal source of life. We are absolutely sure that the leaders of the super-Powers do not appreciate this divine doctrine and that is exactly the reason why the United States continues to resort to abortive attempts, *coups* and conspiracies in Iran and does not seem to learn anything from its oft-repeated mistakes.

261. Since our victorious Islamic revolution, the United States of America has done everything in its satanic power to overthrow our Islamic Republic. It has invaded Iran with military aircraft and helicopter gunships, it has staged an abortive *coup d'état*, it has instigated civil war in Iran and it encouraged its cryptic Iraqi client to invade Iran with 12 of the best-equipped army divisions when chaotic post-revolutionary Iran had no organized army with which to defend itself. And now it has resorted to the devilish tactic of assassinating and bombing our most virtuous and our most valuable revolutionary figures. But at the same time its cries and protests against human rights violations in Iran have filled the air. Our people view these advocates of human rights, whose hands are drenched in the blood of oppressed peoples throughout the world, with the contempt and derision they deserve. We are quite familiar with the nature and the sort of human rights that the United States advocates. It is the sort of human rights that means keeping silent when Yankee imperialism commits mass murders throughout the world but suddenly becoming vociferous when the murderers of the President, Prime Minister and scores of others in Iran receive their due punishment in our revolutionary courts. This is the sort of respect for human rights that means not lifting a finger to condemn the military apparatus of the Zionist non-entity when it mass-murders the innocent people of south Lebanon. This is a new concept of human rights fabricated by imperialism and zionism. It is the sort of human rights whose advocates are the designers and manufacturers of nuclear and neutron bombs. These are the sort of human rights advocates who shed crocodile tears when murderers, assassins and bomb-planters are executed but whose conscience does not bother them when they drop hundreds of tons of bombs on Vietnamese, Korean and other people through-

out the world. It is ironic and ludicrous that all these supporters and advocates of human rights happen to live in the United States and not in countries such as Bangladesh, Iran, Angola, Namibia, India, Libya, Viet Nam, Algeria, Syria or Malaysia. Therefore we declare unequivocally that we have no faith in the sort of human rights whose advocates are recruited from among American or European capitalists, world Zionists or notorious racists.

262. We believe that humanity under the capitalist régimes of Europe and the United States has deteriorated spiritually and that a new and true image of humanity, quite different from the one favoured by the United States, is emerging among the oppressed nations of the world.

263. After the victory of the Islamic revolution in Iran, world imperialism, headed by the United States, lost one of its most loyal and powerful allies in the form of the Shah's corrupt régime. Therefore it concentrated its efforts on restoring its interests by hook or by crook.

264. I shall mention briefly here a few of those desperate efforts: first, a direct military attack against Iran, which was, thanks to God Almighty, miraculously defeated by sudden sandstorms in the desert of Tabas; then an attempt to divide Iran into different provinces by supporting the Shah's fugitive generals and American-made leftist groups in order to weaken the central revolutionary Government, but the revolutionary fervour of our people demolished all these foreign-inspired elements; later, an attempt to break up the social structure of the Iranian people in order to sabotage the unity of the people, which was the best guarantee of our victorious revolution; for this, the United States exploited the services of its many internal agents, opportunists, hypocrites and liberals, whose clever demagoguery and non-Islamic aspirations failed to deceive our people and could not destroy the unity of our masses, therefore this Western-oriented conspiracy also failed through the diligence of our leader and the action of our people; and lastly, the use of the services of the dependent, mercenary Baathist régime of Iraq, which during all the stages of our Islamic revolution did everything it devilishly could to weaken and sabotage our revolution.

