



Thursday, 7 October 1982,
at 3.25 p.m.

President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Sheikh AL-THANI (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the State of Qatar, it gives me great pleasure, Sir, to express to you warm felicitations on your election as President of the current session of the General Assembly. I also wish to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Kittani, who presided over the past session and conducted its proceedings with exemplary competence and objectivity. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to extend my sincere congratulations to the Secretary-General. I wish him, on behalf of my country, full success in all his efforts and activities aimed at increasing the effectiveness of the Organization in the service of the international community. I also wish to thank his predecessor, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the praiseworthy and sincere efforts that he made throughout his term of office as Secretary-General.

2. The deteriorating political conditions which have recently dominated the entire world are a grave indicator of the incompetence of the Organization in contributing to international peace. Is it not true that the Organization, despite all its great and meritorious endeavours, has not been able to resolve the problems before it and has not brought about the peace for which our world longs?

3. I do not believe that we are the only ones that pose this question. In his report on the work of the Organization [A/37/1] the Secretary-General, with commendable candor and objectivity, warns of the emergence of indications of such a sad state of affairs. Undoubtedly, the Secretary-General reveals the heart of the matter and puts his finger on the root malaise when he states that, as a result of the breach of the provisions and principles of the Charter by certain States, the Security Council clearly all too often finds itself unable to take decisive action to resolve international conflicts. This feeling of incompetence is intensified by the fact that Security Council resolutions, which include resolutions adopted unanimously, are increasingly defied and ignored by those who feel themselves strong enough to do so. That strength may be their own or may be derived from the absolute support given them by a super-Power.

4. This phenomenon did not emanate from a vacuum. It is surely the corollary of certain policies that have recently emerged on the international scene to resolve conflicts and problems on the basis of unilateral initiatives outside the effective framework of the United

Nations, which is the only international organ qualified to solve such conflicts by peaceful means. As such practices and unilateral initiatives have increased, it is natural that the effectiveness of the role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security not to mention the very credibility of the Organization, has diminished.

5. The question of Palestine is a genuine embodiment of the aforementioned fact. Hundreds of resolutions have been adopted on this question, but Israel, with its customary tyranny and intransigence, has persistently rejected all those resolutions. It has gone so far as to violate them daily, cutting the whole world to the quick by trampling on its most noble human sentiments, propped up by States that shower it with financial and military aid. This aid is coupled with the individualistic political stand that opposes all the peace-loving voices concerned with the general good of man and which seek to impose sanctions on the aggressor in such a way as to preserve the human rights and dignity of the victim.

6. Israel is an anomalous phenomenon in the international community. It came into being through oppression and aggression. It murdered and rendered homeless thousands of Arab Palestinians for its selfish ends. This is its persistent policy and immutable creed: murder, murder and more murder. The most recent manifestation of its barbarism and racism was its genocidal onslaught on the camps of Sabra and Shatila in Lebanon, which claimed thousands of victims—women and children who had lived in peace in those camps, suffering from alienation and dispossession. They have been driven there by Israel itself since 1947.

7. As if the displacement it caused them were not enough and as if their agonizing plight, living in inhuman conditions in shanty towns, did not satiate it, Israel did not renounce the principle which brought it into being—that genocidal principle to which it had previously had recourse in the Palestinian villages of Deir Yassin and Kafr Qasim, as well as in other massacres of the Palestinian people. Israel is well aware that wherever the Palestinian people exists, its right to its homeland and the right to return will remain unshaken.

8. The fact that Israel ravaged west Beirut and forced its way into civilian quarters after the forces of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] had withdrawn, under a guarantee from the United States Government that Israel would not intervene or harm the civilian population there, is irrefutable and is proof of the wanton Israeli practices that flout all covenants, values and instruments. In this connexion, we affirm to the entire world that fraternal Lebanon, its territorial integrity and the security of its people should not be

the subject of interpretation and discussions. This issue requires all of us, as an international community, to take the necessary effective measures to compel Israel to comply with Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) concerning immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Lebanese territory.

9. My delegation holds the international community represented in the Organization responsible for allowing Israel to remain a Member of the Organization. My delegation calls for the suspension of its membership and the adoption of stringent measures against it to compel it to comply with the relevant resolutions of the Organization, the principal demands of which are total and unconditional withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories and that the Palestinian people be enabled to return to its homeland and establish its independent national entity.

10. The core of what is termed the Middle East question is the Palestinian question. Unless the international community finds a just solution for it the situation there will remain unstable and there will be a state of constant turmoil and the threat of a conflagration at any moment. A collective Arab resolution was put forward on the basis of the comprehensive principles approved at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez in 1982 [see A/37/696]. The Arabs considered this an acceptable basis upon which to resolve the Palestinian question peacefully and permanently, proceeding from the basic principles contained in United Nations resolutions. These principles provide a good opportunity to reach a peaceful solution to the question.

11. However, there are other issues that produce permanent hotbeds of tension, including the security of the Arab Gulf and the war between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran. The State of Qatar firmly believes that ensuring the security of the Gulf area is the task of the States of the area. This will be possible only when the big Powers refrain from interfering in their affairs.

12. The Iraqi-Iranian war constitutes a disturbing situation for and causes apprehension to all the States of the area and the whole world, because of its brutality, the time it has lasted and the fact that it is raging in a strategic and important location for all States of the world. My country supports and sees a good omen in the Iraqi initiative under which Iraqi troops were withdrawn to the international borders, and Iraq indicated continued willingness to negotiate on a cessation of hostilities. We sincerely hope that the Government of Iran will respond to this good initiative to avert Moslem bloodshed and to allow these two brother peoples to apply themselves to the task of reconstruction and rehabilitation in order to repair the havoc wreaked in that fierce war.

13. The establishment of the Co-operation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and that of the League of Arab States, reflected the will of six Gulf States. They envisaged it as a prime necessity to achieve political, economic and security complementarity and co-ordination. It is a testimony to the desire of those six States to achieve peace and prosperity for their region. We pledge that the member States of this Council will exert all possible efforts through it to

maintain the security and peace of that strategic region of the world.

14. My country views with concern the present situation in Afghanistan because it is an Islamic country with which we are linked by bonds of brotherhood and religion and because it is one of the hotbeds of tension in our area.

15. We earnestly hope that the Soviet Union will heed the calls of the international community and withdraw all its forces from Afghan territory so that the Afghan refugees may return to their homeland and the Afghan people may choose their own political system and forge their destiny in freedom.

16. We have pinned high hopes on the holding of an international conference to consider the issue of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, since this is one of our repeated demands. We hope that this will take place as soon as possible so as to contribute to world peace and stability.

17. The situation on the African continent is also one of our concerns. We sincerely hope that appropriate solutions will be reached concerning the areas of tension there. We affirm our support for and solidarity with the people of Namibia in its just struggle under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], and the national majority in South Africa in the struggle being waged against the policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination pursued by the white minority Government. We call on all peace-loving States to exercise all forms of pressure on the Government of South Africa to compel it to respond to international good offices aimed at achieving a comprehensive and just settlement of the situation there and nullifying South Africa's designs and stratagems to prevent agreement on a peaceful settlement.

18. The whole world was bitterly disappointed when the second special session devoted to disarmament resulted in failure. That was clear evidence of the desire of certain parties to continue to develop means of destruction and place the entire world under constant fear and anxiety as a result. This effort should have been directed towards the achievement of tranquillity and a peaceful life for all. The astronomical sums involved should be spent on developing and improving man's life everywhere on this planet.

19. It has become clear to the international community that the establishment of a new international economic order is indispensable if we are to prevent the crises and problems that may occur in the future if international economic relations remain unchanged.

20. The economy of each State in our world today is, in varying degrees, in constant interaction with the economies of other States. We are fully convinced that the sooner we determine the effects of this the greater will be our chance of averting exacerbation of the negative implications. We can then draw up national policies taking into account their implications for the international economy.

21. Our target is stability for the international economy which is the cornerstone of the achievement of international economic progress. We maintain that the efforts being made to this end at present by various

international organizations and agencies should be supported.

22. If economic stability is jeopardized that creates a threat to international peace and security. Developing countries cannot overcome poverty and food problems, as well as their other economic problems, without concrete aid from the international community. This should be directed essentially to effecting structural changes in the economies of these countries to enable them to advance the wheel of development in such a way as to realize their ambition to achieve a proper degree of economic growth.

23. The State of Qatar wishes to stress in this international forum its conviction that the task of grappling with and resolving the economic problems of the developing countries rests, in the first place, with the Governments and individuals of those countries. However, as we are all well aware, because of their nature the solution of these problems requires, in addition to the efforts of the developing countries, the consistent and collective efforts of the international community with regard to debts, the flow of financial and technical aid and the laying of the foundations of modern technology.

24. We look forward to a sincere and constructive international dialogue in which all nations of the world participate to consider solutions for current international economic problems: world recession, currency fluctuations, deterioration of the terms of trade, increased indebtedness in the developing countries and chronic disequilibrium in the balance of payments of the least developed countries.

25. As a Member of the United Nations, the State of Qatar pledges that it will co-operate fully with the rest of the Member States, sparing no effort to preserve the principles of the Organization, which are aimed at achieving dignity, security and stability for all mankind.

26. Mr. GEDLE-GIORGIS (Ethiopia): At the outset, Mr. President, my delegation would like to congratulate you on your unanimous election to guide the work of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Your election is a recognition of your rich experience, personal qualities and statesmanship. It is also a fitting tribute to your country, the People's Republic of Hungary, a country with which Ethiopia enjoys strong ties of friendship and co-operation, and a recognition of the outstanding contributions it has made towards peace and international understanding. I also pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Kittani, for the skill with which he guided the work of the thirty-sixth session.

27. I should also like to take this opportunity to express the appreciation of my delegation to the Secretary-General for the able manner in which he is serving the cause of peace and progress.

28. Thirty-seven years after its establishment, the United Nations is still far from meeting the challenge of ensuring international peace and security. As a result of the exacerbation of existing conflicts, the creation of new hotbeds of tension, the acute global economic crisis and the ever-increasing danger of a nuclear holocaust, mankind today lives under the shadow of total annihilation.

29. The ray of hope that flickered with the birth of the United Nations, which was conceived to avert conflicts and promote international peace and co-operation is, regrettably, being dimmed. Contrary to the obligations entered into by Member States under the Charter, and despite the lip-service so readily paid to its lofty ideals, the violation of its cardinal principles is increasingly becoming a habit rather than an occasional lapse.

30. Today, wars of aggression are openly condoned, dying tension revived, and new conflicts fomented. International law continues to be flouted with impunity by those in the well-known imperialist circles, whose interest in exploitation and dreams of expansion have been undermined by the mighty tide of national liberation and social emancipation.

31. The frustrating outcome of the second special session on disarmament is a reflection of the precariousness of the prevailing international situation. The unwillingness of some Members to be parties to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, which has been finalized after more than eight years of painstaking negotiations, could adversely affect one of the major undertakings of the United Nations. The lack of political will on the part of the developed world to make possible the launching of global negotiations on the new international economic order and the overall heightening of tension on a global scale are disturbing trends.

32. Twenty-two years ago the General Assembly adopted its historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. By invoking this Declaration, a number of countries gained their independence and joined the family of free nations. Yet colonialism and racism in their most vile forms continue to be practised in southern Africa.

33. The racist régime in Pretoria, with the political, economic and military support of its imperialist allies, continues not only to subjugate the black majority in South Africa but also to consolidate its colonial occupation of the international Territory of Namibia. Harassment, imprisonment, torture and racial indignity are the daily lot of the masses of South Africa and Namibia, who have been cruelly deprived of even the most basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. Furthermore, the *apartheid* régime, acting as the agent of imperialism, is busy sowing the seeds of terrorism and destabilization in the entire subregion of southern Africa. The front-line States have become prime targets for unprovoked acts of aggression by racist Pretoria.

34. To us Africans, and indeed to all peoples the world over that cherish peace and freedom, the delay in Namibia's accession to independence and the attempt to perpetuate the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa are outrageous in the extreme. The international community is fully aware that the terrorist régime in Pretoria, in collusion with its imperialist allies, is leaving no stone unturned in its bid to keep Namibia in its Fascist clutches. The independence process of Namibia has stalled because of Pretoria's intransigence and the acquiescence of the Western contact group in its dilatory tactics. Without the accession of Namibia to genuine independence and the complete dismantling of the racist edifice of *apartheid*—objectives to which all of us appear to

be committed—durable peace in Africa, and indeed in the world at large, will remain elusive.

