



President: Mr. Jorge E. ILLUECA (Panama).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will hear a statement by Mr. Henryk Jabłoński, President of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic. On behalf of the Assembly, I have the honour to welcome him to the United Nations and to invite him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. JABŁOŃSKI (Poland) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, permit me to welcome you, a representative of friendly Panama. Your long-standing service at the United Nations, commitment to peace and well-known personal qualities prove that the helm of the Assembly has been placed in good hands.

3. I express my highest appreciation to the President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly, Mr. Imre Hollai. His success in discharging the duties of this office has been also a success for fraternal Hungary, a State of the socialist community, in concert with which we are striving tirelessly for the good of peace and the development of international co-operation.

4. I convey the assurances of our highest esteem to the Secretary-General of the world Organization.

5. I extend a cordial welcome to the delegation of the independent federation of Saint Christopher and Nevis, the 158th Member State of the Organization.

[*The speaker continued in Polish*]*

6. On behalf of the Polish People's Republic, I come before the Assembly to address the major problems facing mankind as well as the United Nations, the most important and universal forum for their consideration. Yet, I must begin with the subject of Poland. I venture to do so not because I would accord a particular international significance to what has been happening in my country over the last few years. In point of fact, each and every country has its own internal problems that it should seek to solve on its own, if the right of every nation to sovereignty is indeed to have an overriding value. The point is that it is not we ourselves who have attempted to internationalize Polish affairs; it is those who had originally been most vocal in urging non-interference in developments in Poland and in pretending that Poles should solve their problems on their own who subsequently made an about-face in their position in an effort to force Poland to submit to their will. It can hardly be argued that that was the result of misunderstanding or insufficient information, since we patiently kept doing all that was necessary to explain our actions.

7. For months, in order to further good will and understanding, we kept the world informed of the introduction by Poland of temporary emergency measures that were

indispensable to the defence of our statehood and constitutional principles against assaults upon them by enemies and the forces of anarchy and to steer Poland out of a profound crisis. The proclamation of martial law in Poland on 13 December 1981, in accordance with Poland's Constitution and the norms of international law, was as unwanted by us as it was necessary. In making that difficult choice, we were mindful that "the Motherland is a great common duty". The order to stand guard over it for the common good of each and every Pole has been issued by Polish history. It is also Polish history and no other that will ultimately judge our decision.

8. Today no responsible politician can deny that Poland's desire for national salvation spared Europe grave tension.

9. As we declared two months ago in a third and final notification in keeping with article 4 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [*resolution 2200A (XXI), annex*], martial law, previously suspended, was lifted on 22 July last throughout the territory of Poland. We have kept our word. Emergency legislation did not remain in force one day longer than was absolutely necessary. Harsh measures have never been part of the Polish mentality. They are also alien to our political culture. An amnesty of wide scope has come into effect.

10. Sustained by the inviolable and lasting principles of socialism, Poland is on the mend. We are strengthening what is good and noble, reforming what is inefficient and decrepit and eliminating what is bad. There can be no turning back from this course. It was charted by the programme of the Ninth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, and it reflects most fully the substance of socialist renewal. Its overriding idea is and always will be the construction of a socialist society in the spirit of our best traditions and in the interest of the Polish nation.

11. Systematic internal normalization and stabilization are taking shape in Poland. They are being accompanied by an unswerving process of change and reform, reinforcing the principles of socialist democracy in all spheres of life. The Polish people is regaining its common ground of political expression in matters most vital for the nation. The dialogue between Poles continues. It is frank and open. Its fullest outlet is the Patriotic Movement for National Revival.

12. A creative impetus is being given to the tradition of Polish parliamentarianism. In the period since August 1980 alone, the Sejm has enacted almost 100 important laws, 57 of them in 1982. The expansion of workers' and territorial self-government is promoting one of the basic tenets of socialist democracy: that of broad, popular participation in the running of the country.

13. A constructive dialogue between the State and the Catholic Church and a number of other creeds, animated by a spirit of tolerance and respect for diverse philosophical outlooks, is progressing fruitfully. The recent visit of Pope John Paul II to Poland has demonstrated this forcefully enough.

14. New, independent and self-governing trade unions, now active in over 90 per cent of places of work and

*The English version of the statement was supplied by the delegation.

gathering over 3.5 million members, have attained a membership rate considerably exceeding that in countries whose governments often like to accuse us of an allegedly slow growth in union ranks. Likewise, the number of national trade union federations is rising.

15. In difficult social and economic conditions, we are carrying out broad economic reform, the purpose of which is to enhance the effectiveness of the entire national economy. We are basing it on enterprise autonomy, active, legally guaranteed workers' participation and development of all-round co-operation with other countries. The road ahead of us is arduous, but developments are proving the rightness of our endeavours.

16. No nation is so vulnerable as when it is undertaking the task of reform. This fact is also well known to the adversaries of socialist Poland. For three years now, our country has been the target of interference and brutal pressure by the forces of anti-communism. Since December 1981 in particular, they have employed against Poland every form of interference in its internal affairs other than military. They have thrown overboard the relevant principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the provisions of numerous General Assembly declarations and the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki in 1975.

17. Threats, the imposition of conditions and economic restrictions, efforts to destabilize the country, propaganda aggression, the pressuring of Governments of various countries into joining in an unworthy campaign to penalize Poland simply for having exercised its sovereignty and rejecting the prospect of becoming the flashpoint of military confrontation, "political colour-blindness" and an obsession to see only blackness in Poland's situation—these are a cross-section of the actions conceived against Poland. At the same time, we are offered prescriptions and remedies which their authors would never think of taking in their own countries.

18. The long historical tradition of Polish-American relations set at naught, the leading rôle in this anti-Polish crusade has been assumed by the United States. Never in the history of our relations has United States policy been so directly aimed against Poland as in past months. It takes the form of so-called economic sanctions for sins uncommitted. They were allegedly aimed against the Polish Government, but consequently they have severely affected the living conditions of the Poles. In short, they are lowering the standards of living of the Polish people and hurting Western creditors. They are, first and foremost, a serious violation of the principles of international relations.

19. Though we are ready to co-operate, open to the world and true to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, we emphatically repeat: there cannot and will not be a Poland as sought by the present policies of the most aggressive quarters of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]. As stated by Wojciech Jaruzelski, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, the leading political force of my country, we have our own ideal of Poland: "an independent, socialist State, within secure frontiers on the European continent, free of armed conflicts—this is the essence of that ideal. This is the nub of Poland's *raison d'état*."

20. We are not alone. We have allies—the fraternal socialist States. In difficult years their support, especially the fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union, is of inestimable value. However, a secure and strong Poland, internally stabilized and united, is in the interest of peace and co-operation in the whole of Europe and the world. Its *raison d'état* is part of Europe's *raison d'état*. We are

confident that this fact will also come home to Western politicians. When it does, we will not be found wanting in good will also to develop peaceful and equitable relations with those who at present refuse to co-operate.

21. The stand of the socialist States, consistently maintained, is that in the competition with capitalism peaceful means only should be employed. In the 1970s it was hoped that the capitalist States would pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence. We remember, too, the words spoken less than six years ago on Polish soil by a President of the United States: "I know in more vivid terms than before that nations like your own and the Soviet Union, which have suffered so deeply, will never commence a war." Departing, unfortunately, from the principles of coexistence, the NATO States have embraced a disloyal policy of violation of the ground rules of peace.

22. While a message of peace and offers of constructive co-operation for the good of humanity can be heard from the capitals of the socialist States, the talk in NATO capitals is all about how these overtures can most effectively be countered. From Prague and Moscow there has come this year another catalogue of proposals by the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty. The implementation of those proposals in good faith, without prejudice to either side, would free the world from the ominous arms race and the spectre of war. From Williamsburg and Paris we have heard chiefly of new armaments and the intensification of the anti-communist crusade.

23. A war mentality of stirring up tension and intolerance is invading the world and directly affecting the quality of the international atmosphere. In the face of the escalation of the strategic concepts and doctrines, the development of new methods of killing, the destabilization of international relations and the pursuit of military superiority, the prospect of annihilation has already assumed a cosmic dimension. The Second Disarmament Decade is actually being turned into an armaments decade by the forces of imperialism. A severe judgement on these moves will be pronounced by the international community, for to refuse to renounce the first use of nuclear weapons is to envisage the possibility of being the first to use them. To call for armaments is to call for war; to rattle sabres in the present state of advancement of military technology and saturation of the globe with lethal weaponry is to gamble with the fate of hundreds of millions of human beings.

24. The world expects the present session of the General Assembly to provide a stimulus for the improvement of the political climate, especially in East-West relations. We are therefore profoundly concerned over the exploitation by the United States and some of its allies of the incident involving the South Korean aircraft, tragic enough in its human dimension, to complicate and poison further the international atmosphere. Likewise, we categorically reject another manifestation of cold-war hysteria in the form of an unprecedented act breaching the freedom of access to the United Nations Headquarters in New York.

25. The Charter reminds us that war "twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind". Twice the fuse was laid in Europe.

26. The fortieth anniversary of the ending of the Second World War and the great victory over nazism, fascism and militarism and the consequent establishment of the United Nations is less than two years away. We fervently wish to see that anniversary fittingly commemorated. It should really inaugurate a year of peace in the world. Today, however, a sense of responsibility for the future of our continent and for international peace, and the sufferings, casualties and heroism of the Polish people in both world wars bid us sound a note of warning that

the planned deployment in Western Europe of the newest American medium-range nuclear-weapon systems threatens world peace and jeopardizes European civilization. Europe's survival cannot depend on overseas military and political command centres.

27. The deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe would also threaten the security of Poland and the most vital interests of our people and State. Their installation would still further bolster the baleful revisionist tendencies in the Federal Republic of Germany and encourage the hopes of altering the historically established structures of European peace, founded on the inviolable and inseparable agreements of Yalta and Potsdam. The installation of medium-range missiles, NATO's singular contribution to the forthcoming Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, is a breach of the spirit of Madrid. Even at this very late stage there is still time to avert the danger and forestall the pernicious consequences of the plans of the NATO States.

28. The statement of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yuri Andropov, published on 28 September 1983 [A/38/459], is a weighty contribution to the debate on the fate of mankind. Its analysis of the problems of the world, which are aggravated by imperialist threats, is one that we fully share. Stemming from the unequivocal and consistently peaceful policy of the Soviet Union, this statement has pointed the way towards fair negotiations aimed at genuine disarmament, the strengthening of peace and improvement of the international atmosphere.

29. A long sequence of events and unhealthy trends intervened between the commencement three years ago and the successful conclusion this September of the Madrid follow-up meeting to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The success of the Madrid meeting is a ray of light in the still dark international firmament. The immediate future will show to what extent, if any, it heralds a return of better times. Naturally, any improvement in the climate in Europe could not fail to have a beneficial impact on the rest of the world. Indeed, the quality of East-West relations is diffused to all regions.

30. People's Poland has never shut itself within the boundaries of Europe. We pursue an outward-looking policy. No record of colonial oppression sullies our name. We admire the struggle of the nations to strengthen their independence, to resist the pressure of neo-colonialism and attempts at destabilization and to eradicate socio-economic backwardness. It pleases us to find a position similar to our own being taken on the fundamental issues of our day by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which at its Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government at New Delhi last spring adopted very important documents relating to peace, disarmament and development [see A/38/132, annex, and Corr.1 and 2]. We remember and appreciate that in what were difficult moments for Poland the majority of the non-aligned, developing and neutral countries displayed understanding of our position.