265. Here we present to the Assembly a brief list of the services rendered to United States imperialism by the ruling clique of Iraq before the military invasion of Iran. First, the harassment of thousands of Iranians living in Iraq and their forced deportation from their country of residence; some 50,000 Iraqis and Iranians were accused of being of Iranian origin and expelled in the most inhuman manner and many of them met their deaths in the wilderness of the Iran-Iraq border areas, while the properties of some 115,000 Iranians residing in Iraq were forcibly seized. Secondly, Iranian Moslems were prevented from making pilgrimages to holy shrines in Iraq. Thirdly, the ill-treatment, torture and murder of prominent clergy and religious revolutionaries in Iraq, including the martyrdom of Ayatollah Mohammed Bagher Sadr and his learned revolutionary sister, which was a great catastrophe for the world of Islam. Fourthly, the raiding of Iranian schools in Iraq, imprisonment of the teachers and assault



against and torture of their families; there are no traces of many such teachers in spite of repeated contacts with the Red Cross. Fifthly, the granting of refuge to a large number of Iranian army personnel who had participated in the slaughter of the Iranian people under the Shah's régime and the organization of many political and military groups for terrorist attacks and sabotage against the newborn Islamic Republic of Iran. Sixthly, the transmission of radio programmes in Persian, Kurdish, Turkish, Turkoman, Armenian and Baluchi for the evil purpose of provoking tribal, religious and racial trouble inside Iran, mainly on the basis of chauvinistic aspirations similar to the propaganda of the Nazi predecessors of the Iraqi régime. Seventhly, the issuing of identity cards for Arabic-speaking nationals of Iran in the province of Khuzistan; those cards bear the signature of the Governor of Basra, in Iraq. Eighthly, the establishment of the so-called Khuzistan Liberation Bureau for the purpose of provoking Arabic-speaking Iranian nationals to speak out against the Islamic Republic of Iran; the same people were later among the very first victims of the all-out Iraqi invasion of Iran. Finally, the perpetration of assassinations and a variety of sabotage actions inside Iran, including the blowing up of oil pipelines; altogether Iraq had committed some 425 acts of aggression against Iranian territory before the general invasion of Iran in September 1980.

266. These criminal actions against the newly established Islamic Republic having failed to slow down the pace of our revolution, the Iraqi régime, instigated by United States imperialism, suddenly invaded Iranian territory by air, sea and land on 22 September 1980. The Iraqi régime was hoping to occupy large parts of Iran, to open a new front for the disintegration of Iran and to overthrow the Islamic Republic in a short time.

267. Now, as we enter the second year of this catastrophic Iraqi-imposed war, the Iranian and Iraqi Moslem nations are mourning the deaths of many thousands, the wounding and crippling of tens of thousands, the homelessness of millions and the destruction of the economic wealth of both countries, running into billions of dollars. This is the outcome of the war stupidly imposed on Iran by the Baathists of Iraq, who will be crushed, chased back and taught an Islamic lesson in the near future.

268. The world knows that even during the war the Iraqi régime has not observed any moral principles. It has repeatedly raided and hit schools, hospitals, mosques, residential areas and defenceless towns by aerial bombings or ground-to-ground missiles. The Iraqi aggressors have also made thousands of civilians prisoners of war. They have treated genuine prisoners of war in the most inhuman, that is, in the most Baathist manner possible. Reports by the International Red Cross bear witness to these Baathist cruelties.

269. The Iraqi Baathists have gone so far in their insolence and contempt for human life that their trigger-happy terrorists, disguised as Iraqi diplomats, opened fire at a peaceful, legal demonstration of Iranian students at New Delhi and not only wounded six Iranian students but shot and injured three Indian policemen.

270. Of course, the world knows that that was not the first time that the Iraqi régime had committed criminal

acts in foreign countries. We have repeatedly witnessed Iraqis opening fire in different cities and capitals of the world. All informed people remember that the Iraqi régime was responsible for bomb explosions in Kuwait which it shamelessly attributed to the Islamic Republic of Iran, but fortunately the real bombers were later identified in that country.

271. The Iraqis, who are still pursuing the same scandalous policy, have once again resorted to the same shameless tactics of declaring Iran responsible for the bombardment of Kuwaiti oil installations, and who should help confirm the Iraqi accusations but the United States. The United States authorities have now announced that information received from their AWACS spy planes confirmed the Iraqi accusation. It should, of course, be remembered that the AWACS spy planes only provide the sort of information required by United States foreign policy; for example, they failed to detect the bombers belonging to the Zionist non-entity in their long flight to the vicinity of Baghdad.