35. We therefore cannot and must not allow the obstructionist and dilatory tactics of Pretoria to delay or compromise the inevitable independence of Namibia. In this connection Ethiopia once again calls for the speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). We reject each and every stratagem designed to introduce questions that are of no relevance to the issue and fall strictly within the purview of the sovereign jurisdiction of independent States. Indeed, we strongly condemn the contrived issue of the so-called Cuban presence in Angola as a blatant and impudent infringement of the sovereign rights of the People's Republic of Angola.

36. While supporting all viable initiatives within the framework of the United Nations plan for Namibia, Ethiopia believes that, in the absence of the political will to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, resolution 435 (1978) will remain a dead letter. In the present circumstances, Ethiopia feels duty-bound to continue to render political support and material assistance, within its modest means, for the intensification of the legitimate armed struggle being so resolutely waged by SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia. Furthermore, Ethiopia pledges its unswerving support for the oppressed people of South Africa in their struggle to build a democratic society based on racial equality and majority rule.

37. Similarly, Ethiopia reaffirms its support for and solidarity with the peoples and Governments of the front-line States of southern Africa, which must remain vigilant in defence of independence and human dignity against an undeclared war by the Fascist Pretoria régime.

38. Pretoria, having failed in its strategy of maintaining racist and colonial régimes around its borders, has now embarked on establishing in southern Africa a belt of instability as yet another weapon for the defence of the abhorrent system of *apartheid*. Today it is not only Angola that is the target of racist and imperialist forces. Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, as well as Seychelles, a State that has no common boundary with South Africa, are under the constant threat of acts of banditry and sabotage emanating from South Africa. Indeed, armed bandits and mercenaries organized and trained by the Fascist régime of South Africa with the connivance of international imperialism are at this very moment carrying out acts of terrorism, murder and pillage in the People's Republic of Mozambique. In the face of these developments, the international community must therefore render both diplomatic and material assistance to Mozambique in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, to enable that fraternal country to strengthen its defence capabilities to ensure respect for its sovereignty and territorial integrity. In this regard, it is with great pleasure that I hail the victory once again scored by the people and Government of Seychelles over the forces of racism and imperialism.

39. Encircled by a chain of military bases and interventionist forces, my own country is under constant

danger. The forces of reaction, subversion, armed banditry and terrorism, bankrolled and equipped by international imperialism and its surrogates, are orchestrated to undermine the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of my country.

40. Rocked by internal crises and strife, the despotic régime of Mogadishu has, since early July 1982, been making allegations of an Ethiopian invasion of its territory. With regard to those unfounded and self-serving allegations, there are a number of facts that the international community needs to bear in mind.

41. First, Ethiopia neither covets nor has it ever claimed any portion of the territory of Somalia. On the contrary, it is Somalia which, in a systematic violation of the terms of United Nations instruments that brought about its emergence in 1960 as an independent country on the map of Africa, continues to be obsessed by an expansionist dream at the expense of its neighbours. Contrary to the cardinal principles of the Charter and to the decisions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity [OAU], Somalia has over the past two decades repeatedly committed a series of brazen aggressions against its neighbours, especially my country, with the purpose of realizing its territorial ambitions.

42. Secondly, the international community, including those members that are today cynically shedding crocodile tears over the conveniently fabricated invasion of Somalia by Ethiopia, can surely testify to the fact that it was Somalia which committed an unprovoked and massive aggression against my country in July 1977. Since Ethiopia was in the midst of a far-reaching revolution, the Mogadishu régime, in collusion with its imperialist and reactionary allies, had calculated that the time was opportune to strike at my country with a view to realizing Somalia's expansionist ambitions and destabilizing the Ethiopian revolution.

43. In this connection, it may be recalled that even when the invading army had penetrated 700 kilometres into Ethiopian territory, the Ethiopian defence forces that routed the invading army early in the following year did not sweep the enemy to the shores of the Indian Ocean in hot pursuit, even though they had the capacity and the moral right to do so. As everyone will recall, our defence forces stopped at the international boundary between the two countries. That is an undeniable fact. Similarly, the record of Ethiopia's policy of good-neighbourliness and mutually beneficial co-operation with its other neighbours, namely, the Republics of Djibouti, Kenya and the Sudan, eloquently speaks for itself.

44. The national objective of our revolution has been repeatedly stated on several occasions. If Ethiopia has declared any war, it is a war on the enemies of mankind: hunger, disease and ignorance. Our revolution is irrevocably committed to advancing the material and spiritual well-being of the Ethiopian people. The linchpin of our foreign policy is likewise peace, progress and the promotion of good-neighbourliness. Since the achievement of those objectives compels us to devote all our energies and resources to national reconstruction, Ethiopia has neither the need nor the intention to launch an invasion against Somalia. It is obvious that the myth of the Ethiopian invasion has been

fabricated by Mogadishu and its imperialist and reactionary patrons as a convenient pretext both to arm Somalia to pursue its territorial ambitions against its neighbours and to strengthen the imperialist military bases and the interventionist forces in Somalia.

45. The truth is that under the leadership of the Somalia Salvation Democratic Front and the Somalia Liberation Movement, the Mejerin, Issaq, Dulbahanti, Haberawel and other oppressed nationalities of Somalia have taken up arms to rid themselves of the tyranny of the oligarchy based in the Merehan clan. The popular movements to which I have just referred have repeatedly and unequivocally declared to the world that they take full responsibility for the civil war now raging in Somalia. Hence, no amount of gross fabrication and distraction on the part of the Mogadishu régime and its collaborators can conceal the realities of the situation.

46. Furthermore, it is evident that international imperialism and its surrogates in the area, particularly the archaic feudal potentates who could not even unite to combat genocide and help the Palestinian children falling at their doorsteps, are shamelessly echoing Somalia's allegations.

47. In their policy statements in the general debate of the current session and in other forums, those Governments have, regrettably, expressed concern over an alleged inter-State conflict in the Horn of Africa. To be concerned about the actual state of relations between two neighbouring countries is one thing, but to lament an internal turmoil within a given country, a turmoil arising from an oppressive rule, is a totally different matter. My Government therefore reiterates its categorical and unequivocal rejection of the baseless allegations levelled against Ethiopia and once again calls upon the Governments that show such misplaced concern to see the situation for what it is, namely, an internal struggle between the régime in Mogadishu and liberation forces opposed to its oppressive rule.

48. In this context, I must underscore the fact that some of those Governments that are currently raising a false alarm were either arming and financing the aggressor or maintained a dead silence in 1977, when Ethiopia was the victim of Somalia's aggression. The position they have taken now is thus as transparent as it is self-serving.

49. Let me reaffirm once again that peace in the Horn of Africa will reign only when Somalia eschews its territorial claims over its neighbours. The benefactors of the Mogadishu régime could therefore make a positive contribution to the restoration of peace and stability in the area if they could persuade it to abide by the cardinal principles and decisions of the United Nations, the non-aligned movement, and the OAU, including the decisions of the eighteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Nairobi in August 1981.¹ Providing it with weapons and funds to indulge in an unrealizable dream and destructive ventures can only exacerbate tension and conflict in the Horn of Africa.

50. Africa's endeavours to forge continental unity have often been the target of bedevilment and attacks by its enemies. In spite of the numerous obstacles that the enemies of unity have set before it over the

last 19 years, African unity still remains a force to be reckoned with.

51. The OAU, which was conceived to ensure the freedom and peace as well as the economic development of our continent, has in the last 19 years scored remarkable achievements. Only its detractors would dare deny its outstanding contributions to the decolonization process. Nevertheless, imperialist forces to whose interests the success of the Organization has proved detrimental have left no stone unturned in their devious machinations to drive a wedge between the ranks of its membership.

52. Africa's strength stems from its unity. Even with the pressure being exerted against it by its imperialist-racist adversaries, Africa is resolved not only to determine the course of its own development but also to contribute to the peace and security of the rest of the world. We are therefore convinced that the OAU will remain strong and viable to enable Africa to speak with one voice and to guide effectively the common destiny of the sons and daughters of our great continent.

53. Despite the best efforts of the United Nations, peace in the Middle East still remains elusive. The return of all Arab lands occupied since 1967 to their rightful owners, the exercise of the right to self-determination by the Palestinian people, including its right to an independent homeland in Palestine, and respect for the sovereignty and security of all the countries in the area will go a long way towards ensuring durable peace in that region.

54. Israel's recent invasion of Lebanon and the resulting loss of life and destruction of property have once again thrown the entire region into turmoil. The subsequent massacre in west Beirut of innocent people, after the withdrawal of Palestinian combatants under a guarantee of the safety of their families and other civilians, has shocked and angered the international community. Ethiopia condemns in the strongest terms possible the genocide perpetrated against the Palestinian people and supports the call for an international investigation of the massacre in west Beirut. In any event, Israel and its imperialist allies cannot escape responsibility for that shameless and inhuman episode.

55. The imperatives of peace in the Middle East demand that Israel immediately withdraw from the entire territory of Lebanon and unequivocally recognize the right of the Palestinian people to a national homeland of its own.

56. Ethiopia reiterates its full support for the exercise by the people of Western Sahara of its inalienable right to self-determination and independence in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the OAU.

57. My Government strongly deplores the arrogant imperialist interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States in Central and Latin America. We reaffirm Ethiopia's solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution and the gallant fighters in Central America struggling against imperialism to reassert their inalienable right to guide their own destinies.

58. In Asia, Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Afghanistan are endlessly becoming targets of imperialist provo-

cation and slanderous campaigns. My Government is convinced that the thorny problems of South-East Asia and South-West Asia could be resolved by the peoples concerned without outside interference.

59. My Government also supports all endeavours aimed at promoting understanding between and the peaceful reunification of the two Koreas.

60. With regard to Cyprus, Ethiopia strongly supports all positive efforts designed to bring to an end speedily all factors of disharmony and instability. My delegation insists that the independence, unity, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Cyprus be fully respected.

61. The reversal of détente and the accelerating pace of the arms race, coupled with the acquisition of new military bases and the provocative behaviour of some States, have once again revived the dangerous era of the cold war. In the face of the deteriorating international situation and the production, stock-piling and deployment of ever more deadly weapons of mass destruction, peace has today become the overriding concern not only of Governments but also of people everywhere, as has been demonstrated by the mounting public protests around the world.

62. In the light of the growing threat of a nuclear holocaust, we are convinced that urgent and concrete measures must be taken to halt and reverse the arms race, particularly in its nuclear aspect, until the attainment of our ultimate objective of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. The ongoing negotiations on strategic arms reduction prompt us not to lose hope despite the many failures we have encountered in our collective endeavours in this field.

63. The expectations and hopes of the international community for a successful conclusion to the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament were shattered. Obviously the main responsibility for that failure is borne by the very forces which have embarked on a policy of massive rearmament and advocacy of dangerous military doctrines such as that of a limited nuclear war. We therefore call upon the Powers in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] to demonstrate good will and co-operation in expediting negotiations on the comprehensive programme of disarmament so that it can be adopted at an early date.

64. The unilateral undertaking by the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons is a significant step which, coupled with a reciprocal commitment by the other nuclear-weapon States, would prevent the outbreak of nuclear war.

65. At its current session the General Assembly has before it two important additional items also proposed by the Soviet Union. While the first deals with the urgent task of the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, the second proposal underscores the growing need to redouble the efforts aimed at the elimination of the threat of nuclear war and the protection of peaceful nuclear facilities. As a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex], Ethiopia not only welcomes these important proposals but also urges all Member States to seize the opportunity

they provide to halt the arms race, to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and the outbreak of nuclear war and to enhance the development of peaceful nuclear technology.

66. Despite the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)], the expansion or modernization of existing military bases and the acquisition of new ones in the area, as well as the deployment of rapid intervention forces and weapons of mass destruction, are being highly intensified. Those actions, contrary to the decisions of the United Nations, continue to endanger international peace and security. In the light of those alarming developments, the holding of a conference on the Indian Ocean is surely long overdue. We are therefore compelled to reiterate our demand for the convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean, in Colombo, in the first half of 1983, as called for by the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

67. Similarly, Ethiopia attaches considerable importance to the signing, speedy ratification and implementation of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

68. An examination of the international economic situation, regrettably, shows an increasing resistance on the part of certain industrialized countries to instituting structural changes in the existing system of international economic relations.