31. Despite the unsatisfactory international situation, and in defiance of the activities of opponents of peaceful co-operation between nations and of instigators of tension, our aim remains a programme of positive action, hand in hand with all those who want the same. We have the perseverance and the good will to carry us along that road.

32. Guided by this approach, we supported the initiative of the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, concerning a meeting of heads of State or Government during the present session of the General Assembly. The discussion demonstrated that even in such a tense international situation a possibility exists of dialogue and a common search for solutions to the most complicated contemporary problems.

33. This is our realistic vision: to do the utmost to avert the danger of war and prevent the possibility of an outbreak of world conflict, especially nuclear. Our realistic vision is coexistence, not confrontation, containment of the arms race and the immediate achievement of effective disarmament; it is dialogue for the sake of supreme objectives.

34. This goal is served by numerous proposals of the socialist States, including those contained in the Political Declaration of States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, adopted at Prague on 5 January 1983 [A/38/67 and Corr.1]; the communiqué adopted at the meeting of the Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty at Prague on 7 April 1983 [A/38/151]; and the joint statement adopted at the meeting of the leaders of the seven European socialist States in Moscow on 28 June [A/38/292]. Their implementation would advance the vital interests of the whole international community.

35. A new, momentous initiative has recently been put forward by the Soviet Union concerning the conclusion of a treaty on the prohibition of the use of force in outer space and from space against the earth. Poland gives the initiative its full support, as its implementation would offer mankind important benefits commensurate with the requirements of our times.

36. The international community has never had available such widely developed machinery for disarmament negotiations on a regional and global scale, yet the results are in inverse proportion to the needs and possibilities. This makes it unmistakably clear that the problem lies not in the machinery but in the need to overcome an obsession with military superiority and with the pursuit of illusory security through acceleration of the spiral of armaments and destabilization of the strategic balance. Turning-points along this road would be: first, an immediate freeze on nuclear arms; secondly, a commitment by all nuclear-weapon States not to be the first to use nuclear weapons; thirdly, immediate agreement not to increase military expenditures and on concrete measures for their subsequent reduction; and fourthly, conclusion of a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations between States parties to the Warsaw Treaty and States members of NATO—a treaty open to all other signatories.

37. We believe that a creative impulse for such steps should come from the Soviet-American talks on the limitation and reduction of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe and on the limitation and reduction of strategic weapons. The continued absence of concrete results from these talks is negatively affecting other spheres of disarmament negotiations. In progress in these talks lies the key to liberating the world from the spectre of fear and uncertainty of survival, and to breathing new life into the deadlocked work of the Committee on Disarmament and the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe. Such progress would open up new prospects for the reduction of conventional weapons and create an encouraging climate for the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, due to begin next January at Stockholm, to which we attach renewed hopes.

38. This is our realistic vision: the elimination of international conflicts and tensions and the remnants of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism.

39. Still outstanding, however, is the question of how this is to be achieved when in various parts of the world pockets of military tension and crisis situations are growing more complicated or new ones are emerging; when the danger of their spreading is increasing; when undeclared wars are waged against independent States; when military presence is imposed on nations contrary to their interests; when in Latin America, Africa and the Middle East the force of political argument is being replaced by the argument of force, by a "gunboat diplomacy" dusted off from the lumber room of history. The source of such practices lies in the nature of imperialism.

40. The bloodiest harvest is being reaped in the Middle East from the imperialist axiom of "divide and rule". A new token act is the separatist agreement on Lebanon, which has merely given Israel the reassurance to continue its contemptuous attitude towards United Nations resolutions and placed Lebanon's territory at the disposal of forces hostile to the Arab cause. Before the eyes of the whole world a crime is being perpetrated against the Palestinian people. They can be assured peace and their own statehood only by a comprehensive settlement accommodating the rights of all participants in the settlement.

41. On the periphery of that region, the Iran-Iraq conflict still continues, bringing suffering and sacrifice to the peoples on both sides.

42. The arrogance of the South African régime and the political manoeuvres of certain NATO States are being allowed to postpone proclamation of the independence of Namibia, which should have become a sovereign State of free and independent Africa years ago.

43. We are witnessing the intensification of unprecedented pressures on certain Central American States, violation of their sovereign rights and attempts at brutal *diktat*. We express our complete solidarity with the heroic peoples of Cuba and Nicaragua.

44. Interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea must be stopped by recognition of, among other things, its rightful place in the United Nations. We also remain unswerving in our support for the important initiatives of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for a settlement of the situation in South-West Asia and for the constructive proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea concerning the Korean problem.

45. Our realistic vision is also of a world recovering from the present economic crisis and of the whole international system of economic and financial co-operation restructured on a sound basis.

46. Poland shares the view of the majority of the participants in the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade, and of the delegations gathered in this Hall that the basic cause of the deadlock in creating a new and just international economic order is the unwillingness of the highly industrialized States of the West to reach a substantive compromise. Determination to preserve the present structure of economic and financial co-operation springs also from these States' desire to retain a privileged position in international trade. The difficulties of many countries are compounded by exorbitant rates of interest on credit. Like the developing countries, we cannot accept such a situation. Nor do we agree with the deceptive argument that economic recovery in the most advanced capitalist States will automatically remedy the world economic

situation. To claim this is to temporize and to divert attention from the crux of the problem.

47. Development of equitable economic relations also involves the elimination of unjustifiable economic restrictions and so-called sanctions as a means of exacting political concessions. The time has come for the General Assembly to act in the spirit of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] and to oppose practices of this kind. Our Polish contribution to the setting up of a just economic order is contained in the initiative to work out and implement economic confidence-building measures. We note that this is meeting with growing interest. If followed through, after the necessary preparations and consultations, it could be an important step towards freeing international economic relations from fluctuations and political expediency. We are working actively in this direction.

48. The United Nations can and must play an outstanding role in putting the affairs of our globe in order. So we acknowledge the initiatives of the Secretary-General aimed at strengthening the Organization's effectiveness by applying the tried and tested principles of the Charter. We share many of the pertinent views and conclusions contained in his report on the work of the Organization [*A/38/1*], including in particular the view that the key to progress is the political will of the Members of the Organization and their readiness to seek compromises. It is in this spirit that Poland acts in the United Nations. We support the constructive efforts of the Secretary-General also from our position as a member of the Security Council. We shall continue our contribution to the development of his idea for strengthening the Organization's role and effectiveness. We shall further develop our relations and co-operation with him, based on mutual respect and the inviolability of the principles of the Charter and the rules of international law.

49. I wish to assure you, Mr. President and all the delegations present that Poland will work unstintingly for the expansion of platforms of understanding and co-operation in all questions of the contemporary world.

50. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic for the important statement he has made.

51. The General Assembly will now hear an address by Mr. Siaka Stevens, President and Commander of the Armed Forces and Minister of Defence of the Republic of Sierra Leone. On behalf of the Assembly, I have the honour to welcome him to the United Nations and to invite him to address the Assembly.

52. Mr. STEVENS (Sierra Leone): At the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, the chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India, appealed to fellow heads of State or Government to participate in this session of the General Assembly with a view to reaffirming our faith in this Organization and to strengthening its role in the maintenance of international peace and security, and also to make a collective reassessment of the economic problems facing our one world today, particularly as they undermine our interdependence and mutuality of interest.

53. Imbued with faith in the Organization as the repository of the hopes of mankind for the maintenance of international peace and security, and given our serious concern about the economic situation facing the world today, I hearkened to the summons issued at New Delhi

to join my colleagues, follow heads of State or Government, in a concerted effort to reaffirm that faith and to contribute, it was hoped, to the search for solutions to the common problems besetting our world today.

54. Before proceeding any further, Sir, I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you on your election as President of the thirty-eighth session. I wish you every success as you undertake the onerous task of guiding the deliberations of this session. Your impressive record as a diplomat, a jurist and a renowned statesman accounts for the support you have received from the Assembly in its electing you to preside over its affairs.

55. Permit me also, Mr. President, to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai of Hungary, for the commendable efforts he deployed as President of the thirty-seventh session. We recognize his valuable contributions to our efforts in promoting the goals of the United Nations.

56. May I also take this opportunity to welcome into this Council of nations the new State of Saint Christopher and Nevis as a Member of the United Nations. We congratulate the Government and people on their independence and wish them every success in their task of nation-building.

57. Last year, my Government, concerned with the increasingly deteriorating international relations and the danger this posed for international peace and security, as well as the detrimental effect it was having on the Organization, called on the membership to implement the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations relating to the maintenance of international peace and security.

58. While the Security Council has been considering this issue over the past year, it is a matter of regret to my Government that meanwhile the international situation has not only deteriorated, but the threat of nuclear war has become even more menacing and real. For even today we meet against the backdrop of the unfortunate Korean civil airliner incident, resulting in the loss of life of 269 innocent people. The atmosphere and condition of mind that gave rise to this incident are, in our view, both regrettable and deplorable.

59. Even more alarming is the fact that with the increase in international tension, the uninterrupted arms race and the threat posed by nuclear weapons, the Organization stands helpless, unable to take meaningful initiatives to arrest this drift towards self-immolation. It was with a view to averting this danger that heads of State of the Non-Aligned Movement, in their meeting at New Delhi, called for a strengthening of the role of the United Nations to avert the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

60. It may be recalled that it was after a global catastrophe some 38 years ago that we, "the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind", founded the United Nations.

61. Today, if I appear on this rostrum, it is to reaffirm the faith and determination of my Government and people, as we helplessly watch the incidents of global tension rising every day, whether they be on the mountains and plains of Central America; in the streets and arid plains of the Middle East, reflecting the anguish of the Palestinian people to be born as a State; in the towns and villages of South-East Asia or in the deserts of Chad; in the struggle of the people of Namibia to be born free as an independent nation; in the denial of the human dignity of the black people of *apartheid* South Africa; and even in the futile fratricidal war in the Gulf area. We see in all this a catalogue of woes and tribulations

besetting our world. States have selfishly ignored the pledge we made when our founding fathers adopted the Organization's Charter. Today, what do we see? Nations continue to take up arms against nations and factions have been created within States, with adverse consequences for international peace and security.

62. It is our firm belief that as long as we continue to ignore the pledges and commitments enshrined in the Charter and refuse to utilize its procedures and provisions, so long shall our world be plagued by these problems and, indeed, new sets of problems. It is in this regard, therefore, that my Government believes that the General Assembly should be the echo chamber of the conscience of the international community. We should use the United Nations to articulate common problems and focus our energies to find solutions to them. This is the message I want to reiterate, as the head of a small, independent country grappling with the problems of nation-building in a world distracted, self-distracted if you will, by political tension born of mistrust among nations.

63. Even as the world is confronted with the threat of nuclear annihilation and mounting political tension, because of the escalating arms race, developing countries such as mine face no less a threat to their very survival as nation States in the equally serious international economic situation. The complex problems that today constitute the international economic malaise have been discussed in various international forums, and it is no hidden secret that, increasingly, the continued viability of many of the newly independent countries as nation States is becoming bleaker in an inexorably hostile economic world. Unless the international community immediately comes to terms with the situation, even that glorious chapter of the Organization, that of political decolonization, may have to be rewritten.