272. We refute these baseless accusations and declare to the world that the statement made by the Secretary of State of United States imperialism is part of a larger conspiracy to provoke certain reactionary and dependent régimes in the region against our country. We warn United States imperialism that these deceptive tactics will not save their Iraqi client from the abyss into which it was plunged by the United States in the first place. The world, especially the American people, should know that this Iraqi-American accusation is only intended for the easy sale of AWACS aircraft to American dependent clients in the region, but it should be borne in mind that such régimes will not be able to fight the will of their people, even if the United States sends them direct assistance. Our advice to such régimes is to dissociate themselves from the super-Powers and to respect the desire of their own peoples for independence and freedom.

273. Therefore it should be evident by now that the Iraqi invasion of an independent country that has challenged imperialist Powers in the area pursues the same policies as the United States-backed Zionist non-entity, only this time the Iraqi régime has volunteered to do the job for imperialism and zionism.

274. Certain basic questions may help to clarify the unfortunate connection. Could the Jordanian Government receive military supplies intended for Iraq from the port of Aqaba without the permission of United States imperialism or the Zionist non-entity? Would it be at all possible for Zionist bombers to raid atomic power stations without being detected by AWACS spy planes or without Iraqi connivance in the raid? Could a better way be found to revive Iraq's diminishing political image than through an aerial raid by Zionist bombers? Why does France immediately declare its readiness to repair the damaged power station? What nature of régimes supply the required financial assistance?

275. We believe that, in the same way as the pro-American nature of the Shah's Government did not remain a secret for long, so the passage of time will show that the Iraqi Baathist régime has turned into the best Moslem friend of the Zionist non-entity in the Middle East.



276. However, despite all the Iraqi crimes, a few examples of which we have mentioned here, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has received all delegations dispatched to Iran by the United Nations, the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned movement and has made its position absolutely clear; but the Iraqi régime has obstinately disregarded the legitimate and rightful demands of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

277. Those demands are: first, the unconditional withdrawal of all invading Iraqi forces from occupied territories in Iran; secondly, the identification of the aggressive party and its condemnation by a qualified international tribunal; thirdly, the implementation of the Algiers Agreement between Iran and Iraq, signed on 6 March 1975,<sup>8</sup> at the ceremonies of which the happy Iraqi party was photographed embracing the criminal ex-Shah of Iran; fourthly, the payment of proper compensations by the aggressor.

278. It is rather surprising that the Iraqi régime intends to play host at Baghdad to the 1982 Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, when it has, by invading a revolutionary country openly violated the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of the non-aligned movement. It is even more surprising to find the representative of such a country—and I mean no disrespect to that representative personally—elected President of the General Assembly. This is the first time in the history of the United Nations that a Member State has invaded another Member State and the representative of the invading country has been elected to preside over this most important United Nations body.

279. In the course of the last 13 months, the Iraqi Government has persistently violated the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. In its Article 6, the Charter stipulates that

“A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council”.

280. We note, however, not only that Iraq still sits in the United Nations, but that its representative has been elected President of the General Assembly, which may be considered as a form of reward and encouragement for the aggressors of the world.

281. There is no doubt that governments that do not find those principles and norms to their illegitimate tastes will not hesitate to violate them in the future as they have done in the past.

282. The Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran considers the silence of the international community with regard to the open aggression of the Iraqi régime to be indifference to its independence and sovereignty as well as a serious threat to peace in the world. It is therefore urgent for us to draw the attention of the Assembly to the evil consequences of the Iraqi aggression. That aggression has, first, provided the United States with an excuse for a

military and security presence in the region, dispatching naval units, directly threatening the nations in the area and forming multinational rapid deployment forces to be used in that region of the world. Secondly, it has dealt a blow to the unity of Islamic countries and has served the continued invasion of the occupied Lebanese territory by the Zionist enemy. Thirdly, it has distracted the attention of the Moslem world from the Palestine issue and has created a diversion in the anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist struggles of the Moslem nations. Fourthly, it has destroyed great human and material resources belonging to the two Islamic nations of Iran and Iraq and threatened the resources of other countries in the region.