69. The continuing deterioration in the situation of developing countries is assuming alarming proportions, while the economies of the least developed countries are on the verge of collapse. The burden of indebtedness, the low level of foreign-exchange earnings, balance-of-payments difficulties, instability of commodity prices, rising import bills, low level of agricultural productivity and food shortages remain the general characteristics of the economies of the developing countries.

70. In the midst of the grim world economic situation, the condition of most African countries should be a matter of the utmost concern to the international community. It is rather sad to witness today that in Africa food shortages caused by the shortfalls in agricultural output, low productivity, changing ecological and unfavourable weather conditions are in the process of creating the simplest form of dependence of the continent for its food on the developed North. Food aid has tended in recent years to become a permanent feature of international assistance to the African countries.

71. Today there are no fewer than 21 countries seeking special assistance from the United Nations because of their incapacity to withstand even mild shocks to their economies. This deteriorating situation has been a consequence of the basic structural constraints and other serious limitations. As a result most African countries, especially the least developed ones, have been forced out of the mainstream of international economic life.

72. Unless the international community urgently implements on a priority basis the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries, adopted at the Paris Conference²

the grave economic situation of these countries could soon reach an irreversible state. Indeed, we cannot envisage a solution to the problem of the world economic crisis in general and the least developed countries in particular unless the developed countries make a major political decision to accept and institute fundamental changes in the present international economic system.

73. The growing anarchy in international relations and the ever-present threat of a nuclear holocaust indicate that mankind has reached a very critical point in history. In the present circumstances, even decisions by individual States, let alone those taken collectively, are bound to affect the very survival of mankind and its civilization.

74. While peace and progress are the overriding concern of humanity, war and destruction appear to be the hallmark of our era. In this regard, the head of State of my country, Chairman Mengistu Haile Mariam, in his statement to the Ethiopian people on the occasion of the eighth anniversary of the Ethiopian Revolution, said the following:

“Today, peace is the most vital issue for which the people of the entire world raise their voice in unison... The demand for the preservation and strengthening of peace, which at present figures top on the agenda of the entire peoples of the world, is also the demand of Ethiopia. The world-wide struggle for peace cannot also be seen separately from the struggle for national liberation, for a just international economic order, for democracy and social progress.”

75. Unless mankind, collectively and with the utmost urgency, addresses itself to the serious challenges facing it today the consequences will be very grave indeed. Not only is the noble goal of the United Nations to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war likely to remain a mere ideal, but there may be neither a generation to succeed nor a war from which to save it.

76. We must therefore take the present international crisis as an opportunity for introspection and a time for decision to map out a strategy to save humanity from the impending global catastrophe. In such a strategy international confrontation must yield to international co-operation. Scrupulous adherence to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations must be consistently pursued and upheld. Each and every Government must exercise political wisdom, eschew political expediency and act, at all times, in the long-term and broader interest of mankind. The time to rise to the supreme challenge of our times is now, for tomorrow may well be too late.

77. Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, I take special pleasure in congratulating you, the representative of fraternal Hungary, on your election to the presidency at this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Your unanimous election to this high post is an expression of the general recognition of the international authority and prestige of socialist Hungary and its peace-loving foreign policy. At the same time it is a tribute to your outstanding personal qualities. On behalf of the Mongolian delegation, I wish you every success in the discharge of your responsible mission. Your great

experience in international affairs, and especially in United Nations circles, will no doubt serve as a valuable factor in the successful completion of this session.

78. At this thirty-seventh session the Assembly faces the urgent tasks of lessening international tension and reducing the threat of nuclear war. The world situation has acutely deteriorated as a result of adventurist actions of the most aggressive circles of imperialism, which have set their narrow selfish aims against the onward march of history. In particular, the military-industrial complex of the United States of America is seeking to impose the domination of American imperialism over the whole world and to establish everywhere an order solely to its liking.

79. The arms race is being intensified on an unprecedented scale with a view to upsetting the existing military and strategic balance to the detriment of the interests of universal peace and security. Designs are being nurtured for waging “limited” or “protracted” nuclear wars.

80. Détente and the principles of peaceful coexistence are being renounced outright. Force and sanctions have become the principal instruments of foreign policy. Attempts are being made to undermine the very fabric of international relations. Resort to blackmail, deceit and hypocrisy have become all too common. Rhetorical statements about peace and stability camouflage the actions taken to destabilize the situation in various regions, to sow distrust and enmity among peoples and States. Under the pretext of safeguarding “vital interests” and “national security”, blatant interference in the internal affairs of States, as well as acts of aggression and even genocide by proxies, are being perpetrated.

81. I should like to note here that such tricks are also practised by certain circles on our Asian continent. In order to conceal their expansionist ambitions, some offer assurances that their country would never become a super-Power. In order to divert the attention of the public from their own country’s increasing military potential and from its reviving militarism, others assert that their country would never become a “military Power”. The rewriting of textbooks and historical documents in order to whitewash the past criminal acts of the militarists is another case in point.

82. But the main thing is that the militaristic circles of imperialism are covering up their attempts to strike at the socialist community by coarse slander directed against the peaceful nature of the socialist system. The clamour about the non-existent “Soviet military threat” is designed to justify the organization of a “crusade” against the real socialism. History knows such tactics. Immediately after the victory of the October Revolution, an armed intervention of 14 capitalist States under the slogan of “fight against the communist threat” was launched against the young Soviet Republic. And nowadays attempts to undermine the very foundations of the socialist system in the countries of socialism are not abandoned, which is evidenced by the aggressive intrigues against the Polish People’s Republic and the Republic of Cuba. But socialism has withstood imperialist assaults and invasions and has now become so strong as to exert a decisive influence on world events and to serve as a

stronghold of peace, national independence and the social progress of nations. This is an historic gain of lasting importance for the future of mankind.

83. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which celebrates its sixtieth anniversary this year, is the bulwark of all the peace-loving, democratic and revolutionary forces. The peace-loving policy and constructive initiative of the socialist community have a favourable and stabilizing impact on the world situation and actively promote United Nations activities for the maintenance of peace and international co-operation.

84. Here I should like to note also the influential role played by the non-aligned movement in consolidating peace and security and in restructuring international relations on an anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist basis.

85. We give due credit also to the realistic approach of sober-minded statesmen in Western countries who stand for the maintenance and development of mutually beneficial relations between East and West and for the preservation and strengthening of détente. The intensified mass anti-war movement in the world is an important factor that promotes the objectives of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security.

86. Meanwhile the following striking example reveals, *inter alia*, the attitude of major imperialist Powers *vis-à-vis* these objectives of the United Nations. At the very moment that the first special session of the General Assembly on disarmament was under way in 1978 here in New York, a long-term programme of an arms buildup by NATO was adopted nearby in Washington. And this year that programme was again reaffirmed in Bonn, at the highest level of the NATO alliance, during the second special session devoted to disarmament.

87. The peace programme for the 1980s put forward by the Soviet Union and the constructive initiatives of socialist countries envisage practical measures to curb the arms race and to remove the threat of a nuclear holocaust. Under the present circumstances, the extremely far-reaching and bold step of the Soviet Union is the obligation, unilaterally assumed by the Soviet Union at the second special session of the General Assembly on disarmament, not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. We believe that at the present session the Assembly should call upon other nuclear Powers to do likewise. We consider that the new proposal submitted by the Soviet delegation at this session rightly supplements the aforementioned initiative of historic significance. The proposal and the relevant document on the "Immediate cessation and prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests" seeks to speed up the stagnant negotiations in this field. The new draft of basic provisions of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests [see A/37/243] constructively reflects the views and observations of other States on this matter, including the verification issues, and thus undoubtedly improves the chances for a positive outcome of negotiations. The proposal to set a moratorium on any nuclear explosions, starting from an agreed date until the treaty is concluded, can create favourable conditions for achieving this vital goal. The same goal is

being pursued by the Soviet Union, which clearly expressed its readiness to ratify at any time, on a reciprocal basis, the Soviet-United States treaties on the limitation of underground nuclear-weapon tests and on nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, as well as to resume tripartite negotiations.

88. This position of the Soviet Union is in glaring contrast to the recent decision of the United States Administration not to resume tripartite negotiations, which has given rise to concern in the world community. The carrying out of a comprehensive ban on nuclear-weapon tests is of special significance in putting an end to the technological arms race, preventing the production of new types of nuclear weapons, including neutron weapons.

89. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic regards as timely and important the new initiative of the Soviet Union on intensification of efforts to remove the threat of nuclear war and ensure the safe development of nuclear energy [see A/37/242]. It is essential to block firmly a new channel which could result in incidents of nuclear catastrophe. The General Assembly, in the spirit of its Declaration on the Prevention of Nuclear Catastrophe [resolution 36/100], should, as proposed by the Soviet Union, declare the destruction of peaceful nuclear facilities, even by means of conventional weapons, to be equivalent to an attack carried out with the use of nuclear weapons. Such an action, as we know, would be termed a crime against humanity.

90. The talks between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms, as well as medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, are of decisive significance as regards a wide range of disarmament problems. Those talks, which concern the very core of the global strategic situation, will be successful provided that the two parties strictly observe the principle of equality and equal security. Attempts to evade that principle—in particular, manoeuvres such as the "zero option"—are the main obstacle to reaching mutually acceptable agreements.

91. The problem of the elimination of chemical weapons has of late become especially acute. It stems from the decision adopted by Washington to accelerate the development and manufacture of new types of this barbaric weapon including binary weapons. The Mongolian People's Republic is in favour of intensifying the efforts of the Committee on Disarmament so as to complete the elaboration of an international convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons and on their destruction.

92. Actions aimed at spreading the arms race to outer space are becoming more and more ominous. The Mongolian People's Republic is endeavouring in every way possible to bring about an early start of the work of the Committee on Disarmament on the elaboration of the text of an international treaty on the prohibition of the deployment of weapons of any kind in outer space.

93. Among the measures for strengthening universal peace and security, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic attaches great significance to the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe.

The achievement of positive results in those talks would have a favourable effect on the improvement of relations between East and West and on the international situation as a whole. A realistic approach is required of the Western partners to the constructive proposals of the socialist countries so as to pave the way for achieving progress in this field.

94. The same stand is taken by the Mongolian People's Republic in its approach to the Madrid meeting of the participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe which was held at Helsinki in 1975. My Government commends the efforts by the neutral and non-aligned States taking part in the meeting that are aimed at working out a generally acceptable final document. It hopes that the meeting will succeed in adopting a decision to convene a conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe and taking other steps towards consolidating the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act.

95. My delegation believes that a settlement of the Cyprus problem on the basis of the relevant United Nations decisions and the principles of respect for the national independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus is of great importance for the cause of peace and stability in Europe.

96. In Asia the largest number of hotbeds of tension and armed conflicts continue to exist.

97. Developments in the Middle East during the past several months prove that a delay in the settlement of so-called local conflicts is fraught with dangerous consequences for the cause of universal peace. The armed aggression against Lebanon and the massacre in west Beirut are the direct aftermath of the Camp David deal and of the so-called United States-Israeli strategic co-operation. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic in its statement of 22 September this year [see A/37/480], resolutely condemned Israel's acts of aggression and genocide in Lebanon and stated anew that the responsibility for the atrocities must be borne by Tel Aviv and its United States patrons. The Mongolian People's Republic demands the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon and from all occupied Arab territories.

98. The Mongolian People's Republic, like the overwhelming majority of States, advocates a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the PLO—the legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine—on the basis of ensuring its right to create a national State of its own. Therefore my Government supports the proposal made by the Soviet Union on 15 September this year [see A/37/457], which takes into account the latest developments in the Middle East.

99. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic regards as positive the declaration of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez [see A/37/696], and regards it as a basis which would contribute to uniting the Arab world in the interest of settling the Middle East problem.

100. For many years the situation in South-East Asia has remained highly tense. The reason for that, we strongly believe, lies in the policy and practices of the imperialists and their accomplices, who, in

pursuance of their so-called "parallel strategic interests," seek to alter the *status quo* which emerged in Indo-China as a result of the triumphant struggle of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea against imperialist aggression. At the same time attempts are being made to incite the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] to engage in confrontation against the three countries of Indo-China and to have ASEAN transformed into a military-political bloc.