64. The burden of the crisis has been felt within the international monetary system. It has been reflected in severe cutbacks in finance and development assistance and in unacceptable restrictions in terms of trade, both for manufactured goods from the newly industrialized countries and for agricultural raw materials and minerals from non-oil-exporting countries.

65. The result of all this has been disappointing as regards the improvement of the social and economic welfare of millions of people across the globe, whose legitimate expectations of well-being remain disappointed and unfulfilled.

66. Inasmuch as it is evident that every country represented here today has, in one way or the other, been affected by the global economic crisis, the one inescapable fact remains that the world stands in need of a new order to rearrange our social and economic relationship. More than ever before, we need imagination, compassion and, above all, the political initiative and will to meet the deepening economic crisis and afford our peoples the improved standard of life that is their due. It is not by acrimony, confrontation and division that this new order I speak of will evolve or be established, but rather by the recognition and the affirmation of our mutuality of interest and our indissoluble interdependence.

67. The rapid expansion of international travel, the unprecedented movement of money and finance across continents, the possibilities of easily transmitting disease and illness over vast distances, cosmic pollution and a myriad of other problems all attest to the need for the Organization to address itself to the question of global interdependence. It therefore behoves us all to recognize that only in this course lies our collective and individual

salvation, and that this is our understanding of fairness and equity.

68. Allow me to aver that even though the present state of the world economy has unfavourably affected the countries of the world as a whole, and the developing countries above all, it is, however, generally recognized that the least developed among them have suffered most and because of the weakness of their economic structures are the least likely to benefit from any economic recovery without massive international support from the major donors and financial institutions. In this regard, the achievement of the objectives of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries,¹ unanimously adopted in Paris in 1981, is more than ever a valid goal.

69. In this connection, let me take this opportunity to express to the Secretary-General my Government's appreciation for recently sending an inter-agency mission to assess the assistance needs of Sierra Leone, with the aim of mobilizing the financial and other resources necessary to implement the programmes and projects identified in the report. The report [A/38/211] is an official document before this session of the Assembly. I therefore urge all States and relevant institutions and organizations to give it the necessary attention with the aim of participating effectively in a donors conference to be organized in due course.

70. I would like at this juncture to express the gratitude and appreciation of my Government and people to all agencies and organizations, within and outside the United Nations system, which are rendering assistance to my country. We have no doubt that these institutions and agencies could give humanity greater assistance if only we could muster the necessary political will to provide them with the resources they require to fulfil their mandates. These institutions, by their role and function, give practical meaning to one of the cardinal principles of the Charter by promoting social progress, improving standards of life and ensuring the economic and social advancement of all peoples and thereby strengthening the fabric of international peace and security.

71. The United Nations was born out of the lessons of the last global catastrophe I spoke of earlier. Let us, therefore, apply the lessons of that global catastrophe, reaffirm our faith and uphold and respect the organs, procedures and provisions of the Charter, for only in this way can we assuredly fulfil our pledges to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. I affirm the commitment of the Government and people of Sierra Leone to this end.

72. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank the President of Sierra Leone for the important statement he has just made.

73. Mr. VELAYATI (Islamic Republic of Iran) (*interpretation from Arabic*):

"Those not following the true path of God exploit their riches in obstructing others from the path of God and thus scatter their wealth; but they shall only rue it, and in the end, they will be defeated and driven into hell."
[*The Koran, sura VIII, verse 36.*]

[*The speaker continued in Persian.*]*

74. First of all, Sir, I wish to congratulate you on your election as President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. I also take this opportunity to convey our gratitude and appreciation to the President of the

previous session for his dedicated and successful direction of that session.

75. Our delegation hopes that at the present session the Assembly will pursue the aims and objectives represented by its agenda and find suitable solutions for the difficulties and problems of our world today.

76. This session takes place at a time when the economic, social and political crises in the world have, regrettably, acquired far more threatening dimensions than when we last met here. Despite all the promises and agreements and all the resolutions adopted at the previous session, violations of the rights of the oppressed nations by the super-Powers have increased in an unprecedented manner.

77. I do not think that there is a representative here who is not fully aware of the impressive number and volume of resolutions adopted and of the fiery speeches and statements made at the previous session in which love of peace and hatred of war-mongering and the violation of the rights of peoples were eloquently expressed. In spite of all that, not a day or night has passed since the last General Assembly session without the big Powers and their clients and cronies trampling upon the rights of the oppressed, spilling their blood and spreading injustice to the far corners of the world. In fact, nothing is left of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations except a meaningless framework; the concepts of liberty, freedom and social justice have been sadly ridiculed by the oppression, suppression and savagery of those evil Powers.

78. Words and deeds, theory and practice, are constantly diverging at an astonishing speed. Our world today is suffering above all from a grave moral crisis, and if we do not confront this problem seriously and collectively it will most dangerously threaten our human life and human values. At the price of the long and bitter experiences we have endured, and having learnt from painful historic events, we have arrived at the conclusion that moral degradation or cultural sickness is the breeding ground for all forms of poverty, slavery and submissiveness on the one hand and all forms of oppression, exploitation, expansionism and suppression on the other. Although this is a truism for all humanity, in this phase of human history, when only moral and spiritual values could lay a sound foundation for social relations among nations and dignified ways of life for people, unfortunately there is no sign of any code of human behaviour or set of rules inspired by ethical considerations or spiritual values.

79. Today a very basic question that we must ask ourselves is where we are heading. Is it not time for the international community to stop and search its conscience as it thinks about its future, and thus find an appropriate, human answer? Is not the situation in most parts of the world sufficiently saddening and heart-rending? Can we have any hope that the United Nations will be able to combat the monsters of hunger and poverty, aggression and war, colonialism and exploitation while most Members of the Organization are being squeezed in the claws of one super-Power or the other?

80. It is very unfortunate that some of us, as representatives of our nations, have even lost the most natural human sensibilities with regard to the most horrendous acts of the super-Powers today. It is as if we lived in a world completely divorced from reality. Has not the time come for us to think about our condition, to rediscover ourselves and to find out what kind of world our world is?

81. Allow me to answer the last question by describing the horrifying, inhuman situations in some parts of our

*The English version of the statement was supplied by the delegation.

world. As a Muslim and the representative of a nation that has always put the fight against the evil of zionism foremost, I will start with the question of Palestine.

82. For 36 years now the oppressed and downtrodden people of Palestine have been subjected to the savage aggressions of the usurper Zionist military camp in the Middle East. For the past 36 years the history of the tyrannized people of Palestine has been written in blood by the successors to Hitler. During all this time the United Nations has routinely adopted resolutions which have been of no practical use. The régime occupying Palestine, enjoying the unconditional support of the Big Satan, has not cared a fig for these resolutions but has constantly assaulted the Palestinian people and invaded other Islamic countries. Aggression and transgression are intrinsic characteristics of this régime; there would be no definition of zionism if aggression were left out. That is why we have always maintained that peaceful negotiations with these Nazis of supposedly Jewish origin to put an end to their intrinsic aggressive motif will lead nowhere and have not led anywhere. Why do we not learn from the past? Why can we not understand that, apart from the incorrigible nature of zionism, negotiating or reaching understanding with an enemy that is occupying our territory produces no results except to give it an unfair advantage?

83. If it had not been for Camp David, the beautiful land of Lebanon would not have been drenched in blood by Zionist atrocities today. After all these bitter experiences, are we not right today to think of the acceptance of plans like the Fez plan, the so-called Reagan plan or the pact between Lebanon and Israel as not only a betrayal of the Palestinian cause but also a greater betrayal of the aspirations of some one billion Muslims throughout the world?

84. There is no cure for the cancerous growth of zionism except surgery. If the Allies could have persuaded Hitler to withdraw and recognize the rights of other nations, then we could do the same with the Zionists today. There is no doubt that United States imperialism and zionism are conducting a co-ordinated policy designed to obliterate the national and religious identity of the persecuted Palestinian people and, by employing political, military and publicity conspiracies, to destroy the cause of Palestine in the long term. The increasing presence of United States and French imperialist forces has only one meaning: the imperialist oppressors have decided to oppose the freedom and independence of all Muslim nations of the world in a final confrontation. Does the bombardment of Muslim residential areas of Lebanon by United States, French and other aggressive Powers point to any other intention?

85. If the United Nations feels obliged to give practical effect to the principles of its Charter regarding the safeguarding of international peace and security, it should advocate an all-out military and economic embargo against the Zionist usurper régime; it should also create a system for supervising the correct implementation of the embargo so that any State not complying with it would be identified. The United Nations must carry out its legal obligations with regard to Articles 41 and 42 in Chapter VII of the Charter in respect of international peace and security. The United Nations should, on the basis of the principles of its Charter, condemn the United States and French Governments for their military aggression against Lebanon and the violation of the rights of the Lebanese people. Finally, I should add that, under Article 6 the Zionist régime should be expelled from the United Nations for persistent violation of the principles of the Charter.

86. Today, however, the tyrannized and oppressed people of Palestine remain as tyrannized and oppressed as ever. The Islamic Republic of Iran believes that the settlement of the Palestine question lies in joint international action to remove the causes of aggression in a decisive and forceful confrontation with the aggressor to ease the way for the return of the Palestinian people to their homeland and the establishment of an independent Palestine in all the occupied lands belonging to the Palestinian people. We are convinced that victory in this struggle cannot be won except by following the sublime teachings of Islam, by emphasizing our human values and by the mobilization of the Muslim masses and all freedom-loving people of the world against rulers and régimes dependent on the United States Satan and its Zionist hired gun.

87. The delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran expresses its full support for the armed struggle of the Palestinian people to win back their stolen rights, draws the attention of every individual Member State and the United Nations as a whole to their obligations and commitments regarding this great question and warns all responsible Member States that the collapse of the cause of Palestine would mean the impotence and bankruptcy of the whole international community in regard to the aggressive Zionist régime and its oppressive allies. We should also add that the cause of Palestine is an inseparable and integrated part of the cause of the Islamic people throughout the world. If any one of us in the Islamic world were to remain indifferent to the situation in Palestine and allow the aggressive, racist régime more time, we should one after another fall victim to the expansionist policies of that chronic aggressor. We must all learn, once and for all, that force does not recognize any logic but the logic of force.

88. The great danger inherent in failing to confront aggressors forcefully is not only that it helps the continuance of aggression in a particular case; the great danger lies also in the fact that such an attitude will persuade and encourage all other potentially aggressive forces. If some of the régimes ruling over Islamic countries had not adopted a submissive, impotent attitude with regard to the Zionist non-entity and its gun-toting supporter, the Big Satan, surely the atheist Government of the Soviet Union would not have dared enter the Islamic land of Afghanistan. And if the great people of Viet Nam had not fought the United States aggressors so heroically and ceaselessly, we would certainly be witnessing today the arrogant galloping of the super-Power horses over a large part of the third world. Thus, the armed resistance of an invaded nation will not only benefit those fighting against aggression but also guarantee the independence and national sovereignty of all other nations.

89. It is for that reason that the three-year-old armed struggle of the Afghan people against the occupying Russian force is and will remain a sublime example of a people's heroic resistance in the eyes of the peoples of the third world in general and the great Islamic family in particular.