283. Since the Persian Gulf region is an important international waterway, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has to control navigation in that waterway firmly and strictly in order to protect normal shipping of non-military cargoes. The Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, for its part, guarantees safe and free navigation in that sensitive waterway. It will, however, not allow the passage of ships carrying war materials for Iraq, for such shipments would constitute a violation of the principles of neutrality with regard to the belligerent parties. We shall confiscate war materials destined for Iraq and redirect the ships carrying such materials to their ports of origin, in order to discourage Iraq from continuing this insane war.

284. The Moslem nation of Iran does not consider the conspiracies of American imperialism against the Islamic Republic of Iran and other Moslem nations as being a separate issue from the problem of zionism in the region. Although some reactionary dependent régimes may not say so, a billion Moslems in the world know that United States imperialism and zionism are inseparable from one another.

285. But the power of the imperialist and Zionist arsenals, their widespread conspiracies and their agreements on strategic co-operation for the suppression of revolutionary nations only serve to make our resolve to fight them even firmer than before, and we are prepared, as we have often declared in the past, to fight shoulder to shoulder with our Palestinian, Syrian and Lebanese brothers and sisters to liberate all Zionist-occupied Arab territories.

286. We overpowered the logic of force and bayonets in our country by our raised fists, and we are certain that a billion Moslems will have to do the same on the international scene.

287. In our Islamic opinion, the removal of aggression from Palestine and an absolute recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people are religious obligations. We firmly believe that these fundamental problems in the Middle East will not be solved by anyone except Moslems themselves; no chauvinistic outburst by Arabs, and no politicking by the West or the East will ever settle the matter in a just and honourable manner. That is why the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran proposed the formation of the Islamic front against zionism and imperialism. We hope that in the near future we shall see practical efforts towards the formation of this united islamic front.

288. Despite the war imposed on Iran by Iraq and our efforts to kick the invading forces out of Iranian territory, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has never neglected its Islamic duty concerning the Palestinian people in particular and problems in the Middle East in general.

289. We shall continue to resist and fight with everything in our power against the Zionist aggression against the territories of our brother nations of Syria, Palestine and Lebanon. There is no racial prejudice or animosity towards the Jewish people in revolutionary Iran. In our opinion, however, zionism is a political movement rooted in racism and expansionism which has abused the divine mission of our Prophet Moses—may he rest in peace—as a shameless cover-up for its Nazi-type crimes. Zionism is rejected today by all freedom-loving nations of the world, and cannot be further tolerated.

290. At this juncture, I deem it necessary to announce my Government's view regarding a plan that we consider to be the extension and continuation of the Camp David agreements. We declare that this so-called new plan, seemingly for the autonomy of parts of the West Bank of the River Jordan and the Gaza Strip, is nothing but a facsimile of the original Camp David agreements. We declare unambiguously that such plans, inspired by the United States, are intended to continue American aggression in our part of the world and to drag the Palestinian people and the Moslem people of the world into the mire of compromise. But the Moslem people throughout the world cannot remain indifferent to such a vast conspiracy.

291. The Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran is of the opinion that the military invasion of Afghanistan by a super-Power and the imposition of an unpopular régime on the Afghan people should not be looked at only from the angle of the violation of the independence and territorial integrity of the oppressed people of Afghanistan, but that we should also consider that such an invasion tramples upon a nation's dignity, honour, traditions, culture and history, and, above all, on the religious faith and beliefs of an entire nation.

292. The Islamic Republic of Iran, whose people share common cultural, linguistic, traditional and historic ties and, above all, a common religion with the oppressed nation of Afghanistan, cannot remain silent in the face of such aggression. For that reason, our Islamic Republic was the very first country to condemn the military invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union and to demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the occupying forces from Afghan territory.

293. And we should regrettably add that American imperialism tries to justify its widespread presence in the Indian Ocean and in certain countries with reactionary régimes through the Soviet presence in Afghanistan.

