



Tuesday, 12 October 1982,
at 10.45 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. ESTIMÉ (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the Government of Haiti and in my own name, Sir, I wish to congratulate you most warmly on your election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. I am sure that you will demonstrate those outstanding qualities that won you this distinction. I wish also to pay a well-deserved tribute to Mr. Kittani, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iraq, for the discreet and able manner in which he presided over the work of the thirty-sixth session. I should particularly like to join preceding speakers in congratulating Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, Secretary-General, whose election to head the Organization is unquestionably a source of deep satisfaction for all third-world countries. May I take this occasion to emphasize the high quality of his report on the work of the Organization [A/37/1], a report which lucidly depicts the shortcomings of the United Nations, as well as the overriding need to strengthen its decision-making machinery.

2. This session has opened in a tense atmosphere dominated by a note of anguish in the statements, which have persistently reflected the international community's concerns about the general deterioration in the political and economic situation throughout the world.

3. While the industrialized countries may perceive current economic problems more in terms of cyclical or less extreme fluctuations, the third world as a whole—particularly the least-favoured countries—still believe that the structural imbalance between North and South has become even greater and is now dangerously close to the point of collapse. Most third world country delegations, from whatever continent they may come, have spoken with one voice from this rostrum of the tragic expansion of areas of poverty in their respective regions. They have described the growing distress of impoverished populations desperately trying to eke out a meagre existence which becomes more precarious with every passing day. Hence we small nations have no illusions when we wonder about our future.

4. For almost a decade now, negotiations on the establishment of a new economic order—one that would be more just, more harmonious, but also more efficient—have come up against a lack of true political will on the part of the rich countries to make the adjustments essential to any genuine effort at solidar-

ity. Clearly, there is no real prospect for altering the current international order. The institutional, financial and technical measures required for sustained expansion of the world economy and for a swifter growth in the developing countries are still being awaited. Meanwhile, the terms of trade are deteriorating at a catastrophic pace, and third-world debt has now risen to \$600 billion.

5. At the same time, there is no growth in official development assistance, which has never reached that famous target of 0.7 per cent of the gross national product of the rich countries, or less than 5 per cent of annual arms expenditures. Indeed the Brandt Commission¹ noted ironically that the machinery of death was that which involved the greatest and most dynamic transfer of technology. Even the new law of the sea, which is based mainly on the concept of balanced participation in the exploitation of common wealth, is challenged because of the regrettable selfishness of certain industrialized nations.

6. It is also most distressing to note that no systematic campaign has been undertaken to explain to the people of the rich countries that effective solidarity with the poor countries is less a moral imperative than an irreplaceable factor for economic growth at the world level; for there is no better way of stimulating the production and distribution of goods and services than a determination to satisfy the basic needs of billions of individuals who have not yet enjoyed the material benefits of even the most elementary progress. There is no nobler task than that of contributing to the betterment of human beings who have been left on the sidelines of progress by hunger, ignorance and disease.

7. It is time for the collective conscience of the industrialized countries to stop looking upon international co-operation as a burden on the rich, as alms given to those countries that are supposedly incapable of looking after their own future. It is time for the people in the rich countries to understand that the new international economic order will not jeopardize the prosperity of the countries of the North but will rather give a new impetus to the world economy and provide for more equitable distribution of the fruits of growth.

8. The Republic of Haiti remains convinced that the market economy, which at the national level has in some countries been able to adapt to the requirements of more human socio-economic development, will also at the international level find the necessary resources to establish a new kind of relationship that is more just and more beneficial. To that end more appropriate and generous action is required on the part of the public authorities of the industrialized countries. World phenomena have to be analysed

more objectively and to be less influenced by national experiences that are hard to imitate in different circumstances. To sum up, we need courage, imagination and a better sense of international solidarity. Some rich countries do not lack those qualities, and we should like to pay a tribute to them here.

9. The problems of the developing countries, to which we have referred briefly, assume the dimensions of a real tragedy in the case of the least developed. In the last decade their per capita gross national product in real terms rose by only \$11. Closer to us, the combined effects of world recession and inflation and the recent spiralling of interest rates, along with a collapse in the price of commodities, have tragically emphasized their economic vulnerability and paralysed their ability, which was already rather pathetic, to import those goods that are essential to their development.

10. Admittedly, the fifth session of UNCTAD, in Manila in 1979,² and the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, in Paris in 1981,³ did decide to launch a new programme and set forth a number of objectives that were ambitious and realistic, including the figure of 0.15 per cent of the gross national product of donor countries for official development aid to the least developed countries. Unfortunately the commitments formally entered into on those occasions have not yet been fulfilled. Thus it seems difficult for us today to speak about a real desire to stabilize export earnings, to increase external assistance qualitatively and quantitatively.

11. How, under these circumstances, can we hope, as we had hoped, to eliminate the category of least developed countries and ensure that by the end of the 1980s they will have joined the ranks of the developing countries? How can we not doubt the ability of the international system to provide elements for the solving of the problems of the third world, even if it was impossible to take adequate action for this small group of least advanced countries?

12. The Republic of Haiti, which more than any other country has throughout its history as a sovereign nation experienced the cost of isolation and exploitation resulting from the selfish game played by the big Powers, solemnly repeats its appeal for a truly constructive North-South dialogue. President Jean-Claude Duvalier has said that:

“The Republic of Haiti continues to believe in the future of global negotiations for the establishment of a new international economic order which would enable the poor populations of the third world to attain a threshold of development compatible with the dignity of the human race and the right of every individual to a decent standard of living.”

13. Yet above all the third world countries must understand that if they want to progress towards prosperity they must first of all rely on themselves and fully shoulder their collective autonomy. They must systematically explore the tremendous potential of co-operation among developing countries in the financial, technical, trade, industrial and cultural fields. The Republic of Haiti reiterates its absolute belief in active and intelligent harmonization among the nations of the South based on mutual respect and understanding to generate concrete actions that would be

of mutual benefit in an intraregional and interregional context.

14. Beyond the ideological positions that are inevitably stated in the general debate, every statement here reflects the collective aspiration to an international political order that would bring peace and progress. However, the state of the world today clearly shows if not the failure at least the profound inability of mankind to face successfully the many socio-political upheavals that are characteristic of our age. There are so many problems that have not been solved, and they create new divisions and increase the tension which here and there has led to permanent situations of crisis, overt or latent. Despite the belief constantly expressed by Member States in the values of the Charter, the machinery for peace and international security seems to be blocked, as can be seen from the world situation today.

15. In the Middle East the situation remains explosive. Recent events in Lebanon and their hideous cruelty continue to horrify the conscience of the world and confirm, if there were any need for that, that action by the Organization is necessary to establish overall peace in the region. Contrasting with this background of absurd violence, some bilateral and multilateral initiatives have been taken. They are worthwhile and encouraging, and we trust that they can bring about a resumption of dialogue, which is so necessary for peace and essential in dealing with the fundamental issue of the future of the Palestinian people.

16. The Government of Haiti remains firmly convinced that Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) provide the basis for an overall settlement of the Middle East problem. The Haitian Government believes that the search for peace necessarily involves all of Israel's neighbours recognizing and respecting its right to exist within secure and recognized borders. Likewise we believe that there can be no question of challenging the right of the Palestinian people to real self-determination within a physical, legal and administrative framework that is in keeping with its legitimate aspirations.

17. Latin America is also going through a turbulent period, and there is an atmosphere of uncertainty because of the consequences of the conflict relating to the Malvinas Islands and the difficult situation in Central America. The recent war in the South Atlantic and the bloodshed it involved highlighted the remnants of a way of life that has clearly passed. Indeed it placed a severe strain on the peace of the region and undermined the solidarity of the continent.

18. The Republic of Haiti, faithful to its past and respectful of its traditions, has never hesitated to oppose all forms of colonial domination, and naturally expressed its solidarity with the just claims of the Republic of Argentina. The Government of Haiti, aware of how fragile are victories imposed by force, believes that the United Nations can play a decisive role in the search for a negotiated and peaceful solution which would make it possible to establish the definitive bases for a mutually acceptable agreement. That is why we joined in the initiative of Argentina and Mexico in calling for the inclusion in the agenda

of this session of the General Assembly of an item on the Malvinas Islands.

19. Central America remains the theatre for many conflict situations resulting from ideological tensions, which have once again created hotbeds of crisis that could endanger regional peace and security. The Republic of Haiti, which has always refused to view regional problems simply in the context of the power balance between East and West, cannot but express its deep concern over the manifest symptoms of the alarming deterioration in relations between some fraternal countries in Central America. We call upon all States in the region to reject the sterile option of a dangerous arms race. We would go along with any proposal to strengthen regional stability and security on the basis of the great principles of international morality and law. In that way an atmosphere of peace could be established that would be favourable to economic development, which is indeed the real problem of the region.

20. As regards Asia, the Government of Haiti is carefully following the courageous initiatives of the Republic of Korea for the reunification of the Korean nation. We regret the halt in negotiations between the two Governments and urge them to go beyond their differences of view in order to arrive at satisfactory results. That, of course, can be done only by the Koreans themselves. However, the United Nations could, with the agreement of the parties, take action to provide a propitious framework for the resumption of talks.

21. The Haitian Government welcomes the initiative to regroup the Cambodian liberation forces within the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. We lend our full support to the various United Nations initiatives for a settlement of the conflict, which must necessarily include the total and final withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from the territory of Kampuchea.

22. Similarly, the Government of Haiti strongly condemns the continued occupation of Afghanistan by foreign troops and urges the establishment of conditions which would effectively enable the Afghan people to choose their kind of political society freely, without any outside interference.

23. The negotiations on Namibian independence, despite optimistic statements of members of the contact group, have made no progress and are simply marking time. Some people insist on making the Namibian question one aspect of East-West confrontation, but that is completely unjustified. Meanwhile, the South African régime, encouraged by the differences of view that have developed within the contact group, is increasing its diversionary tactics in an attempt to delay the inevitable outcome.

24. The Haitian Government believes that any swift solution of the Namibian problem necessarily involves the full implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which reflects the international consensus on the need for immediate independence for Namibia under the leadership of the patriotic liberation forces of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. It is upsetting to see that South Africa, despite the measures taken against it by the United

Nations, still continues openly to defy the international community by pursuing its *apartheid* policy.

25. Thirty years have passed since the General Assembly began its consideration of the item on racial conflict in South Africa. Just before the end of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination it seems to us indispensable that the United Nations should proceed at this session to a serious evaluation of the efforts made to date and, if necessary, define a new strategy for the complete elimination of the system of *apartheid*.

26. Such action would seem to us particularly timely because this year, proclaimed by the General Assembly as the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa, is also the seventieth anniversary of the African National Congress [ANC], for which the Haitian Government would once again express full support in its difficult struggle against the usurpation of political and economic power by a racist minority.

27. The Haitian Government once again condemns the South African régime's continuing strengthening of its arsenal of repressive laws. It also condemns the South African policy of bantustanization and those who go along with it, because it is a systematic undertaking to dehumanize the black people of South Africa. The Haitian people and Government, expressing their solidarity with the black majorities in South Africa and the people of Namibia in their legitimate aspirations and struggles, once again urgently appeals to the international community to ensure that the sanctions adopted to make the South African régime less intransigent are fully implemented.

28. I have given a short account of the feelings, wishes and positions of the Haitian Government on some of the major issues in the international arena. I would emphasize above all our unwavering conviction that the current system of international relations must be replaced by a new order of justice, collective economic security and true co-operation, with respect for the self-determination and dignity of each people. Clearly, it would be an illusion to believe that our wishes could be fulfilled in a single morning. That would mean simply disregarding human nature and forgetting that history does not follow a straight path and time is needed to bring it back to its true course. However, all progress made, every step taken, is a victory for peace and justice over a world of hatred and violence. We must therefore work courageously, patiently and with dedication to respond to the aspirations of the anguished peoples who are listening to us.