101. Quite recently a new manoeuvre concerning Kampuchea was undertaken. A so-called "coalition Government" of non-existent "Democratic Kampuchea" was knocked together and serves as a camouflage for attempts to revive the Pol Pot régime, on whose conscience lies bloody genocide against its own people. This is a new machination not only against the peoples of Indo-China but also against peace and security in South-East Asia as a whole.

102. The Mongolian People's Republic firmly believes that all the problems of South-East Asia should be resolved by the States of that region themselves, through constructive dialogue and without any outside interference. The initiatives taken by Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea in July of this year at the conference held in Ho Chi Minh City [see A/37/334], are constructive and directed to that end. Those proposals and steps demonstrating good will are conducive to the creation of a spirit of mutual trust and of favourable conditions for strengthening peace and security in the region and for developing good-neighbourly relations and peaceful co-operation between the countries of Indo-China and those of ASEAN.

103. The Mongolian People's Republic has consistently supported the just struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful and democratic reunification of its country, and for the withdrawal of United States troops and nuclear facilities from South Korea.

104. At present the situation in Asia is being aggravated still further by the fact that the expansionist and militarist circles of certain major Powers of that continent are being drawn more and more into the orbit of United States military and political strategy. That calls for the active involvement of Asian States in the struggle for strengthening peace and security on that continent. My delegation notes with satisfaction that a number of Asian countries are advancing constructive ideas and proposals.

105. The proposal made on 24 August 1981 by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan³ points the way to the solution of the situation which has arisen around Afghanistan on the basis of respect for the sovereignty, independence and democratic achievements of the Afghan people. In that context the Mongolian People's Republic welcomed the meetings between the representatives of Afghanistan and Pakistan, held through the good offices of the Secretary-General.

106. Against the background of the present situation in the Far East, the proposal made by the Soviet Union concerning the drafting and implementation of confidence-building measures in that region is of great importance. The proposal made by the Govern-

ment of the Mongolian People's Republic on the conclusion of a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between the States of Asia and the Pacific⁴ is in keeping with this and other initiatives. The very purpose of our initiative is to proscribe the use of force in inter-State relations, which would strengthen mutual understanding and trust in order that all disputes can be settled by peaceful means alone. We consider that dialogue and negotiations constitute the only reasonable way to solve problems of peace and the security of States.

107. I should like to stress here that the Mongolian proposal is not a mere repetition of the obligation not to use force undertaken by States in accordance with the Charter. It has as its aim the realistic implementation of that principle, with due regard for the multifaceted practices and the specific features of inter-State relations in Asia.

108. In spite of some assertions, the existence of many unresolved problems in Asia proves that our proposal is timely. It is clear that efforts for the peaceful resolution of conflict situations between individual States or in different regions specifically require the adoption of measures to exclude the use of force. We in the Mongolian People's Republic hope that the efforts of the representatives of non-aligned States, which deserve encouragement and support will bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran and create conditions for dialogue and for the establishment of peaceful relations in that important part of western Asia.

109. Naturally, we realize that the implementation of our initiative will require time and painstaking efforts. My delegation, on behalf of the Mongolian Government, wishes to express its gratitude to all Governments which support our initiative.

110. The Mongolian People's Republic has consistently supported the efforts of non-aligned countries to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, and we favour the convening of an international conference on this issue in 1983. We consider as timely the appeal to refrain from any steps likely to complicate the situation in that region.

111. A danger to international peace is posed by remnants of colonialism and by the neo-colonialist intrigues of imperialist forces. The racist Pretoria régime, relying on the support of imperialist circles, is seeking to perpetuate in one way or another its domination in Namibia, and it systematically commits acts of aggression against neighbouring countries. In our view, the Assembly at this session should once again speak out in favour of the imposition of comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

112. Like other countries, the Mongolian People's Republic is in favour of the immediate granting of independence to the people of Namibia through its legitimate representative, SWAPO, on the basis of United Nations resolutions. There should be no artificial conditions or linkages. In that connection, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic most emphatically condemns Pretoria's aggressive intrigues against the People's Republic of Angola, Mozambique and other front-line States.

113. The events in the South Atlantic have vividly demonstrated the danger posed to peace by the continued existence of any colonial possessions, even the smallest and remotest. At the same time, those events emphasized the urgent need to complete the process of decolonization. My delegation considers that the problem of the Malvinas Islands should be solved only through negotiations and on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions on the decolonization of that Territory.

114. The Mongolian People's Republic supports the granting of independence to Puerto Rico. Moreover, it is opposed to making Micronesia a colonial possession. The Mongolian people condemns the growing intrigues against revolutionary Nicaragua and the patriotic forces of El Salvador.

115. Imperialism's neo-colonialist strategy assigns an important place to attempts at splitting the OAU, which plays an important role in the struggle for peace, freedom and independence on the African continent. The Mongolian delegation expresses the hope that the Tripoli declaration of 8 August 1982 [see A/37/437] will promote the cause of consolidating the ranks of the OAU.

116. The pernicious effects of neo-colonialism are clearly shown in the economic policies of imperialist Powers towards developing countries. Economic relations between imperialist Powers on the one hand and developing countries on the other are characterized by exploitation and plundering of the latter. That is the main reason for the constant deterioration of the social and economic situation in newly liberated States. The leading Western Powers disregard the just demands of developing countries for a restructuring of international economic relations, and they are preventing the implementation of progressive provisions of such important United Nations documents as the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)], and the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)].

117. The Mongolian People's Republic is in favour of the democratic reshaping of international economic relations and of economic decolonization. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic condemns the attempts of imperialist Powers to use trade and other forms of economic ties as instruments of their aggressive policy. Such a course undermines the very foundation of international economic co-operation and results in increasing tension in the world.

118. My delegation believes that the comprehensive United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea⁵ meets the interests of all countries and can contribute significantly to the cause of strengthening peaceful co-operation among States in the vast space of the world's oceans. The Mongolian People's Republic advocates the signing of the Convention by all States and its speedy entry into force. We resolutely reject any actions and deals directed towards arbitrary utilization of the world's oceans and their resources in evasion or in violation of the provisions of that Convention.

119. In conclusion, the Mongolian delegation wishes to emphasize once again the urgent need to

adopt measures on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)], enhancing the effectiveness of the principle of renunciation of the use of force or the threat of its use in international relations. In the same spirit the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic reiterates its stand in favour of stimulating the activities of the United Nations and its principal organ—the Security Council, which bears the main responsibility for the maintenance of collective security—on the basis of strict observance of the provisions of the Charter. My delegation will be guided by this policy in its participation in the work of the present session.

120. Mr. SHEARER (Jamaica): I should like to begin by extending sincere congratulations to you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. I feel certain that the experience and knowledge you have acquired in the course of a brilliant career will enable you to guide the proceedings of the Assembly with all the skill required in these troubled times. I should also like to express our sincere gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Kittani, who deserves our praise for the dedication and skill with which he carried out his duties over the past year, which was a particularly challenging time for the United Nations.

Mr. Cinéas (Haiti), Vice-President, took the Chair.

121. This is the first opportunity I have had publicly to congratulate Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar on his appointment as Secretary-General. In his first year in office he has made an impressive beginning which gives encouragement and hope that during his tenure the United Nations will make greater strides towards the full attainment of its purposes and objectives.

122. The current session of the General Assembly is being held against the background of an alarming deterioration of the international situation, characterized by global confrontation, military intervention, foreign occupation, a spiralling of the arms race, and the frequent resort to the use or threat of the use of force against the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of States—all of this in the midst of a deep global economic recession.

123. A review of the agenda for this the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly points to a growing number of items dealing with unresolved crises, and an alarming increase in the outbreaks of fresh hostilities.

124. It is not without ironic significance that it is precisely the smaller, underdeveloped and economically more vulnerable countries of the third world, currently being buffeted by the effects of global economic recession, which are at the same time the focal points of tension and conflict, particularly in the Middle East, southern Africa, Asia, as well as Latin America and the Caribbean.

125. For the most part these conflicts have been intensified and made worse by the intrusion of super-Power confrontation, and as a consequence of flagrant disregard for the principles of the Charter and the by-passing of the United Nations as the proper forum within which to seek a peaceful settlement of disputes.

126. Recent events in the Middle East, culminating in the abominable massacre in the Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut, have shattered some long-held illusions. But the military prowess of the Israelis has not destroyed the basic fact. That basic fact is that no lasting peace and stability is possible unless the fundamental right of the Palestinian people to statehood is satisfied. Jamaica holds firmly to that view. Equally, we believe that all States in the area are entitled to exist within their internationally recognized boundaries.

127. We note that important initiatives have been taken by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference at Fez, and by the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan, to try to give a new impetus for a settlement of the Middle East problems. It is clear that there are many obstacles ahead, but it is noteworthy that there is now at least a common factor, and that common factor is a recognition that the Palestinian people have rights which have to be satisfied.

128. Jamaica recognizes that the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Palestine could have an important bearing on the settlement of the problems of the region. The Conference ought to be substantially more than an exchange of views. It should try to make specific and realistic recommendations which would be helpful in the peace-making process. In fact, we are tempted to suggest that the issues with which it is dealing and the international climate are such that the Conference ought to be held earlier. It is clear that the circumstances which gave rise to the need for a conference, and the assumptions on which its convening was based, have been largely overtaken by events. Its importance and its usefulness, therefore, will depend upon its ability to seize the propitious signs.

129. The United Nations must not cease in its efforts to find a formula for cessation of hostilities in various parts of the world. We wish to draw particular attention to the war between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran which has been going on for two years now and which has already taken thousands of lives, and left thousands more wounded, and we join in the pleas to both parties to end the conflict. Similarly the pivotal roles of the non-aligned movement and the OAU in the anti-colonial struggle and in the quest for peace, détente and disarmament must continue.

130. The events in the Middle East and other areas demonstrate the failure to enable the peace-keeping mechanisms of the United Nations to function as intended. They also underscore the need for more systematic and imaginative use of the Security Council to monitor areas of potentially dangerous conflict.

131. Over the years the practice of the permanent members has inexorably expanded the range of their interest and has brought so many minor areas of tension under the umbrella of their perceived interest that the collective security system has broken down. It has to be noted that too often the permanent members of the Security Council resort to use of the veto with scant regard for the overall interests of the international community, and in disregard of their own obligation to maintain international peace and security. The institutional marriage of the nineteenth century concept of the "Concert of Europe" with the

concent of collective security implicit in the Security Council, has not worked in the interests of the international community. Something has to be done to remedy this situation.

132. I congratulate the Secretary-General on his departure from recent practice by presenting to the members of the Assembly a brief, easily read, and challenging invitation that they should pause and consider the state of the Organization and decide to do something about its shortcomings. The Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization [A/37/1] is a direct challenge of the most profound kind addressed to every member of this body. To the Security Council as a whole, it is a challenge to recognize how far we have departed in practice from standards which were contemplated and set for us by its founders. The report is equally a challenge to every Member State to think again about the readiness with which we have been prepared to accept that the whole United Nations must remain flouted, ignored and powerless, if the Security Council, whose main responsibility is the preservation of international peace and security, is unable to act.

133. Jamaica maintains that the entire United Nations collective security system should not remain hamstrung and powerless because the Security Council is deadlocked. In the name of my Government, I renew Jamaica's commitment to the provisions of the Charter. Jamaica endorses the suggestion that a workable system of collective security should be re-introduced. We solemnly commit ourselves to the search for such a process and to the effective implementation of any useful measures which may be found so as to restore to the Security Council an effective capacity to discharge its responsibility for the maintenance of peace.

134. We urge that a meeting of the Council should be called before the end of this session of the Assembly, which should be attended at the very highest levels, and which will deal with the effectiveness of the Security Council in discharging its responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security. We further urge that the General Assembly should assign the subject of the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization to a Main Committee at this session, in which the Member States would actively consider the implication of the Secretary-General's report, and the action they might take when the Security Council is unable to act.

135. Another subject of urgent concern is that of Namibia. The movement towards independence for Namibia continues to be slow, notwithstanding the hints from the contact group that progress has been made. South Africa continues to block effective action. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) must be fully implemented. Jamaica does not share the view that the independence of Namibia should be linked to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. The two are separate issues and must be dealt with separately.