294. We are certain that the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan will not only deprive the United States of its pretext for justifying its presence in the region but will also disarm the American puppet régimes of the region which implicitly support the Zionist non-entity by taking away from them their best demagogic scarecrow of

the "danger of communism". If the Government of the Soviet Union is truly anti-imperialist, it should not deliberately facilitate the expansion of imperialism in the region. If the Soviet Union considers the American presence in the Indian Ocean provocative and dangerous, then it should know better that only a popular, Islamic, anti-imperialist government in Afghanistan could reduce that danger and in the long run eliminate it.

295. The Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran considers the withdrawal of foreign occupying forces from Afghanistan and the recognition of the right of self-determination for the Afghan nation as the only solution to the problem and rejects any negotiations carried out without the presence of the true representatives of the people of Afghanistan.

296. The Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran demands that the Indian Ocean be turned into a peace zone, free from any nuclear weapons and foreign presence and believes that the military presence and the military bases of the big Powers in the Indian Ocean threaten the peace in the coastal countries and increase the possibilities of interference, domination and further conspiracies by foreign Powers as far as their internal affairs are concerned. The formation of the American multinational rapid deployment force in the Indian Ocean has contributed to confusion and turbulence in the region, has resulted in more intense rivalries between the super-Powers and will undoubtedly create a dangerous situation in our part of the world.

297. Iran considers the security of the Indian Ocean an issue relating only to the coastal States and rejects the interference of the super-Powers in that region and firmly believes that the resources at the bed of the Indian Ocean should be exploited for the economic development and welfare of the peoples of the region.

298. Iran supports the resolution on the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace [*General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI)*] and believes that the speedy and complete implementation of that resolution will put an end to the rivalries of the super-Powers and to the further creation of tensions in that region.

299. In our world today, we are faced with a greater use of military force, which in itself is the natural consequence of the intensity of the arms race. The nuclear arsenals of the two super-Powers as well as those of other imperialist Powers are expanding day by day and becoming more and more sophisticated. That expansion is not at all limited to nuclear and strategic weapons but also extends to the area of conventional weapons which obliges the deprived and the oppressed nations of the world to resort to greater military potential for their security. Thus, the wealth and resources which should be employed for the development and welfare of the hungry and oppressed people in the third world are used for strengthening military forces and purchasing weapons of war the benefits of which will ultimately go to the super-Power militarists. The development and expansion of nuclear weapons, and the gradual increase in the number of countries possessing such devastating anti-human weapons, have pushed human society to the brink of a dreadful precipice and a

formula must be found urgently to avoid a world-wide disaster.

300. Despite all present disasters imposed on the people of the world by the super-Powers, new destructive weapons are still produced by anti-human American imperialism. The neutron bomb and its anti-human dimension need not be emphasized. The production of that anti-human device is a manifest reminder of the criminal nature and inhuman characteristic of the ruling circles in the United States. It is the moral obligation of all peace-loving nations of the world, and particularly the American people, to protest most strongly against the production of that anti-human weapon.

301. The American Government declares that the Persian Gulf region is of vital interest to the United States and other Western countries and by resorting to that kind of imperialist logic tries to justify any aggressive action it embarks upon against the countries and the oppressed peoples of that region. Further, the United States justifies its efforts to combat the struggles of the Moslem peoples of the Persian Gulf countries to liberate themselves from the yoke of the imperialist Powers and take their destinies in their own hands, and its efforts to suppress any independence-seeking movement by the oppressed of the region under the pretext of protecting its bloody interests.

302. The formation of the so-called multinational rapid deployment force is another attempt in that direction and the reasons announced for its formation, which are nothing more than obvious excuses for justifying the imperialist objectives of America and its collaborators, are by no means acceptable to the nations of that region. In our opinion, one of the main reasons for such aggressive operations is the American fear of the spread and influence of the Islamic revolution in Iran.

303. The Islamic Republic of Iran considers the formation of that task force as another conspiracy and armed action against the Moslem people of that region and their divine order of life. We should, however, add, with regret, that certain unpopular governments in the area have co-operated with the aggressive policies of United States imperialism.