90. It is high time that the world community paid serious attention to the question of Afghanistan. The slaughtering of the defenceless Afghan people who, with a minimum of possibilities, heroically resist a mighty foreign invasion of their country, the continuous bombardment of the homes and farms of the deprived people of Afghanistan, the use of deadly chemicals and the killing and injuring of a large number of people and the resultant refugee status of some four million people cannot be settled at negotiating tables at Geneva in the absence of the true representatives of the Afghan people. The Soviet

Union is treading the same path already trodden by the United States in Viet Nam, and if it insists on this policy it will be taught the same lesson by the Afghan people that the American Satan learned from the Vietnamese.

91. The people of the Islamic Republic of Iran, who have so much in common with the Afghan people, will not remain silent about this invasion. The only way to settle the Afghanistan problem lies in the complete, unconditional and immediate withdrawal of the occupying forces from Afghanistan, the non-intervention of other forces in the internal affairs of that country, the return of Afghan refugees to their homeland and the guarantee of the right of the people of Afghanistan to determine their own destiny. On this basis we reject any negotiation conducted in the absence of the true representatives of the Afghan nation. We further declare that the mature Afghan nation does not need a guardian, and no Government or international organization has the right to enter into negotiation on behalf of the Afghan people.

92. It is now three years since the Iranian people was savagely invaded by world imperialism and its stooges. In the eyes of imperialism, the Muslim people of Iran had committed an unpardonable sin: they had won back their freedom and independence, they had refused the domination of the super-Powers and they had decided to work for justice and truth throughout the world. The Baathist régime of Iraq, representing the interests of imperialism, has for three years done everything in its power to destroy the economic and human resources of two Muslim peoples in the Middle East and has rendered considerable services to imperialism and world zionism in this respect. Three years ago, when our nation had just rid itself of the domination of the American Satan and his stooge, the ex-Shah, and was gradually taking difficult steps towards the reconstruction of the liberated land of Iran, the aggressive Baathists of Iraq invaded Iran in a *blitzkrieg* against the defenceless people of Persian, Arab and Kurdish origin, employing 12 well-equipped divisions, some 3,000 tanks and scores of bombers and helicopter gunships. They advanced to considerable depths inside our territory, which was only yesterday liberated from the claws of the Big Satan and its agent in Iran, the American Shah. Defenceless cities, towns and villages were invaded one after another; thousands of innocent men and women, young and old, were massacred; towns and villages were razed to the ground. And we realized that the price we had already paid to liberate our country from the domination of the West and the East and to gain freedom and independence was to be increased by more than we had imagined.

93. Long before the Secretary-General of the Communist Tudeh Party of Iran, arrested on charges of shameless espionage for the Soviet Union, confessed in a television interview that the Soviet Union had already informed him of the imminent Iraqi invasion of Iran and that the Baathist chieftain was nursing the idea of "liberating" the Iranian oil-rich province of Khuzestan, many of us in Iran, having already witnessed the dropping of French-made, American-made and Russian-made missiles on our border towns and villages, were certain that the super-Powers had already reached an agreement to support the Baathist régime of Iraq in its devastating invasion of revolutionary Iran.

94. At that time, the aggressive régime of Saddam, intoxicated as it was with its easy Don Quixote victory against hospitals, mosques, schools and defenceless people, used arrogantly to declare in its official communiqués to the United Nations: "Iraqi troops continue their march, inflicting further defeats on the Persian enemy". That was a quote from a communiqué [A/C.1/35/5] by

the so-called Revolutionary Command Council of Iraq. Do representatives know how the Security Council's President responded at that time? They should kindly take a look at the Security Council resolution 479 (1980) of 28 September 1980. Can anyone see anything whatsoever referring to the withdrawal of aggressive forces to international borders? Are we now permitted to ask why there was no such request? Are we too suspicious in assuming that the Security Council's silence on this vital point was in perfect harmony with the evil desires of the Iraqi Foreign Minister, expressed in his letter of 27 October 1980 to the Secretary-General, in which he declared:

"In the light of the above-mentioned considerations, the Government of the Republic of Iraq wishes to point out that any call for the withdrawal of Iraqi forces, before Iran recognizes the said Iraqi sovereignty in practice and legally, is in our view a legal and practical impossibility, for Iran has not delimited its borders with Iraq in a precise manner.

"...

"The lands reached so far by Iraqi forces are the necessary positions for defence until Iran recognizes our rights and guarantees are reached for the achievement of a final and permanent solution to the dispute."²

95. Does this contain any respect for Article 1, paragraph 1 and for Article 2, paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Charter of the United Nations? Does such a régime respect international security?

96. In paragraph 3 of Security Council resolution 479 (1980), the Council "Calls upon all other States to exercise the utmost restraint and to refrain from any act which may lead to a further escalation and widening of the conflict". Did the permanent members of the Security Council not vote in favour of this resolution?

97. Have the Governments of the United States, the Soviet Union and France, as permanent members of the Security Council, not violated their own crookedly adopted resolution by supplying the Iraqi régime with huge military and financial assistance? Had all the missiles and bombs dropped on our defenceless civilian population for two years after the adoption of this resolution been delivered to the aggressive régime of Iraq from the planet Mars? Why has this flagrant violation of resolution 479 (1980) never been questioned? Why on earth did the Security Council keep quiet about this war for two years? Did the crimes by the Baathist military deep inside our territory not threaten the peace and security of the world? Where have all these people who are now moaning and wailing about a threat to peace in the region been hiding all this time? Certainly all fair-minded informed people know that what is being threatened at present is not peace or security but the régime of Saddam and the interests of his super-Power supporters.

98. The deadly, indifferent silence of the Security Council has accompanied the boastful propaganda of the Iraqi Baathists, who were spilling the blood of countless Iranian Muslims for almost two years. Our war-stricken people knew right from the beginning that the real motive behind the Baathist Iraqi invasion of Iran was not the occupation of parts of our country. The Iraqi Baathists were striving in earnest for the overthrow of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

99. We are convinced that because we are an independent nation and are determined to remain so, we are alone and have to fight an enemy that is supported by practically all the members of the oppressive club of the world single-handedly. The great mobilization of our people and their swift movement towards the battlefronts upset all

evil calculations. The port city of Khorramshahr was liberated after heavy fighting, and the defeated Iraqi mercenaries started their hasty retreat. And then the Foreign Minister of the Iraqi régime wrote to the Secretary-General on 27 October 1980, "On the basis of military consideration and topography, there may be better positions forward for defensive purposes but there are none backward."²

100. Yes, this very same regime, following the Khorramshahr defeat and the speedy destruction of the Iraqi occupying army at the hands of our people, in an acrobatic gesture turned into a peace-loving government overnight and declared that it had unilaterally, and amazingly, decided to evacuate the occupied Iranian territories. And the Security Council, also amazingly, broke its two-year-old silence and requested both belligerent parties to evacuate all occupied territories.

101. Two years of occupation of our territories in no way threatened international peace and security, but the very first defeats of the aggressors in our territory immediately did so. Was our nation not justified in rejecting this ridiculous logic of the Security Council?

102. I am certain that most representatives have already studied the report by the United Nations mission that visited liberated territories in our country.³ The mission also visited Iraq, inspected its border towns and cities, and prepared a report on the subject. Although the report does not cover all the facts regarding the Iranian side of this tragic story, it has, nevertheless, reported some of the facts without bias or prejudice. We request those who have not studied this report to do so and make a comparison of its contents with the official communiqués and press releases which the governments of the aggressive régime and of the invaded country have so far submitted to the General Assembly or to the Secretary-General. A comparative study of this kind will tear the peace-loving mask off the ugly face of the brutally aggressive Iraqi Baathist régime. The report shows that the majority of our occupied towns and cities were ninety per cent, and sometimes one hundred per cent, destroyed by mechanical and engineering equipment, in direct violation of the articles of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.⁴ The cities of Hoveyzeh, Khorramshahr and Qasri-Shirin fall into this category. On the Iraqi side, a glimpse at the report shows that the Iraqi Baathists failed miserably to prove what they claimed. Does this document not indicate to everyone that the Muslim people of Iran, who have been victims of a beastly aggression and who have for three years suffered the daily mindless bombardments of the aggressor and received hundreds of deadly missiles, has followed its Islamic teachings strictly and has refrained from retribution against Iraqi towns and cities within easy range of Iranian artillery?

103. The Assembly has heard what the Iraqi Foreign Minister said about the peaceful intentions of the Iraqi régime. But I draw your attention to what the Iraqi régime has done, only during the last few months, to the cities of Piranshahr, Baneh, Marivan, Andimeshk and Gilan Gharb in western Iran. The Foreign Minister of Iraq talks about peace and peaceful solutions when the streets, residential areas, and market-places in these towns are still wet with the blood of innocent and defenceless women and children.

104. But this is only a small part of the tragic, bloody story of the Baathists' mad invasion of Iran. Is there anyone who does not know about the catastrophe of the oil spill in the Persian Gulf—a deliberate attempt, outside the war zone, to pollute the waters of the Gulf, endanger marine life and threaten the interests of the coastal

countries? Do we not know that the Iraqi régime desperately tried to link the question of checking the oil spill with the whole theatre of war, and by delaying and stopping the operations to stop the spill proved once again that it was ready to sacrifice the vital interests of the coastal countries and upset their ecology for its own selfish designs and inhuman objectives?

105. Fortunately, a few days ago our oil technicians and experts, having overcome enormous obstacles and with a great deal of self-sacrifice, succeeded in completely harnessing one of the damaged oil wells that was gushing some 2,000 barrels of oil into the waters of the Persian Gulf. This remarkable achievement is indicative of the keen interest of the Islamic Republic of Iran in safeguarding the interests of the States of the region and of its ability to do so. But would it be possible to ensure the interests of the States in the region for an extended period of time? Who could guarantee that the aggressive régime of Iraq will not tomorrow issue another communiqué, similar to military communiqué No. 1106, dated 2 March 1982, in which its assault on oil wells and their destruction will be lauded as another great military victory, once again endangering the interests of the Persian Gulf States?

106. Let us imagine that towards the end of the Second World War, when the days of Nazi aggression were numbered and the Allied armies were liberating one European city after another, the war-stricken people of Europe, whose nearest and dearest were murdered by Hitler's invading armies, were suddenly to hear Hitler in a press conference on the wireless declaring his deep love for peace and security and condemning the Allied forces' aggression in the occupied territories and unable to understand why the Allies were not ready to sit at the negotiating table with him and solve all problems in an amicable atmosphere. How would the victims of his brutality feel? Hitler does not seem to have had this bitter sense of humour or to have been hypocritical enough to do this. Unfortunately, the little Baathist successors of Hitler have this bitter sense of humour, and their hypocrisy knows no bounds.

107. We live in an absolutely unfair world. Twice in the past few months we informed the United Nations that the Iraqi régime was intending to launch missile attacks against cities and residential areas, a few days prior to the occurrence of these atrocities. This, of course, does not imply any gift of prophecy on our part. We know from bitter experience that each time the Baathist cowards lose on the battlefield, they resort to this sort of remote-control mass murder with their long-range Russian- and French-made missiles. Security Council documents dated 5 May 1983⁵ and 4 August 1983,⁶ respectively, bear witness to the validity of our statement. In both cases, our forewarnings were realized, but on both bloody occasions the United Nations did not turn a hair. How long can this unjust and inhuman treatment continue?

