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Fortieth session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTIETH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Thursday, 3 October 1985, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain)

later: Mr. ALI IMAYA (Vice-President) (Democratic Yemen)

- General debate [9] (continued)Statements were made by:

Mr. Sipaseuth (Lao People's Democratic Republic)  
Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)  
Mr. Velayati (Islamic Republic of Iran)  
Mr. Paz Barnica (Honduras)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. SIPASEUTH (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (spoke in Lao; interpretation from French text furnished by the delegation): At the outset of its statement, the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic expresses to the delegation of Mexico its most heartfelt condolences at the cruel human and material losses sustained by Mexico from recent earthquakes.

On behalf of the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic I express my warm congratulations to you, Sir, on your unanimous election to the office of President of the fortieth session of the General Assembly. I am convinced that, under your wise leadership and thanks to your long experience in diplomacy, the work of this session will achieve satisfactory results.

I should like also to express my sincere appreciation to Ambassador Paul Lusaka for the outstanding way in which he guided the work of the preceding session.

My warm congratulations and greetings go also to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his indefatigable and constructive efforts in the cause of the maintenance and strengthening of peace, security and international co-operation.

This year the fortieth session of the General Assembly is taking place at a time when the international community is commemorating several important historical events.

Last May progressive mankind solemnly observed the fortieth anniversary of the great victory over the forces of fascism and militarism which, in unleashing the Second World War - resulting in the loss of 50 million lives, something which no one must forget - dreamed of dominating the world and subjugating its peoples.

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Also, as a decisive factor in the restoration of the independence and sovereignty of many countries of Europe and Asia which saved millions of people from fascist barbarism, that victory has gone down in history as a glorious page recording the triumph of the great ideals of peace and justice. Those same ideals led to the establishment of the United Nations, whose prime task is the maintenance of international peace and security and whose fortieth anniversary we will be celebrating this month.

Indeed these two coinciding anniversaries cannot be separated from one another, because the founding fathers of the United Nations, and in particular the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, deeply affected by the tragedy and harsh lessons of the Second World War, stated in the very first words of the Charter the need "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", and to that end invited peoples with different political and social systems "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours". The latter concept has become a new principle governing international relations, namely, peaceful coexistence.

Since the end of the Second World War, more than 100 countries which were at that time under foreign domination have regained their right to self-determination and become independent and full Members of the United Nations and of the Non-aligned Movement.

These important events in international political life are in keeping with and respond to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. In recent decades, on the initiative of the socialist countries and the Non-aligned Movement, the United Nations has adopted several important resolutions and helped on several occasions to halt local conflicts and resolve the disputes that constituted a threat to international peace and security. Likewise, the United Nations has

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helped to slow down the arms race. It has, moreover, established the legal foundations for the movements struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress, in particular by adopting the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in 1960, on the initiative of the Soviet Union. That Declaration is the symbol of the elimination of colonialism, and we shall soon be celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary.

But unfortunately this Declaration has not yet been fully applied, because colonialism, racism and apartheid continue to afflict some regions of the world. It is therefore imperative that all Members of the United Nations act in concert to eliminate these scourges once and for all.

The United Nations, with its 159 Member countries, is representative of the international community, and should be a centre where the efforts of nations are harmonized, above all in the area of safeguarding international peace and security. In this spirit that we hope that every Member of the Organization will bring its political will to bear to ensure that the implementation of the Charter will be more effective.

However, what concerns us is that at a time when the United Nations is preparing to celebrate its fortieth anniversary and officially proclaim that 1986 will be the International Year of Peace, warlike imperialist circles have been working to aggravate the already tense situation by trying to disrupt the military and strategic balance through a new escalation of the arms race. They are thus trying to deploy intermediate-range nuclear missiles in several West European countries and to manufacture new generations of nuclear weapons. What is more, they have planned, through their "Star Wars" programme, to deploy anti-missile weapons and anti-satellite weapons in outer space.

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It goes without saying that this new escalation of the arms race further increases the danger of nuclear war and thus constitutes a matter of grave concern to the international community.

In recent times the imperialists, in order to defend their so-called vital interests, have been carrying out acts of provocation, issuing threats and interfering in the internal affairs of several States, all acts that amount to a form of State terrorism, and have thus created hotbeds of tension in various regions of the world.

In Central America and in the Caribbean we are witnessing an intensification of the undeclared war against Nicaragua, interference in the domestic affairs of the people of El Salvador and the pursuit of a hostile policy towards Cuba.

In southern Africa the situation continues to deteriorate because the racist régime of Pretoria, with the support of the imperialists, is intensifying its repression, massacres and arrests of the black people of South Africa and prolonging its illegal occupation of Namibia, as well as carrying out acts of aggression against its neighbouring countries, in particular Angola. These acts constitute a flagrant violation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of those countries as well as of the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations and of the Non-aligned Movement.

In the Middle East the Zionists and imperialists plan of domination and expansion has met with strong opposition from the Arab nationalist forces, which forced the aggressors to withdraw from Lebanon. But the Israeli occupation troops, with the support of certain imperialist countries, have intensified their barbaric repression of the Lebanese civilian population and carried out massacres of Palestinians in refugee camps which constitute a serious violation of human rights and of United Nations resolutions as well as a threat to the peace and security of the region.

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Faced with the existing tense and complex international situation, the Heads of State and Government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania - representing the five continents - appealed last January to the countries possessing nuclear weapons to adopt measures conducive to containing and reversing the nuclear-arms race. For their part, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries put forward proposals aimed at halting the arms race, both on Earth and in space, in particular through the prohibition of nuclear tests, a nuclear-arms freeze, and the reduction and eventual complete elimination of nuclear arms from our planet. Those countries also put forward the proposal on international co-operation in the peaceful exploitation of outer space under conditions of its non-militarization, and proposals to restore détente in Europe and other regions of the world. Moreover, the Soviet Union has unilaterally undertaken not to be the first to resort to nuclear weapons or to deploy anti-satellite weapons in space, and has proclaimed a moratorium on nuclear tests from 6 August 1985 to 1 January 1986. These proposals were broadly supported by the peoples devoted to peace and justice and by international public opinion.

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For its part, the Lao People's Democratic Republic firmly supports the aforementioned appeal, the constructive and realistic proposals and the unilateral commitments. These prove the sincerity and great sense of responsibility of these countries towards mankind. If all the nuclear Powers were to follow the example of the Soviet Union, the danger of nuclear war would be considerably reduced. For the time being, the international community is expecting much from the United States-Soviet Union negotiations, recently resumed in Geneva, and from the forthcoming summit meeting between these two countries, the success of which will have a very positive effect on international relations.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic reaffirms its solidarity and unswerving support for the people of revolutionary Nicaragua and the Sandanist Government in their valiant struggle against subversion, the threat of aggression and economic blockade by imperialism and its puppets, in order to safeguard their national independence and the achievements of their revolution. Our Republic also supports the peace process undertaken by the Contadora Group and appeals to the United States Government to resume the Manzanillo negotiations.

