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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. RAO (India): I convey to you, Sir, the warm felicitations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the General Assembly. It was a memorable election, not without its drama. We have every confidence that under your dynamic and competent leadership the General Assembly will be able to deal effectively and comprehensively with the many tasks before it.

2. I would also like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation of the resolute and efficient leadership provided to the Assembly during its thirty-fifth session by your predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar.

3. The tolerance and patient diplomacy of the Secretary-General are well known. I would like to place on record our sincere appreciation of the statesmanlike manner in which he has carried the awesome responsibility of his post.

4. On behalf of the people and Government of India, I have great pleasure in welcoming Vanuatu and Belize, which have recently achieved their independence and joined the United Nations.

5. The contours of the world landscape have indeed changed within the past year to such an extent that the shifts and turns make some of us wonder whether international peace and security can at all be preserved intact if the present slide continues. The tension around us is very palpable. Confrontation has become acceptable for bolstering up otherwise sagging egos. Meanwhile, those who are weak and small in terms of defence capability and economic muscle worry about their very survival as free nations. Additional weapons are being injected on a large scale into fragile régimes and areas where tensions are already high. There is a conscious and declared attempt to make relations with the developing countries a function of the East-West variable and to evaluate these relations in terms of the utility factor in the East-West game. Consid-

erations of the material well-being, peace or stability of a country are being subordinated to those of strategic superiority and containment.

6. The grim international situation is perhaps both the cause and the consequence of the vast inequities and disequilibrium of the world economy. The present structure is so designed and managed as to preserve and perpetuate its oases of privilege and affluence amidst a desert of dearth and deprivation. There is a strange scenario consisting of the economic problems of the developed world caused by what has been called a "system overload" arising from the divergent pulls of economic surplus, deceleration of demand, inflationary spirals and exiguous unemployment on the one hand, and of the grim problem of diminishing economic opportunities faced by the developing countries on the other. It is this dramatic contrast which is in part responsible for the mood of frustration and desperation in the world today. But what is most surprising is that there is an increasing tendency to tackle economic problems through political means. Obviously this will not work in the new context of a world composed of States having sovereign equality but steeped in gaping economic inequalities. No, it is time to realize that there can no longer be political solutions to economic problems.

7. The pursuit of such a strategy for development can at best be described as misguided and unfortunate. We do not presume to prescribe panaceas to others, but we cannot possibly accept a denial of our own experience, namely, that an unbridled play of the forces of profit and acquisition can lead to confusion and anarchy in economic relations. In structurally weaker economies it leads inevitably to an unbalanced allocation of priorities, distorting the social fabric by widening disparities, heightening tensions and leading ultimately to destabilization. Particularly in the developing countries, the State is the main instrument of change and almost the sole repository of power. It would be very unfortunate indeed if State power were employed to support those who are already powerful in the society, resulting in a disequilibrium which inevitably would generate centrifugal forces that would tend to destroy the society itself. This is already threatening a number of recently emancipated societies. Such societies therefore need a structure wherein State power uncompromisingly stands by the powerless and maintains a balance between the underdog and those who have a long enough reach and strong enough hands to help themselves, no matter what. Within this over-all structure there ought to be full scope for individual initiative, entrepreneurship and a civilized, as opposed to anarchic, interaction of market forces. I have no doubt that this logic holds good in international economic relations as well.

8. The Charter of the United Nations is based upon the yearning of mankind for peace and prosperity: peace

which is not merely the absence of a shooting war and prosperity that is not the enrichment of one at the expense of others. We cannot remain indifferent witnesses to the crumbling of détente. The great Powers have long sought security through a balance of mutual vulnerability. Raising the level of deterrence is not going to add any further to their sense of security. Hence a search is on for new strategic partners and allies. I would like to be optimistic, but true optimism invariably has to be based on a realistic and objective assessment. The determined quest for new political and strategic arrangements on a global scale, with an almost callous disregard for the long-term interests of mankind, does not really leave much room for optimism.

9. We in India have asked ourselves some basic questions and found some answers to them. The philosophy behind the answers is a simple one and was beautifully articulated by Jawaharlal Nehru in a broadcast he made to the United States of America on 3 April 1948 from New Delhi. It was entitled "The Age of Crisis". He said:

"Today, fear consumes us all—fear of the future, fear of war, fear of the peoples of the nations we dislike and those who dislike us . . . But fear is an ignoble emotion and leads to blind strife. Let us try to get rid of this fear . . . and then gradually the crisis of the spirit will be resolved, the dark clouds that surround us may lift and the way to the evolution of the world based on freedom will be clear."

10. It is against this background that we see the destiny of India, both within, and in the world, more especially in our own region. Within India the reaffirmation of the policies set out by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has been accompanied by a renewed dedication to national reconstruction and the consolidation of a secular and pluralistic political system. The stresses and strains of the international economy have impinged upon various aspects of our own economic growth but have not shaken the self-confidence of our people. Our dedication to our chosen objectives, especially to self-reliance, remains undiminished. If the successful inauguration of the APPLE geostationary satellite by our scientists represents one frontier of India's efforts and achievements, the harnessing of animal power through redesigning the bullock cart or the grinding wheel is symbolic of another equally relevant application of technology.

11. Our self-reliance consists in trying to find solutions to our problems primarily according to our own genius. Our problems are basically simple—food, clothing, shelter, health and education. It is their sheer magnitude that is baffling, not their complexity. There are no psychosomatic ailments, no paranoia of any kind afflicting us. We will therefore persevere in our massive effort to lift ourselves up as a whole mass and not piecemeal, using methods and technology most relevant to our situation, ranging from the most sophisticated to the most simple, neglecting nothing useful because of its plainness, taking nothing irrelevant because of its dazzle. I am sure that many more developing countries now accept this pattern and that some of them have arrived at it by the circuitous and hard route of disillusionment arising from inappropriate models.

12. India's relations with its neighbours are based on a recognition of the fact that the interests of the countries are so linked that there is no reason for us to be on any

terms other than friendly. These relations are based on sovereign equality, a recognition of mutuality of interests and mutuality of perceptions to the extent possible. Where this mutuality does not obtain there is no undue keenness whatsoever to impose unwanted identities on one another. Whatever the depth of relationship at a given time, our sole interest is in promoting an environment of peace and stability that will enable all countries of the region to engage in fruitful development endeavours, avoiding outside influences.

13. Some constructive steps in the direction of strengthening regional co-operation among the States of South Asia have been considered. We are confident that, given a sense of realism and the requisite political will, such co-operation would be feasible in advancing the development of the countries in this region. I would like to pay a special tribute to the wisdom and foresight of former President Zia-ur-Rahman of Bangladesh for his dedicated efforts in this direction.

14. All countries in our region face similar economic problems, and we should devote our energies towards development and development alone. India wants to have strong and self-reliant neighbours, since we are convinced that this alone is in our interest. We are, however, gravely concerned by the deteriorating security environment in our region. While India does not find itself helpless in any way, we view with deep concern the possibility of the strategic calculations of outside Powers engulfing countries in our region.

15. We are committed to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We are committed to the principles of non-alignment. Our twin commitments in the field of foreign policy are based on the objective necessity to contribute in a positive manner towards the creation of a peaceful and co-operative world. In India today, I am glad to say, there is complete unanimity regarding the content and relevance of the policy of non-alignment and the principles of Pancha Shila. Our commitment to non-alignment has made us unafraid to stand by ourselves, if need be, on our own conviction, whenever a point of principle is involved.

16. More than two decades ago Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru spoke of the threat of the cold war coming to our doorstep. After a slight let-up, this threat seems once again to have come back today. Twenty years since its inception, the non-aligned movement once again faces a situation which calls for the utmost ingenuity and purposefulness. However, despite the changes in the environment tending to exert pressure on the movement itself, the non-aligned countries can still bring a semblance of sanity in international relations. No one has claimed or should ever claim that the non-aligned movement is a monolith. Its resilience and effectiveness, which unfortunately seem to be lost on some, are being recognized by more and more countries. It is not for nothing that every new independent nation promptly joins the non-aligned; the delicate plant of nascent freedom needs a non-aligned climate in order to grow and find its identity. Alignment saps it; alliances spell blight for it. It is a happy augury, both for the movement and for humanity as a whole, that on an increasingly large number of issues, such as decolonization, rejection of *apartheid*, the Middle East question, more equitable international economic relations, global interdependence and, we hope, many others that will

emerge in due course, there has come about an identity of views between the non-aligned and several non-non-aligned countries. We fervently hope that both the trend and the tribe will increase to a point where alignment ceases to be either fashionable or profitable.