108. In spite of all this, we want the Assembly to know that no matter how far the Iraqi régime goes in its crimes against our people, one thing will not change, and that is the sworn resolution of our united Muslim people to win back its stolen rights and to punish the war criminals. The intensification of Baathist crimes against our people and the continuation of aggression have rendered all peace proposals unlikely and unacceptable. However, we shall not compromise one iota of our legitimate rights. And we should add here that those who obstruct the realization of our legitimate demands will bear the responsibility of prolonging this war. Here, we warn those Powers which constantly fuel the Iraqi war machine and simultaneously broadcast rumours of lack of security in the Persian Gulf, in order to prepare the ground for their

own military presence in a region in whose troubled waters none will be able to fish.

109. We assure the world community that as long as we can safeguard our own economic interests in the Persian Gulf we will guarantee the safe passage of vessels according to international laws and regulations. We are certain that our conduct so far has already displayed our ability to fulfil this responsibility, and we want the world community to know that our successful, legitimate defence of our country and the suppression of the aggressor will certainly result in peace, security and tranquillity for all countries of the region, a lasting peace which could consolidate closer friendly relations among all on the basis of mutual respect.

110. But we declare loudly and clearly that we shall no longer tolerate the passage of vessels loaded with war munitions sent by the world's merchants of death for the Iraqi régime through the Strait of Hormuz towards certain ports in the southern part of the Persian Gulf and that in future we shall be enforcing our authority in this vital respect less leniently than before. We also announce to the world that any misguided adventure detrimental to the vital interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran will immediately result in the complete closure of the Strait of Hormuz and the stoppage of the flow of oil from that region. It should be absolutely clear that those supplying the aggressor with sophisticated weapons will be held responsible for such a development and will have to bear the consequences. In this respect, we address ourselves especially to the Government of France, which has, with a great deal of ignorance and effrontery, embarked on such a hazardous pursuit. We warn the so-called socialist Government of France, which is more than a century behind the times and at present is ridiculously imitating the nineteenth-century colonialists, of the consequences of its actions. The so-called socialist Government of France does not seem to have realized that the world has changed and the age of gunboat diplomacy has long passed. If the Government of France does not awaken to the realities of the twentieth century and if any aggressive Government dares approach us in the Persian Gulf, we shall, as a first step, turn it into a big graveyard for the aggressors. And let us not forget that Iran, and especially Islamic Iran, has been the land of men and women who, through their scientific achievements and military genius, have often played a vital role in the destiny of humanity.

111. Unfortunately, these violations and acts of aggression are being committed by the oppressive Powers throughout the world, and in particular in the third world. Let us look at Africa. In that continent a new wave of neo-colonialism has struck the long-oppressed African people, and the tragic memories of the nineteenth century's colonial scramble are revived. We strongly condemn the delivery of war equipment to Chad by France and the United States, the sole objective of which is to continue colonial domination and to plunder the natural resources of the African people. The so-called socialist Government of France is nowadays becoming an especially dangerous element in the world. Faced with the bankruptcy of its economic policies, it has embarked on a policy of global military adventure and support of aggressive Governments and despots. The socialist Government of France not only has violated all international conventions but has not even respected those resolutions of the Security Council that bear its own worthless signature.

112. The Islamic Republic of Iran, while treasuring the rich culture, literature and valuable liberal traditions of

the French people, with whom we have maintained time-honoured relations, strongly and unequivocally condemns the present Government of France for its violation of other nations' rights, and we demand the immediate withdrawal of all oppressive forces from Chad, while we are certain that the people of Chad will not tolerate the presence of oppressive troops on their soil.

113. For years the Muslim people of Western Sahara, led by the POLISARIO Front,⁷ have been fighting for their independence and national sovereignty. We declare our whole-hearted support for their struggle. We believe that the military occupation of Western Sahara must come to an end in accordance with the resolutions approved at the nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983 [see A/38/312], and the resolutions adopted by the United Nations. It is time that dependent régimes in Africa understood that serving imperialist interests and moving along crooked paths led by the super-Powers will not help them in the least.

114. The people of the Middle East and Western Asia whole-heartedly sympathize with their African brothers and sisters because, apart from common experience and a common history of anti-colonialist struggle, both peoples have in the last four decades become the victims of savage, racist régimes supported by the United States Satan. The South African racist régime has been aptly called the Israel of Africa. Racism and zionism share the same background and the same purpose. They both believe in the violation of the rights of other nations. They both advocate violent usurpation of other peoples' lands. They both have no respect for world public opinion or for the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations, and they both mean to upset the norms of international relations. Those two evil forces, zionism and racism, obey the law of the jungle in international relations, and their design is to invade other free nations of the world once they have consolidated their evil rule over the lands they have already occupied and their peoples.

115. I have just been handed a note providing information on another Iraqi missile attack against two cities in Iran—Andimeshk and Dezful. It is interesting that two days ago our delegation to the United Nations foresaw such a missile attack and informed the Secretary-General of the United Nations accordingly. But, unfortunately, as usual no steps were taken against attacks on residential areas of our cities.

116. I shall now read out the details:

“At 2.24 p.m. local time yesterday, four points were attacked by Iraqi missiles in Andimeshk and Dezful with the following casualties and damage: in Dezful, 31 people martyred and 130 injured, with 95 residential areas totally destroyed and 230 partly destroyed, including 60 shops destroyed; in Andimeshk, 23 people martyred and 120 injured, with 60 residential areas totally destroyed and 120 partly destroyed.”

117. We are sure, of course, that the United Nations and other international institutions, because of the manipulations of the oppressor super-Powers, cannot do much, and we do not expect much. We have just given this information so that members of the Assembly may have a clearer picture of what is going on and understand why we feel that the only way to respond to this ruthless enemy is on the field of battle. Of course, desperate attempts of this sort are further proof of the enemy's weakness. They show that the enemy is collapsing and that Saddam has no place among his own people and that in the very near future he will be defeated.

118. I shall now continue my statement. It is necessary that the United Nations, having diagnosed the racist disease that is threatening the body of the world community like cancer, and having regard to its obligations and commitments regarding the safeguarding of undeniable human rights and respect for the rights of self-determination and national sovereignty of nations, should take effective measures to eradicate racial discrimination and Zionist racism from the face of the earth and carry out its historic mission of honouring its principles concerning peace, security and human rights.

119. The Islamic Republic of Iran, while extending its full support to the oppressed people of Namibia, demands the immediate withdrawal of the occupying forces of the racist South African Government and urges all revolutionary countries of Africa and all progressive movements, and above all the South West Africa People's Organization, the true representative of the oppressed Namibian people, to continue their heroic, legitimate struggle. We strongly condemn the colonialist governments which support the aggressive racist Pretoria régime in the face of United Nations resolutions and the principles of its Charter, and we express our firm support for the efforts and struggles of anti-colonialist, anti-racist African countries, especially Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

120. The situation in Latin America is not much healthier than that in Africa or the Middle East, because of the satanic policies of gringo imperialism. The unobstructed brazen intervention of Big Satan in the internal affairs of the countries of this region, especially in Nicaragua and El Salvador, not only has violated the principles of the Charter of the United Nations in a most shameless manner but also is threatening the peace and security of the world we live in. The Islamic Republic of Iran, while condemning these international colonial policies, praises all combative forces on the Latin American political scene which have courageously risen up to fight Big Satan, the source of all evil on earth, and to get rid of all its Latin American lackeys. We declare our full support for these liberation movements against American imperialism, and we believe that the decisions of the Contadora Group may serve as a suitable basis for the solution of problems in Latin America and the cessation of external intervention and aggression.

121. We sincerely believe it is time that all the peoples of the world who have risen up to win back their legitimate rights drummed into the heads of all aggressors and transgressors in the world the fact that no nation needs their godforsaken suzerainty or bloody paternalism. It is also time that any nation which has been torn apart through the super-Powers' international conspiracies did everything in its power to reunite and to revive its cultural and national unity. The struggle of the people of the Korean peninsula is an example *par excellence* in this respect.

122. I now turn to the grave question of the arms race. The second special session of the General Assembly on disarmament faced failure as a result of the super-Powers' obstruction and lack of co-operation. The special session instructed the Committee on Disarmament to prepare a comprehensive programme acceptable to all members and to present it at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Has that Committee succeeded in its mission, or must the people of the world continue to live in anxiety, terror and horror caused by the domineering ambitions of the super-Powers, while those Powers continue their deceitful, useless negotiations? What has so far come out of the bilateral Soviet-American negotiations on the limitation of medium-range missiles and strategic arms,

the outcome of which may decide the fate of some four billion people on our planet?

123. Today, the implementation phase of the decision to deploy more than 500 missiles and nuclear warheads in Europe, including Pershing II and cruise missiles, has already begun. That part of the world has already been turned into a powderkeg, and it would take only a simple mistake, a small miscalculation or a little spark to set the whole of the European continent aflame and to sacrifice the European peoples on the satanic altar of the super-Powers and drag the other parts of the world into the fire started by them.

124. Each super-Power tries to justify its illogical position by the incorrect attitude of the other. The Soviet Union declares that if those missiles are deployed by the West it will have to strengthen its own missile system, while the United States Satan justifies its opposition to the convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean because of the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan. The convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean, set for 1983, has once again been postponed. We welcome the pleasant change in the positions of those countries which initially opposed the convening of that Conference but have come to appreciate the urgency of the matter and are already working for the preparation of a resolution on this matter to be submitted to the General Assembly. We hope that other Member States will join them. At present, more than at any time in the past, international peace and security require that the Indian Ocean zone should remain free from the super-Powers' arms race and not be infested by nuclear weapons.

125. Last year the proposal on non-first use of nuclear weapons produced a glimmer of hope in the anxious hearts of mankind, and it was optimistically expected that other States would support the proposal and instead of talks and speeches take a practical step in the direction of relaxing existing tensions. Unfortunately, however, the actions of the super-Powers show that their claims on non-first use, the reduction and control of arms expenditure or the limitation of the number of submarine-launched ballistic missiles was nothing but an empty political gesture designed for their own publicity purposes.

126. At this juncture I deem it necessary to deal briefly with the world economic situation. The adoption of defensive protectionist measures, as well as contractionary financial policies of the advanced economies, have led to the continued decline in the volume of world trade. The simultaneous drastic decline in the prices of basic commodities and the rapid increase in the prices of the industrial exports of the developed countries have caused a further deterioration in the terms of trade.

127. The current monetary and financial crisis, further exacerbated by the specific policies of the United States Satan and its industrial allies, along with their imposition of various restrictions intended to impede the third world's access to concessional financial resources, international capital markets and technology, have all worked to worsen the current economic crisis and disrupt the process of development of the developing countries. A huge, rapid increase in the volume of the foreign debts of those countries, not to mention their consequent internal socio-political-economic hardships, is merely a manifestation of such a grave world economic crisis. It should be added, however, that contrary to the claims of the oppressors and dominators, the current difficulties in the world economic system are not cyclical at all. In fact they are structural problems arising from the existing unjust world capitalist system and the historic dominance of the privileged minority over the deprived majority.