136. We condemn South Africa's continued military aggression and campaigns of destabilization against Angola and the other front-line States. In South Africa itself, the policy of *apartheid* continues to be more deeply entrenched every day. All the internal institutional changes point in the direction of a further entrenchment of this abhorrent system. Yet we are

told that sanctions are inappropriate in this case, while there are exhortations to apply them elsewhere; alleged forced labour is decried elsewhere, while the brutal treatment of the entire black population of South Africa is glossed over or excused. The criteria used to assess the problems of black people are always different, and a failure to apply the same standards is always clothed in specious excuses and sophistry. We cannot allow this degrading situation to continue.

137. Jamaica deeply regrets that the recent second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament failed to achieve any significant results, particularly as regards a comprehensive programme of disarmament. This is a major disappointment. The world community had expected much from this special session, particularly at a time when many States are embarking on dangerous rearmament programmes which they mistakenly believe will enhance their security. They must be made to realize that this absurd and perilous escalation of the arms race in both the nuclear and the conventional field consumes valuable resources which could more profitably be spent on economic and social development, particularly in developing countries, to correct the neglected problems which are the root cause of the struggles in the various regions.

138. It is estimated that some \$500 billion are being spent annually on armaments, whereas at the same time, according to the statistics compiled by the Organization, 450 million people suffer from hunger or malnutrition; there is an annual infant mortality rate of 12 million babies who die before their first birthday; 42 million people are blind, or nearly so; 2 billion people do not have water that is safe to drink; 250 million people live in urban slums or shanty towns; 870 million adults cannot read or write; 500 million people have no jobs or are less than fully employed; and 130 million children are unable to attend primary schools. These statistics frighten us. This is the nature of some of the global social problems and these are what we want addressed when we say that money now spent on armaments could be better used for development.

139. Jamaica hopes that Member States will now take increasing account of the concern manifested by the masses of people for effective disarmament measures, and that this will encourage a renewed commitment to general and complete disarmament. The World Disarmament Campaign which was approved by the special session, will certainly contribute to that end. Furthermore, the pledge by two nuclear-weapon States on the non-first use of nuclear weapons is also a welcome step in the right direction, and Jamaica hopes that the remaining nuclear-weapon States will make similar commitments in this regard.

140. In the midst of all these problems, we cannot ignore that singularly important achievement of the United Nations, the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea⁵ on 30 April 1982. Jamaica is among the developing and developed countries that welcome this event. The Convention has codified and progressively developed international law in several important areas, but I cite the following as its most significant achievements. First, the proclamation that the area beyond national jurisdiction is the

common heritage of mankind is a significant landmark in the history of international relations. We believe that the régime which it establishes for the exploration and exploitation of the natural resources of the deep sea-bed is just and equitable, and will operate to the mutual advantage of developed and developing countries. Secondly, the Convention has solved the age-old question of the breadth of the territorial sea by the establishment of an economic zone of 200 miles, including a territorial sea of 12 miles. It is the firm view of my Government that the Convention contains a body of rules on the rights and duties of States which is the law that governs the uses of the sea.

141. A major achievement of the Conference which we wish to highlight is the exemplary use in its proceedings of the device of consensus as a system of decision-making. It is indeed remarkable and commendable that in a Conference in which as many as 150 countries participated and which extended over eight years, the negotiations were almost entirely conducted and concluded without a vote being taken.

142. Jamaica has a great sense of pride at having been selected as the site of the International Sea-Bed Authority, of the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea, and of the ceremony for the signing of the Convention from 6 to 10 December 1982. I want to assure you that Jamaica is sensitive to the obligations which go with the conferment of those honours.

143. As you are aware, the Preparatory Commission comes into being on the signing of the Convention by 50 States and will commence its work within 90 days thereafter. It is obviously essential that, consistent with the programme and objectives of the Preparatory Commission, adequate provision be made for its effective functioning. That is a recommendation of the Group of 77 which we fully endorse.

144. We exhort all States to sign and ratify the Convention as quickly as possible so that it will enter into force in the shortest possible time. An early entry into force of the Convention can only operate to the advantage of all countries, developed and developing, particularly where it deals with the régime for the exploration and exploitation of the deep sea-bed.

145. We would not wish anyone to be left in doubt as to our view that activities in the international seabed area can take place lawfully only within the framework established by the Convention on the Law of the Sea. We hope that no country or group of countries will engage in actions or adopt measures whose effect will be to undermine the Convention.

146. We are not only beset by political turbulence and insecurity; we are confronted once again with a dismal picture of the world economic situation. The indicators are discouraging. They demonstrate the further entrenchment of world recession and stagnation.

147. In 1981 the international economy recorded a growth of only 1.2 per cent, that is, one third of the rate achieved in the recession-prone decade of the 1970s. For the developing countries, growth in 1981 was 0.6 per cent, representing a fall in per capita gross domestic product, which was a novel experience

in the developing world in the post-independence period. My own region, Latin America and the Caribbean, traditionally an area of relatively high growth, has been severely affected. Gross national product in the region actually declined by 0.4 per cent and per capita gross national product declined by 2.7 per cent.

148. World trade, itself a powerful determinant of the pace of economic growth, also presents a grim picture. Last year, for the first time in nearly two decades, world trade showed virtually no growth, after a minimal growth of 1.5 per cent in 1980. The situation is compounded by the alarming decline of 22.5 per cent in the prices of primary commodities between January 1981 and June of this year. Developing countries, notwithstanding the decline in their earnings as a result of this, are constrained to increase their imports in order to provide the basic necessities for their populations.

149. The downturn in global economic activity, as evidenced in the growth and trade indicators, has caused a worsening in the debt situation and the prospects for many developing countries. For 1981 the total external debt for capital-importing developing countries was in the area of \$500 billion, an almost threefold increase since the latter half of the 1970s. The gravity of the debt situation is revealed by a comparison of certain features in international financing between the beginning of the 1970s and the present. During that period, the average debt-service ratio of the oil-importing developing countries increased from 8 per cent to 19 per cent. Average maturities on loans contracted by developing countries fell from 20 to 12.7 years, and the interest burden on developing countries, measured in relation to their gross national product, increased four times.

150. This brief analysis of the global economy is intended to highlight the need for immediate action if we are to avert the collapse of the international system. We are all agreed on the necessity to achieve a rate of economic growth consistent with the aspirations of our peoples and the requirements for achieving international peace and security. In seeking to fulfil those objectives, we must make a special appeal to the developed countries to desist from the application of protectionist trade policies. The experience of the 1930s has shown that measures by developed countries to protect sectors in their economies that have lost their competitive edge in the international marketplace are self-defeating. They serve only to contract international purchasing power and to generate unemployment in their own economies as well as in the economies of the developing world that provide markets for their exports.

151. Jamaica is firm in the view that the marketplace and work-place of the developing world hold the best solution for reflation without inflation. The unsatisfied and growing demands of the consumer market and the unsatisfied and growing capabilities of the work forces of a growing number of developing countries need only the catalyst of expanded credit resources to fuel an expansion of trade through export-led growth.

152. Jamaica commends for the consideration of the Assembly the essential features of our Prime Minister's

presentation on this subject at the joint World Bank and International Monetary Fund meeting in Toronto in September. There Jamaica emphasized the urgency of introducing emergency measures which would be immediately implemented to assist those member countries which are on the brink of collapse and reinvigorate international trade and investment.

153. Jamaica considers that the Fund's Eighth general Review of Quotas provides a good opportunity to create credit as a means of trade expansion. Accordingly we support the early conclusion of the review of quotas in 1983 as called for by both the Intergovernmental Group of 24 on International Monetary Affairs and the Interim Committee of the Board of Governors on the International Monetary System. We fully support also the need for selective allocations and a substantial increase of quotas—an increase which in our view should not be less than 50 per cent.

154. Jamaica is of the view that increased liquidity for trade expansion could also be accomplished by the expansion of trade credits, utilizing excess liquidity in the commercial banking system accumulated through the increased savings resulting from current anti-inflationary strategies. As practice has developed, these savings are likely to be available only for short-term financing. The concern of commercial banks about current levels of credit exposure to developing countries indicates that an intermediary to trigger a meaningful flow of these under-utilized resources may be necessary.

155. One such intermediary mechanism already exists in the Bank's lending programme, through an export development fund for export trade credit. With appropriate modifications this mechanism could fulfil the purpose of a ready and available instrument to mobilize ready and available resources to be utilized by ready and available productive capacities, to expand trade, growth and employment on a basis consistent with the objectives of the adjustment process.

156. The financial dislocations brought about by the global energy situation continue to inhibit the search for economic stability within the oil-importing developing countries. The development of non-conventional sources of energy must therefore remain a priority. Jamaica looks forward to the report on the progress made by the Interim Committee on New and Renewable Sources of Energy on the implementation of the Nairobi Programme of Action for the Development of New and Renewable Sources of Energy.⁶

157. Jamaica is concerned that the effectiveness of the World Bank in the development process could be eroded, as evidenced in the obstacles being placed in the way of establishing an energy affiliate to support an expanded programme for energy investment.

158. I have focused on a few of the elements inhibiting the economic growth of developing countries and hence of the global economy. It should now be obvious to all that the issues are so closely inter-related as to necessitate a coherent and integrated approach to deal with them. No one should at this stage find it useful to argue in favour of separating the concerns of the North from those of the South.

159. The crisis in the international economy and the measure of collective fears are reflected in the concerns which all countries, including those with surpluses, have regarding the world-wide balance-of-payments situation. The concern of the Assembly must, however, go beyond simple accounting indices. We must be aware of the implications of such indices for the quality of life of those we have the honour to represent. The global economic recession's net effect on them is increasing unemployment brought about by the weakening in the world demand for goods and services. High levels of unemployment now threaten the social and political order in both the North and the South. In the developing world, unemployment levels of up to 30 per cent are not unusual. Vast sectors of young and courageous populations have never had the chance to secure gainful employment. The employed live daily under the threat of loss of jobs because of the decline in the prices of primary products, because of bankruptcies and closure of factories and other productive operations. These are brought about by the effects of economic recession transmitted through the network of international economic linkages.

160. We have throughout the years debated priorities from the perspectives of the North and the South and accommodation of what we have perceived as our just aspirations. I submit that we must now face up to the global priority. We must bring to bear our intellectual capacity and our political authority to halt the global economic recession and correspondingly to induce growth and development internationally. This calls for all of us, rich and poor, to recognize the basic reality of the 1980s, and that basic reality is the force of global interdependence. A few years ago the concept of interdependence was the basis for interesting but largely semantic debates. Today interdependence is an inescapable reality.

161. The proposed global round of negotiations, which has been under consideration for the past three years, must now be recognized as offering the best prospect of bringing about the changes required to establish an economic system which can fulfil the aspirations of our time.

162. Jamaica hopes that the sense of realism which has been shown by the developing countries on this issue will be reciprocated by the North in order to facilitate the commencement of global negotiations in early 1983. The establishment of the necessary framework must be concluded by this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

163. Our obligations to each other derive from our interdependence. We simply cannot live without one another. The recognition of that fact must constantly mould our actions so as to bring about a peaceful, just and prosperous world. That is Jamaica's objective.

164. Mr. WASIUDDIN (Bangladesh): The members of my delegation and I deem it an honour and a privilege to have the opportunity of participating in the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We bring representatives the warm greetings of the Government and the people of Bangladesh. On behalf of the Bangladesh delegation and on my own behalf, I congratulate Mr. Hollai on his unanimous election as President of the thirty-seventh session of the

General Assembly. We are confident that his qualities of leadership and wealth of experience will be of immense value to the Assembly in accomplishing its task. We offer him our fullest co-operation and support in fulfilling his heavy responsibility during the days ahead. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to congratulate his predecessor, Mr. Kittani of Iraq, on his determined and energetic leadership not only during the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly but also during the second special session devoted to disarmament and the emergency special session on the question of Palestine. His patience and wisdom have been greatly appreciated by all of us. My delegation would also like to pay a tribute to the new Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, who, within the short period since the assumption of his most difficult responsibilities, has earned our trust and confidence for his absolute dedication and impartiality. The Government of Bangladesh congratulates him on his unremitting efforts and ceaseless endeavours in promoting the purposes and principles of the Charter. We assure him of our fullest support for all his efforts aimed in this direction.