17. I shall now briefly refer to some of the world's unresolved problems, whose number unfortunately tends only to increase with each succeeding session of the General Assembly. The most important of the problems is, of course, the very survival of mankind.

18. Nothing proves the unreality and mockery of international politics today so much as the failure of all attempts at disarmament. Despite this unreality, the world cannot afford to ignore the fateful implications of the arms race, particularly in its nuclear aspects, for the very future of life on this planet. Along with increasing levels of sophistication, new claims are being made regarding the possibility of waging "winnable" wars. On top of everything, we now have the neutron weapons. This development will set the stage for a qualitative jump in the nuclear arms race. While the Governments of the nuclear-weapon States ostensibly practice deterrence, the choice which they are presenting their own people with seems to be one of death by their own bombs or by those of the enemy. Most certainly, it is not a choice between death and survival. I have no doubt that in spite of the intense psychosis created by these Governments in a variety of ways, the people of the nuclear-weapon States themselves feel disaster in their bones all the time. It is time that this feeling finds increasing articulation and leads to active opposition before it is too late. It goes without saying that for the rest of mankind this is a matter of the greatest concern. The world cannot afford to permit any State or States to endanger the survival of all mankind. Peace-loving States should assume, in a more strident manner, the moral responsibility to urge nuclear disarmament on a high-priority basis.

19. The non-aligned countries have clearly and consistently stressed the primacy of their concern about nuclear issues. We are aware that each time there is a move to modernize a weapons system on one side, a corresponding mirror-image action is taken by the other, resulting in the escalation of fear, anxiety and suspicion in the whole world. Each upward spiral in the arms race becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. It is our sincere belief that this vicious cycle of action and response can be broken. We hope that the dialogue between the United States and the USSR which has just started will result in genuine and practical measures to give a fresh start in this respect. Meanwhile the world waits with bated breath, teetering on the brink of disaster.

20. The Indian Ocean is another theatre witnessing a great accumulation of sophisticated military hardware. This is in flagrant violation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace adopted in 1971 [resolution 2832(XXVI)], in which the General Assembly expressed opposition to the military presence of the great Powers in the context of their rivalry and calls for its elimination. There is an effort to divide the littoral and hinterland States. Arguments are being improvised to justify great-Power presences in the Indian Ocean area. There is a need for determined efforts to stop these moves, which ruin our security environment. Further, it needs to be reiterated that great-Power presences in the

Indian Ocean are unacceptable not only in the context of their rivalry but under any circumstances whatsoever. Were they to agree among themselves to stay put in this Ocean they would still be equally unwelcome. Together or separately, we want them out.

21. India has consistently expressed its disapproval of all kinds of outside intervention and interference in any country. We have unequivocally opposed the presence of foreign troops in any country and all countries. For us this includes Afghanistan, whereas, presumably, to some other countries this should apply only to Afghanistan. A running argument has ensued on this question, and those who started with condemnatory polemics have now come round to prefer a political solution on the lines of the New Delhi Declaration adopted by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries last February [see A/36/116 and Corr.1, annex], The Secretary-General is now considering the question and is currently engaged in removing the cobwebs to enable a dialogue between the countries concerned. We wish him well in this quest. Meanwhile, the people of Afghanistan can only hope devoutly that the Secretary-General's efforts may succeed; they have such a large stake in his success.

22. The people and Government of India are saddened by the continuation of the conflict between Iran and Iraq. This conflict has taken a heavy toll in life and property, leading inevitably to the retardation of developmental activities of both these non-aligned countries. On their part, the non-aligned have attempted to find an acceptable solution to the conflict and will continue their efforts in consonance with the mandate of the New Delhi Declaration.

23. India's ties with the countries of South-East Asia are based upon the closest social, cultural and intellectual links developed over the centuries. Having supported them in their struggle for independence, we cannot but be deeply interested in the developments in this region, particularly those affecting international peace and security in our own neighbourhood. We continue to be prepared to join in all constructive efforts aimed at seeking a peaceful solution to the problems of the region.

24. The people of Kampuchea have only just begun to emerge from the holocaust visited upon them by the Pol Pot régime in addition to the privations they had to endure earlier during the struggle of the peoples of Indo-China for national liberation, independence and sovereignty. They have just begun to look to the future with a semblance of hope and expectation. The prospects of famine and disease have receded. At this stage, the effort of the outside world should be to reassure the Kampuchean people that the process they have embarked upon will not be reversed and that their erstwhile persecutors will never be allowed to return and unleash once again a reign of terror upon them. It is, therefore, a great irony of the times that the same despotic régime should bring the stench of their genocidal acts into this august chamber in order to represent, as it were, their own victims in a bizarre inversion of the principles of the Charter. We still hope that before long wiser counsels will prevail. Indeed, at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs at New Delhi, it was clearly underlined that a comprehensive political solution should be found, providing for the withdrawal of all foreign forces and ensuring full respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all

States in the region, including Kampuchea. The interference and intervention of outside Powers in the region have exacerbated tensions and must be eliminated. We are convinced that this can be achieved only through a dialogue between the countries of the region.

25. The political situation in West Asia continues to smoulder as a result of Israel's adventurism and intransigence. If anything, it has been rendered more serious by Israel's arrogation to itself of the right to launch "pre-emptive" attacks against its neighbours, as happened recently in southern Lebanon, on the spurious pretext of safeguarding its own security. Similarly, the 7 June attack on and destruction of the Osirak atomic reactor by Israel F-16 aircraft—a reactor known to have been intended entirely for peaceful purposes—was an example of blatant aggression.

26. A just and comprehensive solution of the West Asian problem can be achieved only by ensuring the total and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from Arab territories occupied since 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable national right to self-determination, including the establishment of an independent Palestinian State, as well as the recognition of the right of all States in the area to live within recognized and secure boundaries. Such a peaceful solution cannot be attained without the full and equal participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the sole and authentic representative of the Palestinian people, in any settlement or negotiating process. We have already seen convincing evidence of the failure of a partial solution undertaken without the participation of the PLO.

27. The recent emergency special session on Namibia has served to focus the attention of the international community on the grave situation in southern Africa. The credibility of the United Nations will be seriously eroded if it is unable to secure freedom and justice for the people of Namibia. Only through an early implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) could the peaceful decolonization of Namibia be achieved. All attempts to dilute, modify or attenuate the details of the United Nations plan to which that resolution refers for any further purpose are unacceptable to the overwhelming majority of world opinion. The Government of India reiterates its full solidarity with the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] as the authentic representative of the Namibian people and will continue to extend moral and material support to it in its struggle for national liberation.

28. We had all hoped last year that the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea would successfully finalize a comprehensive convention. However, the Conference has since met twice and our hope has not yet been fulfilled. The Government of India is deeply concerned that the efforts of the Conference have been frustrated, creating uncertainty about its future. Some 150 countries have laboured hard for over eight years to arrive at an acceptable compromise package relating to the law of the sea which, in our opinion, serves the best interests of the community of nations as a whole. In this era of multilateral interdependence, national interests of one country cannot override the overwhelming interests of the entire international community. The resources of the international sea-bed area have been proclaimed the common heritage of mankind. An orderly and safe development

and rational management of these resources for the benefit of mankind as a whole are imperative necessities. We do hope that the Conference will successfully complete its task at Caracas in September 1982, without reopening any of the issues already settled.

29. All of us, each in a different way, have found that peace is stable only when prosperity is equitably shared. *Mutatis mutandis*, the same is equally true in the context of our global village, this little earth of ours. What are the mechanisms to be evolved so that the worthwhile things in life are within everyone's reach? That is what all of us are striving for in building a new international economic order in which production expands, labour is shared, and the products of labour are available to all, without pockets of misery or wasteful pockets of surpluses.

30. While there may be no simple solution to the global economic crisis, the erosion of a multilateral framework will certainly make the situation much worse. A withdrawal from the processes of international co-operation is bound to lead to increasing recourse to bilateralism. This was not the vision of the founding fathers of the Charter of the United Nations, to which every speaker before me has expressed an unqualified commitment. Total bilateralism at the expense of multilateral co-operation would run into alliances that may not be in the interest of harmonious relations and relaxation of tensions.