128. As the Assembly is well aware, the oppressors oppose any and all reforms in the prevailing world economic system; they adamantly resist even the minimum legitimate demands of the oppressed countries. Adopting a negative attitude towards the serious beginning of negotiations for the establishment of the new international economic order and evading participation in global negotiations are among the destructive policies of the oppressors in general, and United States imperialism in particular—notwithstanding their rhetoric about understanding and co-operation. Control of such institutions as IMF and the World Bank by the United States Satan and its advanced allies is a traditional channel of exerting pressure on the third world and impeding the realization of their demands.

129. The conduct of the Governments of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development—especially the United States—in the course of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade, was a true reflection of the aforementioned intentions, attitudes and methods. The resultant impasse at the Conference and its failure to adopt any positive and effective measures on all the disputed issues was nothing but the logical outcome of the intransigence and self-serving attitudes of these countries.

130. It has often been repeated that global negotiations—if conducted in a serious and consistent manner, of course—can be considered to be the first step towards the alleviation of the current international economic crisis and the introduction of structural changes in the prevailing system. We believe that the negotiations will not get us anywhere before the oppressive domination of the super-Powers over the countries of the third world is annihilated and their stooges in these countries are overthrown. We are also of the opinion that limited and partial solutions, such as negotiations within the framework of the specialized agencies—manipulated as they are by the United States Satan—and resort to bilateralism as against multilateralism in financial relations only serve to preserve the present state of domination and control and further institutionalize the current crisis.

131. The Islamic Republic of Iran rejects the present international order, in which our world is divided into the two poles of East and West. We believe that the balance of terror governing the world today, on which the present transient peace is based, will not guarantee the true peace, security and prosperity of the people of the world. The existing power blocs and military alignments have all brought our world to the precipice of war and annihilation.

132. Since the end of the Second World War, the world has not enjoyed one single day free from local wars, cold war, tensions and serious dangers to peace.

133. The super-Powers, in a ludicrous effort to justify their aggressions, constantly talk about “threats to their vital interests”—as if they had some sort of natural rights in all the countries of the world, as if the rest of the world were their own backyard. Is this anything but a feeling of racial superiority? Does this not reveal their evil mentality of viewing all nations of the world as being in need of their ignorant overlordship? Every day we hear about American and French interests in the Persian Gulf, Soviet interests in Afghanistan or in Asia and Africa, and the United States Satan’s interests all over the globe. Does all this have any basis except in racialism, arrogance and ignorance? Did Hitler stand for anything different? Unfortunately this sort of “neo-logic” is not used exclusively by the super-Powers but has also spread to their clients and cronies; a glimpse at communiqués and political

statements issued by the Baathist régime of Iraq, the Zionist régime occupying Palestine and the reactionary régime of South Africa proves that their mentality is infested with concepts of racial superiority and ethnic arrogance. That is why the socialist Government of France believes that the peoples of Iran and Iraq should be sacrificed at the altar of “French interests”.

134. The Government and the people of the Islamic Republic of Iran, inspired by the divine teachings of Islam, believe that all human beings are equal, and we absolutely reject the logic of racial discrimination through which the super-Powers intend to humiliate the rest of humanity. We believe, therefore, that our only hope lies in the collective movement of the oppressed nations of the world in the direction of ending the hegemony of the super-Powers.

135. In this respect, we believe that the further strengthening of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, together with our insistent emphasis on the principle of non-alignment, will greatly facilitate the liberation of the oppressed from the yoke of super-Powers. In the present conditions of crisis and tensions in our world, and as long as the United Nations is crippled by the obstructions of the oppressive Powers and is not able to take practical, effective steps for the solution of numerous problems in the world, the all-important role of the Non-Aligned Movement in the relaxation of international tensions cannot be overemphasized. Nevertheless, the success of the Non-Aligned Movement is dependent on its ability to purge its ranks categorically of those stooges of the super-Powers that make a superficial claim to being non-aligned but in reality only serve the interests of world imperialism, thus guaranteeing its proper growth and direction. However, the achievements of the Non-Aligned Movement in finding solutions to certain world problems, and the sense of responsibility that the majority of its member States feel for its future, hold promise that the Movement will play a great, effective, historic role in the formation of future world policies.

136. In spite of the fact that the efforts of the United Nations for the implementation of the fundamental principles of the Charter have so far not met with much success and although the Organization, despite considerable action, has not been able to achieve on the international scene the aims and objectives it was meant to achieve, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran sincerely hopes that the General Assembly will liberate the United Nations from the claws of the oppressive big Powers and help it to realize its sacred objectives of peace, security, prosperity and the happiness of mankind. And may the peace of God be upon his true servants.

137. Mr. SEPULVEDA AMOR (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I offer you my warmest congratulations on your election to preside over the work of this session, for which there are great expectations of peace and international co-operation, so necessary to the commitment undertaken by Governments and nations. Mexico and Panama have strong bonds of friendship; they share goals and beliefs that lead them to act in unison in the international sphere and to take joint initiatives in Latin America.

138. Indeed, it was on Contadora Island that we, along with Colombia and Venezuela, took diplomatic steps to solve, by reducing tension and by political understanding, the conflicts in Central America which pose such a serious danger to the region and world coexistence.

139. The Government of Mexico is confident that your efforts as President of the General Assembly will indeed be productive. Your political and diplomatic experience,

joined with the collaboration of Member States, will undoubtedly contribute to dispelling anxieties and strengthening confidence in the Organization and in the future of international relations.

140. The activities of the Secretary-General also lead us to expect more imaginative and coherent multilateral action.

141. The Organization's spirit of universality has been enriched by the membership of Saint Christopher and Nevis. We welcome that membership and extend to the Government and people of that country our fraternal greetings.

142. In this statement which I have the honour to make in the Assembly, when I am speaking for the first time on behalf of the Government of President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, I wish to reaffirm the unbreakable continuity of Mexico's foreign policy and of its active commitment to the principles of international coexistence. I should like also to express the full confidence of the President of Mexico in the vocation and capacity of international bodies to ensure international peace and security and to meet the needs of justice and fairness demanded by the developing world.

143. In the present Central American crisis there are three basic aspects of international policy. First, there is the quest for new forms of organization that will meet the needs and aspirations of all the peoples. Secondly, there is the struggle for a regional coexistence that will take into account the legitimate interests of all the countries concerned, quite apart from global strategic confrontations. Finally, there is the certainty that there is still room for the political solution of the disputes, as the only alternative to the use of force. I should like to spell out those three aspects.

144. The characteristics of the contemporary world are such that all States are responsible for international harmony. No country can remove itself from the problems of others, nor can it be indifferent to those problems. Thus, regional life can often provide ideas and experiences which are of general usefulness and which can contribute to the formulation of a just and peaceful international order.

145. It is natural for developing societies—in Africa, Asia and Latin America—to show a constant trend towards change. Our structures require constant revision in the quest for more advanced stages of political, economic, and social development. Despite its inherent problems and contradictions, this impulse towards renewal is both a hard fact and a potential for progress for our peoples.

146. Within this process, which is always difficult, Latin America is today suffering from the ancient conflict between those who wish to keep an obsolete social order unchanged and those who seek to transform it. Resistance to change prolongs and aggravates the crisis and exacerbates ideological confrontation.

147. The concentration of wealth and the fact that large social sectors are as a consequence left on the margins of society, together with the unsteady development of political institutions, leads to violence, intolerance, and restrictions on freedoms. As long as there is no real respect for individual and social rights, with the consequence that the political order as a whole does not meet the deeply felt needs of the people, the root causes of the regional malaise will remain. Bipolar confrontation has nothing to do with the true roots of the conflict in Latin America. That is why we insist on the imperative need to remove this crisis from the area of East-West confrontation and from any claims to hegemony.

148. Lasting peace in Central America can be achieved only by means of full respect for the principles of the self-determination of peoples and of non-intervention. Systems of social organization cannot be mechanically transferred, far less be imposed in a different context. Let us allow the developing peoples themselves also to enrich mankind's political tradition through their own unique experience and talent.

149. A change in the *status quo* in one or more countries should not fatally endanger regional coexistence or necessarily threaten the world balance of power. In order to avoid becoming committed to the impossible goal of halting the march of history, we must respect the principle of pluralism everywhere. It is also indispensable to identify and to deal with conflicts in accordance with their specific character, without any unwarranted interference or Manichean simplifications.

150. The aim of our peoples is development with independence and justice, not to join power blocs. In Central America the acceptance of diversity and the practice of dialogue will make stability possible, reducing the extremism which is often more the product of harassment than of want.

151. Ever since the establishment of the United Nations, we have been able to avoid a universal conflagration. Nevertheless, we have not succeeded in preventing the proliferation of conflicts, which increasingly involve the long-term interests and goals of the major Powers.

152. In the face of an imminent conflagration in Central America, Mexico has not hesitated to take initiatives for peace. During this year, we have joined efforts with Colombia, Panama and Venezuela in order to promote an atmosphere favourable to dialogue and negotiation among the countries of that region. Nevertheless, they are the ones that must, together with the help of the international community, establish their own framework of coexistence and solidarity.

153. The actions of the Contadora Group are guided by three cardinal aims: *détente*, political understanding and co-operation. The main goal is to halt hostilities and to prevent their spread. At the same time, it is necessary to establish permanent conditions of security through specific agreements and effective means of verification. Furthermore, it is essential to re-establish the framework for co-operation for development which began with such great promise in Central America.

154. Until now, we have been able to achieve reasonable success with respect to the first aim. The Contadora Group has acted as a retaining wall to prevent the spread of the Central American conflict. Serious dangers have been avoided, notably the outbreak of open war between countries and the possible extension of hostilities. Nevertheless, the continual harassment, the acts of destabilization, border tensions, war-like incidents, the arms race, the presence of advisers and foreign military interference, as well as manoeuvres designed to intimidate, have all been unfavourable to any *détente* in the area.

155. But we all have a duty to continue our efforts. The countries of the Contadora Group must redouble their efforts, the States which are directly involved must display a will for peace and the members of the international community must lend active political support, free of ulterior motives, to the current efforts for peace.

156. On 17 July last, the Presidents of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela formulated the Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America [A/38/303]. It reflects a high level of political determination, a quality greatly needed in these times of crisis. Our heads of State proposed a package of commitments which they believe to

be feasible and necessary to ensure a gradual lessening of tension in the area.

157. In the framework of that Declaration, the Foreign Ministers of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua recently agreed on a document^s which contains the basic elements of their commitment to achieve coexistence, security and co-operation among the five countries. Its ratification by the Governments concerned would represent meaningful progress. We would then have a first general understanding which would lead to agreements and obligations on the most serious problems of the region.

158. The peace efforts of the Contadora Group have received the express solidarity of many Governments. They also have the support of national and international organizations and broad sectors of world public opinion. To all these we express our thanks and urge them most respectfully to persevere in this common task.

159. In May of this year the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 530 (1983), in which the international community is called upon actively to support our diplomatic endeavours and in which a specific mandate is conferred in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

160. The process we have begun in this sensitive situation requires consistent support from Member States. The Central American crisis has put to the test our capability to ensure in practice that rational policy and the law will prevail over violence.