29. The Republic of Haiti, which has always been inspired by the code of honour and solidarity, will lend you, Mr. President, and all the bodies of the United Nations, full and whole-hearted co-operation in order to give life, however partial, to the hopes placed in our work.

30. Mr. ADDERLEY (Bahamas): I should like to begin, Sir, by extending to you my congratulations and those of the delegation of the Bahamas on your unanimous election to the presidency of the General Assembly. We are confident that you will carry out the mandate of your high office with the perseverance, ingenuity and tact for which you are well known. My delegation is pleased to offer you its full co-oper-

ation in making this session a successful and constructive one. I take this opportunity to express my profound gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Kittani, who held the office during a difficult period. Yet he spared no effort to find solutions to the problems before us, left a clear imprint of patience and skill and displayed exemplary distinction in the conduct of the affairs of the General Assembly. My delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the new Secretary-General for the dynamic, courageous and untiring effort and initiative he has already displayed in upholding the principles and objectives of the United Nations. We are particularly pleased that he is a son of our Latin American region and we pledge the support of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas for his continuing efforts in the pursuit of peace and harmony among nations.

31. It is fortuitous that I should be addressing the Assembly today, 12 October 1982, the four hundred and ninetieth anniversary of the landing by the intrepid mariner Christopher Columbus on the island now known as San Salvador in the Commonwealth of the Bahamas. That event, as we all know, marked the beginning of a new era in the history of the world and of the Americas. The Bahamas is proud of the role which fate destined it to play in the early history of our hemisphere, and it is in this spirit that the Bahamas wishes to place on record its intention to bring before the Assembly at the appropriate time a resolution to commemorate the quincentennial anniversary of Columbus's arrival in the New World.

32. The Bahamas has devoted itself to the establishment and development of a peaceful and stable world order. This is an essential prerequisite if progress is to continue towards improving the quality of life of our own people and that of other nations of the world. Yet, as one reviews the international situation over the past year, it is evident that peace and security have been frequently shattered, with very serious consequences, in various regions. A number of conflicts have interrupted international tranquillity and resulted in heavy losses of human life and considerable material damage.

33. We in the Bahamas are profoundly saddened by the events in Lebanon. We believe in the sanctity of human life in a world seemingly desensitized by violence and murder. We therefore deplore the mass murders, particularly of innocent men, women and children, in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila. Those responsible for such atrocities should be held accountable. Unless the United Nations is able to deal effectively with such situations so as to serve as a deterrent to others, then it will indeed become a useless institution.

34. The wishes of the Government and people of Lebanon must be respected and its sovereignty and territorial integrity restored. Accordingly, we urge the speedy withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon. We are also deeply disappointed by the absence of full compliance with the series of Security Council resolutions on this matter. The use of force against any nation must not take the place of reason.

35. The right of all nations, including Israel and Lebanon, to exist in peace and security must be respected. There must also be recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their

right to self-determination. Recent events in the Middle East give a clear indication that a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East is now more than ever an imperative.

36. It is regrettable that Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran could not resolve their problems except by war. The conflict continues to threaten the stability of the region and, given the interdependence of relations among States, contributes to international economic dislocation.

37. We therefore appeal to the parties to put an end to the hostilities and to arrive at a negotiated settlement in accordance with Security Council resolutions 479 (1980) and 514 (1982). We are profoundly appreciative of the Secretary-General's co-ordinated mediation efforts aimed at preventing a further prolongation of the conflict and at finding a solution to the differences to the two sides.

38. The South Atlantic has not been spared the use of force, costly in both human and material terms. We would encourage the parties to bring about a formal end to the conflict in order that negotiations may commence with a view to a final and lasting settlement.

39. The Bahamas is concerned by the violation of the fundamental principles on which the Organization is founded, especially the principle that the threat or use of force in international relations is prohibited. This principle is particularly significant for small States and territories with limited resources.

40. The dispute between Guyana and Venezuela owing to the latter's revival of a claim to Guyana's territory is another area of concern in our hemisphere. The Bahamas accepts that a judicial solution to this problem has already been found under international law. We urge that Venezuela respect Guyana's territorial integrity and that the two parties arrive at a peaceful solution in the spirit of the purposes and principles of the Charter and of the agreements concluded between them.

41. We continue to hope for an early, peaceful and comprehensive solution to the situation in Cyprus. We are cognizant of the gravity of the situation and of its implications for the well-being of the peoples involved and for the continuance of their national unity, based on their collective will, unhindered by outside forces. However, we must begin seriously to consider measures for improving the effectiveness of the Organization, for in the Cyprus question we see once again a situation where the decisions taken by the Organization have not led to significant progress.

42. Peace is indivisible. Violations of peace are to be deplored. Indeed, recourse to the use of force is apparently becoming a norm in international relations, to the detriment of countries both large and small. The proscription of the threat or use of force, the principles of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the peaceful settlement of disputes are indispensable norms of international life which must be respected by all.

43. The world economy continues to be caught in the most severe recession since the great depression of the 1930s. The per capita gross national product for developing countries as a whole has fallen for the

first time since the 1950s. The present downward spiral follows two decades of exceptional growth and development in both industrialized and developing countries. But now there are serious doubts with respect to the prospects of growth during the rest of the decade. The concern of Governments with immediate domestic problems has intensified; protectionist tendencies have re-emerged; recession, inflation and high interest rates in the developed countries have had an adverse impact on tourism and financial and technological resources flows, especially foreign direct investment, in the developing countries.

44. It is hoped that agreement can be reached on the framework and early launching of global negotiations. The asymmetrical nature of the interdependence between States has underscored the need for measures to redress the structural imbalances in the world economy, particularly in the areas of trade, raw materials, energy, money and finance. In our view, recovery and global negotiations should not be regarded as incompatible. The participating heads of Government at the Versailles Economic Summit in June agreed that the launching of global negotiations was a major political objective. That was a positive development. But further efforts in good faith are required to resolve the amendments and counter-amendments to the proposal of the Group of 77 regarding the basis for consultations.

45. Interdependence and the consequent necessity for international economic co-operation are basic principles of international economic relations, as amply reflected in the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade. The uncertainty which has clouded international economic co-operation must be removed. International co-operation must again be set on the track towards world economic recovery and economic development of the developing countries.

46. During the three decades that the General Assembly has been considering the question of *apartheid*, the overwhelming majority of mankind has rallied to the cause of eliminating that affront to human dignity. In this International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa, the international community should continue to take energetic and concerted action in support of the legitimate struggle of the oppressed peoples of South Africa for human rights. The need for collective action is underscored by the continuing designation by South Africa of so-called independent homelands and by threats and acts of aggression against the front-line States of southern Africa.

47. While the case of the violation of human rights in South Africa is a blatant and obvious one, the existence and persistence of human rights violations throughout the world, in States Members of the United Nations, cannot be denied. The United Nations system has developed an increasingly complex network of international instruments and machinery to address the problems of human rights violations. Yet lack of consensus on human rights issues, double standards and a growing trend towards selectivity have undoubtedly impeded the efficiency of this machinery. Unless the United Nations is prepared constructively to utilize existing human rights machinery in a non-political, humanitarian manner, universally appli-

cable solutions to problems of human rights violations will not be found.

48. The direct responsibility of the United Nations for Namibia cannot end until genuine self-determination and independence are achieved in a united Namibia. My delegation is aware of reports of continuing mediation efforts by the Western contact group and of guarded progress in resolving the outstanding issues. Nevertheless, we call upon South Africa to desist from defying resolutions adopted by the United Nations for the early independence of Namibia. South Africa should not continue to use extraneous issues as an excuse for delaying or refusing to co-operate in the emancipation of Namibia.

49. At the recently concluded second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the Bahamas stated that the challenge facing us all was how to move from awareness, statements of intent, machinery and procedures to genuine and concrete disarmament measures. The Bahamas also elaborated briefly on how that challenge could be squarely and honestly met. Yet it seemed that we could not resolve the contradictions that existed between motivation, words and action, and that special session ended in failure. Increased militarization, far beyond legitimate security needs, only serves to increase international tension and exacerbate international conflict. Thus, it behoves us all—nuclear-weapon States, militarily significant States, non-militarily significant States—to work collectively towards significant disarmament measures which will restore the confidence of our peoples in the worth and effectiveness of the United Nations.

50. Mankind can no longer justify the enormous resources spent on armaments. The poverty, hunger and underdevelopment that face so many States demand a redirection of those valuable resources. In addition, the potential destructiveness of those modern weapon systems is reason enough to bring mankind to its senses and to the realization of man's true purpose in this universe. My delegation realizes that some progress has been made towards disarmament, but we must register our strong concern at the slow pace of that progress.

51. The problem of drug abuse has come to be regarded, rightfully, as a universal one. It affects every region of the world. Over the past several years, the Latin American region has seemingly become a new focal point for international drug traffickers, as production and trafficking, primarily in cannabis, hashish, cocaine and methaqualone have significantly increased. The Bahamas, once uninvolved in such matters, has become increasingly alarmed by the realization that it has become a major conduit for the illicit traffic moving from sources and supply centres in South America to large and profitable consumption centres in North America and Europe.

52. In this connection the Bahamas was pleased to be elected to the Commission on Narcotic Drugs. It had its first opportunity, at the seventh special session, held at Vienna in February of this year, to voice its concern with regard to the illicit traffic in the Latin American region and, in particular, in the Caribbean sub-region. The dilemma of transit States cannot be overstated. They can exercise no control over the

illicit production of or the illicit demand for narcotic drugs. As victims of international drug traffickers, they are forced to sacrifice much to control a problem that is not of their making. The Bahamas is therefore grateful for United Nations intervention in the form of a study of the problems of transit States.

53. The strengthening of international response to the problem of drug abuse is vital. The Bahamas therefore views the adoption at the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly of the International Drug Abuse Control Strategy, and the five-year programme of action to implement the Strategy [resolution 36/168], as a significant step. Drug trafficking can affect any State, whether producer, consumer or transit. In this regard it is the hope of the Bahamas that initiatives undertaken to focus, within the context of the Strategy, on the actual movement of illicit drugs will be supported.

54. Only consistency of purpose at the bilateral, regional and international levels will retard illicit production of, traffic in and demand for narcotic drugs. Despite its limited resources the Bahamas will continue, in conjunction with Member States and the United Nations, to play an active role in the struggle against drug abuse.

55. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has succeeded, after many years of lengthy negotiations, in producing a Convention which is unprecedented in scope and size—a major milestone in international co-operation and a fundamental contribution to international order and stability. A comprehensive document which is in many respects innovative has been negotiated. Compromises have been made to arrive at a generally acceptable convention which constitutes a delicate balance between conflicting interests. Within the United Nations system, the work of the Conference is an example for the international community of what can be achieved by multilateral negotiations.

56. The Bahamas is an archipelagic nation. We are therefore particularly gratified that the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea⁴ contains provisions for the delimitation of the national frontiers of archipelagic States. This Convention corrects a serious omission in the law of the sea, as the two previous texts did not address the circumstances peculiar to archipelagic States.

57. We had hoped the Convention would receive the unanimous support of the international community, and we continue to hope that it will. It is none the less our sincere desire that those governments that have so far indicated their non-participation will, in the final analysis, come to the conclusion that their national interests would be best secured by participation in the new form of true international co-operation represented by the Convention.

58. The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization raised the central issue of the capacity of the United Nations to keep the peace and to serve as a forum for negotiations. The Bahamas congratulates the Secretary-General on the approach taken in his first report and concurs with his analysis of the factors and circumstances which appear to have contributed to the impaired effectiveness of the Organization. We subscribe also to the

view that the present tendency of bypassing the Organization in situations where it should and could play a vital, constructive role is damaging and dangerous for the future of the United Nations.

59. The Bahamas is of the view that a major role should be played by the United Nations in dealing with issues of universal concern and in taking the initiative in the promotion of international peace, justice and co-operation. We reaffirm our commitment to making this body a more effective instrument in bringing about positive changes in the world.