31. The attempts to erode the multilateral framework of economic co-operation appear even more indefensible in view of the rapid and continuing aggravation of the economic situation of most developing countries. Their terms of trade have further declined, and their exports have faced the rising walls of protectionism erected by several powerful industrialized countries. Food and energy have become more scarce. Balance of payments deficits are growing alarmingly, and external debt is assuming unmanageable proportions.

32. Developing countries are unable to improve their terms of trade when the wall of protectionism keeps rising in one form or another in response to every innovation that they make. Access to capital markets is practically blocked through artificially inflated interest rates. The result of all these phenomena, which are manipulated by a few centres of economic power and over which the developing countries have no control, becomes manifest in sluggish economic activity at home and further aggravates balance-of-payments and debt burdens.

33. Closely linked to this process is the role of the international financial institutions. Only a few months ago, at the second regular session for 1981 of the Economic and Social Council, we welcomed the many innovative mechanisms evolved by these institutions, making it possible for larger financial resources to become available to developing countries. I must note with some regret, however, that even while more rigorous conditionality has been maintained some of the progressive mechanisms of lending by these institutions have come into question in recent months. After the tremendous effort during the past decade to impart a greater and more effective developmental role to these institutions, this retrograde trend is most unfortunate. I would like to express my strong conviction that the achievements of the past decade and the progress made in making these institutions more respon-

sive to the needs of the developing countries should not be reversed or eroded.

34. I would also hope that the United Nations system will sincerely take serious measures to implement the policy measures defined in the International Development Strategy so that the goals and objectives of the Third United Nations Development Decade [resolution 35/56] are attained. The Strategy was adopted by consensus, and its goals and objectives are modest. If there is sincerity about interdependence, these modest goals should not be difficult to achieve.

35. The Caracas high-level conference of the Group of 77 made progress in a pragmatic manner in the field of economic co-operation amongst the developing countries. The attitude of the developed countries towards technical co-operation amongst the developing countries has not been negative, though not exactly enthusiastic. In both the South-South and the North-South context a number of proposals designed to alleviate the burden of oil-importing developing countries have been under consideration. It is necessary to devise an early action-oriented programme to solve this important problem in its various aspects. This has perhaps been delayed because of the failure to launch the global negotiations. The energy resources of the developing countries can be developed on the basis of a definitive expansion of the multilateral flow of public finances, about which interesting ideas have been adumbrated, including that of an energy affiliate of the World Bank. Both the objective and the urgency of these steps need to be underscored.

36. One of the major obstacles to a meaningful North-South dialogue so far is the widespread impression that on issues of resources and technology transfer it is the South that needs the North, without having much to offer in return. This is not a correct reflection of the situation. The intimate dependence of the economies of the North on world markets makes it impossible for them, as the Brandt Commission notes in its report,¹ to put even their own house in order if they forget the rest of the world. This is the lesson of the 1980s, which the North could ignore only at its own peril.

37. We would like to reiterate, therefore, that the international community should face squarely the reality of interdependence among nations. The benefits of strengthened international economic co-operation and the dangers inherent in the growing tendency towards isolation and protectionism need to be realized more in practice. This should be reflected in the full participation by all developed countries in the process of solving international economic issues in the context of North-South co-operation. There can be no exception or reservations to this process or any ground whatsoever—historical, ideological or merely rhetorical. While the task of apportioning blame should now appropriately belong to academic endeavour, all developed countries should put their shoulders to the wheel.

38. While saying this I am not underestimating the difficulties that willing Governments of the North would face in convincing their own people of the fact of interdependence in terms intelligible to the members of a self-sollicitous affluent society. The realization that the purchase of the next automobile by one family in a developed country would be truly dependent on the availability of the next

meal to another, starving family in a developing country is not easy to induce. Yet this is precisely the core of the concept of interdependence. The ancient Indian dictum which treats the whole world as one family seems to be on the verge of complete vindication in a very different context which none of the ancient sages had perhaps anticipated. Ancient intuition and modern scientific experience find a strange coincidence at this point.

39. Let there be no mistake. The United Nations, being the largest multilateral system, must have the capacity to provide the umbrella under which the urgent and complex task of restructuring international economic relations could and should be undertaken. From an almost purely political institution, the system has gradually come to grapple with complex economic issues lying in the bowels of international relations today. A successful launching of the global negotiations on major economic issues and a coherent and integrated framework in the spirit of mutual benefit will constitute the real success of the United Nations system. We reiterate, therefore, that this process should be started without further delay.

40. We are today on the eve of the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, to be held at Cancún, which will bring together leaders of some developed and developing countries to enable a better understanding of each other's perceptions, achieve a real meeting of minds and generate the requisite political impetus to make hopefully a determined assault on all questions concerning international economic relations. The growing frustration and cynicism generated over the years by frequent setbacks to every North-South exercise represent a dangerous trend. We, for our part, will continue our serious commitment to work tirelessly and ceaselessly to reverse this trend. We wish godspeed to the Cancún conclave.

41. In the course of the general debate so far, we have heard several statements which rekindle one's faith in the desire of the North to engage in a mutually advantageous dialogue with the South. I was particularly heartened by the question posed by the Minister for External Relations of France in his statement before the General Assembly on 23 September when he said: "But how often do you hear it acknowledged . . . that the progress of the North-South dialogue is a prerequisite for world progress and perhaps even for world peace?" [9th meeting, para. 26.] He himself provided the answer with characteristic finesse: "The South has become part of the life of the North." [Ibid, para. 27.]

42. I would like to join whole-heartedly in this statement, as well as in similar inspiring statements made by several colleagues from other developed countries. These pronouncements are indeed refreshing trend-setters, inasmuch as they seek to demolish the hitherto impregnable North-South divide. North and South must, therefore, share the same objectives, as their destinies are intertwined. Together, we can make sure that while following our paths, we can contribute to each other's prosperity as well as security, provided we follow the logic of peaceful co-operation and steer clear of the twin mistakes of isolation and confrontation.

43. Mr. MLADENOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, please accept my congratulations on your election to the high post of President of the

thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly and my wishes for success in your responsible work.

44. Allow me also to congratulate the representatives of Vanuatu and Belize on the admission of their States to membership of the United Nations.

45. The current session of the General Assembly is taking place in an extremely complicated international situation, characterized by a dangerous intensification of tension in the world. The question now is in which direction humanity will proceed: whether along the road to easing tension, maintaining and further developing détente and strengthening international peace and security; or along the road to militarism and confrontation, which would lead to a devastating nuclear catastrophe. That situation predicates a special role for the United Nations, whose basic task is to serve as an effective instrument for ensuring peaceful co-existence and co-operation among States.

46. The causes for the aggravation of the international situation are the actions of militaristic circles of the United States, which have resurrected their claims to world supremacy and have stated their intention to resolve world problems from a position of strength. They are now attempting to upset the established strategic balance, to obtain military superiority over the countries of the socialist community and to acquire dominating positions on a global scale.

47. In order to conceal their adventurist intentions they are whipping up a slanderous campaign about the myth of the so-called Soviet military threat and encouraging distrust and hostile attitudes towards the socialist countries. At the same time they are continuing their unprecedented military build-up and provoking a new round of the arms race. With the decision to deploy new American medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe and to produce the neutron weapon, which is designed chiefly for Europe, the old continent has been assigned the fate of being the theatre of a devastating nuclear war.

48. The United States is increasing its military presence in various parts of the world. Entire regions, thousands of kilometres away from the United States, are declared "spheres of vital American interests". A rapid deployment force has been created, existing military bases are being enlarged and modernized and new ones are being built. The disarmament talks are being stalled and existing agreements in that field are being undermined. The doctrine of the possibility of waging a limited nuclear war is extremely dangerous in that respect.

49. Certain circles in the United States are doing everything possible to involve their allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] in carrying out their own militaristic plans.

50. The imperialist forces are attempting to raise barriers to halt the progressive changes in a number of States in Asia, Africa and Latin America, pursuing a policy of blackmail and provocation, interfering in their internal affairs and threatening to use force. They openly support reactionary dictatorship régimes, which conduct a policy of mass terror against their own peoples. The forces of imperialism are doing everything possible to check the liberation struggle of peoples; they take the liberty of describing national liberation movements as international ter-

rorism and, under the guise of combating terrorism, they are trying to stifle the legitimate aspirations of peoples to freedom, independence and social progress.

51. Of course, the aggressive policy of imperialism cannot bring about a peaceful, just and lasting settlement of the existing conflicts. On the contrary, it exacerbates them and creates new crises and new hotbeds of tension.