304. However, as often proved in practice, such acts do not contribute to the establishment of peace in the region, and consequently in the world, but rather intensify the atmosphere of tension and violence and provide other Powers with excuses for similar measures.

305. Thus, we believe that the presence of any alien force in the Persian Gulf in particular and in the Indian Ocean in general for the protection of the imperialistic interests of the Powers of the West or the East will only disturb the political tranquillity and stability of the region and will be a serious threat to world peace. And it is on that basis that the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has frequently demanded that the super-Powers end their military presence in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, stop interfering in that region and close down their military bases.

306. One of the fundamental principles of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is to oppose and

fight colonialism in its variety of forms and masks. The Constitution of our Islamic Republic considers independence, liberty and the rule of justice as the God-given rights of the people of the world, and, while refraining from any interference in the internal affairs of other nations, it declares its support for the rightful struggles of the oppressed against oppressors throughout the world.

307. The Iranian revolution has, right from the beginning, supported liberation movements and has strongly defended the legitimate rights of nations dominated by colonialism and imperialism in their fight for freedom and independence. The policy followed by the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the General Assembly bears witness to this, and whenever questions relating to colonialism were raised in those organs Iran strongly demanded the implementation of the Declaration [*General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)*] and unconditionally supported the rights of the peoples in colonized and dependent territories to self-determination and independence.

308. A most insulting and disgusting form of colonialism is witnessed in South Africa and Namibia. In that part of the world, a so-called white-skinned minority has imposed its ruthless and oppressive domination over a dark-skinned majority, with the overall support of Western imperialism.

309. For this reason, all international efforts since the inception of the United Nations, including numerous resolutions on the eradication of *apartheid* in South Africa and the elimination of colonialism in Namibia, have not produced results, and the racist South African régime, supported by certain Western countries and Israel, headed by United States imperialism, continues to carry out its non-human policy of *apartheid* and prevents majority rule in South Africa and Namibia.

310. We condemn the occupation of Namibia by the illegal racist régime of South Africa, and support the struggles of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, the true representative of the liberation movement of the people of southern Africa. We strongly condemn the disgusting, inhuman policy of *apartheid* followed by the illegal racist South African régime and support people in South Africa who are fighting for their legitimate human rights.

311. One of the most striking examples of ungrudging imperialist support for South Africa was recently witnessed when South African military forces invaded Angola. Unfortunately, once again, owing to an American veto, the United Nations was not able to carry out the obligations assigned to it under the Charter for establishing peace and security in the world. Thus the Government of the United States has openly and shamelessly supported the aggressive operations of the South African régime. We condemn, in the strongest terms, this obvious violation of Angolan integrity, political independence and sovereignty.

312. The situation in Western Sahara is another clear example of desperate efforts to perpetuate imperialist

domination. Numerous countries have so far recognized the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic and have supported its struggle for the elimination of colonialism. The Islamic Republic of Iran has also recognized that Republic, under the leadership of the POLISARIO Front,<sup>9</sup> the genuine and true liberation movement of the Sahraoui people, and has declared its moral and political support for their legitimate struggle for political independence and self-determination.

313. In our opinion, the super-Powers of the West and the East should have learnt something by now from the disastrous consequences of their aggression in third world countries and, if they ever wish to be taken seriously when they speak of their respect for human dignity, love for world peace and efforts for stability in the world, they should refrain from interference, especially in African countries, and swallow the bitter pill that the deprived people of this continent, too, are entitled to the right to self-determination. The Islamic Republic of Iran firmly believes that the abundant wealth and resources of these regions should be exploited for the creation of a worthy material and spiritual life for the deprived and oppressed people of Africa who have suffered so long at the hands of European and American colonialists.

314. The Islamic Republic of Iran considers the shooting down of Libyan aircraft by United States fighters an act of aggression against our friendly country and brother nation of Libya. We condemn this military action and believe that this sort of mad behaviour is motivated by imperialism's fear of people's awakening consciousness.