60. Mr. TALEB IBRAHIMI (Algeria) (*interpretation from Arabic*): First of all, I should like to address to you, Sir, the warm congratulations of the Algerian delegation on your accession to the important position of President of the General Assembly. We are particularly glad to see you assume this difficult responsibility because you represent a country, Hungary, with which Algeria has established excellent relations of friendship and co-operation. You have succeeded Mr. Kittani, who for one year placed his great experience and ability as an accomplished diplomat at the service of the Organization. I should also like to congratulate Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar for the dynamism he has shown in discharging his mandate since his election to the high post of Secretary-General.

61. The Assembly is faced from one session to another with the same challenge of how to build a truly universal peace. The fact that this is almost a permanent challenge might lead one to believe that the United Nations can only continue to wish for beneficial achievements which would give full significance to the concepts of convergence and harmonization on which this assembly of nations is based.

62. In the statements made since the opening of the general debate the same concern has emerged over the crisis in international relations as a whole and the serious problems facing our world. There have been two points that we have all been obliged to make: first, the lucid analyses that from year to year have highlighted the primary causes of the critical state of our world and the dangers for the future of mankind; secondly, the international community's inability resolutely to tackle these primary causes and prevent these dangers.

63. But promoting true peace requires that we go beyond simply being aware of the dreadful realities of international life; nor can it simply be reduced to diagnosing, however correct our diagnosis may be. What is certainly needed is a break, a change, in attitude and conduct which have broadened tension and insecurity. Unless we have such a break, such a change, the international community will not be able to put an end to systematic violations of the principles of the Charter.

64. In these circumstances, we can hardly be surprised that the picture of our world today is one of anarchy where the unleashing of unbridled force crushing the elementary principles and values of law shows the failure of policies based only on power plays and relationships of force. The tragedy of the Palestinian people is the most dramatic illustration of this. Indeed, the Palestinian problem, which has dominated international affairs and the work of the Organization this entire past year, is the most sig-

nificant and disturbing example of the crisis of the world today. The denial of justice to the Palestinian people has made this issue a major crisis of our age, one that leads to the most serious dangers for international peace and security.

65. The crime against humanity which was perpetrated in Beirut and witnessed by the entire world was committed when a situation had lasted for too long, one in which an entire people's right to live was denied. That crime was perpetrated because of constant encouragement and unlimited resources given to the Zionist policy of aggression. Can we add to that horror by emphasizing the fact that it was only after the departure of their defenders that thousands of women and children were massacred?

66. Is there any need for me to recall that the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] decided on withdrawal of its armed forces, not because it was reluctant to sacrifice its fighters, but precisely out of respect for a civilian population which had paid with its blood a noble ransom of solidarity. What a contrast, what a significant contrast, between infamy and respect for human life. The PLO thus gave us proof of its ability to use well its considerable political and military resources to advance its cause. In leaving that theatre of operation the PLO at the same time broadened the strategic base of its action and its hold on the people.

67. In the resolute struggle waged by the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO, its sole legitimate representative, the Beirut battle symbolizes both the stubborn resistance and the spirit of responsibility which prove the authenticity of a national liberation war. Therefore it would be wrong to expect a solution in the Middle East without the Palestinian people or, *a fortiori*, against them. More than ever before, the recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people, above all their right to establish a State in their homeland, is essential to a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

68. This is moreover, the very substance of the international community's consensus on a settlement of the crisis in the Middle East. It is the duty of the United Nations to fulfil its responsibilities and make possible the implementation of this consensus, thereby ensuring a return to peace in the Middle East. It must react with specific action and bold decisions that at last ensure justice for the Palestinian people.

69. The plots hatched against the Palestinian resistance, like those we see in other parts of the world, force us to say that there seems to be a planned policy for destroying solidarity, a strategy for splitting regional and other political groups, in order to turn back the tide of history and re-establish imperial domination in the third world countries faced with many problems and trying despite a thousand difficulties to find solutions in keeping with the aspirations of their peoples.

70. Against this background certain actions against the Organization of African Unity [OAU] are of particular concern to us. Its very birth bore witness to the victories won through the struggle of the African peoples in the decolonization process, and OAU was from the outset a means of completing this liberation of the continent in all areas and a bulwark of African freedom against all threats. Since OAU has to its credit constant action in solidarity with all freedom fighters

and determination to go on until it succeeds, it has inevitably become the target of attempts to crush it.

71. Therefore, after all kinds of political, economic and military pressures have been brought to bear on it, attacks are now directed, through that organization, against the very basis of unity and solidarity in our continent. But the crisis of OAU, although an African matter, is not exceptional in nature and must be overcome by the efforts and the determination of its members. However, although these difficulties are transitory, that does not lessen the responsibility of those that caused them, and cannot be used as a pretext for considering it less necessary to search together, as in the past, for solutions to the problems facing Africa, the most important of which remains that of eliminating colonialism and racist domination.

72. The tragedy being played out in the southern part of Africa becomes more grim with each passing day. The policy of *apartheid*, universally condemned as a crime against humanity, is also constantly being expanded. The illegal occupation of Namibia continues and is being consolidated, while brutal aggression against African States in the region is intensifying. This situation demands that the international community continue to mobilize in support of the cause of the South African people, their emancipation and freedom to determine their future. It also demands the imposition of a total embargo and comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. Only such a response can put an end to the policy of defiance and aggression of the Pretoria régime.

73. As regards Namibia, it is time for the international consensus on the inalienable right of the Namibian people to independence and the legitimacy of its struggle, under the leadership of its sole representative, SWAPO, to be given practical effect. It is time for the Western Powers that have the duty and the means of influencing the policy of the Pretoria régime to do what is incumbent on them and to shoulder their responsibility, because they have a commitment to the international community concerning the process of independence for Namibia.

74. In north-west Africa the conflict between the people of Western Sahara and the occupying Power, the Kingdom of Morocco, has been a matter of constant concern to the international community since 1975. It is thus natural that OAU and the United Nations should have attempted to find a just and definitive solution to this problem borne of the side-tracking of the process that should have led to the decolonization of Western Sahara. The Organization, aware of the justice and legitimacy of the struggle waged by the people of Western Sahara, led by the POLISARIO, has thus constantly called for the exercise by the people of Western Sahara of their right freely to determine their own future, and in General Assembly resolution 36/46 called for negotiations between Morocco and POLISARIO.

75. OAU, for its part, aware of the dangers of the continuing conflict in the region, has made a responsible attempt to find ways and means of moving towards a solution consistent with its charter and principles.

76. It is thus encouraging to see that one of the two parties to the conflict, the Sahraoui Arab Democratic

Republic, continues to demonstrate a high sense of responsibility to the cause of peace and of Africa by expressing its willingness to seek a political settlement. It simply remains for us to hope that the voice of reason, or simply common sense, will end by triumphing and that there will be victory for a national liberation cause that has been recognized as such by the international community and that this will make it possible to marshal all energies and exploit all wealth for the greater benefit of the fraternal peoples of the region, united by the same historical experience and a common future.

77. Disturbing trends in international affairs, in the form of hotbeds of tension in the third world, are also to be found in the serious barriers to promotion of a true international dialogue. Whether it be disarmament or international economic relations, we can see a paralysis in the channels of negotiation, a disruption of the machinery of consultations.

78. Against this background, the recognized failure of the second special session of the General Assembly on disarmament reveals the difficulties and the infernal logic of this kind of confrontation. While the international community came to the lofty conclusion that security cannot be achieved by a build-up of arms, and while there has been a tenfold increase in destructive potential of the arsenals of the nuclear Powers to destroy the entire human species, the opportunity of moving forward in international negotiations on disarmament, getting us out of the rut of the discussions of the past, has not been seized. However, on this vital issue where the data is perfectly clearly established, there was some hope that the rivalry in the unbridled arms race would eventually yield to rivalry in announcing concrete and effective measures for disarmament.

79. However, it must be recognized that the call to reason and the expectations and hopes of our peoples have met no response. Furthermore, the conceptual edifice patiently built in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [resolution S-10/2], of 1978, has on occasion been challenged in the principles and priorities it established, and this shows that there has been a move backwards in political commitment to true disarmament. This serious regression was naturally accompanied by increased activity on the part of imperialism and by geo-strategic manoeuvres in the third world. This activism was reflected, *inter alia*, by obstacles being increasingly placed in the way of the national liberation struggle of the peoples, an increase in policies of intervention and destabilization, the reactivation and opening of military bases and a frantic search for military facilities for interventionist purposes.

80. The Indian Ocean was proclaimed a zone of peace by the United Nations, and yet there is military competition and unequalled rivalry there and also in the Mediterranean, where we have the same foreign presence against the wishes of the non-aligned coastal States. Even Cyprus, a peaceful island, is living in a situation that is simply incompatible with its own nature as an open-hearted meeting-place for civilizations and as an independent and non-aligned country.

81. Throughout the third world, in Africa, in Asia and in Latin America, there is an increase in the num-

ber of attempts being made to stifle the forces of progress by resorting to intimidation and destabilization techniques, and denying the peoples' right freely to choose their political system and their own path of development.

82. In international economic relations, the present situation is extremely disturbing. Inseparable from the deterioration in the international political environment, the world economic crisis is deepening and worsening. The international economic system, a source of inequality and a privileged area in terms of continuing relationships of domination, is now prey to major upheavals. The disruption in the world economy highlights the intrinsic limits of an order that is doomed because it has not adapted to the development needs of two thirds of the human race. The haphazard measures that have been advocated by the developed countries simply do not work, and this is additional proof that the order is collapsing.

83. Against this background, it is hardly surprising that the economic situation of the developing countries should have continued to deteriorate. When we look regularly at the balance sheets, we can see that there has been a continued increase in poverty and the ravages of hunger. Under-development of two thirds of the human race is one of the main features of the world today, and the gloomy prospects in view of continuing trends over the years and decades to come are indeed threatening.

84. This precarious world economic situation highlights more than ever before the need for a fair restructuring of this anachronistic framework and of the unequal rules that currently govern international relations. In that connection, the developing countries have spared no effort to relaunch the dialogue with the developed countries—a comprehensive, responsible dialogue taking account of the realities of the developing world and of the growing interdependence of the world economies; a dialogue covering all the major issues simultaneously and in a consistent, interrelated way; a dialogue which, with universal, democratic participation, would presage our final objective of democratizing international economic relations.

85. Those were the bases on which the non-aligned countries and the Group of 77 conceived the initiative of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development—an initiative that won the consensus support of the international community with the adoption in 1979 of General Assembly resolution 34/138. At a time when the Second United Nations Development Decade was ending on a strikingly unproductive note, the adoption of that resolution sparked hopes that the developed countries would finally evince the political will to launch a significant common effort for the benefit of one and all. Throughout the past three years the Group of 77 has demonstrated flexibility and has been open to dialogue; it has played a dynamic and constructive role in the search for a commonly acceptable basis for the launching of those global negotiations.

86. In 1980, at the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, devoted to economic issues, the Group of 77 contributed actively to drafting an agreement which was accepted by almost the entire inter-

national community. Since then, we have worked perseveringly and many proposals have been made, with due regard for the requirements of the minority that did not join the consensus.

87. Thus the Group of 77 took the initiative of putting forward a proposal with three options, with a view to making possible the urgent launching of the global negotiations. Unfortunately, the three options were not accepted—although there was no real negotiation at all. Despite that rejection, the Group of 77 once again demonstrated a constructive spirit by taking another initiative in the hope of removing all doubts weighing on the launching of global negotiations. The industrialized countries, however, felt it necessary to submit four amendments to that proposal, the product of tremendous compromise. The Group of 77 carefully and responsibly studied those amendments, thus demonstrating again its willingness to co-operate fruitfully, and decided to accept two of the four amendments proposed. However, inasmuch as the other two proposed amendments questioned resolution 34/138 as the political framework for the global negotiations and called into question the delicate balance between the central role of the General Assembly in the conduct of the global negotiations and the particular role of the specialized agencies, the Group of 77 was unable to accept them. Hence we venture to hope that the compromise proposals of the Group of 77 will eventually be accepted.