52. An unseemly role in that dangerous game is being played by the Peking hegemonists, who are entering into open military and political collusion with the most reactionary forces of imperialism.

53. Those are only a few of the most substantive aspects of the present situation, which is cause for concern and anxiety on our part. However, we believe that there are no grounds for pessimism. The situation is indeed complex, but not hopeless. Besides those forces which have worsened the international situation, there exist certain factors in the world which continue to exert a stabilizing influence upon international developments and which contribute to the maintenance of peace and actively counteract the danger of war. The most powerful of those factors is the will of millions of people who are vitally interested in preserving the life and peaceful future of the present and succeeding generations.

54. A way out of the present complicated situation would be to hold a wide-ranging and frank dialogue on all contentious issues of international relations, based on the principles of equality, equal security and mutual respect for the interests involved. We are deeply convinced that there is no problem which cannot be solved through negotiations.

55. As Todor Zhivkov, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, stated recently:

"... what we need now is a dialogue, not confrontation; a dialogue between the USSR and the United States; a dialogue between the East and the West; a dialogue between States, parties, politicians and nations; a dialogue seeking ways of preventing war, safeguarding peace and promoting détente, co-operation and disarmament."

56. A sound basis for such a dialogue is to be found in the Programme for Peace adopted by the twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the peaceful initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union, the proposals made by States parties to the Warsaw Treaty and the constructive ideas formulated at the Crimea meetings of the heads of the countries of the socialist community. Such is also the essence of the concrete proposals set forth by the twelfth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

57. The acceleration of the arms race and the constant increase of expenditures on the production of weapons of mass destruction have reached such dimensions as to render very real the threat of a world catastrophe. The elimination of that threat is the cardinal problem which must be solved by States and by Government leaders as well as by the international community, which is becoming increasingly aware of the aggressive and inhuman nature of

the present policy of the forces of militarism and is ever more resolutely protesting against it. The protest movement in Europe has become particularly widespread. The European nations categorically oppose turning our continent into an arena for a devastating nuclear war.

58. Naturally, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as a European country, is vitally interested in preventing that danger. We call for a successful conclusion to the Madrid meeting and for the convening of a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe. Significant possibilities for progress in the field of military détente are provided by the readiness of the Soviet Union to have confidence-building measures extend over the entire European territory of the country, provided that the Western States also agree correspondingly to extend their zone of confidence-building measures. Creating nuclear-weapon-free zones on the European continent and turning the Mediterranean into a region of lasting peace and co-operation could also be a substantial contribution to strengthening security throughout the world.

59. The implementation of the NATO decision to station new American medium-range missiles in Western Europe will upset the present military balance not only from a tactical but also from a strategic point of view. When speaking about balance, we must not forget the forward-based American nuclear weapons as well as those nuclear weapons deployed aboard airplanes and aircraft carriers. That is why we have repeatedly called for immediate negotiations to limit nuclear weapons in Europe, and we welcome the agreement reached a few days ago between the Soviet Union and the United States to begin such negotiations.

60. The new neutron menace must be nipped in the bud. We resolutely support the complete prohibition of that barbaric weapon.

61. The socialist countries are making every effort to achieve specific results at the Vienna talks for the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. To that end, it is necessary for the Western States to abandon their unconstructive approach and to show political willingness so that progress can be made at those negotiations.

62. The continuation of the SALT process is also an urgent necessity, dictated by the interests not only of the Soviet Union and the United States, but indeed those of all countries of the world.

63. The call by the Soviet Union for a restraint in the field of strategic armaments and for the continuation of talks on their limitation, while preserving everything positive reached in that field thus far, is specifically designed to serve that purpose.

64. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is of the opinion that among the multitude of disarmament issues the problem of nuclear disarmament is of paramount importance. To arrive at a radical solution of the problem, it is necessary immediately to begin talks on the termination of the manufacture of all types of nuclear weapons and the gradual reduction of their stocks until they are completely eliminated. At the same time, however, it is necessary to continue those efforts aimed at the final removal of the danger of the further proliferation of nuclear weapons, the

complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapons tests, the non-introduction of nuclear weapons into the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present, and the strengthening of the security guarantees of non-nuclear-weapons States.

65. In that connection, the People's Republic of Bulgaria fully supports the proposal of the Soviet Union to include in the agenda of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly an item entitled "Prevention of nuclear catastrophe: declaration of the General Assembly".² The adoption of a declaration on that question would block the way of those who would thoughtlessly push mankind into a thermonuclear conflict.

66. The proposal by the Soviet Union to conclude a treaty on the prohibition of the stationing of weapons of any kind in outer space [*agenda item 128*] also contributes to the task of curbing the arms race. Outer space can and must remain an arena to be used only for the peaceful endeavours of States for its exploration and utilization in the interest of all mankind. My country is making its own contribution to that process.

67. An active role in speeding up talks on the urgent questions concerning the limitation of the arms race can and, indeed, must be played by the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. That could pave the way for the holding of a world disarmament conference.

68. My country attaches particular importance to the idea of converting the region of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, as well as to the well-known proposals for ensuring peace and guaranteeing security in the region of the Persian Gulf.

69. We welcome the readiness of the Soviet Union to reach an agreement with interested countries in the Far East on confidence-building measures in that important region. We also welcome the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic for the conclusion of a convention on mutual non-aggression and renunciation of force in relations between the States of Asia and the Pacific [*see A/36/388*].

70. The eradication of hotbeds of tension and conflict, as well as the peaceful settlement of crises in various parts of the world, are of great importance in improving the international situation and enhancing international security.

71. The People's Republic of Bulgaria reaffirms its consistent position of principle with regard to the settlement of the Cyprus question by peaceful means, in the interests of the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots, while preserving the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and policy of non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

72. Certain imperialist circles are to blame for the fact that the Middle East crisis continues to deteriorate and to threaten peace and security in the world as a whole. Israel is continuing its aggression against Lebanon and is blackmailing Syria and Libya, and it carried out a piratical raid against the nuclear research centre in Iraq. Those actions add heat to an already complex situation in the Middle East.

73. More and more people now realize that the Camp David deals have no future. It is abundantly clear that a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem can only be reached through the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine and, above all, their right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State, and the guaranteeing of the sovereignty, security and independence of all States of that region. Such a comprehensive solution could be reached at a special international conference, with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

74. My country calls for a settlement of the conflict between Iraq and Iran through negotiations.

75. We resolutely insist on the ending of the outside interference in the affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and we favour the provision of guarantees that such interference will not be repeated. The problems surrounding Afghanistan can be settled by a political solution on the basis of the proposals made by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on 24 August 1981 [A/36/457].

76. It is essential to put a stop to Chinese aggression against the countries of Indo-China. The People's Republic of Bulgaria supports the proposal of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea to turn South-East Asia into a zone of peace, stability and co-operation [A/36/86] and to solve existing problems on a regional basis through negotiations.

77. We categorically reject any attempt to interfere in the domestic affairs of Kampuchea. The people of that country have already made their choice and no power can divert them from the chosen path. The existing political realities and the norms of international law require that the People's Republic of Kampuchea be represented in the United Nations and other international organizations by their legitimate representatives who have been duly elected by their peoples.

78. Bulgaria supports the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a peaceful solution of the Korean question.

79. My country resolutely condemns the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and South Africa's aggressive acts against Angola and other African States. South Africa's provocative conduct is a direct result of the assistance given to Pretoria by certain imperialist States. The People's Republic of Bulgaria fully supports the decisions of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, as well as those of the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly, on Namibia. We reaffirm our solidarity with the people of Namibia in their struggle to exercise their right to self-determination and independence under the leadership of SWAPO.

80. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has always been and will continue to be on the side of those peoples fighting for national independence against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

81. An important task of the present day is the reconstruction of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. The achievement of that reconstruction depends directly on the developing and deepening of the process of détente and on the implementation of genuine measures of disarmament and measures to strengthen peace and security.

82. Together with the other countries of the socialist community, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has always sided with newly liberated States in their struggle for economic independence, for the elimination of exploitation and inequitable relations inherited from colonialism and imperialism, for the consolidation of their national independence and for the attainment of true national sovereignty that will guarantee their right to control their own natural resources.

83. We consider that the United Nations is precisely the body in which it is possible to reach an effective solution of the broad and complex range of problems pertaining to international economic relations.