We firmly support the just struggle of the people of El Salvador against oppression and exploitation and for freedom and true democratic rights.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic would like further to reaffirm its solidarity and unswerving support for its brother Cuban people in their determined struggle against the threat of aggression and subversion by imperialism and demands that the Guantanamo Base be returned to Cuba.

It is equally imperative that foreign troops withdraw rapidly and unconditionally from Grenada so that the people of that country may freely exercise their right to self-determination.

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We strongly condemn the repression, threats and arbitrary arrests of the black population of South Africa and firmly support the courageous struggle of that oppressed people, under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) against apartheid and for the restoration of their basic human rights in a non-racist democratic society.

We reaffirm our unswerving support for the heroic struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), their sole, legitimate representative, for their right to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a unified Namibia. We strongly denounce Pretoria's recent decision to establish the so-called interim government in violation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and to linking the granting of independence to Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban internationalist forces from Angola.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic reaffirms its militant solidarity and unshakable support for the Angolan people in their brave struggle against the acts of aggression and sabotage by the racist Pretoria régime and for the defence of the independent sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country.

We firmly support also the courageous struggle of the patriotic forces of Lebanon against the Israeli occupier for the defence, independence, sovereignty and unity of their country. We condemn the barbaric practices of the Zionists and firmly support the just struggle of the Palestinian Arab people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), their sole, legitimate representative, for the restoration and exercise of their basic inalienable rights, including the right to found an independent Palestinian State. In our opinion, the proposal of the Soviet Union on the convening of an international conference for peace in the Middle East - in which all parties concerned, including the PLO, would



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participate on an equal footing and with the same rights - is the solution which could lead to a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the region. This proposal, therefore, receives our full support.

The conflict between Iran and Iraq in the region of the Persian Gulf has already caused much loss of human life and property on both sides. We would appeal to these two countries to resolve their differences peacefully and honourably.

The increasing imperialist military presence and the strengthening of the Diego Garcia base and other logistical stageposts in the Indian Ocean region constitute a threat to the independence and security of the littoral and hinterland States of the region. In view of this tense situation, we deem it essential that the international conference on turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace take place within the timeframe established by the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session.

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan continues to be the victim of an undeclared war waged from a neighbouring country with the support of international imperialist and reactionary circles. We strongly condemn that armed interference and subversive acts against Afghanistan and reaffirm our support and unswerving solidarity with the Government and people of Afghanistan in their struggle to safeguard their national independence and the fruits of the April revolution.

The policy aimed at perpetuating the division of Korea and setting up a new military alliance in the Far East has created a permanent situation of tension there. We demand the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and support the proposals of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea for the peaceful and independent reunification of their Korean homeland without foreign interference.

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In the same context, we support the proposals of the Soviet Union on the preparation of confidence-building measures in the Far East and its proposals aimed at strengthening peace and stability in Asia. We also support the proposals of the People's Republic of Mongolia on the conclusion of an international convention on non-interference and non-recourse to force in relations between the States of Asia and the Pacific. These proposals, we feel, are in keeping with the interests of the peoples of the region.

During the last six years the situation in South-East Asia has taken a positive turn, despite the many difficulties resulting from the destructive war, its aftermath, and the subversive activities of international imperialist and other reactionary circles. The three countries of Indo-China, in particular the People's Republic of Kampuchea, have achieved great success in their respective task of defence and national reconstruction.

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These successes show us that the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people, which are developing their country and strengthening it more every day, are now in control of all of their national territory and have become full masters of their homeland. The fact that the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam jointly declared on 16 August during the Eleventh Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam in Phnom Penh, capital of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, that the partial withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer forces from Kampuchea would be continued on an annual basis and totally concluded in 1990 is proof of this development and consolidation. It is also proof of the sincerity of Viet Nam which continues ceaselessly to do everything in its power effectively to aid the Kampuchean people and to respect the independence and sovereignty of Kampuchea.

It is time that the international community respected the legitimate rights of the Kampuchean people in its labour of rebirth and national reconstruction on the path it has itself chosen. The seat of Kampuchea in the United Nations and in other international bodies should be restored to the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the sole legal and genuine representative of the Kampuchean people.

On the other hand, despite the obstacles created by hostile circles, the tendency towards dialogue in the region has also developed. Indeed, the recent meeting between the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, representing the three countries of Indo-China, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, representing the member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), has created conditions for a greater mutual understanding for the purpose of finding a solution to the problem of peace and stability in South-East Asia. To this end, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam have worked ceaselessly to restore friendly

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relations with neighbouring countries, in particular with the People's Republic of China, and to restore good-neighbourly relations with the Kingdom of Thailand, and to make the border of Laos and Kampuchea with Thailand one of peace and friendship.

During the Eleventh Conference of their Ministers for Foreign Affairs, the three countries of Indo-China once again reiterated their proposal to sign a treaty of peaceful coexistence with the People's Republic of China and the Kingdom of Thailand.

Moreover, the People's Republic of Kampuchea has declared its willingness to negotiate with groups or with individuals belonging to the opposition, on the subject of national reconciliation, on the basis of the elimination of the Pol Pot clique and the organization of general elections after the total withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer forces from Kampuchea.

We hope that these steps forward can lead towards the objectives pursued by all countries of the region - namely, peace, stability, friendship and co-operation.

However, it is regrettable that Lao-Thai relations have not yet been normalized and that a number of important problems remain unresolved.

On 2 October 1984, the Thai Government announced before the General Assembly the withdrawal of its troops from the three Lao villages. But up to now, although these troops have been withdrawn, they still occupy several neighbouring points in the interior of Lao territory and are continuing their criminal activities against the local civilian population.

In spite of this, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, ever faithful to its foreign policy of peace, friendship and co-operation, has not ceased to make efforts to safeguard and develop the friendly and good-neighbourly relations existing between the two peoples. In this spirit, the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic recently repeated to the Royal Government of Thailand

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its proposals to negotiate at governmental level, either in Bangkok or in Vientiane, in order to ensure the strict application of the joint Lao-Thai communiqués of 1979, which established the necessary bases for harmonious relations between the two countries. But unfortunately the Thai Government has not to this day responded positively to our sincere proposals. In the interests of the two peoples, as well as in the interests of peace and stability in the region, the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic hopes that the Royal Thai Government will respond reasonably to those proposals.