88. During this period of deteriorating international economic relations and given the impasse in the North-South dialogue, South-South co-operation takes on particular importance. As a parallel and supplement to the efforts at a North-South dialogue, South-South co-operation is part of the major project of establishing the new international economic order. It is in that context that the developing countries have traced a framework and defined the operational instruments for the constant strengthening of their individual and collective autonomy. The Group of 77, aware that its strength lies in unity among its ranks and in cohesion in its approach, thus offers a new basis for reinforcing its solidarity. A year after the adoption of the Caracas Programme of Action,⁵ its implementation has begun with the faith and determination that nurture great hopes.

89. It is in that international atmosphere that Algeria, having survived more than a hundred years of darkness, celebrated the twentieth anniversary of its independence. Having fully recovered its attributes as a State, Algeria undertook to consolidate its political independence by meeting the requirements of economic independence. Eager to preserve its dearly reconquered sovereignty and desirous of mutually beneficial international co-operation, Algeria opted for a foreign policy governed by principle and moulded in the common destiny which is based on its belonging to the Arab world, the African world, the Moslem world and the third world. At the same time, it codified in its national charter and Constitution the fundamental principles of a diplomatic policy which sets peace and development, so intimately related, as its objective, and the principles of the United Nations as the inviolable guide of its conduct.

90. Having rediscovered the benefits of peace, Algeria undertook to promote in good faith, at the sub-

regional level, a policy of positive good-neighbourliness which embodied the principle of the inviolability of frontiers and called for political harmonization and broad-ranging co-operation. This approach was also reflected in our strong belief in the ideals of Arab unity and African unity, and all efforts to consolidate the basis of our effective solidarity and the harmonious working together of the two groups.

91. Lending our voice to the community of the oppressed, within which we forged our deep beliefs and well-tested friendships, and the world of the deprived, whose situation and aspirations we share, Algeria is working to establish international relations free of any tinge of domination or exploitation. We are doing this with perseverance within the United Nations and within other groups to which we belong.

92. Algeria is a founding member of the non-aligned movement, and we have elevated non-alignment to a clear commitment and a system of values, a reference system which inspires our conduct and determines the positions we take. We believe in a great future for this movement, whose relevance in today's world confirms its importance and the correctness of its doctrine. We thus express our deep belief that the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, to be held at New Delhi, will help to strengthen the cohesion and capacity for action of this movement and strengthen its role in the international arena.

93. Algeria's assessment of the role of the Organization is based on that same premise and arises from the same outlook. It is undeniable that the United Nations has played a globally positive role, due account being taken of the limits imposed on it both by its very nature and by the will of the States of which it is composed. Its movement towards universality is proof that it is viewed as a unique forum for reconciling views in order to seek solutions to the problems of our world.

94. However, the many shortcomings that have led to the paralysis of the Organization call for a responsible consideration of its future, and indeed this is something that the Secretary-General invites us to do in his report on the work of the Organization. The call for the democratization of international relations and the legitimate desire to strengthen the role of the United Nations and to lift the Organization to the level of its responsibilities, particularly in the field of international peace and security, can no longer be ignored.

95. The Secretary-General has highlighted the deficiencies of the Organization, and thereby emphasized the correctness of the political position taken by a great majority of Member States, and of our views on the present functioning of the United Nations. World public opinion can be harsh to the United Nations, but we should think about it carefully, because the United Nations is in fact based on a profession of faith of our peoples, which it would be dangerous to treat lightly.

96. Foremost among the factors that have immobilized the Organization, while dangers are mounting and all eyes are fixed on us, is undoubtedly the abuse of the veto in the Security Council, which demonstrates the great gap that now exists between the spirit of the rule of unanimity and the use made of it.

In view of this development, which is increasingly prejudicial to the credibility and effectiveness of the United Nations, it is urgent that the international community reconsider the way in which the Security Council functions and subject it to a strict review in the light of political ethics so as to restore to that body its original purpose. The vitality of the United Nations and its ability to hold high those principles that establish its moral strength could then be demonstrated by its ability to establish and preserve real universal peace.

97. If this session were to lead to a real determination on the part of Member States truly to make the United Nations the centre for the harmonization of the actions of nations in the attainment of common ends, and if the most powerful of them were to reflect that determination in a change of attitude and conduct, then we would have reason to encourage our peoples' belief in the great future of the Organization.

98. Mr. VOLIO JIMÉNEZ (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I am pleased to join in the expressions of pleasure at your election. Your brilliant record makes you well qualified to occupy your lofty post and skilfully to conduct our complex proceedings. I am also very pleased that a Latin American has been called upon to be the Secretary-General. His fame is well earned. His election not only crowns a life devoted to the common good and to harmony among nations but also heralds a new current sweeping through Latin America which suggests that the people of our area will play a more fruitful, vigorous, imaginative and co-operative part represented in world affairs, particularly in the United Nations. What the Secretary-General has accomplished in a short time is new and encouraging. His report on the work of the Organization speaks directly of matters of high importance with clarity and precision, and it contains sharp, frank and very valuable observations.

99. The leadership provided by the Secretary-General goes precisely in the direction that my Government feels the United Nations should move in. In order to restore much of the faith in the Organization which has been lost, especially that of the common man of the Member States, the United Nations must participate more directly and in a more decisive and inventive manner in order to prevent serious conflicts and to resolve them when the violence which has been unleashed requires that we reiterate in a dramatic manner the commitment to peace which States made when they signed the Charter.

100. Violence makes it impossible to achieve peace by means of persuasion, good offices and mediation. Member States must make a special effort, based on good faith and corresponding deeds, to see that the machinery provided by the Charter is used to prevent and resolve conflicts. Moreover, they have a duty to do so, a legal and moral duty. Repeated failure to respect the purposes of the Charter only causes profound disenchantment with the United Nations at precisely the time when action by the Organization is needed to moderate the conduct of its Members. Those Members seem to be in the grip of atavistic forces that have stigmatized the twentieth century. But the twentieth century should be remembered as one of the most significant centuries in the history of

mankind because of its dazzling achievements, which should be used to move man forward in the constant, ceaseless effort to reach a higher level and to live in peace.

101. My Government is aware, of course, of the difficulties which stand in the way of the achievement of this goal, especially at the present time, which is dominated by exacerbated nationalism instead of by the noble, visionary, universalist purposes and principles of the United Nations. There can be no doubt that each and every one of us must make an effort, an outstanding effort, to halt the devastating wave of violence which has shaken the world, in spite of the existence of an impressive system of international organizations, the centre of which is the United Nations, devoted to the promotion of international harmony.

102. To some extent the peoples of the world are being deceived when they disregard the United Nations in the frontal assault on war, guerrilla warfare, terrorism, torture and foreign intervention in the internal affairs of States. Also, the peoples of the world are in fact being thwarted when the United Nations is not allowed to stop repression of democratic movements which seek changes in unjust economic and social structures by peaceful electoral methods.

103. Violations of human rights, violations of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights must receive priority attention by the United Nations. More vigorous action is needed, for we have gone beyond the stage of mere declarations which proclaim and define those rights and now an effort must be made, realistically and with a keen sense of urgency, to perfect and put into practice the international instruments which have been created to promote the fundamental freedoms of every person everywhere.

104. In this connection it is fitting to stress one of the most impressive of the revolutions that have occurred in the past three decades, but one which has gone largely unnoticed by the majority of the peoples of the world. I am referring, of course, to the fact that it has finally been recognized that the individual is a subject of international public law and can resort to the appropriate jurisdictional bodies on human rights when domestic means of protection have been exhausted, do not exist, or have serious imperfections. Within the United Nations, the Human Rights Committee must be strengthened and, above all, the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [*resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex*] must be ratified. Both instruments must be signed and ratified by all Members of the United Nations, because that would benefit the man in the street in all nations and be a victory of far-reaching consequences.

105. The average citizen of the nations represented here trusts the good judgement of those who govern to ensure the well-being to which he is entitled, but which he may not obtain because he is not aware of the new machinery which could be used and cannot bring pressure to bear on his Government to abide by the commitments entered into when it signed the Charter. Human rights and the United Nations, it should be remembered, are indissolubly linked. If they were not in the Charter, then the Organization would

lose its primary characteristic, which makes it different from any other organization created before 1945 and which makes it possible for it to fight against the scourge of war.

106. We must take a similar stand on other international instruments relating to the protection of human rights, such as the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, in particular *apartheid*, and also the procedures used by the Commission on Human Rights, of which Costa Rica is a member, must be improved. The Commission must be freed from political interests and influences which all too frequently disrupt and even obstruct its work and thereby prejudice the interests of the thousands of individuals who look to that body as a last resort to protect them from arbitrary action by their rulers.

107. The Government of Costa Rica applauds the decision to convert the Division on Human Rights into a Centre and we think that this is a decision that reflects a desire better to protect and defend all freedoms by perfecting existing instruments and designing new ones on the basis of experience. For example, before assuming my present post I had the honour of being appointed by the Commission on Human Rights and by the Secretary-General to act on two recent occasions in an African country as rapporteur and as an expert, respectively, while collaborating with the Government in the improvement of institutions protecting fundamental freedoms after that country had suffered under a cruel dictatorship. Fortunately, very positive results were achieved. I mention this because it makes it quite clear that the Commission can find new courses of action to carry out its important task and because this sheds new light on Costa Rica's initiative as regards the creation of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. Experience has shown that when United Nations procedures are particularly flexible and diverse in carrying out its essential mandate to promote and protect human rights those rights can be better protected and more people understand what the Organization is for and what it is all about. People also then feel encouraged and cope more vigorously and perseveringly with adversity, anguish, humiliation and the kind of pain that they experience on a daily basis as they strive to ensure that those that govern them respect their dignity.

108. Of course all human rights are important. Without them international peace is an illusion. At the moment, however, I want to refer to the right to vote, the right to work and the right to life. And I want to make a general comment on economic and social rights, which also play a major role in the important task of creating a community of nations more free from tension and combating the present erosion of efforts in support of peace.

109. The right to vote ensures the right to political participation in all areas at all levels. It makes it possible for the people of the world to be the true forgers of their destiny instead of this being done by minority cliques and those that have seized power and the representation of the majorities on the pretext of the alleged inability of those that know what is best for the development of the personality of the nation and how to contribute intelligently to the common well-

being. The right to vote, in particular, makes possible pluralist participation in the choice of government. By means of the vote the right to self-determination, embodied by the United Nations in a number of most important documents, is exercised.

110. For this purpose nothing can replace free periodical and fair elections. The use of violence, such as terrorism and guerrilla warfare, can certainly not replace the right to vote. The former is a blot on modern society, although it has a long history. Among some totalitarian forces there is a tendency to exalt terrorism as a means of social struggle. But fortunately, mankind has reacted vigorously against any justification of this kind of political and social action. Mankind supports instead a democratic struggle for the dignity of all human beings and particularly those that have been excluded from the productive mainstream of society. We must take advantage of this healthy universal reaction to perfect national and international juridical means of dealing with this very serious threat to peace. The latter, guerrilla warfare, which also has a long history, has become a very important factor nowadays. There is sometimes a great deal of ambivalence about guerrilla warfare. When it is a question of peoples exercising their right to rebellion, it is often a last resort in defending their fundamental freedoms. On the other hand, when the right to vote is a possibility and when there are other ways of ensuring the smooth functioning of democracy, guerrilla warfare appears to be a totalitarian weapon which disrupts society in a profound and often irreparable manner. It is thus an ally of anarchy which destroys any effort to bring about the common good.

111. Therefore, in order to replace bullets by votes, it was decided, at the meeting of Foreign Ministers on 4 October in San José, Costa Rica, to create a body to promote and advise on the subject of democratic elections, the purpose of which would be to ensure an electoral system throughout the continent, promote and foster this process in the Americas and provide advice on the practice of the system to countries requesting it.