315. The division of Korea, in spite of its long history and ancient culture, is another regrettable phenomenon for the people and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran. We believe that the division of Korea and the prevention of Korean unity are a direct result of interference and the influence of world imperialism, headed by the United States, and we condemn all such interference.

316. In our world today, unjust and unbalanced economic relations continue to exist, and the gap between the poor and the rich is becoming wider in spite of all sorts of international conferences, meetings and gatherings.

317. Our recommendation to third world countries is to trust in God Almighty, to rely on the genuine power of their people, and to rise and fight world imperialism, which has dominated and oppressed their nations economically, politically and culturally. Only in this manner can the third world countries succeed in bringing about political and economic changes without any fear of the oppressive Powers of the world, move towards their true politico-economic independence and take proper steps in meeting their basic economic and technological needs without any dependence on industrialized, developed countries.

318. We further believe that the oppressed countries of the world should use their oil and other subterranean resources as weapons against imperialism and other power-hungry circles in the world. Contrary to the propaganda of imperialist countries, if the destructive weapons of the super-Powers can be used for the annihilation of humanity

and for dominating mankind, our oil and other material weapons could be employed for the liberation of billions of human beings from the yoke of the super-Powers.

319. We deem it necessary to explain here the position of the Islamic Republic of Iran regarding international organizations and their potential for solving the problems of the oppressed. In our opinion, these international organizations, instead of serving as a means of combat against tyranny and oppression, or as a medium for establishing peace and justice in the world, have turned mainly into centres for "give and take" between the super-Powers and a cover for the implementation of their policies. The restrictions imposed upon the present Iranian delegation to the United Nations by the United States Government serve as an up-to-date example of its domination of international affairs. The United States Government refused to issue entry visas to two Deputy Ministers in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran on fictitious grounds. We were also warned that if we were to fly an Iranian aircraft, it might be seized at New York Airport. Therefore, we remain faithful to our opinion that so long as the United Nations does not liberate itself from the influence of the super-Powers, and so long as it does not serve the oppressed nations of the world, which form the majority of its members, the Organization cannot be expected to be able to carry out in full the obligations and duties assigned to it by its Charter. As a first step towards the liberation of the United Nations, it is urgent to move United Nations Headquarters to an impartial country and to abolish the right of veto enjoyed by powerful Governments.

320. In conclusion, as a representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran, I announce to the oppressed and the deprived in the world that today a billion Moslems are rising up throughout the world and that Islam is once again bringing its blessed liberating forces to the world scene, and our faith tells us that the movement of this ocean of oppressed humanity will destroy world imperialism headed by the Great Satan, the United States of America.

321. The PRESIDENT: One representative has requested to exercise his right of reply.

322. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq): Obviously, the Iranian Minister for Foreign Affairs mistook the General Assembly rostrum for Teheran radio or perhaps Teheran television. We are told that the Iranian rulers are determined to build a new world on the basis of the sublime teachings of Islam, for the salvation of mankind and to offer humanity, which thirsts for justice, a new framework of human values. I am sure that enlightened humanity, including the world of Islam, will continue to say emphatically "No, thank you".

323. And how could the answer be otherwise, when the Khomeini revolution has produced nothing but bloodshed, aggression and wanton destruction? How could the answer be any different in the face of its retrograde medieval outlook which embraces hatred, chaos and sectarianism? Is this the complete revolutionization of the value system dominating Iran, as the Iranian Minister for Foreign Affairs was trying to have us believe?

324. The Iranian Minister for Foreign Affairs declared that they have no faith in the sort of human rights whose advocates were recruited from among American capitalists, world Zionists, or notorious racists. And let me ask whether Mr. Bani Sadr is included in any one of these categories, for he has been very outspoken on the question of human rights in Iran. And, if so, let me remind the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iran that a representative of Iran, in this very General Assembly Hall last year, expressed great pride in the democratic election of that now deposed President.