165. Bangladesh deeply mourns the passing of His Majesty King Khaled of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. In him the entire world has lost an outstanding personality dedicated to the cause of peace and justice.

166. Since its independence as a sovereign nation, Bangladesh has made consistent efforts to work for the greater interest of the international community. The foreign policy of Bangladesh is based on total adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We see this world body as a unique instrument for promoting global peace and development based on justice and equity. We greatly appreciate the candour with which the Secretary-General in his report has brought to our notice the shortcomings of the Organization. We in Bangladesh will support the Secretary-General in all his efforts to make the United Nations an effective organization for maintaining world peace and security. Bangladesh has chosen non-alignment as the cornerstone of its foreign policy. We are committed to working tirelessly together with other peace-loving nations of the world to create an environment of peace in which people can harness all available resources to combat the scourge of poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy, thus achieving economic freedom without sacrificing political freedom.

167. As at previous sessions this year, too, we have a long agenda and we are very conscious of the number of crucial issues before us. We notice a progressive decline in the international situation. There is widespread use of force, the continuing existence of foreign occupation forces and acts of aggression, total disregard for the principle of self-determination, and flouting of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

168. The situation prevailing in the Middle East remains dangerous and highly explosive, posing a serious threat to international peace and security. This state of affairs is due to the persistence of Israel in its flagrant denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, as recognized by the United Nations. The latest Israeli holocaust in Lebanon has rendered the situation in the Middle East more explo-

sive than ever before. Along with the peoples of all peace-loving nations, we in Bangladesh have been stunned by the appalling act of inhuman massacre of a large number of innocent and unarmed Palestinian men, women and children in their camps in west Beirut.

169. The Government of Bangladesh is of the view that the question of Palestine constitutes the core of the Middle East problem. There can be no just and lasting peace in the Middle East unless the Palestinian people can exercise their legitimate rights, including the right to return to their homeland, their right to self-determination and to establish a State of their own under the leadership of the PLO their sole and legitimate representative, with Jerusalem as its capital. Further, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force imposes an obligation on Israel to withdraw completely from all the territories it has occupied since 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem. Any solution that fails to recognize these rights and realities will pose a constant threat to peace and stability in the region.

170. We are particularly distressed at the continuing and self-defeating armed conflict between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran. Bangladesh, as a member of the Islamic Peace Committee, has made sincere efforts to resolve that conflict peacefully. It is a great tragedy that despite our collective efforts the war is still continuing. We should like to make a renewed appeal to both Iran and Iraq to stop this armed conflict forthwith and to resolve their differences through peaceful means.

171. It is also extremely disheartening that the crises in Afghanistan and in Kampuchea remain unresolved. We should do everything possible to ensure the withdrawal of all foreign troops from those two countries and to ensure that the people in both those countries are permitted to determine their own destinies without any outside intervention or interference.

172. We firmly believe that peace is possible in southern Africa only through the transfer of power to the people of Namibia. We appreciate the sustained mediatory efforts of the five Western Powers in evolving an agreement on Namibia's transition to independence under the control and supervision of the United Nations.

173. It is the view of Bangladesh that peace and security would be promoted through the creation of zones of peace in areas like the Indian Ocean, South Asia and South-East Asia, the Mediterranean and other regions. Such zones would have to take into account the interrelated aspects of eliminating the military presence of and threat from external Powers and the maintenance of security among the regional States. In this context, we support the convening of a conference in Sri Lanka next year as a step towards the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

174. Bangladesh has also been making unrelenting efforts to promote peace and stability in the South Asian region through the creation of a climate of trust, understanding and co-operation on the basis of mutual respect for sovereign equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. Taking into account our friendly relations within our region with India,

Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Maldives, Bangladesh has proposed the creation of a regional co-operation forum among those countries. Substantial progress has been made towards the implementation of this proposal, and the necessary preparatory work is still under way for making the process self-sustaining and irreversible. It has also been decided to convene a meeting at the level of Foreign Ministers next year to launch the forum.

175. We believe that our statement on global issues would be incomplete if we did not say a few words about our national efforts to achieve a better living for our people. Mr. H. M. Ershad, on assumption of the office of the head of Government of Bangladesh, clearly spelt out his Government's objectives: first, to bring maximum benefit to the 90 million people of Bangladesh; secondly, to ensure maximum participation by the people of the country through existing political institutions and, thirdly, to create a simple, well-balanced administration capable of responding to the needs of the people. In order to achieve these objectives, the Government of Bangladesh has spelt out plan priorities, which are: self-sufficiency in agriculture, population control, encouragement of the private sector, universal primary education and extensive and integrated rural development programmes, including health and social welfare. These priorities and the decentralization of administration which has been initiated by the Government are designed to revitalize the social and economic activities and to lay the foundation of a new Bangladesh. We are confident that these efforts by us at the national level will receive whole-hearted support from the international community.

176. We in Bangladesh are therefore deeply concerned that the international situation has further deteriorated, generating despair and pessimism. The world economy is passing through a very serious crisis threatening both the developed and the developing countries. The second special session devoted to disarmament has met with miserable failure, while armament expenditures continue to rise. The crisis spots all over the world also continue to multiply. Our most important task therefore should be to address these problems in a concerted and collective manner. The evolution of international society has made it manifest more than ever before that most problems today are interlinked and global in character. There can be no piecemeal solution.

177. There can be no lasting peace so long as economic imbalances and injustices prevail. Peace is meaningless if it is not accompanied by development. To achieve a better world, mankind must have both. While we strive for peace, our efforts for development should not lag behind. Bangladesh strongly believes that the right to development is a human right and that equality of opportunity for development is as much the prerogative of nations as of individuals within nations.

178. The present inequities of the world economic order, accompanied by the accelerated arms race, is therefore at the root of all world problems and one of the most significant obstacles to the realization of both the right to development and the right to peace. As the head of Government and President of the Council of Ministers of Bangladesh, Mr. H. M.

Ershad, declared from this rostrum during the twelfth special session and the second special session devoted to disarmament [17th meeting], the three major challenges confronting mankind's continued progress and eventual survival are the arms race, underdevelopment and the unlawful use of force in solving international disputes. Peace and development are indivisible and both can be achieved to a large extent through effective disarmament. The enormous resources that can be released through a well-intentioned disarmament process would give a tremendous boost to the development efforts of the developing countries. In this period of resource difficulties, such diversion of resources is of crucial importance. This point which we are making is not a new one and has been repeated many times in this forum as well as in others. Unfortunately, though, it has not been translated into reality by the parties concerned. We therefore urge everyone, big or small, to give this idea serious thought, keeping in mind the question of the survival and progress of mankind as a whole. The annual military expenditures of nearly \$600 billion, which is more than 10 times the amount now available for development assistance, is totally irrational. Such wasteful use of enormous amounts of the world's precious limited resources is also clearly immoral when millions die of starvation and many more millions are struggling for their very survival.

179. Bangladesh acceded to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] as a demonstration of its total commitment to general and complete disarmament. In view of the failure of the second special session on disarmament, we urge the super-Powers and other militarily significant States to concert their efforts so as to commence serious negotiations on a comprehensive test ban treaty as well as a conventional-weapon treaty.

180. Work on the comprehensive programme of disarmament, which forms the core of the negotiations on the reduction of armament, both nuclear and conventional, should be started in Geneva within the framework of the Committee on Disarmament. The failure of the Assembly at the second special session on disarmament to produce a final document on the comprehensive programme of disarmament should not be taken as an alibi to avoid the responsibility that devolves on the super-Powers as well as other militarily significant countries. Bangladesh, in its total commitment to general and complete disarmament, has applied for membership in the Committee on Disarmament and is ready to contribute to all future disarmament negotiations to be undertaken in the Committee on Disarmament.

181. The present world economic crisis is of a global nature. The interrelationship of issues and the interdependence of the countries are so clearly established that isolated measures by any individual country or group of countries cannot solve the contradictions and difficulties that appear as a result of profound structural imbalance. On the other hand, we agree with the view that deterioration in the international economic situation has in part been due to policies pursued in countries with a preponderant weight in the world economy, as they have sought to solve their problems on a national basis. The present

state of crisis can be overcome only through a global and concerted effort on the part of all countries. Therefore we believe that a lasting improvement in international economic relations can be achieved only through a global dialogue—a sincere, determined and imaginative co-operation between the developed and the developing countries. It does not need reiteration that all nations have a stake in the recovery of the world economy and should, therefore, engage themselves in a purposeful effort to address themselves to a world recovery programme and a restructuring of the existing international economic relations. Bangladesh believes that the present unjust international economic system requires structural reforms which could result only from a comprehensive and integrated approach to the present international economic issues through the participation of all countries in a round of global negotiations for the establishment of the new international economic order. Bangladesh has, therefore, actively joined in all the initiatives and efforts for the launching of global negotiations as envisaged in General Assembly resolution 34/138. We earnestly hope that in view of its importance to the economic development of the world as a whole, it will be possible for us to launch the global negotiations without further delay. Bangladesh will continue to make its humble contribution towards this effort in its capacity as Chairman of the Group of 77.

182. Before concluding, on behalf of the Bangladesh delegation, I wish to assure you, Mr. President, and through you all the members of the Assembly that Bangladesh is determined to play a meaningful and constructive role in finding just and equitable solutions to the problems which face us today. It is our strong belief that, despite the frustrations of the past, the United Nations system is still the only organization which can bring effective peace, progress and prosperity to our world. In order to achieve our common objective, all the Members of the United Nations, big and small, must unite together to make this body more effective both in spirit and in action.

183. Mr. MOLAPO (Lesotho): The multiplicity of the problems with which the United Nations has to contend is clearly reflective of its universality. Yet in the 37 years of its existence the Organization has shed light unto many. Within this forum, great hopes have been realized, misery and despair have been averted and a new generation of man has been moulded—a generation that recognizes the value of diplomatic intercourse over the perils and degradation of warfare.

184. It would not be wrong, therefore, to suggest that the current worsening international climate, characterized by grave economic imbalances and world-wide political turmoil, presents but simple trials which this world body can readily contain. I trust that our unity of purpose, bold determination and serene statesmanship will help us through the heavy agenda ahead of us.

185. In congratulating the President on his election to preside at this session, I should like also to assure him and the other officers of the Assembly of my delegation's firm support and co-operation. We are convinced that, as a distinguished statesman of the Hungarian People's Republic, he will be able to steer our deliberations to a successful conclusion. Permit me to congratulate the President of the thirty-sixth

session, Mr. Kittani, who discharged his obligations honourably.

186. Since this is the first regular session of the General Assembly at which we have the benefit of the services of the new Secretary-General, I should like to congratulate Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar on his elevation to the high office of guardian of international law and order and mentor to the world's leaders. To him we have entrusted for the next five years the future of the United Nations. We are convinced that, as the son of a third-world country, he is better able than anybody else to articulate the concerns and aspirations of the developing world.

187. It is also fitting at this stage warmly to thank his predecessor, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who steered the Organization through many a difficult time over the past 10 years. The success of the United Nations during those 10 years is clearly demonstrated in the increase in the membership of the Organization, the marked decline in the suffering of the South-East Asian refugees and the high priority accorded by the United Nations to various international problems. Regrettably, there have been setbacks in the operation of the Organization, as evidenced in the case of Namibia.

188. One of the primary goals of the founding fathers of the Organization is nearing achievement. I refer to the decolonization agenda. While many countries have gained independence in the years since the founding of the United Nations, we are still waiting for Namibia to accede to independence. Namibia is a test case which should give the United Nations the image of an international arbiter. If it does not, the United Nations will continue to be characterized by cynics everywhere as an organization of uselessness and inaction. When the glorious day of independence finally dawns in Namibia, a sad chapter in the struggle of a people to rid itself of foreign domination will be closed. The world has witnessed the worst defiance of international opinion as South Africa has employed one subterfuge after another to delay the attainment of independence by the people of Namibia.

189. We are heartened by the fact that progress has been made on this issue in recent months, but we find it highly disturbing that the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia is being linked with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from the People's Republic of Angola. No one can question the right of any sovereign State to determine its internal affairs, including its sovereign right to seek technical and military assistance from any friendly country. The presence of Cuban personnel in Angola is an extraneous issue which should not delay Namibia's independence. In any case, it has always been our stand that South Africa will delay the independence of Namibia until such time as it may get a Government amenable to dictates. One of the ploys it is using to delay Namibia's independence is setting conditions such as the present one. That condition is unnecessary and uncalled for, and it negates the sovereignty of Angola.