161. Our region has gravely suffered from the impact of the present economic crisis. In the face of the rise in interest rates, the continuation of protectionist policies and constant deterioration in the prices of raw materials, Latin America has been placed in the very difficult situation of having to divert much-needed hard currency to debt servicing. The economic upheaval leads to grave imbalances which are beginning to delay the process of modernization and institutional progress of our countries. It is inconsistent to advocate democracy in political statements and at the same time to aggravate economic inequalities which polarize societies.

162. New obstacles have been added to the historic shortcomings of our economies. Some result from internal circumstances, others from the erratic functioning and chronic deterioration of the international economic system.

163. We, the developing countries, know how necessary it is to achieve considerable change in our economies in order to overcome shortages and make use of available resources so as to achieve justice and productivity.

164. Mexico has instituted a national development plan based on reality and the need to rationalize our efforts. We are acting on the basis of our recognition of the causes of the problems and confidence in our national ability to make progress in the achievement of a more efficient and democratic project.

165. In this project, as in the efforts made internally by other countries, the world economy is very much involved. It is necessary to promote an atmosphere of international co-operation and respect which will help each country in its efforts. Otherwise there would be a clear contradiction between the objectives pursued by States internally and those they are able to achieve by means of their political will working together.

166. The economic situation is particularly harmful to the developing countries and confirms the validity of the demands that have been made for a genuine dialogue between North and South. Global economic negotiations

constitute an urgent and primary objective. Unquestionably, from the statements made so far in the Assembly's general debate, we see that that is true. We also believe in the need to adopt in all forums immediate measures to alleviate the burden of this crisis.

167. The imbalance has become worse, although the economic recovery in some industrialized countries seems to have begun. The question to be answered is whether these signs can lead to a sustained generalized process of growth that could put an end to the opposite tendency, the trend towards an erosion of the productive capacity of many countries and the reduction of the standards of living of most of the world's population.

168. The crisis affects all nations in different ways and to different degrees. Interdependence has become clearer in its negative manifestations. The impoverishment of the developing countries limits the possibilities for expansion of the industrialized nations. Problems in one sector of the economy are reflected in others, and we have not succeeded in creating the necessary political conditions to begin a reform of the present economic order.

169. It is appropriate to call the attention of governments and international bodies to the fact that they must take into account the dangers to the stability of all nations presented by the imposition of formulas that place excessive pressure on the economic and social structures of the developing countries.

170. The results of recent international economic meetings have not been encouraging. The Group of 77 is confronted with the grave responsibility of exploring, with imagination and realism, the methods available today to progress towards a restructuring of the economy.

171. We subscribe to the agreements reached at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, and at the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held at Buenos Aires from 28 March to 9 April 1983. We are pleased at the initiatives by the heads of State or Government which have been placed before the Assembly. In the next few months the necessary political will could be generated for dealing with the great economic challenges of our time with courage and a sense of responsibility.

172. The key objectives of the North-South dialogue could be to focus on the following: recognizing the right and the ability of the developing countries to take part in the management of the world economy; stimulating international economic co-operation by the adoption of measures for immediate action in all multilateral forums; structuring the monetary and financial systems and launching urgent economic negotiations on a global basis. To sum up, a global approach must be adopted, while bearing in mind that partial progress contributes to qualitative change.

173. We wish to stress our commitment to encouraging co-operation among the developing countries, whose potential has only begun to be tapped. South-South economic relations require a firm political will and a systematic and effective effort linking bilateral activities with regional and subregional mechanisms and with the international bodies of the developing countries. That is the only way in which we can offer a policy with true alternatives for progress and economic decolonization.

174. The Group of 77 is the body in the United Nations system for negotiation and protection of the developing countries. It represents an indispensable entity in contemporary international relations. It has a historic role to play which will be all the more productive when the other groups of countries are ready to carry on a dialogue in

a constructive and serious manner. The Group of 77 is a decisive factor in the restructuring of the world economy and therefore in the strengthening of collective security. This is something in which Mexico has always believed, and today, as we approach new and difficult responsibilities, my Government wishes to reiterate that belief.

175. The arms race and development are incompatible. As long as we see a continuation of the unbelievable waste of money on the endless perfecting of weapons of war, the minimum levels of well-being required by the third world will be unattainable. If those expenditures were to be applied to the achievement of economic progress, the human condition would very soon improve.

176. A short while ago we harboured hope because of an era of détente which, despite being based on a balance of the most lethal weapons, left considerable room for dialogue and the quest for more reasonable balances. Thus agreements seemed possible which could lead towards a slowing-down of the arms race and to the control and reduction of nuclear weapons. Now, however, the options for negotiations seem to be more restricted.

177. Rearmament initiatives are taken which break the precarious balance and use up scientific and material resources, which are thus diverted from the cause of development. The primacy of the concept of military superiority is leading us to increased uncertainty, in which total annihilation seems probable. In the face of this threat, we the developing countries, along with many sectors of the population of the industrialized societies, maintain our political and moral demand that the nuclear Powers reach agreements as soon as possible leading gradually to general and complete disarmament.

178. We speak out against the trade in conventional weapons, which stirs up conflicts and creates vicious circles of mutual dependency. We are concerned at the fact that countries with limited resources are investing an undue proportion of their national efforts to acquiring weapons and consolidating their military apparatus. The paradox is that, for the sake of supposed security, the international community is experiencing the greatest insecurity it has ever known.

179. The establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones is particularly relevant today. The Treaty of Tlatelolco⁹ is a Latin American experience which should be extended to other regions. Many peace-loving countries have expressed full support for such proposals and we hope they will be put into effect.

180. To confine international relations in the strait-jacket of bipolar confrontation means subordinating the aspirations of the immense majority of States to the wishes of others. We, the developing countries, see this simplification as a lessening of our independence, and we strive for more diversified and democratic international coexistence.

181. The equality of States under the law, self-determination and non-intervention are principles that cannot be abandoned and which imply rejection of the monopoly of power, the consolidation of spheres of influence and ideological intolerance. They constitute the best defence of our peoples' identity and sovereignty.

182. Current international conflicts are further complicated by hegemonist antagonism and thus serve to sustain a form of cold war, which in its turn makes confrontations more dangerous. The position adopted by the Government of Mexico with regard to these conflicts is consistent because it is in keeping with a policy based on principle and not the interests of the moment.

183. The question of the Malvinas Islands is topical and affects the very core of our Latin American vocation. We

reiterate our recognition of Argentine sovereignty over those islands and urge the parties to begin negotiations as soon as possible on a just and lasting settlement of this dispute.

184. The situation in the Middle East is a clear reflection of the present state of international relations. I reaffirm Mexico's belief that peace in that region presupposes the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights including its right to self-determination and independence, as well as recognition of the rights of all States to live in peace within recognized boundaries.

185. In Lebanon the situation has been exacerbated by an escalation of clashes between factions backed by outside forces. We speak out in favour of a genuinely national solution which would take into account the legitimate rights and interests of all the groups which make up that country. The fragmentation of Lebanon is becoming a living symbol of the deterioration of international coexistence and of the failure to respect the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

186. There is no need to repeat our rejection of the system of *apartheid* and our unswerving support for the cause of the self-determination of the people of Namibia, the full independence of the Territory and the inadmissibility of linking that right to any other condition. Mexico again insists on the fact that complicity with the Pretoria régime must cease and the relevant resolutions of the Organization must be complied with.

187. We are deeply concerned by the conflicts affecting regional coexistence and peace in the world. We hope that countries involved in fratricidal wars—such as Iraq and Iran—will make special efforts as soon as possible to find a means of equitable negotiation. Once again we call for respect for the independence and territorial integrity of States, particularly in areas adjacent to the territory of the super-Powers, where the bipolar concept of the world is reflected in the denial of the rights of individuals and peoples.

188. The present tensions could lead—as, indeed, is already happening—to tragic incidents as a result of which the increasing trend towards the violation of international law and a lack of trust among States could become more marked. Respect for the dignity of all countries is the basic norm of diplomacy and is fundamental to the Organization.

189. In the brief summary of the development of the international society that we make each year there inevitably appear old problems and new conflicts. We must recognize this time that the exacerbation of confrontation between the most important poles in the East and the West lessened the possibilities of understanding between North and South and has led to a clear deterioration in multilateral relations.

190. In the face of this situation Member States must react vigorously. We cannot relinquish our sovereign right to play an effective part in the formulation of international decisions that affect all of us.

191. The peoples we represent here strongly demand a return to the primary political values that are the fruit of many centuries of civilization and culture and in which they have put their hope of survival and progress.

192. By definition, history is a process of change. The development of mankind is characterized by the quest for new balances in keeping with the scientific and social advances of each age. We can tackle the challenges we are able to solve with our accumulated experience and the tools given us by progress.

193. In overcoming each crisis there has always been the spur of political ethics which has been expressed in

rational terms. In our time the options are very clear: either we adopt a process of détente and co-operation or we run the risk of final catastrophe.

194. All States must accept the urgent need to order their internal processes in accordance with the values we proclaim in international forums. We must also shoulder the responsibility for peaceful coexistence in our own region. Finally, we must fulfil the duty of just and independent international conduct. This is the constant commitment of Mexico, which it is my honour to reiterate here today.

195. Mr. BARRE (Somalia): It gives me great pleasure, Sir, to extend to you my warm congratulations on your well-deserved election as President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

196. In your career as a diplomat you have shown excellent qualities of wisdom and statesmanship, and you come from a country which has always given strong support to the principle of collective security. I am sure that under your presidency the affairs of this session will receive wise and efficient guidance. I assure you of the co-operation of my delegation in the tasks that lie ahead.

197. I take this opportunity to express to Mr. Imre Hollai my delegation's appreciation of the competence and energy he displayed in directing the affairs of the thirty-seventh session.

198. The Secretary-General has undertaken a number of personal initiatives to promote the peaceful resolution of conflicts. I wish to express here my admiration for the patient and constructive diplomacy that attended the use of his good offices and for his energetic execution of the complex tasks assigned to him.

199. The deterioration in the world situation which has taken place since the last session of the General Assembly is, I am sure, a matter of grave concern to us all. The thirty-eighth session is taking place, regrettably, against a background of escalating regional conflicts and heightened world tension, and the outlook for the future is not promising. Indeed, looking ahead to the fifth decade of the existence of the United Nations, it is difficult to picture a world where international relations are based firmly on the principles of the Charter and on those equally important instruments that stem from the Charter.

200. Certainly, as we examine the many questions on our agenda which deal with threats to peace and security, we cannot fail to note the wide gap which separates these issues from the solutions devised for them by the international community.

201. I need hardly point out that United Nations efforts to end racism and colonialism in southern Africa continue to be thwarted; that the provisions of key resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council on Middle East questions are being deliberately pre-empted while turmoil and conflict remain chronic in the area; and that the call of the vast majority of Member States for the withdrawal of forces of occupation and military aggression in the Horn of Africa, western Asia, South-East Asia, southern Africa, the Middle East and other areas has gone unheeded.

202. In these and other areas of the world the brutal suppression of the right to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty has led inevitably to instability and conflict.

203. Pressing as these questions are, they pale into insignificance when we consider the threat of nuclear war which hangs over the world. It is a threat that will continue while the great Powers pursue the nuclear arms race

and while the decisions of the special sessions on disarmament remain unimplemented.

204. The potential for nuclear confrontation to cause dangerous and tragic incidents was graphically illustrated by the recent shooting down of the commercial airliner KAL flight 007, which resulted in the tragic loss of 269 innocent lives. This incident has justifiably caused worldwide concern. We hope that the response of the world community will lead to the strengthening of international arrangements for the safety of air travel and will help to ensure that a tragedy of this kind will never occur again.