The arms race has resulted in a significant increase in military expenditures during this decade. If one part of these incredible sums were used in the economic and social sphere, we could have eliminated much misery from the world. As we know, military expenditures have plunged the developed capitalist countries into a hopeless economic crisis. To escape from that crisis, they have taken protectionist measures, and are practising a monetary policy which generates high interest rates and other problems. This state of affairs has of necessity had very negative effects on the economic and social situation in the developing countries, particularly among the least developed: a deficit in their trade balance and a serious increase in their foreign debt which is becoming an unsolvable problem. This situation has led to a deterioration of the living conditions of those peoples and in particular of the mothers and children who are among the most vulnerable.

To resolve this crisis, it is important that there should be a restructuring of the system of international economic relations as it exists at present, on a more just and democratic basis, and the establishment of a new international economic order, free from all neo-colonialist pressure and exploitation.

At the same time, the capitalist creditor countries should find reasonable, appropriate solutions to the problem of the debt of the developing countries.

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However, it is regrettable that to date global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development have not yet begun, as a result of certain capitalist developed countries clinging to their selfish interests and thus continuing to obstruct the establishment of a new international order.

Furthermore, to assure good health to future generations in general, and to mothers and children in particular, we find that the Secretary-General's appeal for the carrying out of a universal immunization campaign for children between now and 1990 is very timely indeed, and in accordance with the policy of our Government with regard to mothers and children; hence we support this appeal.

In commemorating the fortieth anniversary of these two historic events - the great victory over fascism and the creation of the United Nations - we cannot but think of the tragedy of the Second World War and draw a parallel between the present situation and that existing before the war. When we see the imperialists carrying out acts of aggression, threats and blockades against several countries in various regions of the world; when we see them engaging in an ever more unbridled arms race; when we see expansionists advancing territorial claims which are unfounded; and when certain circles claim entire regions of the world as their sphere of vital interests, and organize "crusades against communism" - all this cannot but bring to mind the facts which provoked the outbreak of the Second World War.

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Therefore, we hope that the tragic lessons of this war will serve as a warning to the peoples of the world and encourage them to devote all their efforts, both physical and intellectual, to eliminating the danger of nuclear war and safeguarding international peace and security.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic, which was the victim of the imperialist war of aggression for several decades, has no other desire than to live in peace and friendship with all countries on the basis of respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, equality and mutual interests.

In this spirit the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Lao people will do everything in their power to contribute to the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the other regions for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

In conclusion, the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic wishes every success to the General Assembly at its fortieth session.

Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): At the outset I wish to express, on behalf of the delegation of the Jamahiriya and its people our congratulations to you, Mr. President, our dear friend, on behalf of your unanimous election to the presidency of this important historic session. Historical relations of friendship link our two countries and peoples. They are ties of civilization. Your skill and wisdom are indeed unique and we are therefore convinced that the work of this important historic fortieth session will be crowned with success.

We should also like to express our thanks and appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Paul Lusaka, who conducted the work of the previous session with skill and wisdom.

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I should also like to express our thanks and appreciation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for the efforts he has made and continues to make under difficult circumstances, in many cases, in order to promote the role and effectiveness of the United Nations.

We are celebrating at this time the fortieth anniversary of the creation of the United Nations. We must assess the performance of 40 years of this Organization, an Organization which was, is, and will continue to be a reflection of the hopes of peoples in peace, stability, freedom, and justice.

Its achievements are manifold, particularly in its assistance to the peoples of developing and poor nations, through its numerous institutions, which have done most efficient work. We can indeed say that in this area the United Nations has played a positive role.

However, the other side of the coin is that the United Nations has also failed despite its importance and despite the efforts of many Member States to promote its role. The fault does not lie with the United Nations itself. However, it has failed to find a solution to many world economic and political problems.

As we celebrate this fortieth anniversary there are fundamental issues before the United Nations which remain unsolved. The Palestinian people continue to languish under the yoke of the Israeli occupation, despite hundreds of United Nations resolutions. The racist régime in South Africa continues to practise the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid, despite numerous United Nations resolutions. Other regions continue to suffer from direct colonialism in many parts of the world.



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If the people of the world through long struggles have managed to gain their freedom, as demonstrated by the fact that although there were only 50 Members of the United Nations at its inception, we find today that there are now over 150 Members. The African continent in particular has witnessed a bitter struggle for freedom. Dozens of States in our continent have achieved freedom and independence.

Despite these achievements, we believe that the United Nations has today become incapacitated because of the lust for power of some major States, and because of the spirit of hegemony and domination, as well as neo-colonialism, on the part of some States, which are opposed to that movement towards freedom in the world. We see that this lust for power has incapacitated and handicapped the United Nations. We see those major Powers making threats and practising policies of aggression in many parts of our world including Central America, the Middle East, Africa and Europe. We also note that those major imperialist Powers, which are obstructing the work of the United Nations, have set up racist régimes which practise the role of the Trojan horse in the Middle East, on the African continent and in other parts of the world.

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We are celebrating the fortieth anniversary of our international Organization. The City of New York is being visited by the largest number of Heads of State and Government in its history, who have come to stress their solidarity with the United Nations and its effective role. However, we have witnessed another commemoration of a different kind, different from the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. We witnessed the celebration by the Zionist entity of this fortieth anniversary by its direct aggression against our sister Tunisia, a Member State of this Organization, the celebration of another incident in the continuing aggression against the Palestinian people in the form of the pursuit of that people even in far away places to which some members of that nation have emigrated. This act of aggression, which is merely another link in the long chain of acts of aggression, underlines anew the nature of the Zionist entity. It highlights the error committed by the United Nations against the rights of the Palestinian people when it admitted that Zionist entity as a Member of our Organization.

We in the Arab world and the African continent are aware of this; we have continually warned of the danger of this entity, of this cancer to the Arab peoples, to the African continent and, indeed, to international peace and security.

International Zionism, as a racist movement, succeeded in the Second World War, and indeed in the First World War, to mobilize the largest force present at that time in the world in its favour. Thereafter, that entity was born, that Zionist entity, that racist entity.

Following the Second World War, the Zionist entity also managed to mobilize in its favour and in favour of its aggressive policies, the largest Power on the face of the earth. The tragedy of the Palestinian people is a unique tragedy. A whole people has been forced to leave its homeland. Its place has been taken by a group

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of invaders, foreigners and terrorists. Most unfortunately, the world, following an unacceptable and distorted logic, lends legitimacy to those mercenary terrorists and denies the legitimate rights of the original people of Palestine. The distorted logic of "might is right" gives legitimacy to the aggressor instead of those suffering the aggression. This logic justifies aggression; it justifies terrorism and crime.

Why? Are the Arabs not part of the human race? In my opinion, for those who support the Zionist entity the Arab is not a human being. The Zionist entity is expanding; it is occupying; it is annexing the occupied lands of the Arabs: the Golan Heights, Jerusalem and the settlements. It is given billions of dollars by the United States of America that enable it to create new settlements and buy weapons of destruction for the commission of new crimes and for further expansion.