190. The numerous obstacles which have been placed in the way of a peaceful settlement of the Namibian issue have delayed the solution of this problem. I have to express in the Assembly the genuine fear

of my Government that if this issue is made to drag on indefinitely, it may bring about the very thing that everybody has been trying to avoid for the last five years—turning southern Africa into a constant hotbed of tension and a new arena of East-West conflict.

191. The President of the thirty-sixth session of the Assembly, Mr. Kittani, presided over the second special session devoted to disarmament, in June-July this year. That second global attempt to give disarmament a special place in this grim catalogue of the ills that afflict mankind clearly reflects the threat of universal annihilation that is posed by the unprecedented arms build-up. That is why we have to express openly our disappointment that the session failed to produce any results.

192. The world political situation remains tense; old rivalries have re-emerged; the prospects of peace and tranquility have been diminished and the probability of war has been enhanced. In this decade of the 1980s we are facing a critical situation in which man's lust for peace is being replaced by a lust for war. The world order, on both the political and the economic front, continues to manifest signs of decline and impending collapse.

193. This point is all the more poignant at this time when we are witnessing a resurgence of big-Power rivalry and a dangerous tendency to assume that superior force is the final arbiter in international relations. This dangerous trend in the conduct of foreign policy must be arrested before it is too late. Lesotho will continue to participate in all efforts aimed at bringing about a global consensus on the vital issues of international peace and security, disarmament and the new international economic order, on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

194. Lesotho, as a member of the non-aligned movement, places a high premium on international respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States. We are therefore alarmed at the increasing readiness of States to use force to safeguard their proclaimed interests or to assert territorial claims, without any regard for the interests of other States, especially the weak and defenceless ones.

195. I cannot comment on the current international political situation without touching on recent events in Lebanon, especially the human tragedies that have unfolded in that war-torn land. We witnessed earlier the brutal siege of west Beirut by Israeli forces. No sooner had the siege been lifted than a succession of tragedies began to befall the people of Lebanon and the Palestinian refugees. The world learned with shock and dismay of the dastardly assassination of President-elect Bashir Gemayel, only to witness a few days later an even greater human tragedy and a terrible spectacle—the massacre of Palestinian civilians in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila.

196. Those unfortunate events have irrevocably placed the Palestinian issue at the centre of Middle East politics and have once and for all crystallized its central position in all peace efforts. The question of Palestinian rights and Palestinian self-determination cannot be treated merely as a political issue, the solution of which is subject to Israel's security requirements.

197. It is an issue which has brought untold suffering upon the Palestinian people. They have suffered the degradation of displacement and the squalor of refugee camps in foreign countries. Today they have suffered a tragedy which invokes the deepest human emotions and disturbs the conscience and moral values of mankind. The Palestinian issue has come to symbolize, in our time, the ills and deficiencies which plague international diplomacy.

198. We have maintained all along that the Palestinian issue is the crux of the Middle East problem. We do not need further massacres of Palestinian refugees to be reminded that the issue of Palestinian self-determination is the crucial item on the agenda of peace in the Middle East. It is about time Israel learned that its security lies not in the dispersal of the Palestinian people and in war but in peace.

199. Lesotho does not condone the breach of peace in the Middle East and southern Africa, nor does it countenance with complicity the presence of foreign troops in Kampuchea and Afghanistan. We are fully aware of the complex political and military relationships in South-East Asia and South-West Asia, and particularly the strategic interests of foreign Powers in those vital areas. In our humble view, the issue of peace in those areas does not depend solely on Viet Nam's willingness to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea and on Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan; it depends also on an overall recognition of the security requirements of each and every State in those regions.

200. Another focal point of tension is the Korean peninsula. We renew our call for resumption of dialogue, without pre-conditions or external interference, between the two parts of Korea so as to bring about a peaceful reunification of that artificially divided land.

201. I also wish to repeat the well-known position of Lesotho on the question of the Falkland Islands. The Falklanders should be allowed to determine their own future in accordance with their inalienable right to self-determination as stipulated in the Charter of the United Nations and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

202. The history of the human race is replete with international efforts to accord man his rightful place within the community of free nations. Over the past three decades in particular, the international community has witnessed a succession of attempts to codify legal instruments aimed at the promotion and protection of the basic rights of man.

203. Ironically, world-wide reports of flagrant and persistent violations of the sanctity of the human person continue to filter into the already heavy agenda of the United Nations. This is clearly reflective of man's reluctance to conform deeds to words.

204. In this respect, we applaud once more the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights adopted at the eighteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU. Significantly, the Charter draws attention to the distinctive nature of African values and morals, and also provides for the respective duties and responsibilities of individuals and groups to their communities. Lesotho is at present engaged in moves to incorporate the

provisions of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights into our municipal law.

205. History will be made in Kingston, Jamaica, when the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea is opened for signature in December. This will be the culmination of nine years of patient negotiations and a firm determination to accord land-locked States access to the sea—whose resources are the common heritage of all. It is to be hoped that once it comes into force good will will prevail upon the international community to make the Convention a success.

206. My Government is satisfied that UNDP has played a very important role in the transfer of assistance from the developed to the developing countries, and its importance in this role has all the more increased, as revealed by its latest reports. We also take cognizance of the interest UNDP shows in the least developed countries. We, therefore, wish to pledge our confidence in the manner in which the Administrator is handling the affairs of UNDP, and we give him the assurance of our co-operation. We are aware that his task during the current cycle will be made more difficult by the fact that resource prospects for the period are gloomy and far from promising. However, we have reason to believe that the newly created Inter-Sessional Committee of the Whole will soon come up with specific proposals for recovery in the short term and for the longer term to secure predictability, continuity and assurance in the funding of the Programme.

207. The developing countries recognize that they are, in the first instance, responsible for their own economic and social development and that external aid should only be supplementary. They accept that the economic challenges of the future demand a complete elimination of unhealthy competition among them. At the same time, they are aware of their individual limitations. It is for these reasons that the idea of economic co-operation among developing countries is increasingly gaining ground.

208. We, therefore, entirely support the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa,⁷ whose future projections are geared towards economic integration of Africa by the year 2000. We recognize that ECA is engaged in consolidating subregional plans and strategies towards the noble goal of economic integration. We support the recommendations of the Joint Inspection Unit on the re-organization of ECA [see A/37/34, paras. 53-62], recognizing the role of multinational programming and operational centres. We applaud the signature last year of the Preferential Trade Area [PTA] Agreement for east and southern Africa in Lusaka, Zambia. The significance of the PTA is seen in particular in its scope, spanning as it does some 7.2 million square kilometres with a population of about 140 million people. For our part, having overcome domestic limitations imposed on us by our geography, Lesotho ratified the PTA Agreement in March 1982. We view the PTA as a right step towards the basic restructuring of the economic base of our continent. As the Executive-Secretary of ECA, Mr. Adebayo Adedeji, said at the December meeting to launch the PTA, we see our continent as a boat in which there is less to eat, where poverty and degradation is the plight of the average person, a boat which may sink before long unless all hands are on deck

and a will to survive and eventually thrive manifests itself.

209. This will to survive has been adequately articulated within the PTA and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference. This will to survive is further lucidly elaborated in the Lagos Plan of Action, which maps out Africa's economic strategy to the year 2000.

210. We are, however, far from realizing the fact that the search for a universally acceptable formula of self-reliance through the process of global negotiations has not yet been achieved. We are concerned about the continuing hesitation by some developed countries and we urge that an agreement be reached to launch global negotiations not later than January 1983.

211. With respect to the special economic assistance programme for Lesotho, I am proud to announce that the generous response of the international community to the request for special economic assistance for Lesotho has been most encouraging and has permitted the implementation of a substantial portion of the programme. Some of the projects have been fully funded and others have been financed in part as revealed in the report of the Secretary-General [A/37/126].

212. On behalf of the Basotho nation, the Lesotho Government and myself, I wish sincerely to thank all donor countries and regional and intergovernmental organizations, as well as United Nations bodies and agencies for the assistance rendered under the special economic assistance programme for Lesotho. They can all be assured that good use has been made and will continue to be made of their contributions. We urge the donor countries to continue to respond to the appeal made in the report just mentioned.

213. The complexity of the geo-political situation, of which we are an integral part, hardly permits us the equanimity to consider Lesotho's political and socio-economic problems without reference to the conditions which prevail in South Africa. The Assembly will have noticed that stability in South Africa is becoming more illusory and that the prospects of eventual racial accommodation are dimmer. At no time since the doctrine of *apartheid* became a way of life in South Africa has the Government of that country faced as great an assault on their racial policies as it does now. Within South Africa itself signs of confrontation manifest themselves from all sectors of social life. Pretoria faces opposition from students, church leaders and sections of the white population, and the Nationalist laager itself is in terrible disarray.

214. In our strong and vociferous opposition to *apartheid*, as repeatedly stated in the past, we proceed from the moral position that *apartheid* is dangerous, not only for South Africa itself but also for its immediate neighbours and civilized humanity as a whole. We seek not to preach to South Africa regarding the objectionable tenets of its domestic policies, but we respond to a moral demand which we can only ignore at our own peril. We have to call continuously on South Africa to abandon the disastrous path of *apartheid*, which leads to the dead-end of racial confrontation, a prospect too ghastly to contemplate.

215. Lesotho will not just watch silently while the stage is being set for a confrontation which would reduce southern Africa to ashes. For us the impending disaster with which *apartheid* threatens southern Africa is as real and as terrifying as the grim prospect of a nuclear holocaust hovering over mankind today. Because of our geographical location within the borders of South Africa, we cannot contemplate the prospect of violence and destruction in that country with composure. Our primary responsibility is to ensure the survival of our nation in peace and tranquillity.

216. Even when the writing is on the wall and clear for South Africa to read, the authorities in Pretoria continue to tinker with the problem. The recently proposed constitutional dispensation for Coloureds and Indians is a political farce and a hollow gimmick. It is meant to appease public opinion abroad while it sows the seeds of conflict and tribal polarization at home. It is intended to put up a façade of political change, to hoodwink world public opinion and to lessen pressure from abroad, thus creating a breathing space for the *apartheid* policies, which have apparently run their course and outlived their usefulness to the South African régime. This constitutional arrangement completely ignores and circumvents the rights and legitimate aspirations of the black South Africans that constitute the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa. It seeks to isolate the Coloureds and the Indians from the mainstream of the political struggle inside South Africa by turning them into allies of *apartheid* without giving them any tangible benefits from such an unwholesome association.

217. Finally I should like to thank all those Member States that have stood by us during our moments of great difficulty and all those that have hastened to assure us of their solidarity in times of great trial. The OAU, in particular, through the Secretary-General, Mr. Kodjo, has been a true custodian of the principles and purposes which guided the founding fathers of the OAU. He has tirelessly kept the situation in Lesotho under constant surveillance, an act which has assured us that our plight in southern Africa is a matter of grave concern to the community of free nations. This awareness has given us courage to look forward with determination to a future in which southern Africa will be rid of all racial discrimination and segregation. Lesotho offers its firm pledge to contribute towards the evolution of a southern Africa of peace, prosperity, tranquillity and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States in the region. We call upon South Africa sincerely to offer a similar undertaking.

218. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

219. Mr. JOHNSTON (United States of America): I speak today not in reply, but in protest against allegations made at the 19th and 20th meetings by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Viet Nam. These strident and baseless attacks on the United States are not new. They are the shopworn and tired rhetoric of despotic régimes, caught in their own lies, unable to distinguish truth from propaganda.

220. My delegation responded during the general debate at the thirty-sixth session [33rd meeting]

to precisely the same threadbare accusations by Libya. They have not varied their texts or produced one shred of supporting evidence. Their method is an example of the Orwellian inversion of the truth, that classic technique of propaganda by which despotic States accuse others of precisely the crimes committed by them. To respond once again would dignify those charges. That we do not choose to do.