84. The solution of the problems of the present day necessitates the co-operation of all democratic, peace-loving and progressive forces. In this respect, an important role is being played by the non-aligned movement, which, through its struggle against imperialism, colonialism, war and aggression, exerts a positive influence on the development of the contemporary international situation.

85. The position of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on some of the most important questions of the present international situation is a direct reflection of the consistent foreign policy of my country, inspired as it is by the humane principles and ideals of struggling for peace and understanding among peoples. That policy stems from the very nature of the socialist system and from the fact that the People's Republic of Bulgaria is an inseparable part of the socialist community.

86. The peaceful policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria also underlies its relations with its neighbours. My country will continue in the future to do everything in its power in order to turn the Balkan Peninsula into a zone of good-neighbourliness, understanding and co-operation and into a factor making for peace in Europe and in the world. Further evidence of this is to be found in the constructive proposals which Todor Zhivkov, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, made from the rostrum of the twelfth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

87. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is ready to sign bilateral agreements with its neighbours which would cover a code of good-neighbourly relations, the renunciation of territorial claims and the use of the territories of the contracting parties for any hostile purposes and actions against each other, and readiness to develop bilateral relations in various spheres, as well as co-operation on a multilateral basis with the other Balkan countries on matters of mutual interest in those specific spheres where understanding has already been reached. The idea of establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Balkans also aims at enhancing peace and security in our peninsula.

88. This year we commemorate the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of our State. Our thirteen-century-long history is one of struggle, striving and aspiration by the best minds of Bulgaria in the interest of a better life, freedom and justice. The greatest achievement in its history was the triumph of the socialist revolution 37 years ago, when our people became the true master of its own destiny.

89. The Bulgaria of today views its future with optimism. For us there is no objective loftier or more precious than peace and social progress. The People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to pursue a consistently peaceful and constructive policy aimed at preserving and developing détente, strengthening international security and broadening understanding and co-operation among all countries and peoples in full conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

90. It is precisely to the achievement of those objectives that the efforts of the People's Republic of Bulgaria will be directed.

91. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Assembly will now hear an address by His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hassan Ibn Talal of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. I have great pleasure in welcoming him and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

92. Crown Prince HASSAN (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Sir, I should like first to express my sincere congratulations to you on your election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. That election is a sign of the high regard in which your personal accomplishments are held and of your country's important role in strengthening international understanding and in cementing genuine co-operation among nations. I am confident that your contribution to the achievement of a positive outcome to the deliberations of this session will be enhanced by your personal qualities and wide experience.

93. I wish also to express my thanks and appreciation for the efforts of your predecessor, Mr. von Wechmar, of the Federal Republic of Germany, which is bound to my own country, Jordan, by strong bonds of friendship, mutual respect and co-operation. His valuable contribution as President of the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session helped significantly to foster the atmosphere of positive dialogue which characterized the work of the session.

94. It also gives me great pleasure to acknowledge the considerable efforts of the Secretary-General aimed at lessening global tensions and increasing the chances for peace in all parts of the world.

95. It is also my pleasure on this occasion to express our warm congratulations to Belize and Vanuatu on their accession to independence and to membership in the international family of nations, which associates them with the creation of a better international community in which peace and prosperity prevail.

96. A close examination of the current world situation clearly reveals a divergence between the commonly shared hopes for a world ruled by peace and justice and the existing reality, where power rules and the politics of fait accompli dominate.

97. There are countries which feel justified in adopting a policy based on the creation of spheres of influence and the use of power politics for solving problems. That is due partly to the lack of moral content in their decision-making process. Absence of moral commitment to seek security through peaceful means increases the dependence of those Powers on the enlargement of their arsenals of destructive weapons. The search for an unattainable absolute security makes those countries forget that absolute security for some means lack of security for others.

98. The arms race, which involves vast world expenditures averaging \$450 billion annually, very seriously increases tension. It forces many developing countries to allocate huge segments of their limited incomes for defence purposes at the expense of their economic and social development.

99. Disarmament is basic and vital to world security and peace. We appreciate all the efforts and resolutions adopted and implemented in that field by the United Nations in past years. We all hope that at the second special session devoted to disarmament, to be held next year, the General Assembly will achieve substantial progress in that area. It would protect humanity from a grave danger and would safeguard developing countries against being drawn into conflicts and struggles for influence which threaten their very existence and survival.

100. Here I am referring in particular to the dangers that threaten our Middle East region as a result of Israel's accumulation of a major arsenal of both conventional and nuclear weapons. Items 46 and 56 of the agenda of this session are concerned, respectively, with the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East and the dangers stemming from Israeli nuclear armament.

101. Consideration of those items in the Assembly is an indication that we have realized the dimensions of the danger threatening the Middle East because of nuclear armament by Israel aimed at imposing hegemony through aggression in the region. Israel has refused to sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and has further refused to allow the specialized international organizations concerned to inspect its nuclear installations. We in the Middle East regard the United Nations and the Charter as the proper framework within which should fall any arrangement for making the Middle East a nuclear-weapon-free zone. Such a step should lead to the halting of the Israeli nuclear programme, with its sinister objectives, saving the region from the horrors of the use of these destructive weapons.

102. The second important issue for the present and the future of the contemporary world is the creation of a new and more just international economic order which would conform to the aspirations of a majority of the peoples of the world and which would contribute to raising their standard of living. It is clear that the problems facing international economic relations have reached such a critical stage, as Jordan pointed out to the Assembly in the previous session [25th meeting], that the very survival and continuation of the human race depend on their speedy solution.

103. An objective view clearly reveals that poverty, ignorance and disease are rife in many communities, as well as drought that regularly threatens life in many na-

tions in Asia and Africa. The dangers caused by this situation and its tragic human dimension have failed to move the political will of the rich nations adequately to confront these challenges. They have also fallen far short of creating the basis for a new moral order based on justice, fair treatment and co-operation among nations.

104. My country is conscious of the essential role the United Nations should play in evolving a major change in present international economic relations. We need to develop criteria to regulate international relations on an equitable basis for an acceptable pattern of world trade. It is unfair that developing countries have to import industrialized goods at ever-rising prices, while they sell their raw materials at comparatively lower prices.

105. The situation also calls for an immediate solution to the energy problem and the spiraling costs involved. The United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, held last August at Nairobi, constituted the first concrete step towards dealing with this very important issue. It highlighted the need to provide sources of energy for projects in developing countries, thus reducing the financial burden on their economies.

106. Furthermore, we need to use modern technology in order to provide for a comprehensive international food security programme. This will help to eradicate hunger and overcome the problems involving low agricultural production and creeping desertification and will help land reclamation and water resource development.

107. Within this framework any practical formula designed to set up co-operation between developed and developing countries has to take into consideration the importance of establishing a "technology bank" in order to transfer to the developing countries all aspects of technology from the industrialized world. Such a bank would also facilitate technical co-operation between the developing countries themselves.

108. We also hope that a well-thought-out programme within a structured framework to which all nations can subscribe will arise out of the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development to be held next month at Cancún, within the framework of the North-South dialogue.

109. The third issue I should like to discuss, among the many important subjects submitted for discussion during this session, is the aspiration of many peoples for self-determination and for independence from foreign domination which impedes their legitimate hopes for a better future. In line with our Arab and Islamic heritage and our belief in the absolute right of peoples to liberty and independence, Jordan supports the struggle of the people of South Africa. We call upon the international community to exert further pressure upon those who aid and abet the racist South African régime. The *apartheid* policy of South Africa must end, as should its aggression against neighbouring countries. South Africa must end its occupation of Namibia and abide by United Nations resolutions, specifically, Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The international community should put an end to the aggressive South African-Israeli co-operation in the political, economic, military and cultural fields. As a result of nuclear co-operation, these ties pose a direct threat

to the peoples of Africa and the Arab world, as well as to international peace and security.

110. It is in the context of self-determination that Jordan views the situation in Afghanistan, Eritrea and Namibia and calls for the implementation of Security Council resolutions which demand non-interference in the internal affairs of nations and affirm the right of all peoples to self-determination in full freedom. Jordan also calls for a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem, particularly through the efforts of the United Nations to ensure its unity, independence and non-alignment.

111. I mentioned earlier some of the general issues which face the world of today and which will threaten the future of mankind unless they are addressed adequately and with genuine concern by the international community. Another important and grave issue, in addition to those I have mentioned, is the Middle East problem, at the base of which is the tragedy of the Palestinian people and their land.