When we see that a super-Power, a permanent member of the Security Council, speaking through its President, justifies the attack against Tunisia, that murderous act of international terrorism, we wonder what destiny awaits this Organization.

When we see that terrorists in Nicaragua are called freedom fighters, while Palestinians fighting for their freedom are labelled as terrorists, we wonder what distorted logic is being invoked, and we begin to get some idea, some inkling, of the future of this Organization.

Those people speak of peace. What peace? Peace through occupation? Peace through the annihilation of the Palestinian people? Is it peace through aggression, peace through creating settlements and annexing territories? Those who wish to free their country are labeled as terrorists, and so are those who assist them. At the same time the Zionist racists - because they are superior to other

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humans, the people chosen by God, as if God sells land - are supported and their acts of aggression are justified.

In the light of history, and of the present course of events, we must conclude that the logic of force is the only logic prevailing. No peace can be achieved in our Arab region except through justice, through allowing the Palestinian people to exercise their right of self-determination in their own land, to return to its own land, and forcing the Zionist aggressors to withdraw from the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories. This cannot be achieved except by fighting neo-Nazism. What Hitler did is nothing compared to the crimes perpetrated by Shamir and Begin.

We here in the United Nations permit Shamir, who killed Bernadotte, Shamir who is considered a terrorist and banned from many countries, including the United Kingdom, we allow him to come here and speak on behalf of the so-called people of Israel.

We are not inimical to Jews. Jews are our brothers; we are of the same race. But we are against Zionism as a movement, a racist movement. No peace can be achieved in the Middle East and the Arab region as long as the Zionist ideology strives to impose itself on our Arab nation and threaten it.

The Palestinian people cannot be deprived of its rights forever. Just as Rhodesia disappeared, just as Rhodesia became Zimbabwe, Israel will disappear and Palestine will take its place. South Africa will also disappear and will become Azania.

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As we witness the direct acts of aggression of the Zionist entity, the continued acts of aggression directed against our Arab nation, as we witness the mass killings of Palestinians, we also witness another type of aggression, supported by the same imperialist circles, acts of aggression directed by the racist régime of South Africa, which is organically linked to the Zionist régime in occupied Palestine, acts of aggression directed against the brother country of Angola. At the same time as aggression against Tunisia and the Arab nation is being justified, there is a refusal to condemn that attack against Angola. The two racist régimes are identical in nature, and in both cases the United Nations is unable to take any action, because one super-Power uses the right of veto to frustrate all international efforts and resolutions.

As we are about to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, the time has come to review the United Nations Charter. That Charter was adopted at a time when the world was dominated by colonialism. The time has come for the United Nations to represent the peoples of the world. That Charter, which was laid down for a handful of peoples in the world, has become an instrument used against the freedom of peoples, against their struggle and against their independence.

As we celebrate the fortieth anniversary of our Organization, we call for peace. However, peace seems to be very far away. The major Powers are rapidly increasing their arsenals. They are arming their racist allies. We in the Arab region face a serious threat because of the nuclear capability of the Zionist entity and because the assistance rendered by the United States and some other Western States enables that entity to obtain nuclear weapons. The Zionist entity has refused to sign the international conventions, yet the imperialist Powers nevertheless continue to provide that entity with nuclear technology. When any other country in the region tries to obtain nuclear technology for peaceful

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purposes, protestations are heard everywhere and threats are made. However, when the Zionist entity obtains nuclear weapons and nuclear technology, through smuggling in the first place, and through the appropriation by force of radioactive materials, there is dead silence. It seems that the Zionist entity is above criticism, that and above the United Nations; it is justified in all its acts of killing, in its nuclear weapons, and its destruction - all these are made to seem logical and acceptable, and can be justified.

The secret services of the Zionist entity are thanked for pinpointing where innocent civilians are to be killed in Tunisia. Co-operation between the racist régime in occupied Palestine and the racist régime in Pretoria is a source of concern to the United Nations and to the Arab world, which has expressed that concern. What has the United Nations done? It has done absolutely nothing, because it is handicapped, because one of the two super-Powers mobilizes all its capabilities to defend that entity.

We have adopted hundreds of resolutions on the rights of peoples: the rights of the Palestinian people, the rights of the people of South Africa. How many of these resolutions have been implemented? How many will be implemented? None have been implemented. Small nations are beginning to lose their faith in this Organization, including my people. This is because the United Nations has become an instrument used by the major Powers to further their own interests. The mere presence of the United Nations in the United States constitutes a total handicap. The Organization is threatened. Every day we hear threats against it: "if you decide to leave, we shall be at the dock to wave you good-bye". That is what we heard last year. Let us be the ones to say good-bye. Let us take this Organization to another place, to a country which respects this Organization, which respects its resolutions, the Charter and the objectives of this Organization and

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respects human rights. We must look at this question more seriously. We must look to the future of the United Nations. When we are threatened with reduced contributions, when we are threatened by various other measures, and when strangulating conditions are imposed on diplomats, we must review the location of our Organization.

Other regions of the world are in a state of tension because of the policies of imperialism and colonialism. Other outstanding problems in the world remain unresolved. The people of Nicaragua continue to face direct aggression. Efforts are still being made to overthrow its legitimate Government. Why this attack against Nicaragua? Because the people of Nicaragua have got rid of Somoza, because it has achieved its independence, because it has the courage to face up to imperialism. The peoples of the world are supposed to kneel and say yes. Those who say no are terrorists, to be killed or dispersed, just as the Palestinian people have been dispersed, just as the people of South Africa are being dispersed.

There are other regions of the world which are still under threat. Only a year ago a small nation of only 100,000 people was invaded - the people of Grenada, which was subjugated by force of arms. Which of us can defend himself? Who knows what will happen to us, the small peoples of the world, if a super-Power practises international terrorism and invasion?

The region of the Mediterranean has also become an area of constant tension and is under direct threat from the major imperialist Power. The fleets are on our borders, in our territory waters. States are facing economic siege. Direct acts of aggression against them represent a desperate attempt to undermine our revolutionary Governments, because we got rid of the United States bases, because we nationalized American companies, because we decided that we would be free. In the minds of the imperialists freedom is not something to be respected. However,

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this will not deter us. We have lost more than half of our people in a long struggle against Italian fascism. We have sacrificed hundreds of thousands to defend our freedom. We are a non-aligned State; we decide our own policies, and we wish to be the friend of all nations, but we refuse to be the satellite of any State, however strong. We reject all conditions, and we will continue to do so.