221. With respect to the statement by the representative of Viet Nam, there is no more effective or meaningful response than an article that appears in the current issue of the *New York Review of Books*. The article was written by Truong Nhu Tang, one of the hundreds of thousands of boat people who fled Viet Nam. But his particular political background lends unusual significance to his observations. He was in fact a founder of the National Liberation Front of Viet Nam and the Minister of Justice for the Viet Cong Provisional Revolutionary Government. In 1976 he was offered a Cabinet position in the Communist Government of Viet Nam. I shall quote him directly throughout this statement; these are his words, not ours. Truong Nhu Tang states that after the war "A rigid authoritarianism settled down over the entire country, an authoritarianism supported by the third largest army in the world, although Viet Nam is among the 20 poorest nations in the world". Hundreds of thousands were sent to re-education camps, and, he says, literally millions of ordinary citizens were forced to leave their homes and settle in the so-called New Economic Zones. He asks:

"And where in all of this are the feelings of the common people? Members of the former resistance, their sympathizers, and those who supported the Viet Cong are now filled with bitterness. These innocent people swear openly that had they another chance their choice would be different..."

"Viet Nam is now practically an instrument of Soviet expansionism in South East Asia..."

"The radical and hidden nature of the Northern takeover resulted in the displacement of virtually every moderate and neutralist element. There was simply nothing to stop the most rapacious and destructive communist plans from being carried out. Carpetbagging Northern officials fought each other, sometimes at gunpoint, for the best offices, the most comfortable houses, the most lucrative positions. ...

"Throughout the country, the people have passively resisted forced collectivization. The Party for its part tries to ascribe economic failure to natural calamities and the destruction of war, but in fact the underlying causes are social and psychological. On the one hand there is widespread popular discontent and on the other hand the failures of a totalitarian régime."

Truong Nhu Tang goes on to say:

"Not many people can believe these things, just as they could not believe in the past that the North would take over the South and set up a communist régime. But the truth is that for the first time in our history people have risked their lives to leave Viet Nam; large numbers of Vietnamese never tried to flee their country to escape French domination or the American intervention. The

refugee exodus began in earnest as the active population was systematically drafted into the protracted war against Cambodia and occupied Laos. For the first time since 1945, when famine killed 2 million people, Viet Nam has been facing grave and widespread food shortages because fanatical leaders have sacrificed their people in order to fulfil the obligations of [so-called] internationalism."

222. Discussing his own previous commitments, Truong Nhu Tang says:

"I was tragically wrong. Like many Western intellectuals I believed that the Northern Communists, who had made heroic sacrifices in their own struggle for independence, would never by choice become dependent on any super-Power. With other liberals I shared the romantic notion that those who had fought so persistently against oppression would not themselves become oppressors. The truth, however, has nothing romantic about it. The North Vietnamese Communists... became in their turn colonialists, interventionists, and architects of one of the world's most rigid régimes, becoming at the same time dependent clients of the Soviets

"The golden opportunity to harness the energy of 55 million people to rebuild their shattered country came in April 1975 when foreign involvement ended. That was the moment to initiate a policy of national reconciliation without reprisals, to establish a representative Government that would include a spectrum of political parties and pursue a foreign policy of non-alignment. That was the moment to foster a spirit of brotherhood and focus the country's attention on the task of national reconstruction...

"The Communists, however, chose aggrandizement rather than reconciliation. The moment of military victory was the moment they began to eliminate the NLF."

Having admitted his own responsibility for the "disastrous state" of his country, Truong Nhu Tang concludes that

"... my obligation to my countrymen is greater now because the oppression they are suffering is unparalleled in Viet Nam's history."

Today, he writes, the Vietnamese and the Indo-Chinese in general

"... are fighting against the most obdurate and persistent imperialists of the century, the Soviets, and there are no anti-war movements in Moscow...

"No previous régime in my country brought such numbers of people to such desperation... It is a lesson that my compatriots and I learned through witnessing and through suffering in our own lives the fate of our countrymen. It is a lesson that must eventually move the conscience of the world."

223. When such a man as Truong Nhu Tang is moved to issue such an indictment of the communist régime in Viet Nam, there is little that I need or wish to add.

224. Mr. PALMA VALDERRAMA (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the 20th meeting, yester-

day afternoon, the Foreign Minister of Ecuador insisted that there is "a serious territorial problem" between Peru and Ecuador.

225. My delegation reiterates that the Rio Protocol of Peace, Friendship and Frontiers between Peru and Ecuador put an end to any territorial dispute, defining the boundaries once and for all. That international treaty was subscribed to by the ministries of both countries and duly approved by their congresses. The instruments of ratification were exchanged in the presence of the President of Brazil and full respect for and observance of the Protocol is guaranteed by four States.

226. But Ecuador did not merely agree to the treaty; for many years it respected it through a great many acts of acceptance and implementation which made possible the demarcation of 96 per cent of the frontier, over an area of 1,597 kilometres, leaving only a stretch of 78 kilometres in the Condor Range to be demarcated.

227. The Protocol had supplementary instruments, among them the findings of the Brazilian judge, Dias de Aguiar, that were formally recognized and accepted by Ecuador and that state that the boundary in this sector must be the most direct and easily recognized natural line, which is the Condor Range. Therefore, nothing that the Foreign Minister of Ecuador may say can weaken or undermine the solid basis of Peru's territorial rights.

228. The problem is to fulfil international treaties in good faith, which is a fundamental norm of the international legal order and one which is in turn the foundation of this and other international organizations and a guarantee of civilized and peaceful coexistence. It is surprising, therefore, that Ecuador is seeking to undermine the machinery established in the treaty, casting doubt on or expressing disagreement about its implementation as specifically governed by its article 7.

229. We therefore once again reject any attempt by the delegation of Ecuador to express reservations with regard to Government actions which Peru is taking in its national territory, in exercise of its full sovereignty. Our country is not seeking to question what sovereign States do in their territories, nor can we or will we accept others seeking to do so with respect to our own.

230. Lastly, Peru reiterates its intention to maintain within its legal system the best and most constructive relations with Ecuador.

231. Mr. MOJTAHEDI (Islamic Republic of Iran): Yesterday, throughout his speech, at the 19th meeting, the Foreign Minister of Iraq tried to prove that his Government has, during the past years, been the champion of the non-aligned movement by showing willingness to sacrifice its own interests for the preservation of the movement. It is at once both fortunate and regrettable that the Foreign Minister of Iraq attempts to fabricate and change historical facts before the Assembly, to which all members of the non-aligned movement, who have closely followed the events of the past month, belong. It is regrettable in the sense that the Foreign Minister of Iraq is insulting the intelligence of the representatives of the non-aligned countries. On the other hand, it is fortunate

that once again he has proved before an international body the true nature of this régime, which has been involved in campaigns of fabrication and misinformation since the beginning of its imposed war against the Islamic Republic of Iran.

232. It is well known to the members of the non-aligned movement that Iraq desperately insisted, up to the last moment on a meeting of non-aligned countries being held, at any level—in a vain attempt to establish some international credibility for its dying régime. It desperately tried to show that its internal political condition allowed for at least a meeting of the foreign ministers of the countries of the non-aligned movement. To avoid further discussion, we would refer to a message dated 2 August 1982, from President Fidel Castro, Chairman of the movement, addressed to the heads of State and Government of the non-aligned countries, in which he pointed out—and I quote from the unofficial translation:

“During the past few months, an increasing number of distinguished statesmen from our countries have informed me of their concerns with regard to the absence of appropriate political conditions to hold the said conference at the date and at the venue previously decided.”

He continued:

“Unfortunately, the Government of Iraq has not understood these considerations and it insists on holding the conference in the present situation.”

233. It should be noted that our opposition to the venue of the meeting stemmed from a position of principle, namely, the principle of non-aggression. We strongly felt—and we announced this feeling in our meetings, consultations and press conferences—that, as an aggressor, Iraq was not qualified to serve as host for any meeting of the non-aligned movement. We believe that if the Iraqi rulers had been allowed to serve as hosts for the meeting, the movement would have lost its credibility and prestige. We are very pleased that our position of principle was accepted by the overwhelming majority of the members of the movement, resulting in their well-advised decision to change the venue of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.

234. On the question of the Iraqi-imposed war of aggression against the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Foreign Minister of Saddam's Ba'athist régime has followed the same path of distorting facts and then insulting the intelligence and factual knowledge of the representatives present in this Hall. This is not surprising, for misinformation and false propaganda have been the specialty of the Ba'athist régime of Iraq, because when one lies one must continue to lie in order to cover up. Our positions concerning the imposed war are so clear and have been stated so many times that we deem it unnecessary to take the time of this body to explain them again. The fallacious nature of the Iraqi allegations are clear. Only a few more remarks are needed at this juncture. The Foreign Minister of Iraq has claimed that Iraq “has

neither any territorial ambitions in Iran nor any intention of waging war against it” [19th meeting, para. 81]. It is appropriate to remind the Foreign Minister that Iraq has for years had the desire to annex one of the largest and wealthiest provinces of Iran, namely, the oil-rich province of Khuzistan, which his Government has falsely called Arabestan. There are numerous documents attesting to this fact, including a book entitled *Al-Ahwaz*, which has been published by the Education Ministry of the Ba'athist régime, in which the map of the area has been distorted in order to satisfy the expansionist ambitions of the Ba'athist rulers.

235. Knowing those aspirations and ambitions, the Western imperialist Powers, attempting—in vain—to destroy the Islamic revolution, persuaded Saddam Hussein to invade the Islamic Republic of Iran, promising him financial, military and political support, either directly or through their lackeys. International public opinion is well aware who unilaterally abrogated the 1975 Treaty on 17 September 1980, who invaded Iran, bombarding its capital on 22 September 1980 and who is continuing its illegal occupation of some of our territories, even to this day. These facts are so well known that even high-ranking Iraqi officials have had to confess to them in their interviews recorded in various sources.

236. Concerning the Iraqi claim with regard to its unilateral acceptance and application of Security Council resolutions, we should like to call the attention of delegations here present to our letters of 1 July,⁸ 14 July,⁹ 25 August, and 4 October,¹⁰ addressed to the Secretary-General.

237. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq): If we remove the rhetoric from what we have just heard from the representative of Iran, we shall surely come to the conclusion that what he has said represents, to say the least, a lack of respect for the various Foreign Ministers we have heard during the past two weeks and their collective call for an end to the war.

238. I shall not take up much of the Assembly's time. The hour is late, and I do not feel that a detailed reply is required. We have a supplementary item on the agenda, and we shall have ample time to put forward our point of view. However, just one or two remarks are in order.

239. When the representative of Iran speaks on non-alignment, perhaps he thinks this is the venue of the ministerial meeting of the non-aligned. But it is not. And when he talks about fabrications and distortion and misinformation and the “illegal occupation” of Iranian territories by Iraqi forces, I would say this: We have accepted the setting up of a fact-finding commission to determine who committed aggression; we have accepted observers for a cease-fire and withdrawal. Can he come here now and inform the General Assembly that his Government accepts them too?

240. Membership in the United Nations has two aspects: rights and responsibilities. Perhaps the most important aspect of membership is that of responsibilities, and the most serious of all responsibilities is the

responsibility to make peace—not to articulate venomous arguments in favour of blood-letting.

241. The representative of Iran still talks about an imposed war, still talks about the injuries done to his country by my country, about unilateral abrogation of a defunct frontier treaty. Well, we have accepted arbitration by the United Nations. Can he, here and now before the General Assembly, say that his Government accepts it too? If it is so fervent in its upholding of the principles of the Charter and the responsibilities and rights which ensue from its membership in the Organization, can he come here now and say that it abides by the obligations of Member States under the Charter? He cannot, because he represents a régime which is unfit for such responsibilities.

242. All of us know, and the whole world knows, what goes on inside Iran. At the internal level, the blood-letting is rampant. Why should it not be rampant at the international level? A representative of a régime which allows its military forces to kill prisoners of war in cold blood surely cannot come to the General Assembly to talk in terms of the Charter and in terms of credibility, for of all the crimes one can think of none is more despicable than the killing of prisoners of war in cold blood.

243. I would ask members please to have a look at the current issue of *Time* magazine and make their own judgements.

The meeting rose at 7.05 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See A/36/534.

² *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris 1-14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981*, document S/14649.

⁴ See A/36/586.

⁵ *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII, document A/CONF.62/122.

⁶ *Report of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, Nairobi, 10-21 August 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.24), chap. I.

⁷ See A/S-11/14, annex I.

⁸ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1982*, document S/15270.

⁹ *Ibid.*, document S/15929.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, *Supplement for October, November and December 1982*, document S/15448.