112. I do not wish to go into the details of that issue, which is 33 years old. His Majesty King Hussein of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, in his two speeches to the General Assembly—in 1967,³ immediately after Israel treacherously occupied the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Sinai and the Golan Heights, and again in 1979—adequately dealt with the various aspects of this problem, its evolution and its implications. Therefore I will not bore delegations with repetition. In his 1967 speech, His Majesty was the first to underline that real peace can be built only on justice, if it is to lead to the achievement of the desired objective. He concluded his second speech as follows:

"If I have spoken at length about the problems of our region, it is because they are fateful problems affecting the life and future of my nation and touch in a very direct manner on the peace of the world."⁴

The Palestinian problem has become the concern of the world at large and has commanded the attention and efforts of the United Nations as has no other problem.

113. Israel occupied the greater part of the land of Palestine in 1948, dispersed its people and suppressed its character and political identity. After its aggression of 5 June 1967, Israel occupied, as it still does, all the land of Palestine as well as a part of other Arab lands. A quick glance at the map of the area shows the difference between what the United Nations accepted in 1947 as the territory of Israel in General Assembly resolution 181 (II) and what that territory is today. It goes without saying that Israel has violated the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions of the Organization, which accepted Israel as a member on condition that it implement resolutions 181 (II) of 1947 and 194 (III) of 1948. Israel did not consider it enough to drive the Palestinians out of their own land as refugees and displaced persons or to persecute them under its occupation, but has sought deliberately to change the identity of the Arab and Palestinian land which it occupied as a result of the aggression of 1967. Israel is intensifying its settlement efforts and has filled its new settlements with settlers from elsewhere; it has confiscated Arab public and private property as well as water and other natural resources and placed them at the disposal of those new settlers. Israel has challenged

international law by its unswerving political decision to Judaize and annex Arab Jerusalem. It continues, through the actions and public statements of its leaders, to pursue total annexation of occupied Palestinian lands on the basis of unjustifiable ancient mythical claims.

114. The Arab people living under occupation, who resist the Zionist plans for annexation with great heroism, are subjected to severe punishment comparable to the worst used throughout human history. Under Israeli military occupation the Palestinians have suffered mass punishment, the demolition of their houses and the exile or physical liquidation of their leaders. Israel has even forbidden the municipalities and village councils to receive aid and support in order to develop their localities and offer basic services to the population. As a result of this measure, which has halted the activities of public services and administration, the population has been left without the necessary resources by either the occupation authorities or their fellow Arabs. The occupation authorities are linking the economy of the occupied Arab territories to that of Israel, thus forcing the Palestinians to leave their land so that Israel may accommodate new settlers on it and consequently annex the occupied Arab territories to the Zionist entity.

115. Israel would not be able to continue in its aggressive and expansionist policy or to challenge international law without the total political, economic and military support it receives from certain countries, in particular the United States of America. United States support for Israel has enabled it to continue to occupy Arab lands, challenge the will of the international community, violate the resolutions of the United Nations and cause instability and insecurity in the region.

116. United States support for Israel is based on the claim that the United States is committed to ensuring the security of Israel, a claim about which the United States has so far failed to be totally precise. Is the United States committed to the Israel of the 1947 Partition Plan, or the Israel of the armistice of 1948 or the Israel of 1967? The United States support for Israel on such an ambiguous basis and Israel's alteration of the basic features of Arab lands are understood by the Arabs to mean that the United States is committed to an expansionist Israel at Arab expense.

117. The continuous supply of advanced weaponry to Israel on the false Western assumption that it will provide security for Israel is proving to be largely counter-productive. It is the Israeli arsenal, including nuclear capability, that constitutes a direct threat to stability and peace in the region and in the world at large. The recent agreement between Israel and the United States involving strategic co-operation and complementary arrangements has increased the dangers of polarization. It also adds to the doubts and fears of the Arab nation and increases the existing dangers. This continuing and total support for Israel has encouraged it to expand its sphere of aggression in the area. To it can be attributed what Israel has achieved in a short span of time.

118. First, the Zionist entity has annexed Arab Jerusalem despite international objections and condemnation and despite the reverence in which all peoples and religions, whether Christian, Moslem or Jewish, hold the Holy City.

119. Secondly, it has initiated the Mediterranean-Dead Sea canal project. This signifies continued Israeli expansion without any consideration for the sovereignty of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan or the harm it will cause the latter's economic and social programmes. It also prejudices Palestinian rights in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This project, which Israel intends to execute, is a direct threat to the security and peace of the area, the more so since it not only invites new settlers but envisages the construction of nuclear plants along the new canal, thus augmenting Israel's existing nuclear capacity. The resolution adopted by the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy⁵ held at Nairobi last August firmly condemns Israel's action and opposes its aggressive plans. It is our hope that that first step will be followed by further action by the General Assembly in order to consolidate efforts in opposition to that aggressive project.

120. Thirdly, Israel continues to interfere in Lebanon, thus intensifying the suffering of our sister country. The continuous Israeli efforts are aimed at dismembering Lebanon and at occupying the south of the country, with its water resources. We all vividly remember the victims of the savage Israeli air strikes against residential areas and Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut and southern Lebanon last July.

121. Fourthly, Israel committed an unprecedented violation of international law by attacking Iraq's nuclear installation last June, after Iraq had announced the peaceful purpose and use of its nuclear installation, which was regularly open for inspection by IAEA. The peaceful purpose of the installation was re-emphasized by the Director General of IAEA in his report to the Security Council last June.⁶ Furthermore, while Iraq is a signatory to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, Israel refuses either to sign that Treaty or to allow inspection of its own nuclear facilities.

122. In contrast to Israel's belligerence in attempting to control the Middle East, there is a sincere Jordanian and Arab desire for peace built on justice that will lead to stability for the Middle East region as a whole.

123. Jordan, which has experienced the full dimensions of the tragedy of the Palestinians and their land and has suffered its consequences owing to unjust international practices, firmly supports, together with all other Arab countries, the international initiatives on the Palestinian and Middle East problems. Our co-operation with Mr. Gunnar Jarring was total and genuine, as was our participation in the Geneva Conference of 1973. Jordan also welcomed the joint Soviet-United States communiqué of 1 October 1977 and the Venice Declaration of June 1980⁷ as positive steps in the right direction. In the same spirit we welcomed the Soviet call for an international conference to discuss these problems, with the participation on a basis of equality of all the parties concerned, including the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

124. Jordan's position springs from the consensus on national principles adopted by the Arab summit conferences in Baghdad, Tunis and Amman, which emphasized the Arabs' demand for justice and peace in the framework of their commitment to the attainment of a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East

and for the implementation of the basic principles of the United Nations and the Security Council as enunciated in resolutions calling for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the Arab lands occupied in 1967, including Arab Jerusalem, and a guarantee of respect for the national rights of the Arab Palestinian people. Those rights include the right to self-determination and an independent State on Palestinian national soil and a guarantee of the security and stability of all the States of the region.

125. It is with this clear and positive outlook that we are ready to co-operate in any sincere initiative aimed at finding a just and comprehensive solution to the Palestinian and Middle East problem. We have rejected any attempts at achieving a unilateral peace through partial solutions that benefit only one side. Accordingly, we have clearly and consistently rejected the Camp David agreements, which ignore the core of the problem and the most elementary inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and which take no account of the minimum basic requirements for a comprehensive and just solution. Furthermore, those agreements have strengthened Israel's intransigence and encouraged it to defy the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, which should be binding upon all States.

126. Another issue related to the security and stability of the region in which we live is the continuing war between Iran and Iraq. This armed conflict has caused great sadness in Jordan, as it involves a confrontation between two brother Islamic States. Jordan's position is based on the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and its resolutions and on international law. Furthermore, it emanates from a national Arab commitment whereby Jordan stands by Iraq in its defence of its legitimate national rights over its lands and waterways and stands by Arab interests in the Gulf region. However, Jordan still hopes that the Islamic Republic of Iran will respond positively to Iraq's offer of peace, as well as to the efforts of other Islamic and international mediators and, in particular, that it will accept the role of the special envoy of the Secretary-General and the non-aligned nations. These efforts, we hope, will resolve the conflict and bring peace while safeguarding the rights of each party. The principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries must be respected within a policy of good-neighbourly relations based on international law.