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The attempts to commit aggression against nations friendly to us is well know. The reason for the most recent campaign against us has become very clear; we know why it was undertaken. It was an attempt to change the polarity of the friendly people of Tunisia so that the aggressive forces of Israel could strike at the Palestinian and Tunisian peoples. The super-Powers mobilized their fleets and their forces, claiming provocation. What is the position now? We are allies of Tunisia and its people; we stand by the people of Tunisia in facing up to this aggression and we shall continue to do so. There is an organic link between us and the people of Tunisia; we are brothers in one Arab family and our common enemy is Israel and those that support Israel.

Other regions of the world are also experiencing tension and war. The war in the Arab Gulf is continuing, despite all the appeals to put an end to it. It is continuing because the American imperialists want war in that region; they have a vested interest in war. We have said since the beginning that the killers and the killed in this war are both victims. The brother Moslem peoples of Iran and Iraq must take a common position against the Zionist entity. The Revolutionary Government in Iran has declared from the outset its solidarity with the Arab Moslem nations concerning the liberation of Palestine. We were happy to see that revolution, because it was an anti-imperialist revolution that overthrew a puppet régime that was mobilizing all the potential of the country in the interest of the Zionist entity.\*

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\* Mr. Ali Imaya (Democratic Yemen), Vice-President, took the Chair.

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We believe that the time has come to put an end to that war. Let us put an end now to the striking at civilian targets and commercial shipping in the Gulf. Let us put an end now to the use of chemical weapons. Let us put an end now to attacks against innocent civilians. We believe that if this were done we would achieve the result we all desire, which is finally to end that war.

Other peoples continue to be threatened with division and aggression. The American forces in Korea continue to prevent the unification of the Korean peninsula. And there are other outstanding problems. The problem of Western Sahara remains unsolved. The problem of Afghanistan remains unsolved. We look forward to a solution of those problems through respect for the will of those peoples and their right to self-determination.

We support the United Nations resolution calling for a plebiscite in Western Sahara. The solution of the problem of Western Sahara would constitute a major step in unifying the Arab Maghreb. We and our brothers in Morocco have united in an African-Arab alliance. We believe this is only one step towards the unification of the Greater Arab Maghreb. This unification of our peoples must take place in freedom, without attempts to acquire hegemony or to impose policies on others in the region.

The problem of Chad is still outstanding, despite the many resolutions of the Organization of African Unity on this subject.

The world economic situation is most significant. The unjust financial and monetary system established without the participation of most of the countries of the world has led today to an economic crisis that threatens our peoples. This situation is due to the enormous debt of the developing countries, which has now reached more than \$900 billion. It is owed to imperialist circles and

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imperialist banks, which have drained developing countries of their wealth through their monopolies and multinational corporations. The time has come to solve this problem in accordance with the interests of the developing countries.

The gap between the rich and the poor and the fact that the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer, constitute a threat to international peace and security. The world will achieve no peace of any kind as long as this situation continues.

We see, together with this international economic situation, an escalation of the arms race, on which billions of dollars are spent. We see star wars and the militarization of space. Would it not be better to spend some of that money to save the starving millions in Africa? Would it not be better to save the 800 million people of the world who are threatened with hunger? We hope that the forthcoming meeting between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States will lead to the lessening of tension and the reduction of the level of armaments. However, as small peoples, we must not merely be observers; we must not accept any solution of these problems at our expense. We as small peoples have a right to live. We cannot allow one or two States to shape the destiny of the world. We support peace; we support the reduction of armaments. However, at the same time, we believe that the United Nations must be a partner in the achievement of peace and that without the United Nations no such activities can be undertaken. We believe that the Non-Aligned Movement, which represents the aspirations of many peoples of the world must play an important role in this field.

We in the Mediterranean region began a series of meetings as a group of non-aligned countries last year in Malta and the results were very positive. Our aim is to make the Mediterranean a zone of peace and stability, without foreign fleets or foreign bases and free of spheres of influence.

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Towards the end of this year we shall meet again to continue our deliberations on peace and stability in the Mediterranean region. We hope, with the co-operation of other States which belong to military alliances, to maintain peace and security. The Jamahiriya will put forward proposals to put an end to manoeuvres in the territorial waters of States bordering the Mediterranean Sea.

The international economic crisis and the international political situation that we are witnessing today requires that we be aware of the danger of the situation. We must all work together with the necessary political will to achieve peace, but peace can only be achieved through justice.

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It is incumbent upon us now to look objectively at our previous resolutions and to implement them. If we want to maintain international peace and security, if we really want to ensure the survival of this Organization, we must bring justice to the oppressed peoples. The Palestinian people must be represented here, the aggressor must put an end to its acts of aggression, the people of Azania must be represented here among us and Zionist and racist régimes in the world must be overcome. The presence of those régimes brings shame upon us. They are a threat to international peace and security. We must put an end to the arrogance of power that we witness today. We must stand together as small peoples to confront colonialism.

Those peoples threatened with American aggression must unite; they must confront that aggression collectively. The peoples which today are languishing under the yoke of colonialism and whose economic and political independence is being threatened must unite. The peoples of the third world must undertake a South-South dialogue, free from hegemony and domination. We must put an end to the present economic order. We must put an end to multinational corporations. We must begin to nationalize those multinationals so that we can achieve international peace and security.

The presence of nuclear weapons is a threat to our peace and security. We must create nuclear-weapon-free zones, in the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean and other regions. We must dismantle foreign military bases in all parts of the world. The presence of such bases is a threat to us. The presence of American missiles in the Comoros is a threat to our peoples. The presence of American missiles in Europe is a threat to Europe and the Mediterranean. The security of the Mediterranean and of Europe is closely linked and indivisible.

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The right of peoples in South America to self-determination and to choose their own policies must be recognized and supported. The time has come to put an end to hotbeds of tension. We must put an end to colonial domination and hegemony. We must make a just peace, not peace in the interest of major Powers and colonial domination.

My country includes itself among the small nations. We stand shoulder to shoulder to achieve the objectives of the United Nations as set out in its Charter. We work to achieve human rights and must stress that the rights of white people are no more important than those of black people; the rights of Jews are no more important than those of Moslems or Christians. We are all part of heaven-sent religions. We must all reject Zionism.

Mr. VELAYATI (Islamic Republic of Iran) (spoke in Persian; English text furnished by the delegation): I wish to offer my congratulations to Ambassador de Piniés on his well-deserved election as President of the fortieth session of the United Nations General Assembly and to thank his predecessor for his noteworthy services.

I avail myself of this opportunity to offer the heartfelt condolences of the people and Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the Government and people of Mexico in connection with the very tragic earthquakes in that country and express the hope that international co-operation, however inadequate, may help relieve the suffering of the Mexican people.

The present session of the General Assembly, which coincides with the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, provides us with a welcome opportunity to take a more serious and responsible look at the present unpleasant world situation and, bearing in mind the high ideals of past and present

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generations, make an earnest effort to fill the gap between their ideals and our practice through constructive suggestions for the strengthening of this Organization so that it can move faster in the direction of our common human ideals.