112. The recent tragic events relating to the courageous trade union, Solidarity, in Poland have aroused world public opinion regarding the subject of the right to work. Costa Rica believes that the United Nations should promote days of study on work and other rights related to it, such as the freedom to create trade unions independent of Governments. My Government suggests that the United Nations arrange a seminar with high-level participation to consider in depth the admirable encyclical *Laborem Exercens* of His Holiness Pope John Paul II as a contribution to peace. The encyclical will arouse the awareness of the peoples and may ensure that Governments reach appropriate decisions which will mitigate the tension that leads to social injustice and endangers peace. In the hope that this idea of a seminar will be accepted by the United Nations, the Government of Costa Rica takes this opportunity of offering its capital as the headquarters.

113. We should bear in mind the basic thinking of His Holiness, or at least this essential part:

“Commitment to justice must be closely linked with commitment to peace in the modern world.”

This is linked to the role of work and the worker in the quest for peace:

“... human work is a key, probably the essential key, to the whole social question, if we try to see that question really from the point of view of man's good. And if the solution—or rather, the gradual solution—of the social question, which keeps coming up and becomes ever more complex, must be sought in the direction of ‘making life more human’, then the key, namely human work, acquires fundamental and decisive importance.”

Furthermore, another cardinal principle enunciated by John Paul II should also be stressed here—the ethical value of work

“which clearly and directly remains linked to the fact that the one who carries it out is a person, a conscious and free subject, that is to say, a subject who decides about himself.”

And here the Pope of the workers pauses to emphasize the subjective dimension of work, rising from its dignity:

“... the basis for determining the value of human work is not primarily the kind of work being done, but the fact that the one who is doing it is a person.”

114. Equally enlightening are some other thoughts which I shall now sum up. First, rejection of “materialistic and economic thought”, which equates work with goods and is the source of unheard of, inhumane exploitation, even today, when the concept of capitalism at any cost has been tempered. Hence, a different approach must be adopted—one which comprehends the working man:

“... in accordance with the true dignity of his work—that is to say, ... as subject and maker, and, for this very reason, as the true purpose of the whole process of production.”

Secondly, the strengthening of worker solidarity, not only because there are many different kinds of work and because there are still many injustices which derive from the liberal socio-political system, but also because:

“On the world level, the development of civilization and of communications has made possible a more complete diagnosis of the living and working conditions of man globally, but it has also revealed other forms of injustice, much more extensive than those which in the last century stimulated unity between workers for particular solidarity in the working world. This is true in countries which have completed a certain process of industrial revolution. It is also true in countries where the main working milieu continues to be agriculture or other similar occupations.”

Thirdly, work, at the same time as it promotes a hierarchy of duties, is:

“... a source of rights on the part of the worker. These rights must be examined in the broad context of human rights as a whole, which are connatural with man.”

His Holiness also defends the right to association for the defence of the vital interests of “those employed in the various professions”.

115. The right to life, furthermore, has aroused and continues to arouse considerable polemics in all countries, in regard to the question of the death penalty. The United Nations has not remained on the sidelines of that important discussion, as is shown by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. In order to shed new light on the subject of capital punishment and to link it, as it must be linked, to the struggle for the protection of fundamental human rights, the Government of Costa Rica has convened a world congress to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the abolition of the death penalty in Costa Rica. My Government and the people of Costa Rica hope that many will participate in the conference. We wish to create a climate which would lead to the abolition of such a drastic punishment, which is so prone to error and arbitrary use. Costa Rica would be greatly honoured if the Secretary-General would be present at the opening of that congress in December this year. My Government also supports the efforts of all countries which advocate abolition of the death penalty and particularly the efforts by the delegations of the Federal Republic of Germany and Sweden.

116. As I have already stressed, economic, social and cultural rights are no less important and deserve our full attention. The comparison between those rights and civil and political rights—a comparison that was valid in an earlier time for the purpose of stressing the former, is outmoded. It is today generally recognized that the enjoyment of social justice in liberty is indispensable. But if economic, social and cultural rights, enshrined in the International Covenant, are to be enjoyed, there must be transformations in the structures of States, which is much more difficult to achieve than changes needed to bring about the enjoyment of this other set of rights. Such structures are the heirs to odious privileges of the few, which have been prejudicial to the rights of the many dispossessed. They also represent cruel forms of repression, perhaps more ruthless and inhumane than those generated by lack of respect for the fundamental rights and freedoms of men and citizens, because they intensify the pain and despair of the weakest. Moreover, the changes that are needed to bring about the enjoyment of economic and social rights require more time and more financial and technological resources, as well as a degree of national and international consensus that is much greater and more solid in nature. For that reason, the United Nations must concern itself with showing Member States that here, too, there are real causes of discontent that affect world peace in a direct way and with devastating force. Governments would thus become more interested in the social reforms that are required.

117. The Government of Costa Rica is also concerned about other problems that tend to work against peace. With greater eloquence than mine, representatives have referred to the catastrophic developments in the world economy, which have had a devastating effect on the development and political stability of the vast majority of States Members of

the United Nations. Today I should like to add my voice to the powerful voices that have spoken out in alarm and protest against this state of affairs. In particular I should like to highlight the situation in Latin America.

118. The year 1981 was one of the worst of the post-war period from the economic standpoint. All the indices suggest that there will be a greater deterioration in the immediate future. The stagnation of our economies, the galloping inflation which characterizes most of our economies, the deterioration in the terms of trade and the serious disequilibrium in the balance of payments which accompanies it disrupt social peace and make it more difficult to find democratic political solutions to the serious problems besetting many countries.

119. Our region has seen its external debt doubled in only three years, and today it exceeds \$240 billion. This is the result of an attempt to replace a lack of dynamism in exports, brought about to some extent by the weak demand of the developed countries, by an influx of capital, with increasingly higher interest rates.

120. In the circumstances, it is disappointing that today there is not the necessary political consensus to ensure a take-off in global negotiations. Recognizing the structural problems which characterize international economic relations and emphasizing that a global discussion of these problems is necessary, we share the opinion of those that say it is urgent that short-term action be taken to prevent the complete collapse of the weaker economies.

121. For this reason it is necessary that we start work on an emergency programme encompassing, *inter alia*, the following actions: first, initiatives to increase the flow of trade by means of eliminating barriers to the exports of the developing countries and by means of greater South-South exchange; secondly, the creation of compensatory funds to reduce the impact of the deterioration in the terms of trade; thirdly, better promotion of joint investment by the industrialized and developing countries in the latter; fourthly, the increase, on a generous and disinterested basis, of the flow of resources towards multilateral financing bodies and technological co-operation to improve the liquidity of the developing countries; and, fifthly, the promotion of greater understanding and tolerance in those bodies as regards the implementation of economic measures in such a way as to ensure a better balance between the objectives of reactivation and of stabilization.

122. We should like to stress that the adoption of a programme such as the one just mentioned should not be seen as a substitute for greater efforts leading to the creation of a new economic order. We believe, however, that these measures are in keeping with the spirit of the new order, that they would help to establish a climate more conducive to the success of initiatives concerning the structural change that we desire and that they would create necessary conditions—although perhaps not all the conditions—for the peace and security which our peoples deserve.

123. In this respect, the meeting of Foreign Ministers held at San José on 4 October drew

“... the attention of the industrialized democratic countries to the need to increase co-operation with the democratic countries of the region, with bold and effective initiatives which will contribute to the efforts to ensure recovery and economic and social development which are being made by the countries of the region concerned”.

124. In addition to those that I have mentioned, there are, of course, many other reasons why the general picture of present international relations is so gloomy. The situation in the Middle East requires that we dedicate ourselves, free from the heavy burden of prejudices, obstacles and past events, to the search for peace for that tormented region. My Government hopes that all the States of the Middle East will make the changes and reach the agreements necessary for an honourable lasting peace that will guarantee the sovereignty, security, peace and well-being of all the States of the area. This applies in particular to the noble people of Lebanon, who deserve to be allowed to return to the condition of their glorious past. At the same time, the Government of Costa Rica is confident that the long-suffering and noble people of Palestine will in the not too distant future see the end of their present precarious existence. Then Palestinians will be able, like all other nations, to enjoy peace, work and respect for their dignity, in harmony with their neighbours and with universal recognition of their many virtues.

125. For the subjugated peoples of South Africa and Namibia my country hopes that the hour of liberation will soon come. To this end, the increasingly active participation of the international community, encouraged and guided by the United Nations, is essential.

126. My Government feels great satisfaction at the constructive efforts being made by the Government of the Republic of Korea to bring about the reunification of that country on the basis of its recent proposals. Whatever is done must be in line with the aims and purposes of the United Nations regarding the reunification of Korea. Costa Rica recognizes the peace-loving and hard-working nature of the friendly and noble people of the Republic of Korea.

127. Costa Rica welcomes the fact that the dear sister Republic of Argentina has taken the initiative in pressing its just claim to the Malvinas Islands in this United Nations forum and hopes that the negotiations will prove fruitful. The association of the Secretary-General with the dialogue, in accordance with a proposal of which Costa Rica was a sponsor, is a guarantee that the parties will reach an honourable and peaceful final agreement.

128. Costa Rica shows the concern expressed in this Hall at what is happening in Cyprus, Afghanistan and Kampuchea, where situations in violation of the principles of the Charter continue.

129. I should now like to take up the subject specifically referred to by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization. I refer to what he has called “the prevailing convulsion of Central America” [A/37/1, p. 2].

130. More than four decades ago we, the democratic sectors promoting social change and freedom

in Central America anticipated the present crisis in the area. Our predictions were based on the existence of economic and social structures and systems of military government which legalized them. They constituted forms of oppression whose inevitable end result would be the rebellion of peoples fighting against the lack of social justice and for freedom. Today the explosion of popular wrath has assumed a virulent form as a result of that anti-democratic record.

131. But what was perhaps not anticipated was the international circumstances prevailing during the final confrontation between the peoples and the dictatorships. We did not anticipate all the implications of this global confrontation today between democracy and totalitarianism, a confrontation that would thoroughly disrupt efforts to adapt these new forces to present realities in Central America. What was particularly unexpected was that, on behalf of freedom, social justice and democracy, an effort would be made after the predictable rebellion to establish another unanticipated form of totalitarianism, thereby flouting the very ideals which impelled the forces of change. Yet that is precisely what is happening today. This other form of totalitarianism, bolstered by open intervention by forces outside the Central American area, has only sharpened the conflict, polarized political ideas and created new formidable obstacles to democratic, representative and pluralistic government devoted to social justice, without the need for the bloodshed and confrontation now rending the peoples of the Central American nations apart.

132. In an effort to produce a realistic way out of the present crisis besetting Central America, the President of Costa Rica, Luis Alberto Monge, on the very day he assumed power on 8 May of this year, began to put into practice what he had advocated in his electoral campaign, namely, a broad alliance of democratic forces and Governments in order to confront the totalitarian offense and promote the values, machinery and goals of representative, pluralistic and participatory democracy for clearly social purposes. For this purpose, *inter alia*, in a joint declaration of the heads of State attending the ceremony of the transfer of power on 8 May, it was agreed, on Costa Rica's initiative, that there would be created a good offices group which would have as its special mandate the study of the various peace initiatives that had been presented by various Governments in order to bring about the relaxation of tension in Central America, as well as other proposals that might be presented for the same purpose in the future. Ever since, my country has stressed the need for this kind of machinery or one similar to it that would make it possible for the parties directly involved in the conflict to sit at the negotiating table. And so it was that the Government of Costa Rica decided to convene a meeting of foreign ministers of countries interested in the promotion of democracy in Central America and in the Caribbean whose Governments have been legitimized through elections.

133. On 4 October, at San José, at the invitation of the Costa Rican Government there met representatives of Belize, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Honduras, Jamaica, Panama, the United States and Costa Rica. The Governments of Mexico and Venezuela were also invited. Panama and the

Dominican Republic participated as observers, and the latter signed the Final Act. At the conclusions of the deliberations on the main factors obstructing democratic processes in the area, faith was reaffirmed in representative, pluralistic and participatory democracy and the foundation was laid for the promotion of democracy and peace in our area.