127. We appreciate fully the positive resolutions adopted by the various international organizations, such as the group of Islamic States, the non-aligned movement and the OAU, as well as by peace-loving Member States either through their regional conferences or in the General Assembly. We consider the stands taken by these organizations and States as a principal source of the legitimacy of our rights, and the justice they invoke is a clear condemnation of Israel's policies, mentioned earlier, which place hurdles in the way of peace.

128. There is no doubt that the peace and security of the world depend largely on achieving peace and security in the Middle East. Should its present instability be allowed to continue, it will threaten the entire human race with destruction, in view of super-Power polarization in seeking to control our vital region.

129. If the human race is to maintain its claim of being civilized, then it is imperative that humanitarian principles

be the cornerstone of this claim. An internationally recognized framework of comprehensive humanitarian principles should govern relations among peoples and nations in times of war and of peace. It should have a built-in monitoring system and should become the basis for the solution of problems of refugees and displaced persons, poverty, illiteracy, terrorism and other issues that are detrimental to the progress of mankind.

130. I should like to propose to the Assembly the promotion of a new international humanitarian order parallel to the efforts being made in the economic and other fields. Before dealing with economic and political problems, let man learn to be more human. I believe that just as the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights has become the springboard for a number of international covenants and legal principles, this comprehensive international humanitarian order may offer a new impetus for a code of conduct in human and international relations of which we are so desperately in need. In this connection I quote from the Holy Koran:

"Oh thou man! Verily thou art ever toiling on towards thy Lord—painfully toiling—but thou shalt meet Him."

131. Jordan is willing to co-operate with you, Mr. President, and with the General Assembly in crystallizing this idea and translating it into reality.

132. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hassan Ibn Talal of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan for his important statement.

133. The Assembly will now hear a statement by the First Vice-President of the Supreme Military Council and Commissioner for External Affairs of Equatorial Guinea, Mr. Florencio Maye Ela Mengue. I have great pleasure in welcoming him and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

134. Mr. MAYE ELA MENGUE (*Equatorial Guinea*) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Sir, it is a particularly great privilege for me to have the opportunity to join with the eminent speakers who have preceded me in extending congratulations on your election to conduct the proceedings of this session. I am convinced that your recognized ability and experience as a politician and diplomat will fully guarantee successful results in our work. Likewise, I must express to the Secretary-General our sincere appreciation for his selfless efforts for consistent achievement of the objectives and purposes of the United Nations.

135. I wish to state from this rostrum the special satisfaction with which Equatorial Guinea greets the new States that have recently joined the great international community of free nations. I wish to refer especially to the Republic of Vanuatu, which recently became independent and was the one hundred and fifty-fifth Member admitted to the Organization, and Belize, which on 21 September acceded to national sovereignty and is today the one hundred and fifty-sixth Member of the United Nations.

136. My country, which considers that the independence of these two States strengthens the ranks of the countries

of the third world in their struggle to bring about a more just and equitable world, is extremely pleased to extend its congratulations and its complete support to both Governments on the understanding that they will join all who are striving for peace and equal progress in respect and understanding for all the peoples of the world.

137. We are well aware that the present session is taking place at a time of crucial and decisive events created by the present crisis in international relations. This factual state of affairs requires, therefore, the adoption during this session of objective and concrete measures which can be implemented. Our concern is understandable, since the non-implementation of many of our resolutions on crucial and obviously serious situations leads to a lessening of the credibility and thus the effectiveness of the United Nations, which nevertheless remains the major source of hope for our States, particularly since the present world situation clearly shows that international peace and security have never been so seriously threatened. In the midst of such deterioration, it is obvious that the role of the United Nations must become a more effective one if we do not want to be helpless witnesses to a new world conflagration with consequences that would be as unpredictable for the human species as they would be deadly. In the opinion of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, the world situation imposes and requires a global view of problems. It is hardly realistic today to characterize and regionalize international tensions, since the crisis affecting us is general and multifaceted. Accordingly, we believe that the time has come to review, not only within the Organization but also by the means available to each of our countries, the methods and procedures by which the present international crisis can best be resolved.

138. This new direction is all the more important in that the world scenario in which we act is increasingly complex, and a growing number of countries like the Republic of Equatorial Guinea see in the United Nations a secure, continuing and decisive guarantee of the maintenance of our national independence and an essential basis for the solution of international problems.

139. We wish to state that peace, security and the creation of more just and equitable international political relations are an inseparable part of the global policy being developed by the Government of the Supreme Military Council. Thus, the political philosophy of my Government is founded on adherence to the principle of the indivisible character of world peace. In its external policy, therefore, my Government fully shares and supports efforts designed to safeguard and consolidate world peace and security. Yet, we must recognize with regret that that peace and security will not be achieved as long as they are at the mercy of fear and distrust, the arms race among the Powers, the policy of spheres of influence and exacerbation of the cold war, nor can they be achieved as long as we do not succeed in replacing with dialogue and negotiation the confrontation and wars that afflict thousands of human beings in various regions of our planet.

140. My Government views with deep concern the obstacles that exist to true disarmament that is both general and complete. In this connection, we advocate the effective implementation of United Nations resolutions on the non-nuclearization of the African continent, the Indian Ocean and other zones in the world.

141. In the course of the discussions during this session of the General Assembly we have listened with great relief on behalf of our nations and peoples to some statements by the principal nuclear Powers in which they have expressed their readiness and their conviction not only that United Nations resolutions on the limitation of nuclear weapons should be implemented, but that all means available to them should be employed to spare mankind from a possible nuclear tragedy.

142. We believe we speak on behalf of all countries whose primary concerns are the well-being and progress of their peoples when we say that we welcome such statements with a special hope, and we make an appeal that they should not remain mere political statements or expressions of good intentions on the part of those nations, but that reason and sanity will once and for all succeed where resolutions have failed. The world and mankind need this, for a nuclear war would not mean the victory of one country over another but the destruction of mankind by man himself.

143. When we speak of a better future for our children, we are faced with the contradictory question whether we shall be able to create a paradise among the flames.

144. Equatorial Guinea looks with a feeling of impotence at the disconcerting future that looms before us, for it is true that we cannot speak of a peaceful future when human beings of our generation are scattered throughout the world seeking shelter. Palestine continues to be an illusion because no place exists for it as a country. Lebanon is fed by flames and reduced to ruins. Two other peoples, Iran and Iraq, are testing their warlike policies at the sacrifice of their populations, sowing their fields with the blood of their children. With a total absence of sanity, the Arab territories continue to be occupied, while Kampuchea and Afghanistan regress from freedom to slavery. In like manner, the world witnesses the problem of Korea. Equatorial Guinea hopes that in the not-too-distant future the parties concerned will find formulas that will bring about peaceful unification to their mutual benefit.

145. We advocate the freedom of peoples in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and yet our brothers in Namibia clamour for their freedom, sacrificing their children in their sacred mission for the redemption of their people. Today, Angola again suffers from the bombings and attacks that destroy its homes and its fields and render any progress impossible. The problem of skin pigmentation grows more serious with each day, vigorously intensified by discrimination and *apartheid*.

146. This is our children's inheritance. My country wonders whether this is due to the absence of practical and convincing solutions, or whether it is because such solutions are being distorted by the intransigence of some and the consent of others. The so-called great Powers have transformed the world into an arena for their own rivalries and covetousness and have made our peoples mere spectators. All of this is the result of what was denounced here a few days ago [5th meeting] by the leader of our brother country, Venezuela, Mr. Luis Herrera Campíns, in his eloquent statement. In the face of this bitter truth, we are united in our opposition and condemnation in the conviction that the world belongs to man and that we are men, regardless of the colour of our skin,

origin, belief or social condition. We can and must fight against these adversities. We cannot expect peace to be maintained while our actions tend to make its existence impossible.

147. The delegation of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea deems it fitting to recognize here the pertinence and importance of the statement read before the Assembly by that eminent statesman Mr. Herrera Campíns, President of the Republic of Venezuela. The political content of his statement and the depth with which it reviewed the problems our world is experiencing, its careful review of economic problems and their causes and the dramatic appeal it contained for man to reconsider his ambitions and claims in favour of the safeguarding and security of the human species have prompted the delegation of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea formally to propose that the Assembly adopt that statement as a working document.