In the course of the four decades of the life of this world Organization sincere, exhaustive and persistent attempts have been made at structuring a comprehensive international order to safeguard world peace and security, to develop friendly international relations on the basis of equality, to win collective co-operation for the resolution of international problems and to close the immense technical and economic gap that exists between the rich and poor countries. The end results of all these worthy efforts are manifested in the present form of the United Nations, which, despite its shortcomings, possesses enormous potential and offers great possibilities to mankind.

We are all aware of and agree on the relatively constructive role of the United Nations and its importance in certain complicated situations in the world today. Therefore, instead of utilizing this unique but brief opportunity to restate those common beliefs and praise the fruitful efforts of the United Nations in the political, economic, cultural and social fields, we should make an attempt to identify its weaknesses and find appropriate ways to remove them, in order to strengthen this international Organization.

As stated in the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization,

"The United Nations cannot - and was not intended to - solve all the problems of the international community, but it is the best place to avoid the worst and to strive for improvement." (A/40/1, p. 3)

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However, the experience of two world wars which threatened the existence of humanity in less than two decades and a rational analysis of the causes of the failure of the League of Nations to prevent the outbreak of the second of them show that the world community has not yet succeeded in the effective and ideal employment of the great potential of this vast Organization for the just settlement of international disputes and the prevention of aggressive behaviour - a regrettable fact that does not leave much room for simple-minded complacency.



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In our opinion it is not a great achievement for man, as God's supreme creature on earth, to take pride in having occasionally healed his self-inflicted wounds in such an expensive, well-equipped world clinic.

The recognition of this reality must serve as the basis for constructive criticism to further the fulfilment of our obligations towards this Organization. The first priority in this approach is to assess the values governing this world Organization, because they are the only criteria for judging the success or failure of the United Nations' performance in the past.

There is no doubt that the life of every organization or constitution is dependent upon its value system and it goes without saying that for this very reason the principles, bases, procedures and inevitably the decisions and performance of every organization, and in this particular case the United Nations, are not exempt from value judgements.

But the question is: how and by whom are these value judgements made? The founding of the United Nations and the structure of its organs were overshadowed by the special circumstances and conditions of the political and military balance prevailing after the Second World War. Thus the basic concepts and fundamental values of this Organization, as manifested in the Charter of the United Nations, were all formulated within the framework of the historical and cultural values of the victors in the Second World War. That is why they do not represent the shared values of the majority of the members of the world community.

One of the principal reasons for the failure of the United Nations since its inception to implement the Articles of the Charter in the settlement or prevention of different international crises, particularly in terms of the issue of peace and security, is deeply rooted in this fundamental defect.

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Consequently, the concept of justice that should be the main element in the infrastructure of the Charter of the United Nations is not clearly defined and is therefore exposed to all sorts of misinterpretation. A glance at the approach of the United Nations to different crises and problems demonstrates the unambiguous fact that the United Nations has always been mainly concerned with the preservation of the status quo and that the curtailment and temporary stoppage of crises is, in its vocabulary, synonymous with the carrying out of justice. It is quite evident that this approach is hardly likely to result in establishing lasting peace and security or to promise definitive solutions to any problems.

The other difficulty, in our opinion, is the fact that the Charter is full of contradictions and inconsistencies. A glaring example of this is the allocation of the right of veto to the few permanent members of the Security Council. Now, however, four decades after the formulation of the Charter, as there is absolutely no justification for the right of veto other countries have followed suit, and in practice behave as if they too were officially granted the same right, tending to disregard all international obligations and decisions whenever the latter happen to clash with their own interests. On the other hand, the Charter and the Organization itself have their raison d'être in the acceptance of the principle whereby all Members should, in case of a clash between national and supra-national interests, abide by what is judged to be the interests of the world community.

It is manifestly clear that the Charter cannot logically make such unjustifiable exceptions of a few countries as far as this fundamental principle is concerned; by having done so it has made a dead letter of its most basic principle and thereby eliminated all operative guarantees for the execution of the decisions of its Security Council.

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When we note that from the time of its inception up to September 1985 the Security Council has issued some 570 resolutions on important international crises, most of which never affected any situation; when we can see very few highlights in the performance of the Security Council; when we consider that the Security Council has failed to put an end to any significant international crisis; when we know that the Security Council's record even in reducing international tension and restricting wars within the framework of existing international laws is insignificant, we are bound to reach the inevitable conclusion that the Council's structure does not logically correlate with the philosophy of its foundation and that it must therefore be replaced by another international apparatus to carry out the important obligation of preserving international peace and security. More significantly, since the foundation of the United Nations, more than 20 million human lives have been lost in the course of some 140 international disputes. Certainly the United Nations has made efforts to prevent or contain such disastrous incidents, but unfortunately existing statistics show that the United Nations efforts have, for a variety of reasons, failed to achieve any substantial results.

I do not suppose that I need to emphasize the fact that the obligation to respect one's commitments is the most primary and fundamental basis for every international agreement. There is no doubt that this principle is the basis of all international laws, agreements and organizations. And the destruction of this fundamental principle would be tantamount to nullification of all mankind's achievements over the decades in the form of international laws and conventions designed to enable men to live without destructive wars and to assert the rights of nations in all social fields.

I must declare here unequivocally that there is an increasing and alarming trend for aggressors against the rights of nations to attack this fundamental

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principle. Violation of international laws and norms, especially when questions of international and national peace and security are concerned, is on the increase in variety, quantity and quality; and those human communities which find themselves defenceless in the face of transgressions and aggressions are inevitably drawn to certain unilateral measures and arrangements in order to prepare themselves to confront all sorts of external aggression.

The frequent violation of international law discourages the human community from formulating new regulations or improving existing international laws. The majority of international laws, treaties and conventions lack any international executive guarantees.

The obvious consequence of this process is an increase in demand for arms and weapons on an international level, the flourishing of the arms markets and merchants of death and intensification of the arms race, as a result of which potential aggressors are often persuaded actually to employ their well-stocked arsenals; and the reinforcement of this vicious circle can only end in the total destruction of all the human and economic resources of our planet.

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In spite of the fact that colonialism today does not rob the economic resources of these countries and does not swallow their human and intellectual potential through direct military presence in the colonized territories, nevertheless the imposition of inescapable economic conditions on the nations of the third world by controlling markets which set the prices of new materials and industrial products, is the principal cause of the deepening gap between the poor and the rich.

Unfortunately the heavy cost of this is primarily borne by the third world. In the past year, we witnessed the debt crisis - which was exacerbated by an increase in the interest rate in the industrial countries - drag many of the debtor nations to the verge of economic bankruptcy, and arms expenditures broke all previous records.