205. It is plain that we inhabit a dangerous world and that new and serious efforts must be made to make it a more safe and stable one. I believe that as a first step Member States must be prepared to put long-term global objectives before short-term interests.

206. I turn now to southern African issues which have serious implications for international as well as for regional peace and security.

207. South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia is not only defiance of the authority of the United Nations but a continuing cause of regional conflict. In our view, Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is the only valid basis for Namibian independence, and we believe the Council must take effective action to carry out its responsibilities towards the Namibian people.

208. The world community has long condemned *apartheid* in South Africa as a crime against humanity. Today, in defence of that crime, the Pretoria régime uses increasingly brutal measures to crush internal opposition to its racist minority rule.

209. My Government strongly supports the many General Assembly resolutions directed at the solution of the southern African problem, and we call on those States most closely involved to show the necessary political will to implement them.

210. The Middle East is of course another area where principle and practice are far apart. Israel continues to ignore the prescriptions for a peaceful settlement of the Palestinian problem, and the effects of Israel's unwarranted invasion of Lebanon last year are still evident in the human suffering, the devastation of large areas and the fuelling of political instability.

211. The General Assembly must call for the immediate withdrawal of all Israeli troops from Lebanon and must reaffirm Lebanon's internationally recognized borders. It must also demand withdrawal from occupied Arab lands, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, and must continue its support for recognition of the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

212. It is a matter of profound regret to us that Iran and Iraq, two non-aligned States, have not been able to resolve their differences by peaceful means and that grievous loss of life and destruction of property continue to be suffered by both sides in the conflict between them. We hope Iraq and Iran will respond to the universally expressed desire that the fighting stop and that they engage in negotiations to bring about an honourable, just and enduring peace.

213. The trend towards foreign military intervention in the affairs of States is of course one which runs counter to fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations. These interventions inevitably lead to bitter civil wars, catastrophic refugee situations and regional instability and tension.

214. In this context the world community must continue to demand an end to the occupation of Afghanistan by

the Soviet Union. My Government supports the efforts of the Secretary-General to bring about a political solution to this problem. We hope that such a solution will include the resolution of the tragic refugee problem in an honourable and humanitarian way, with the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, to enable the Afghan people to decide on their future free from foreign interference.

215. We regret that in Democratic Kampuchea too the aspirations of the people to national independence continue to be obstructed by foreign intervention and that this situation has escalated regional tensions. We hope that all the States concerned will enter into dialogue in order to ensure that the people of Kampuchea are enabled freely to elect a Government of their choice.

216. Unfortunately, we must add the question of Chad to the list of cases of unwarranted and opportunist military interventions in the affairs of States. My Government hopes that Member States will call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from Chad and will demand that its territorial integrity be scrupulously respected.

217. The festering problems of the Horn of Africa are of serious and pressing concern to my country. I believe they also deserve the close attention of the international community, because they destabilize our strategically important region and contribute to global tensions.

218. There is of course a long history behind the endemic tension and conflict in the Horn of Africa, but I wish now to call particular attention to the latest manifestation of the region's deep-seated and dangerous problems.

219. In July 1982 the Ethiopian army, supported by surrogate forces, invaded the territory of the Somali Democratic Republic by land and by air and captured the Somali townships of Goldogob and Balamballe, the latter some 32 km into Somali territory. They continue to occupy these townships to this day, despite the fact that the Ethiopian régime has been widely condemned by the international community for its aggression. That régime is attempting to undermine the sovereignty, territorial integrity and national independence of my country. Undoubtedly it feels able to carry out these aggressions because of the presence in Ethiopia of the military bases of a super-Power and of its surrogate troops.

220. Ethiopia has continued its attempts to seize and occupy Somali territory. Only last July we were forced once again to defend our country in the face of a major onslaught on the settlements of Qabno and Mataban in the Hiran region of Somalia.

221. We therefore call on Member States to condemn the Ethiopian régime for its aggression and to demand that Ethiopia withdraw its forces from Somali territory and put an end to its unwarranted attacks.

222. A single issue underlies Ethiopia's current military adventures on our borders and the many other conflicts which trouble the Horn of Africa. That issue is Ethiopia's persistent denial of the right of self-determination to its colonized peoples in areas such as western Somalia, Abo, Eritrea and Tigray. These peoples are waging the same anti-colonial struggle as was successfully waged in the past by the majority of Members of the United Nations and which is still being waged in southern Africa. It is a struggle validated by resolution 1514 (XV) and by the progress from colonial status to nationhood achieved by a large proportion of the membership of the Assembly.

223. The colonization of the Horn of Africa by the European Powers and by Ethiopia was carried out within the same period and as a result of collusion between the

European and the Ethiopian imperial States. It remains a curious anomaly that European colonialism is now a thing of the past in our region, but violence and bloodshed remain as the bitter fruit of Ethiopia's continuing colonial policies.

224. The problems of our region are not caused by territorial or boundary disputes between States, but by the oppression of peoples seeking their inalienable rights.

225. The denial of the right of self-determination to the captive nationalities in the prison State of Ethiopia by the Ethiopian régime and the policies of repression and genocide practised by that régime against peoples struggling for their freedom and national independence have caused mass exoduses of refugees from Ethiopia into neighbouring countries.

226. Somalia alone has at one time hosted more than 1.5 million persons in refugee camps. Their presence in our country has placed an intolerable burden on our fragile economy, despite the generous response by the international community to the need for emergency assistance. To date there remain more than 700,000 persons in refugee camps in Somalia, and a similar number eke out a living among the population throughout the country. Naturally, the refugee problem cries out for solution, since the generosity of my Government and that of the donors of aid is not unlimited. However, such a solution is not in sight in view of the continuation of the relentless policy of repression within the empire State of Ethiopia.

227. On behalf of my Government I wish to reaffirm once again that Somalia has no territorial claims against any of its neighbours. We hope that the problems of the region will be settled by peaceful means in accordance with the Charter. We will, however, continue to exercise our right to defend ourselves against military aggression and we will continue to extend our determined support for the legitimate rights of those peoples that are suffering under alien domination in the Horn of Africa.

228. I have already called attention to the troubling distance between United Nations resolutions and the political realities of our times. This distance is nowhere more apparent and nowhere more dangerous than in questions of disarmament, particularly the question of nuclear disarmament.

229. The threat posed by nuclear arms to mankind's survival looms larger with every increase in nuclear arsenals and with every refinement of the capacity of the nuclear Powers to wreak destruction on each other and on the world. Scientists of international repute describe this situation as the triumph of irrationality. In the view of my Government, the General Assembly's continuing but so far unsuccessful call for a freeze in the production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons, for a comprehensive test-ban treaty and for the prohibition of chemical weapons represents the voice of sanity.

230. We believe that emphasis must now also be placed on preventing the spread of nuclear and other confrontations to outer space. The development of anti-satellite weapons would undoubtedly add a new destabilizing element to an already frightening nuclear balance of terror.

231. The negative consequences of the arms race in nuclear and highly sophisticated conventional weapons are clearly discernible in the world today. Inflation, recession and the widening of the gap between the haves and have-nots have been followed by the squandering of immeasurable human, material and technological resources on weapons of destruction. In the political sphere States have become more vulnerable to intervention and

interference, and tension and conflicts are on the increase in every part of the world.

232. We appeal to the nuclear Powers to work with a new sense of urgency and a stronger political will to remove the threat of a nuclear holocaust from the globe and to promote the channeling of military resources towards the work of peace and progress.

233. The establishment of zones of peace and nuclear-weapon-free zones is an important goal set by the tenth special session of the General Assembly. In our view, it continues to deserve the strong support of Member States. We deeply regret that only in Latin America has it been possible for this concept to receive practical implementation.

234. My Government has always given strong support to the General Assembly's Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*], and we fully endorse the provisions of the Final Document of the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean.¹⁰ We hope that all States concerned will work for the success of the long-delayed Conference on the Indian Ocean scheduled to take place in Sri Lanka in 1984. The Conference, in our view, must emphasize the need for the dismantling of all foreign bases, the withdrawal of all foreign forces as well as surrogate troops, the settling of regional disputes by peaceful means and the granting of the right to self-determination to peoples under alien domination. These questions are particularly important because a dangerous incentive to increased super-Power rivalry and confrontation has been provided by the involvement of large numbers of Soviet and Cuban forces in local conflicts in the Horn of Africa and by the establishment of large-scale Soviet military and naval bases in the region, a development made possible through the collaboration of certain regional States.

235. If we turn from the disarmament scene to that of the world economic situation, we find the same disappointing gap between principle and practice. In the current disarray of global economics and finance, it is hard to find evidence of the international consensus achieved in the General Assembly on the modalities for establishing a new and more just economic order. The sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade recently, clearly showed the extent to which that consensus has been sidetracked.

236. My Government regrets that there has not been a more favourable response from the developed countries to the call of the third world for a prompt and vigorous programme of development assistance, for easing debt burdens, for measures to ensure more just and stable commodity prices and for a rollback of protectionist policies.

237. While my Government believes that the developing countries must indeed practice self-reliance and must strengthen technical co-operation among themselves, we also believe that the economic interdependence of the North and the South is an inescapable reality. In our view, both regions would benefit if the poorer countries were given the strong boost towards economic recovery which they desperately need.

238. The steady and impressive record of achievements by the United Nations in the economic, social, technological and humanitarian fields is one in which Member States can all take pride. However, we cannot be complacent over the failure of the world Organization to come to grips with crucial matters involving world peace and security.

239. I have expressed my concern over the Organization's chronic failure to carry out decisions which represent the collective wisdom of the international community. I believe this failure represents a crisis of authority for the United Nations. Undoubtedly, some of the bureaucratic proliferation and overlapping of resolutions needs to be trimmed, but this is a separate issue. It is secondary to the essential task of building an effective system of collective security for our interdependent world. In his current report on the work of the Organization [*A/38/1*], the Secretary-General has again called attention to the crisis in the multinational approach to world affairs. He has rightly emphasized that the machinery of international diplomacy must be made to move forward if we are to avoid chaos and disaster on a scale hitherto unknown.

240. In this context, I heartily welcome the inclusion in the agenda of an item on the implementation of United Nations resolutions. It has the support of the non-aligned group, and I hope that constructive contributions will come from a wide variety of States. This item challenges us all to work with renewed dedication to make the world Organization a truly effective instrument for the maintenance of world peace and security.

AGENDA ITEM 115

Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations: report of the Committee on Contributions (*continued*)*

241. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to draw the Assembly's attention to document A/38/430/Add.1, which contains a letter dated 29 September 1983 from the Secretary-General informing the President of the General Assembly that since the issuance of his last communication, dated 20 September 1983, the Comoros has made the necessary payment to reduce its arrears below the amount specified in Article 19 of the Charter.

The meeting rose at 1.50 p.m.

NOTES

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

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1980*, document S/14236.

³ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1983*, document S/15834, annex.

⁴ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973, p. 287.

⁵ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1983*, document S/15747.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15909.

⁷ Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

⁸ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1983*, document S/16041.

⁹ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326).

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 45 and corrigendum*, sect. V.

*Resumed from the 1st meeting.