325. Let us also ask: what is the Khomeini concept of human rights? On the basis of deeds, and not words, it is mass executions without trial—even during the holy month of Ramadan—of men, women and children. It is the oppression of minorities, a sectarian religious outlook and the self-appointed role of arbiter of religious purity imposed on all others. It is the belief in a world mission in the name of Islam—so unfortunate, and so unjust to that noble religion.

326. In a statement issued by Khomeini to some clergy of the so-called Islamic Republic Party, which was published in the secret pamphlet of that particular party, which is called *Sada al-Mostafoon*—and I am reporting from the Kuwaiti newspaper *Al-Seyasah* of 9 April 1981—Khomeini was said to have instructed those clergy as follows:

“Iran is ready today to lead revolution all over the world, and this principle needs sacrifices, patience and faith. The task of the clergy is to restore the message of Islam. This task cannot be achieved except by instigating rebellion in the territory of Arabia, Iraq, greater Syria, Africa and the rest of the States of the world. Your mission is great if you proceed along this path—the path of restoring the glory of Iran through the establishment of an Islamic empire of which Iran represents the foundation. This is the fate of Iran today: flaming rebellion and calling the Moslems to holy war against their rules.”

327. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iran embarked upon a futile attempt to make accusations against my country, in language befitting neither the norms and traditions of this Organization nor the rational or enlightened mind. What bedevils the Khomeini-ites is the belief that the more diatribes they utter against Iraq, the more likely they are to make a case. I need not reply to his accusations in detail, as we have heard nothing new. But the fact remains that fabrications fall inevitably into ridiculous contradictions which destroy the credibility of what they contain. Let me cite one or two examples.

328. As to the allegation that it was Iraq which declared Iran responsible for the attack on Kuwaiti oil installations, in connivance with the United States, I do not know whether the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iran is aware of the fact that on 3 October—that is, the day before yesterday—the Arab Foreign Ministers unanimously adopted a resolution denouncing the Iranian act of aggres-

sion against Kuwait, condemning the Iranian policy of sowing insecurity in the area and calling Iran to account.

329. As a second example, we were told that Iraq had volunteered to do the job for zionism and attacked Iran. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iran thought perhaps he should also defend himself by saying: what about Israeli aggression against Iraqi nuclear installations? But we are told that that act of aggression was committed in order to revive the diminishing political prestige of Iraq in international relations. Now, how can anything be more ridiculous than that? I do not know.

330. Concern has been expressed for the liberation of Palestine; there has been an outcry against zionism. And yet not a single word has been said by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iran with respect to the irrefutable evidence that my country put forward before the General Assembly in document A/36/518 as to the military collaboration between Iran and Israel. As to the liberation of Palestine and the farce about the united Islamic front—charity begins at home. Could the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iran go back to the rostrum and tell the General Assembly that Iran is prepared to withdraw from the three Arab islands occupied by the Shah? They would not do that. They say it is Iranian territory.

331. The dressing-up of his statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iran, with his attempts to deal with some of the issues that we normally deal with in the Organization, calls for a reminder on our part. We have to remind him that in this Organization we deal with these issues in accordance with norms, traditions and principles, and that this dressing up will not convince the General Assembly of Iran's views as he expounded them, because he said clearly and simply that the Organization is simply a cover for super-Power rivalry, and that charge goes against all of us.

*The meeting rose at 7.50 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Declaration issued on 27 November 1971 at the meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, held at Kuala Lumpur; see document A/C.1/1019.

<sup>2</sup> See *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annexes I and II.

<sup>3</sup> *Report of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.24), chap I, sects. A and B.

<sup>4</sup> Expounded in a radio interview broadcast on Riyadh Domestic Service on 7 August 1981. For a transcript of the interview, see Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report*, FBIS-MEA-81-153 of 10 August 1981, vol. V, No. 153, p. C 3.

<sup>5</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 42, No. 655.

<sup>6</sup> See *Basic Documents of the League of Arab States, Document Collections Number 1*, published by The Arab Information Center, New York, 1955.

<sup>7</sup> *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

<sup>8</sup> See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 1017, No. 14903.

<sup>9</sup> Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.