We are of the opinion that the correlation between the sharp rise in the debts of the third world countries and expenditures on arms is in no way accidental. In other words, the third world's deep economic problems stem from the price the developing countries have to pay for the insane arms race of the big Powers. This correlation is established either indirectly through the export of economic crises from the industrial countries to the third world, or directly through the creation of political tensions in various regions, resulting in an increased demand for armaments.

We should admit that although the efforts of the United Nations and the Secretary-General to slacken the arms race have been conspicuous compared to other activities of this Organization, yet most of the measures ratified have, in effect, been vetoed by the super-Powers.

We believe that the United Nations cannot protect the third world, through the establishment of a new economic order, against the export of economic crises by the industrial West, unless these efforts are coupled with parallel efforts to decrease

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the pace of the arms race. This can only be achieved by the united, synchronized attempts of all the developing and non-aligned countries against obstacles created by the super-Powers in their bilateral and multilateral disarmament talks.

However, the super-Powers' persistence in the arms race and their continued efforts to excel each other, make their motives for the future Geneva talks highly suspicious. The super-Powers' carelessness towards the problems of the world community and the international tensions that they create on the strength of their arsenals do not leave much hope that humanity can live in a nuclear-free world in the future. The world community, however, expect their talks this time to go beyond another boring repetitious show and to bring about some tangible results for the actual reduction in arms and prevention of nuclear war.

The United Nations role in preserving international peace and security should undergo a drastic transformation. If these changes require a new definition of obligations, there should not be any hesitation in redefining the United Nations Charter and reorganizing this Organization. The jurisdiction of the Secretary-General, particularly in relation to those conflicts which threaten international peace and security, should increase in such a way that bilateral discussions among the members of the Security Council and the ill wishes of the Powers which benefit from conflicts, do not create impediments for the Secretary-General and the Secretariat in finding just solutions for these conflicts. The United Nations should seriously work out means to guarantee and oversee the implementation of existing international laws, particularly those pertaining to universal human behaviour at a time of war. Finding effective punitive measures for those who use force to settle their disputes is among the fundamental duties which should be entrusted to the United Nations. The rate of progress in the disarmament talks, in comparison with the speed of the arms race,

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is a matter of concern. The direction of these talks should undergo fundamental change and incentives for the arms race should be reduced. A most important consideration by the world community is the absence of an authoritative international body capable of implementing justice in time of conflict. Peace is a sacred word, but the administration of justice precedes that. The existing value system of the United Nations should be reviewed in order to remove this fundamental shortcoming. The qualitative and quantitative development of international organizations is absolutely essential to the present social life of the international community. But the more this need is felt, the more the big Powers become interested in influencing matters.

As soon as a number of countries show resistance in an international organization, every possible political and financial pressure is directed against that organization. This is exactly the sort of development we witness in the case of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

In our belief, one of the goals of the Member States on this fortieth anniversary of the United Nations should be a decisive struggle against imperial-minded Powers that attempt to dominate the smooth operation of the international Organization.

The United Nations is undoubtedly facing many problems today. Our world, in spite of all the technical and scientific advancements, is suffering from an increasingly wide range of political, economic, cultural and social crises. The economic gap between the first and the third world is widening all the time. Human life on earth is being seriously threatened by an increase in nuclear arms. We should know, however, that all the problems which the world community expects the United Nations to solve, have not come to us from outer space. Rather, they are the direct consequence of the actions of the countries and régimes whose representatives are present here.

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Our basic problem lies in a lack of political will in this Organization, which results in the adoption of useless resolutions as substitutes for the realization of the aspirations of human communities.

The United Nations is the last place for finding peaceful solutions to the crises of a deeply-troubled world. Do not let it become the venue of final deception, since other solutions, whatever they may be, will, alas, not be peaceful.

What I have said so far about the United Nations is not a product of subjective analysis; it is, on the contrary, the direct result of what the Islamic Republic of Iran has actually experienced in the last few years. The indifference and feeble reactions of the United Nations - and especially those of the Security Council - to the repeated acts of aggression by the Iraqi régime against Iran have given the world a very unfavourable impression of the United Nations in dealing with international tensions and crises.

Allow me to ask members of this Assembly if they know of any international law or humanitarian norm that has not been violated by the Iraqi régime, whenever it could physically do so, for the consolidation of its aggression. If the answer is positive - and the whole world knows that it is - would this single case not be sufficient proof for the Members of the United Nations, and other organizations established to protect peace and security, justifiably to feel that they are left defenceless and alone to face external aggression? Forty years after the establishment of a world Organization which was created after the bitter experience of two world wars in order to prevent future anti-human barbarism, a régime with a five-year record of constant aggression declares most shamelessly that it will only accept "total war or cease-fire" in the context of its aggressive objectives.



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I am convinced that the Assembly fully understands the true meaning of this Iraqi régime's slogan. And the Security Council, which has been rebuffed by the Iraqi régime with respect to its latest statement banning the use of chemical weapons, knows perfectly well that, by this, the Iraqi régime is simply saying that if the Islamic Republic of Iran does not agree with conditions set by this régime - which only serve to consolidate its aggression - then Iraq will be authorized, whenever it so chooses, to violate with impunity all international regulations and conventions that bear its worthless signature.

The 1925 Geneva Protocol banning the use of chemical weapons; the 1949 Geneva Conventions relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War; the Convention relative to the Treatment of Civilian Persons in Time of War; the Annexed Protocol of 1977 to the 1949 Conventions; the 1907 Hague Convention respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land; the 1972 Convention concerning the natural and cultural heritage; the 1982 Convention on the Law of the Sea concerning maritime pollution and free navigation; the 1944 Chicago Convention; the 1970 Hague Convention concerning the safety of civil aviation; and scores of other international conventions and resolutions to which all Members of this world community have unconditionally committed themselves in order to respect humane considerations in time of war - have they not all been created to improve upon the law of the jungle during wartime?

However, for the reasons already cited, and according to resolution 3314 (XXIX) on the Definition of Aggression adopted by the General Assembly in 1974, the Iraqi crimes in its aggression against the Islamic Republic of Iran are international crimes and, for this reason, it should also be an international obligation to react to these crimes and to punish the war criminals. The reason for the efforts of the Islamic Republic of Iran to persuade international organizations, and especially the United Nations, to take preventive and punitive

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action against the Iraqi régime is precisely because these international organizations are duty-bound to do so; but experience has, regrettably, shown us that the only effective way to counter Iraqi aggression is through the use of force.

We are certainly not happy to have reached this regrettable conclusion. The repeated violations of the agreement of 12 June 1984 banning raids on residential and civilian areas by the Iraqi régime illustrate the fact that the Islamic Republic of Iran has had to pay a very heavy price, under most trying circumstances, in abiding by this agreement unilaterally. The price includes some 6,000 civilians who day and night have been subjected to indiscriminate bombardment by Iraqi warplanes and the partial or total destruction of more than 50 towns. As we were paying such a heavy toll, we expected the United Nations to employ all levers at its disposal to stop these inhuman crimes.