134. Regarding that democracy, the participating ministers declared:

"Their faith in and acceptance of the principles of representative, pluralistic and participatory democracy, which thus understood constitute a way of life, thought and action, with room for differing social and economic systems and structures, but having a common denominator, namely, respect for life, personal security, freedom of thought, freedom of the press and of religion, and the right to work and to proper remuneration, just living conditions, the free exercise of the right to vote and other human, civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights."

As regards the promotion of peace in the area, the Ministers stated

"Their conviction that in order to foster peace and regional stability it is necessary to promote internally political awareness leading to the creation of democratic, representative, pluralistic and participatory systems; the establishment of machinery for multilateral and permanent dialogue; absolute respect for borders defined in existing treaties, respect for which is the best way of preventing border disputes and incidents, with due account being taken, where necessary, of traditional lines of jurisdiction. There must also be respect for the independence and territorial integrity of States; use or threats to use force to settle conflicts must be rejected; the arms race must cease and, on a full basis of reciprocity, external factors obstructing a lasting and stable peace must be eliminated."

135. In addition, the ministers felt that it was necessary to emphasize certain actions of particular importance which were essential in formulating a realistic, viable peace plan. For this reason, they stated that:

"... it is essential for a peace plan that each country, in the region and outside of it, carry out the following actions: first, to create and maintain institutions of government which are truly democratic, based on the popular will as expressed in free and untainted elections, based on the principle that the Government is responsible to the governed; secondly, to respect human rights, especially the right to life and security of person, and fundamental freedoms, *inter alia*, freedom of expression, information, assembly and worship, and the right to organize political parties, labour unions and other groups and associations; thirdly, to foster national reconciliation wherever profound divisions within society have occurred, by extending opportunities to participate within the framework of democratic institutions and procedures; fourthly, to respect the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States and the right of peoples to self-determination; fifthly, to prevent the use of the territory of a country to support, supply, train or supervise terrorists or subversive elements acting in other States,

putting an end to the traffic in weapons and materials, and refraining from direct or indirect support for terrorists or subversive or other activities designed to bring about the violent overthrow of the Government of another State; sixthly, to limit weapons and the scale of military and security forces to levels which are strictly necessary for the maintenance of public order and national defence; seventhly, to ensure, in accordance with reciprocal and fully verifiable terms, international control of all ports of entry and other border areas which are of strategic importance; eighthly, to effect withdrawal, on a fully reciprocal basis, from the Central American area of all foreign military and security advisors and personnel, and the banning of imports of heavy weapons of an obviously offensive nature in accordance with procedures which ensure proper verification.

“These actions represent an integrated framework in each State which is essential for the promotion of regional peace and stability.”

136. As already stated, it is, of course, quite clear that without appropriate means or machinery to analyse this peace plan and other proposals with the same purpose, they all run the risk of being ineffective, and that would be tragic. For that reason, at the San José meeting which I have referred to, the ministers agreed “to set themselves up as a Forum for Peace and Democracy”, a forum which could be extended through the inclusion or the collaboration of other democratic States. The Forum could recommend specific actions to representatives of participating countries, and they should report on the results and transmit the final act of the meeting to other States, so that they can present any appropriate comments and views.

137. The representatives asked the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Costa Rica to transmit the final act, on behalf of the participating Governments, to the Governments of the region and to other Governments concerned, in order to obtain their views on the principles and conditions for peace set forth therein.

138. They decided to convene a new meeting as soon as possible in order to assess the progress being made in implementing the aims of the declaration.

139. The Forum for Peace and Democracy is an expression of a common will; it does not constitute an official body, and therefore has the necessary flexibility and dynamism to carry out its great task. The nucleus of the Forum is made up of Belize, Colombia, El Salvador, Honduras, Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, the United States and Costa Rica. Whatever democratic countries from the area wish to become members of the Forum may do so, and a second group can be made up of democratic countries which wish to co-operate with the Forum without actually belonging to it. Here I should like to stress that the Forum was created so that there might be the participation in it of all countries involved in conflicts in Central America that disrupt peace, so that they could explain their views and make peace proposals; and this has already been done by Nicaragua, Honduras, Mexico, the United States and Panama individually, and by Mexico and Venezuela jointly, apart from the eight other countries that met

at San José and created the Forum and proposed the aforementioned plan for regional peace.

140. As part of the mandate assigned to me at the San José meeting, I have already circulated its final act and I am now taking the steps required to enable the Forum to be used as a practical instrument for waging this great peace offensive of the democracies. We hope that, with the support of those peoples who desire peace, democracy, freedom and social justice, this new initiative of the Forum for Peace and Democracy will meet with a warm response and understanding, because we believe that this is the broadest, most comprehensive and most viable means of achieving the ends we all so much desire.

141. Costa Rica is a country with long diplomatic traditions; we are peace-loving and unarmed. We neither want nor are able to become involved in any armed conflict in Central America. But neither can we refrain from contributing to peace efforts in Central America. Costa Rica's security depends on security and peace in the region. For this reason Costa Rica has sincerely and eagerly devoted its efforts to convening the meeting of foreign ministers concerned for peace and democracy in Central America and the Caribbean, whose Governments are the result of the electoral process. As I have already stated, that meeting took place on 4 October in the capital of my country. For that reason also, Costa Rica, on 8 May of this year, proposed the creation of the Forum for Peace and Democracy, which began to function at that San José meeting.

142. For the first time ever, there is now a procedure whereby all parties concerned can sit down together and, without any delays or excuses, engage in a frank, constructive dialogue. If any party does not avail itself of that opportunity, one can only conclude that, essentially, there are elements more interested in seeking violent confrontation. I am confident, however, that this peace initiative of ours and the machinery to implement it will be accepted by everyone. The peoples of the region, which yearn for peace, security and democracy, have their eyes turned to us to see how we, the leaders of their Governments, fulfil our lofty duties.

143. On this glorious anniversary of the discovery of America, I conclude my statement with a tribute to Spain and to its extraordinary people which has given us its values and taught us, through the centuries, how to overcome all adversity in the persevering quest for the dignity and happiness of every human being.

144. Mr. VELAYATI (Islamic Republic of Iran):* I quote from the Holy Koran:

“We verily sent our messengers with clear proofs and revealed with them the Scripture and the Balance that mankind may observe equality and justice.” [Sura LVII.]

145. I wish to extend by congratulations to you, Sir, on your election as President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Your abilities and merit, as well as your experience in various international fields will no doubt contribute greatly to the solution of important difficulties and problems with

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

which the General Assembly is faced at the present session. I wish success to you and to representatives attending this session—although there exist many signs that can create doubts about the success of this session of the Assembly, because in our tormented world—in which at any moment the disappointing news of the aggressive, expansionist spirit, the violation of rights, oppression and tyranny may be heard from everywhere—there remains little room for hope for this session's success.

146. The outlook for the days ahead and for the international situation is bleak. World tensions are increasing and the arms race, despite the repetition of slogans, is mounting rapidly. Basic and fundamental principles of the Charter are openly being trampled, having been disregarded by certain aggressive and expansionist countries. Poverty and starvation prevail in the oppressed third world countries while the deepening gap between rich and poor countries is widening and the oppressive and unjust relations between the countries providing raw materials and the industrial world are each day worsening. Six hundred million people in the world are suffering from hunger and famine, and each year millions of people die of various diseases.

147. In such conditions, the arms race, which is extended to the other countries of the world by the super-Powers, has destructive effects on the developing and backward countries, which are the main victims of the prevalence of terror in the world; it thus brings those countries to the brink of disaster and annihilation, and leads to the rapid depletion of their natural and human resources. Consequently, such countries, instead of remedying the deprivation of their enslaved masses and providing for their physical and mental welfare, have put all their wealth and resources at the disposal of the avarice and ambitions of the super-Powers.

148. What is more important is that, apart from material and economic poverty, our world today is suffering from cultural poverty, which is far more regrettable than the other difficulties and problems. Lofty human values have been deformed by the greed and avarice of the world-devourers and have fallen victim to false and hollow materialistic criteria. How regrettable it is when we, from our historical experience, come to see that values like freedom, social justice and democracy are being misused, that crimes are being committed in the name of liberty and human rights, that concepts like social liberty and justice have become means of suppression, oppression and tyranny, and that nothing is said about spirituality and religion, which can and should provide a solid basis for social relations and pave the way for the growth of human society. In fact, apart from all racial, national, linguistic and geographical differences, human beings share a common nature which, if developed, can lead to the attainment of true unity among all the people of the world.

149. Four years ago a revolution took place in Iran which, if I wished to define it in one sentence, I should describe as a development experienced as a result of which the people of Iran were brought back to their God-seeking nature and their own inner selves. Our Revolution is cultural in its nature and qualities and now Islamic culture, which is the same as the

revolutionary culture, prevails everywhere in all its dimensions.

150. The Islamic Revolution of Iran, as a movement which has created fundamental changes in our society, laid new foundations in contemporary Iran, the dimensions of the foreign policy of which are resistance to oppression and tyranny, support for the oppressed nations and the tyrannized masses in the developing countries, non-reliance on foreign Powers, rejection of all forms of domination and being dominated, respect for other countries' sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, on a basis of reciprocity.

151. One of the most important slogans of our Islamic Revolution, "Neither East nor West", which is in fact the application on the international scene of the sacred and fundamental words "There is no God but Allah", guides our foreign policy and draws its main lines of action. By depending on that slogan we not only liberated ourselves from the domination of world-devouring America but also kept ourselves, despite all the difficulties and hardships created for us, from falling into the lap of the other super-Power. We therefore value highly our sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and allow no country to interfere in our internal affairs.

152. Our revolution considers man's prosperity in the whole of human society and the establishment of peace and justice, the supreme objective in relations among nations, to be its ideal, and independence, liberty and justice to be every man's right. It also believes that the breaking of the bonds of the international exploiter's domination is attainable only through the firm determination of the deprived masses and their unity.

153. The struggle against world imperialism and zionism is a long, hard and complicated one which is not limited to political, economic and military dimensions; the cultural dimension of this struggle is equally important. The Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran will use all its capabilities in this struggle, relying on the lofty teachings of the school of Islam, which fosters man's development.

154. Now, as we speak of the importance of struggling against world imperialism and zionism, we have in mind the most recent crime against humanity of American imperialism and occupier zionism committed in the Islamic world, while other Powers remain silent. Thousands of children and innocent, defenceless old women and men have been drenched in blood in the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila in west Beirut by a group of dishonourable Zionist terrorists, who attacked Moslems in the most terrible manner. This is not the first crime committed by Israel nor will it be the last.

155. The whole world remembers that the Zionist régime since its illegitimate inception, which was the outcome of the imperialist Powers' compromise, and the open usurpation of the Palestinian lands, has never ceased to commit brutal crimes against the Moslem Palestinians being subjected to tyranny. The tragic massacre in the Deir Yassin and Kafr Qasim villages, in which the Irgun terrorist groups killed even the animals, is not yet forgotten. Today we are witnesses

to the fact that a person who has committed the most cruel crimes against the people of Palestine has once again, as Prime Minister of the Zionist régime, committed one of the most terrible crimes in human history and, with the full support of American imperialism, revealed to the entire world his wicked nature. Thus the tragedy of the tyrannically treated and deprived people of Palestine and Lebanon entered a new stage, in the midst of a conspiracy of silence by the big Powers and reactionary countries—or possibly amid astonishment caused by so much atrocity and cruelty.

156. In the meantime the Zionists and the imperialists, without paying the least attention to the feelings and opinions of the peace-loving peoples of the world, have outdone each other in making impudent comments. While the Zionists are openly justifying their massacre of the tyrannically treated people of Palestine and Lebanon and the total eradication of those nations, and their American masters are expressing satisfaction over the efficiency of their modern weapons in the massacre of the innocent people of Palestine and Lebanon and the destruction of west Beirut, their reactionary mercenaries in the region, following the agreements reached at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, at Fez, have endorsed the existence of Israel and recognized it.