148. It will soon be 10 years since the world realized that there was a deterioration in economic co-operation among peoples. Accordingly, President Boumediène called in 1974 for a special session of the General Assembly for the purpose of considering an item entitled "Study of the problem of raw materials and development".⁸ Since then we have been striving, as far as our means allow, to abolish the old international economic order based on the extreme domination and exploitation of some peoples by others and subsequently to establish and build up a new international political and economic order based on democracy, sovereign equality, national independence and multinational co-operation; we are striving for all such factors and principles which can ensure peaceful co-existence among countries and constitute active elements which would lead to the well-being of peoples by speeding up the economic and social progress of the developing countries. Yet we cannot conceal our disappointment at the fact that the opportunities for the developing countries to achieve their just claims and safeguard their legitimate rights become more remote daily.

149. The inequities in trade between the industrialized countries and the third world countries must cease. The industrialized Powers must also stop seeking to establish as accepted practice a trade with the third world which always benefits the former to the detriment of the latter.

150. The practice by the industrialized countries of paying little for our raw materials but seeking exorbitant prices for their manufactured goods is a premeditated brake on our development. The third world, as the sole owner, should impose the conditions of trade in its raw materials. It should determine the bases which would enable it freely to exercise control over its resources, free from outside pressure. It is a right to which the third world is not only entitled, but one for which it should fight, in order that it be accepted and recognized by the industrialized Powers. Such recognition would be a major contribution to the establishment of an adequate platform for the success of the North-South dialogue.

151. We advocate closer trade links among third world countries, as well as the establishment of adequate regional economic and financial institutions and organizations which will promote our trade and provide us with the structures we need in order to impose our conditions on our own materials. That is necessary in the face of a world deteriorating through inflation and economic in-

stability brought about by the industrialized countries. Accordingly we aspire to a more rational and effective economic co-operation which will benefit all our peoples.

152. This session is being held only a month after the celebration by the people of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, in a climate of freedom, peace, tranquility and social order, of the second anniversary of the historic date of 3 August 1979. Since then the valuable assistance and growing solidarity of the international community with our country have been, among other things, one of the most eloquent expressions not only of recognition of the tragic situation which we inherited but, furthermore, of acknowledgement of the firmness and sincerity with which the Government of the Supreme Military Council has undertaken the difficult task of national reconstruction in order progressively to lessen the sufferings of our people. Two years of selfless labour and sacrifices have sufficed to confirm our full conviction that the just undertaking that we have embarked upon in building a better Guinea requires the active and sincere participation of all our citizens at every stage, as well as the assistance of the international community. We can congratulate ourselves at having consolidated, during that relatively short period, the bases for the gradual and consistent realization of our programmed objectives of recovery and reorganization of the State in all fields.

153. We are realistically following a policy of peace, tranquility, order and justice. Truly, and despite the natural difficulties involved in a task of this magnitude and scope, no one can doubt that today one of the main achievements of our Government has been the establishment of full observance of respect for human rights in the present society of Equatorial Guinea. On repeated occasions we have stated that respect for fundamental human rights is one of the pillars of our Government's policy, a position which we have invariably advocated in international forums. We have therefore actively co-operated with the United Nations and humanitarian institutions which have shown an interest in human rights in our country. Through such action we are seeking the recovery of the moral values of our people, and therefore we restored their individual and collective freedoms and guarantees, making social justice another basic principle guiding our policy. We are striving to improve the social life of our people with the material and spiritual means available to us, and we can say that the results achieved are there for all to see. We are fully committed to continue improving our system until we bring about the desired national unity, concord and reconciliation.

154. Nevertheless, there are isolated elements and sectors which, prompted by selfish and personal ambitions, seek to distort our action by a campaign of slander and lies. Our people realize that that campaign is intended to confuse international public opinion concerning the real facts about our country today, so as not only to demoralize our people in their struggle for peace, justice and national reconciliation, but also to incite and revive partisan, tribal and regional ideals which, among other negative factors, gave rise to the political tragedy which we experienced during the last decade. To try to ignore those facts would, in our opinion, be tantamount to wishing to return Equatorial Guinea to the tragic circumstances which led to its destruction.

155. Chief among the main guiding principles of the political action of Government of the Supreme Military Council is its unswerving determination to achieve a just society based on national reconciliation. For us, national reconciliation and social integration constitute one of the bases of the national reconstruction which we have undertaken. Our situation today, as the heirs to a devastated country, requires gigantic efforts in every field. The reconstruction of our economy on firm bases is the problem we now face. We wish to effect radical changes in the present single-crop system, diversifying agriculture so as to achieve self-sufficiency for our population and expanding our activities in the fields of livestock, industry, fishing and other sectors of production so as to relaunch our national economy.

156. We can indeed affirm that at every step our Government is translating its vast political, economic and social programme into concrete works and achievements. We have always affirmed that the historic decision of the armed forces to save the country on 3 August 1979 was not due to a desire for power, but was an effective response to the solemn appeal and cry of alarm of our people which were then being martyred. Since then the armed forces have taken over the management of the State and the responsibility for undertaking a genuine process of bringing democracy to the country, a process which is not the result of improvisations likely to return our people to their previous condition.

157. Obviously, any objectively set course in this process of democratization should not be radically dissociated from the indigenous mental character of our national ethnic groups in so far as their traditional forms of organized life are concerned, although neither can we avoid our commitment to modern times. Hence, we advocate the imperative need for Equatorial Guinea to harmonize the social values of our indigenous traditions with modern forms of democracy. We are in favour of importing technological resources which will contribute to our development; yet our people, which has a wealth of deeply rooted traditions and customs, could not conceive of the import of political and ideological formulas which attempt to destroy it once again. In that respect, and on the occasion of the second anniversary of the blow for freedom, celebrated in the city of Bata, the President of the Supreme Military Council of Equatorial Guinea, Colonel Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, declared:

“Following the guidelines designating the historical responsibility assumed on 3 August 1979 to democratize the country, and contrary to the false statements and concerns of some anachronistic pseudo-politicians, the Government of the Supreme Military Council, in fulfilment of its unswerving commitment adopted before the people and international public opinion, formally and solemnly declares in this act that, in the third year of its mandate, which begins tomorrow, 3 August, it will convene a popular referendum to submit a national political constitution to consultation with the people of Equatorial Guinea for their approval or rejection, on a date to be made known in due time.”

158. What is more, my Government, with the firmness and sincerity that characterize its action, has enacted the Organic Decree-Law, of a constitutional nature, number 1/1981, of 2 May, on the government and administration of settlements in Equatorial Guinea, which without doubt

constitutes a remarkable step towards the over-all democratization of our country. In so doing, we are convinced that without the people and its lesser government entities, our democratization process could not attain maturity. As we see it, the political, economic and social development of the rural areas which constitute our settlements is the basis for national development towards more effective democratization, because we wish to develop our action firmly within the objectives and the ideals of peace, freedom, order and respect for the fundamental rights of peoples and men.

159. Parallel with that action which we are carrying out internally, the two years of the existence of the Government of the Supreme Military Council have enabled us to express our optimism about the results achieved in our international policy by broadening and strengthening our relations of friendship and co-operation with all countries of the world on a basis of equality and mutual respect. We are pleased to note the vast improvement in our coexistence with neighbouring countries, as well as in our relations with the other countries of the continent within the OAU.

160. In that context, special mention should be made of the excellent relations of all-round and fruitful co-operation which we have maintained in the two years of the Government of the Supreme Military Council with the Kingdom of Spain, to which we are united by ties of history and culture.

161. Our political philosophy of Afro-Ibero-Americanism takes shape at every step through the fruitful contacts we have established with the brother States of Latin America, which foreshadow a promising future in our relations of friendship and co-operation.

162. With growing interest, the organizations of the United Nations system, international financial institutions and other humanitarian bodies have unceasingly encouraged us through their valuable assistance. One result of that co-operation is the holding of the forthcoming conference of donors of aid for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Equatorial Guinea under the sponsorship of UNDP. We invite all countries and organizations desirous of helping us in our work of national reconstruction to attend that conference.

163. My delegation is fully convinced that the General Assembly at its present session will create new conditions that will make it possible to strengthen the role of the United Nations in its sacred mission of safeguarding the maintenance of international peace and security and of promoting fruitful co-operation among nations.

164. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the General Assembly I thank the First Vice-President of the Supreme Military Council and Commissioner for External Affairs of Equatorial Guinea for the important statement he has just made.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *North-South: A program for survival*; report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1980).

² Subsequently included in the agenda as item 135.

³ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1536th meeting.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 7th meeting, para. 53.

⁵ See the Report of the Conference (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.24), chap. I, sect. B, resolution 3.

⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1981*, document S/14532.

⁷ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/14009.

⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Special Session, Annexes*, agenda item 7, document A/9541.