157. The treason and the compromise of certain unpopular dependent régimes have ensured the success of imperialism and zionism in expelling the Palestinian combatants from Beirut and scattering them throughout various countries.

158. The massacre of the deprived people of Palestine and the Moslems of west Beirut after the expulsion of the PLO combatants proved the legitimacy of the position we have taken against the expulsion conspiracy. The bitter experience of humanity in 35 years of Zionist usurpation and domination in Palestine has shown that aggression is the innate quality of Israel, and compromise with such an element is disastrous. As we have frequently stated, we can be sure that the Israeli criminals will not content themselves with the massacre of innocent people but will consider that as only a prelude to their great plot to threaten and eliminate the Palestinian cause and establish the influence of world-devouring America over the whole region. Their objective is to convince the countries of the region that plans of the Camp David type and the support of America are the only way to settle the Middle East crisis and that those who do not accept such a solution are doomed to annihilation.

159. We believe that the expulsion of the Palestinian combatants from Lebanon not only is not the end of the affair but will be the beginning of a new phase of the long struggle of the Arab and Moslem nations. Although the existence of hypocritical, reactionary and xenophilic rulers in certain countries of the region creates difficulties for the Moslems in the attainment of their sacred objectives, and although these unpopular rulers, with their shameless compromise with America and its illegitimate child, Israel, are a disgrace to Moslems, the forces of the people will rise up and finally demand of their rulers why they remained silent in the face of the cruel massacre of

the people of Lebanon and Palestine and did not fulfill their duties in this connection.

160. If the large quantities of arms that have been bought with the riches belonging to the deprived peoples are not to be used today, when Moslems are suffering from such disasters, when should they be used? The Moslem people of such countries have the right to ask why Moslem riches should be used for the purchase of airborne warning and control systems [AWACS] and scores of other types of sophisticated weapons which not only are not used for the protection of Moslem interests but also lead to ever further consolidation of the domination of American imperialism.

161. When will the countries of the Middle East region wake up and come to feel the threat that is menacing the basis of their existence, their independence and their Islamic cultural identity? The Lebanese tragedy is only one example of the destructive qualities of America which have made the political system of that country the greatest threat to human survival.

162. The Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, on the basis of its anti-oppression and anti-imperialist qualities and nature and its policy of support for the oppressed nations, which are derived from the lofty teachings of the Koran, once again declares that it strongly supports, within all its possibilities, the rightful and legitimate struggle of the Moslem people of Palestine to return to occupied Palestine and expel and annihilate the usurpers of that land and destroy the basis and foundation of the Israeli régime, which is Zionist racism. Despite our two-year-long involvement in a war imposed on us, we have never failed to fulfil our Islamic and humanitarian duties as regards Palestine and the Middle East issue. Our consistent position in the face of the Zionist régime's aggression against the peoples of Lebanon and Palestine has been to support the oppressed against the oppressor and against oppression. To show our sincerity, suffice it to mention that we entered on the scene of the war against the savage attack by Israel on Lebanon and on Palestinian, Syrian and Lebanese combatants and dispatched our forces to the scene of battle against zionism, despite our serious need for them in the war which had been imposed on us. We took this measure as an Islamic and religious duty. We were the only non-front-line country that embarked on such action against the Zionist régime.

163. We believe that the root solution to the Palestine problem and to the whole Middle East crisis can be found only by placing emphasis on the fact that the problem is an Islamic one and through an endeavour to create a unity of views among Moslem forces. For that reason, the Islamic Republic of Iran has always tried to emphasize the Islamic dimension of the problem, and the proposal made by Iran for the formation of a united Islamic front against zionism and imperialism is in fact nothing but a way of emphasizing the Islamic nature of the Palestine issue.

164. Just as the Palestinian revolution and the people of Lebanon have been the target of the destructive conspiracies of American imperialism and its agent, the usurper Israel, so the people of Iran, too, have had the experience of plots designed for them by the

criminal America. With the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, the interests of world imperialism were seriously endangered and threatened with annihilation, and the political equations and military calculations were totally upset in that part of the world. Therefore it was predictable that the newly established régime of the Islamic Republic of Iran would be attacked from all sides. The aggression by the Iraqi régime against our Islamic homeland, which began in September 1980, was the most important link in the chain of the imperialist conspiracies against our country, the main objective of which was to topple the régime of the Islamic Republic of Iran. It was in fact an effort made by imperialism to protect its interests and ambitions and to prevent the spread of the Islamic revolution in that part of the world.

165. From the very first days of the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the Iraqi régime, with a view to paving the way for the implementation of its own evil intentions and the achievement of the imperialist and Zionist objectives, embarked on a course of committing all sorts of crimes and provocations, including sabotage. The expulsion of tens of thousands of the oppressed people of Iraq to Iran; the creation of disturbances against and restrictions on Moslem clergy; attacks on Iranian schools and the imprisonment of teachers, of whose fate nothing is known; the granting of asylum to Iranian anti-revolutionaries; broadcasts of radio programmes in various languages with a view to waging a propaganda war against the Islamic Republic of Iran and, especially, provoking our Arab-speaking fellow countrymen living in the Khuzistan Province into separating that Province from the territory of the Islamic Republic of Iran; the assigning of invented Arabic names to Iranian cities; the publication of geographical maps in which parts of Iranian territory were removed and then included in other countries, such as Iraq itself; the dispatch of saboteurs; the strengthening of secessionists and the blowing up of oil pipelines—all those are only a few examples of such actions.

166. The Iraqi régime, which derived no advantage from such crimes, committed with a view to weakening and toppling the Islamic Republic of Iran, started its vast surprise attack on the territory of Iran with the intention of attaining, in addition to that goal, its other goals—namely, the occupation of fertile border lands, and especially the productive Khuzistan Province, obtaining control over the rich oil resources of that Province and gaining sovereignty over the whole Arvand Roud.

167. During the first weeks of the war, the Iraqi régime succeeded, owing to our special internal situation and post-revolutionary conditions, in occupying parts of Iranian territory, but the unyielding resistance of our combatants at the battlefronts very soon made Saddam's régime understand that its calculations had been all wrong. America, with its hopes of toppling the Islamic Government through Saddam's invasion dashed, has now embarked on a more dirty course: the planting of bombs in populous quarters of Tehran, as the result of which hundreds of our innocent fellow-countrymen have been wounded or martyred.

168. The recent explosion in central Tehran, which was similar to previous crimes committed by world

imperialism's agents, aroused no reaction on the part of the so-called human rights groups and organizations and once again showed the entire world that such persons and organizations that defend human rights start thinking of their humanitarian duties only when one of the perpetrators of such crimes is punished. Touching confessions made by some of the so-called People's Mujahiddin terrorists and perpetrators of recent explosions in Tehran show that within one month 33 assassinations were committed by one of them and 19 assassinations by another. But the groups and individuals that defend the rights of such persons, when horrible crimes have been committed by these terrorists, forget that the victims of these crimes are also human beings and also have rights.

169. From this rostrum we extend an invitation to all free human beings, to all those who want to discover the truth, to pay a visit to Iran to see for themselves on the spot the enormity of the crimes committed by the agents of American imperialism and bear witness to the wrath and hatred of the masses in their millions.

170. The Iraqi régime, in the course of this war, has not hesitated to commit the full gamut of crimes against the defenceless people, the innocent civilians, of the occupied regions; there is nothing comparable except the crimes committed by the Israeli aggressors in west Beirut. Violation of the women and children of the occupied regions; repeated bombardment of hospitals, schools and government offices; pounding with missiles of the residential areas of large and populous border cities; torture and killing of revolutionary guards, as proved by documents which undeniably exist: those are only a few examples of these innumerable crimes. All these acts openly violate the Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, its two Protocols of 1977 and the Charter of the United Nations. It is indeed strange that that régime, claiming that the measures taken by the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to defend itself violate the principles of the Charter and threaten international peace and security, has now, on the basis of that pretext, requested the inclusion of a new item in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly.

171. The Iraqi régime's proposal for a cease-fire and its claims to have withdrawn from Iranian territory are not motivated by that régime's goodwill or the desire to bring the war to an end. Rather, they are an attempt to save itself from the perilous situation it has created in trying to overthrow the régime of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The Iraqi claim concerning the unilateral establishment of a cease-fire and the cessation of military operations apparently means transferring Iraqi forces to the strategic zones belonging to Iran and pounding the residential areas of Iran from the air and the ground. Here mention should be made of the fact that the ending of the war depends on the fulfilment of all the conditions announced by the Islamic Republic of Iran and the total elimination of Iraqi aggression and its results. If that is not done, Iraq will be responsible for the consequences of the continuation of the war and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran will be obliged to continue the war until the complete realization of the rights of the Iranian people; it will never give in to the logic of

the oppressors and bullies of the region, whose adventurism has been the cause of so much damage and destruction suffered by the two peoples, of Iran and Iraq.

172. We are not at all afraid of the hooliganism and political propaganda used by the imperialist and Zionist news agencies in support of Iraq, because the objective sought by such propaganda, which represents Iran as being a great danger to the region, is to pave the way for and to justify the entrance of American forces into the region. If today we do not confront the aggression of the Iraqi régime with determination, who can guarantee that tomorrow another bully will not invade our country and other countries of the region?

173. We would like to announce that in spite of the propaganda put out by the imperialist news agencies, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran poses no danger or threat to the countries of the Persian Gulf region. We stand for close and friendly relations based on mutual respect, with all the countries of the region. In the meantime, we declare that we will firmly deal, with all our might, with any conspiracy or act of aggression that is aimed at confrontation with and opposition to the Islamic Revolution and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

174. The Islamic Republic itself is responsible for the security of the Persian Gulf and the Straits of Hormuz and will sharply oppose any measure that disturbs the security and tranquility of the area and creates obstacles for the passage of ships and marine transportation and will with all its might ensure the security of that waterway on the basis of international laws and regulations.

175. We would like to indicate that imperialism and zionism cannot prevent our export of oil by resorting to conspiracy on the part of imperialist news agencies to imply that ships are not safe in the Persian Gulf, because we have assurances that if the export of Iranian oil is one day halted, no oil will be exported from the Persian Gulf.

176. World imperialism, headed by criminal America, is trying to flood the countries in the region with its arms by escalating tension in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, so as to justify the vast presence and concentration of its forces and the creation of its numerous military bases, unprecedented in history. Besides, it is preparing, through the formation of the rapid deployment force, directly to intervene in the Persian Gulf countries.

177. The Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran therefore supports the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)], condemns the conspiracy to cancel the 1983 Colombo Conference and calls for the dismantling of all foreign bases in the region, as well as the elimination of the presence of foreign Powers from the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf.

178. As has already been indicated, our foreign policy is based on the principle of "neither East nor West". We reject the present international order that divides the world into two poles—East and West. We believe that the balance of terror prevailing in the world and the precarious tranquility that is based

upon it cannot lead to the peace, security and prosperity of all nations. Groupings and alignments and dependence on military treaties have led to unhealthy and destructive consequences in the course of the 37 years since the inception of the United Nations and have constantly kept the entire world on the brink of the abyss of war. During that time, we can think of hardly any period free from regional wars, threats and tension. We therefore believe that the attempts at domination by the super-Powers should be brought to an end by collective action on the part of the dominated countries.

179. We believe that the strengthening of the non-aligned movement, with emphasis on the principles of non-alignment, will pave the way for the liberation of the tyrannized nations from the domination of the super-Powers. We also believe that this movement, as an important political force, can play a constructive role in dealing with the great problems and difficulties facing the world at this juncture.

180. That is precisely why the super-Powers want to weaken, distort and annihilate the movement. Hence, we should struggle with all our might, on the basis of respect for the principles of the movement and inspired by its ideals, against the imperialism of the East and of the West and assist the oppressed and deprived nations to establish a new economic order in the world.

181. In the present circumstances, with the world in a critical and difficult period and the United Nations practically paralyzed and disabled as a result of the attempts at domination by the super-Powers and the existence of the unjust right of veto in the Organization's decision-making process, the role of the non-aligned movement in confronting world crises and tension can be more effective and significant than ever. Under such conditions, member States should place great value on the ideals and principles of the movement and should work towards consolidating it with a view to maintaining its dynamism and vitality as well as its true substance.

182. The sense of responsibility shown by the members of the non-aligned movement as regards the movement's destiny and future in connection with the changing of the venue of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries from Baghdad made us more hopeful than ever about the future of the movement. We believe that that development made the non-aligned movement successful in its historical ordeal and made it better prepared to fulfil its future responsibilities.

183. The Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, following the principles of its ideology concerning support for the justice-seeking struggles of the oppressed nations against the oppressors, severed all its political and economic relations with the racist régime of South Africa from the very first days of the victory of the revolution. We have always condemned and denounced in international circles the policies of the minority racist Government, which hurt the common conscience of human society. The current year has been declared by the United Nations as International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. We hope that firm and collective measures are taken to solve this difficult problem.

While supporting the legitimate rights of the tyrannized people of Namibia, we call for the withdrawal of the occupying forces of the racist Government of South Africa from Namibia and demand that all African revolutionary countries and institutions that have taken part in efforts relating to this problem increase their efforts. Besides, by condemning the suppression of the oppressed black majority of South Africa, who are the principal owners of that land, we declare our all-encompassing support for those freedom fighters. We vehemently condemn the United States and other Western imperialist countries that, in contravention of the United Nations Charter and resolutions, extend military, economic and political support to the racist régime of Pretoria. We support the front-line countries, such as Angola and Mozambique, in their struggle against South Africa.

184. From our standpoint, the conspiracy of world imperialism against the deprived people of the African continent, especially the plot to boycott the nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU at Tripoli in August, is one of the links in the chain of the imperialist plot designed to dominate Moslem and oppressed countries of the world.

185. In connection with the Afghanistan issue, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran believes that the military invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union and the imposition of an unwanted régime on the people of that country should not be viewed only from the standpoint of the violation of the independence and territorial integrity of the Moslem people of Afghanistan. This aggression has trampled under foot human honour and the traditions, customs and culture and, most important of all, the faith and religious beliefs of that nation. The Islamic Republic of Iran, as a result of the common culture, language, traditions, history and, most important, the religion it shares with the tyrannized people of Afghanistan, cannot remain silent in the face of this aggression. That was why Iran was the first country to condemn the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. We consider necessary the complete, unconditional and immediate withdrawal of the occupying forces from Afghanistan, non-intervention by other forces in the internal affairs of that country, the return of the Afghan combatants to their homeland and the restoration to the people of Afghanistan of their right to determine their destiny; without these, there can be no settlement of the Afghanistan issue. In this connection, we reject any negotiation conducted in the absence of the true representatives of the Afghan people.

186. We consistently support the struggles and efforts of the freedom-seeking countries of South and Central America, especially the revolutionary people of Nicaragua, against the interference, conspiracy and attempts at domination by America. We also support the legitimate struggles of revolutionary forces in El Salvador and other countries of the region against the tyranny and oppression of despotic régimes.

187. The Islamic Republic of Iran condemns the British military attacks on the Malvinas Islands and the co-operation of America and Britain in that connection, and considers them as an example of imperialist,

dominance-seeking policies of colonizers in that part of the world.

188. We support the wish of the Korean people for the reunification of the two Koreas and believe that the presence of American forces in the Korean peninsula is an obstacle to that unity. We call for the withdrawal of imperialist agents from the region.

189. Here, we once again declare our full support for the Sahraoui and Moro liberation movements, as well as other anti-imperialist and liberation movements.

190. The tensions existing between East and West and the rivalry of those two blocs in exploiting the people and resources of third world countries are the cause of many of the present difficulties in the world. The tensions can be eased through disarmament and a freeze on the arms race. But, unfortunately, neither of the super-Powers is prepared to give up its arrogance in the interest of humanity. For this reason international efforts for disarmament and a freeze of the arms race have been deadlocked. As a result, a great part of the manpower and financial capacity of the countries of the world is still being used for the arms race. At a time when millions of people of the third world are suffering from poverty, hunger and disease, each year \$650 billion are used for arms manufactured solely for the annihilation of humanity. This is done at a time when, by allocating the budget of several strategic bombers to fighting certain diseases that each year take hundreds of victims from among the deprived peoples, those diseases could be eradicated.

191. The second special session of the General Assembly on disarmament, in which much hope had been placed, proved unsuccessful. The failure of that session should be considered not only as a warning for world peace and security but also as a disaster that shows the seriousness of the international situation caused by the aggressive nature and expansionist ambitions of the super-Powers for the maintenance of their domination and influence over other countries of the world. The super-Powers still continue to increase their production of arms and escalate the arms race, and thus brought the last session of the Committee on Disarmament, held at Geneva, to failure.

192. Intensification of the arms race consumes the resources of third world countries that should be used for their prosperity and to end their deprivation. Instead, the profits go to the super-Powers, which substitute confrontation and conflict for amity and understanding in international relations. Therefore it lies with third world countries, thanks to all the experience they have gained from various imperialist strategies, to put an end to the differences created by imperialist forces and, by making use of their financial resources for their national well-being, take the first step for the eradication of this unjust order that has cast its shadow over the world.

193. The serious crisis that dominates the world economy is a deep and structural one. The increased deficit in the balance of payments, the negative changes in the terms of trade, the lack of financial capital for long-term, infrastructural and productive investments, the lack of access to global markets for offers of goods and services, the lack of transfer of technology and,

finally, the brain drain are only some of the difficulties that third world countries encounter owing to the world economic crisis.

194. The main cause of this crisis is rooted in the unjust capitalist economic order and exploitative policies that world imperialism is implementing for the sake of preserving its material interests and political and cultural hegemony at the international level. The economic and political policies of the Western industrialized countries, particularly those of the United States, are so shortsighted and narrow-minded that they reject the slightest legitimate wish of third world countries even for the smallest change in the oppressive world economic order. Among the measures adopted against third world countries are the negative reactions to the call for negotiations to establish a new international economic order, the creation of a variety of obstacles to the fruitful conclusion of the negotiations for establishing a financial system for the transfer of science and technology to third world countries, postponement of talks and exertion of pressure on other industrialized societies aimed at undermining the talks and causing a deadlock.

195. On the other hand, Western industrialized societies, especially America, by taking advantage of their dominant economic situation, by adopting and implementing oppressive policies, by imposing economic restrictions and sanctions, as well as by employing harsh commercial protective strategies against developing countries, endeavour to prevent the latter's economic, political and social development. By exerting control over international organizations, such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and by opposing just and basic changes in the management of those organizations, the United States and other Western industrialized countries have persistently tried to impose on third world countries monetary and financial economic policies which protect imperialist interests, without any concern for the existing social and economic conditions and needs in developing countries.

196. By imposing divisive measures and vicious political and economic manoeuvres on third world countries, American imperialism, along with other Western industrialized countries, makes every effort to divide third world countries and preserve the oppressive, exploitative economic order. Efforts made to impede multilateral negotiations and collective action are blatant examples of such divisive strategies.

197. We are of the opinion that as long as inhuman and merely materialistic viewpoints dominate the world economic order or the economies of countries and human beings, and organizations and Governments, particularly in Western industrialized countries, are limited to satisfying materialistic and consumer needs, the world economic and political crisis will not only fail to improve but will actually deteriorate. Along with the cancerous increase in consumption and development of the economies of the Western industrialized countries, we shall witness the poverty and economic paralysis of the majority of the peoples of the world. The poverty and economic weakness of third world countries are directly related to the unsound development of the economies of the Western industrialized countries and their wasteful and dissipated use of economic resources. Therefore,

we believe that global changes in production, trade and consumption should take place so as to change present world economic relations and order for which man's dignity and honour in relation to the new order should basically be taken into consideration.

198. In the consultative seminar of the South, held in New Delhi, we said that the third world countries should form a united front to co-ordinate their economic policies against the countries of the North. To achieve that objective, the creation of a permanent secretariat to review the difficulties and present proper solutions is vital. We believe that it is only through unity and collective pressure that deprived and economically backward countries can open the way to the initiation of international negotiations, totally and basically to change the world economic relations and order without being influenced by any pressure from the super-Powers. Enough has been said and heard in this connection, and now it is high time to take practical measures.

199. Considering the influence of the super-Powers in the United Nations, the Organization has become a means to exert political pressure on those countries that are struggling against the imperialism of the East and West and zionism. This colossal machine is put in motion only when the interests of one of the big Powers necessitates it. And if a solution is not found, the world will not be far away from international anarchy and chaos. In this connection, many examples can be cited.

200. In September 1980 the Iraqi régime attacked Iran and drowned thousands of innocent civilians in blood, displaced millions of our fellow countrymen and razed the cities located in the part of our territory that had been under its occupation for 22 months. It seems as if in the course of those two years the colossal machine of the United Nations was in a deep sleep and no one was thinking about the establishment of a just and honourable peace, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the maintenance of international security, as stipulated in the Charter. But as soon as our combatants were able by their devotion and selflessness and the sacrifice of thousands of men, to expel the aggressive enemy from most of their soil, they embarked on the course of administering justice and ensuring the security of the borders. And then, all of a sudden, the mission of the super-Powers for the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security was propounded. It is not known where these awakened consciences and missions were during the two years that had passed since the beginning of the war and the oppression and tyranny to which the people of Iran were subjected. Is it not the case that now that the interests of the super-Powers, which supported the Iraqi régime with their money and weapons, are threatened, the members of the Security Council have started to think about adopting a resolution, commiserating about peace and including an item in this connection in the agenda of the General Assembly?

201. I shall give a better example. On 18 September 1982 one of the most shocking crimes in human history was committed in Beirut before the very eyes of the world and the United Nations. Israeli criminals, assisted by mercenary phalangists, having committed crimes in southern Lebanon for several months and

despite their false promises that they would not occupy west Beirut, attacked that area and slaughtered hundreds of defenceless and unarmed Palestinian and Lebanese men, women and children. If the United Nations and its Members firmly believed in the mission stipulated in the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, they would have had to take measures—if only because of the wounded international conscience—to punish that seed of evil-doing, insecurity, warmongering and aggression, within the context of Chapter VII of the Charter. Perhaps it is forgotten that Articles 41 and 42 of the Charter even exist. Is it not one of the conditions for membership in the Organization that a Member must be peace-loving? Did not the General Assembly in its resolution ES-7/4 of 30 April 1982 recognize Israel to be non-peace-loving? The provisions of Article 6 of the Charter suffice to expel Israel from the United Nations. Then why is warmongering Israel still a Member of the United Nations? If proper action is not taken in this case or in similar cases, the concept of collective action for the maintenance of peace and security, contained in the Charter, will not be applied. And if serious measures are not taken in this case for the elimination of the unjust privilege of veto, the confidence that the deprived and tyrannized nations of the world should have in the Organization will not be created and the shortcomings to which the Secretary-General has referred in his report will not be eliminated. We should not forget that the Charter and its monopolistic privileges are the outcome of the post-Second-

World-War situation, much of which no longer pertains, and the international atmosphere and the United Nations structure have changed too. Nor can international law, on the basis of the principle of *rebus sic stantibus*, yield to unilateral and unequitable privileges that have proved to be destructive.

202. We hope for the day when Member States, with realism and understanding of this fundamental development, will bestow upon the United Nations the role that befits it.

The meeting rose at 2.15 p.m.

NOTES

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

² See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14), part one, sect. A.

³ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1-14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.81, part one, sect. A).

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

⁵ Adopted by the High-Level Conference on Economic Cooperation among Developing Countries. See A/36/333 and Corr.1.