But it is regrettable to have to admit the bitter fact that it was only our limited retaliatory actions backed by the support of millions of our people on the memorable day of Qods - "Jerusalem Day" - which made the Iraqi régime reduce its futile raids on residential and civilian areas. This is not to say that we do not appreciate the very sincere efforts of the Secretary-General, but we are of the opinion that as long as the whole of the United Nations and its organs do not co-operate with the efforts of the Secretary-General, the unilateral actions of the victim of aggression remain the only means of stopping or reducing aggression.

Allow me to go over the record of the Security Council and its behaviour towards the Iraqi régime that has, as we have already explained, endangered international peace and security. We believe that, despite a slight modification of its unjust stance about this war in its last statement, the Security Council is still far from fulfilling the obligations entrusted to it by the United Nations Charter.

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I should like to use this opportunity to remove certain ambiguities that may, because of a devotion to or for any other reason, remain in the minds of some representatives. We are sometimes asked why we do not respond to the proposals for a cease-fire or negotiations for the peaceful solution of the conflict made by the Security Council. We think that the way to answer this question is by the Security Council's answering a few other questions.

Why did the Security Council, despite its precedents in other international disputes, not condemn the flagrant aggression against the Islamic Republic of Iran by Iraq at the very beginning of the imposition of war on two nations, and why is it not ready to do so even now?

Why did the Security Council not denounce the Iraqi régime as one that resorted to force for the settlement of its alleged dispute with a neighbour and unilaterally abrogated all bilateral agreements between the two countries?

Why did the Security Council, despite its well-known behaviour in other international disputes, not request the withdrawal of Iraqi occupying forces from our country in its first resolution on this war?

Does all this negligence not point an accusing finger at those who urged Iraq to invade Iran and, in addition to arming that régime to the teeth, helped consolidate its occupying forces in our country through the adoption of such notorious resolutions?

Now we ask those with the right of veto in the Council which always veto any decision that apparently goes against their interests how they expect us not to oppose what we consider to be absolute injustice.

We have often declared at this world Assembly that when responsible international authorities, especially the Security Council, do not show proper, timely reactions to violations of international law - as was the case when Iraq

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invaded Iran and imposed an unwanted war on two nations - this only encourages the aggressor in its aggression. The behaviour of the Iraqi régime is the example par excellence of this bitter fact.

Could the members of this international body not ask the Security Council why, with the numerous cases of violation of international law by the Iraqi régime in its aggression against the Islamic Republic of Iran throughout the course of five long years, it has sufficed to condemn the use of chemical weapons, and that with a one-and-half year delay after their first deployment and without even mentioning the name of the culprit?

Between 3 November 1983, when the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran reported the deployment of chemical weapons by Iraq, and between 26 March 1984, when the United Nations Mission to Iran submitted a report on the use of chemical weapons to the Security Council, and 25 April 1985, when the Security Council indirectly condemned the Iraqi régime for this crime, there were two intervals of 18 and 12 months respectively. How is this period of inaction rationalized? Can it be considered acceptable for the Security Council, as an international organ for the investigation of aggression that threatens world peace and security, to be the last party to take a stance on such a horrifying issue? And, even now, can anyone be certain that the Iraqi régime will not use chemical weapons again?

Five years have passed since the Iraqi aggression against the Islamic Republic of Iran. Each new year a new series of violations of international law by the Iraqi régime was added to that aggression. The statements and documents of the Secretary-General's missions to the Islamic Republic of Iran for the investigation of Iraqi war crimes, despite the fact that they revealed only small parts of those crimes, must have removed all traces of doubt from the minds of those who sincerely wish for the establishment of a lasting peace in the region and must have convinced

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them that that unscrupulous régime is not to be fully trusted. Those who simple-heartedly recommend an armed cease-fire must know that, if we put a lid on this fire temporarily, it will at a later date flare up in a far more destructive and devastating manner. We have no choice, therefore, even if we have to go through fire and water, but to extinguish it for ever.

The Islamic Republic of Iran is therefore determined to continue its just struggle for the full realization of justice, and by this, we mean circumstances in which the aggressor is properly punished and long-term peace and security in the region is firmly guaranteed. Any other solutions would only result in the payment of heavier prices in the future by us and other countries that have suffered from Iraq's aggression in the past. I believe that one thing is quite clear: the actions of the Iraqi régime in the last few months alone demonstrated that that régime spared no effort to bring oil exports and navigation by the littoral States of the Persian Gulf to a complete halt, and by doing this it was aiming at creating an economic oil crisis which would encourage the super-Powers to interfere in our regional affairs.

One problem that may serve as a proper criterion for the evaluation of the executive power, the range of effect and the stance of the United Nations in the settlement of world problems is the question of Palestine. I believe that the United Nations has issued more resolutions and statements and organized more seminars and meetings in the case of Palestine than in that of any other problem. The minds and souls of some 1 billion Moslems throughout the world are anxiously preoccupied with this question. No part of the world has ever witnessed so much cruelty, aggression, occupation and usurpation of people's rights for so long a time. No other international issue has ever drained so much of the financial and economic resources of so many countries.

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Perhaps in no other area has international law been violated to such an amazing extent. No other regional problem has ever involved so many different countries around a single issue. And on no other issue, when there was a flicker of hope for curbing aggression, has the United States of America so frequently used its unjust right of veto in order to expand and strengthen the criminal Israeli acts of aggression.

Despite all this, from among all questions and problems treated by the United Nations, there is scarcely an issue for the settlement of which the total performance of the United Nations has been so insignificant. As a result, the Zionist régime, supported by United States imperialism, has with impunity and without even lessening the scale of its violations of the rights of the Palestinian people with regard to the views of the United Nations, continued to destroy the human, cultural, historical and economic resources of the Palestinian nation more rapidly.

There are no limits to the evil consequences of this bitter fact. The Zionist régime has in fact, become a model of aggression, teaching potential aggressors in the world how to violate people's rights and how to ignore the reactions of the United Nations.

The Iraqi régime has been a good disciple of Israel. It has simply followed the Zionist régime's practices in the violation of international law while paying no attention to the international consequences of its actions. Is it not, therefore, the time for the United Nations to seriously change direction as far as its procedures and practices are concerned, in order to turn itself into an instrument for the execution of its Members' will to end such violations?

Do the disasters inflicted on the people of Lebanon and Palestine during the last twelve months not make a fundamental change in the performance of the

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United Nations a necessity? Do the bloodstained roads and by-roads of Lebanese villages point to anything but the inaction of international organizations, especially the United Nations? Does the spilt blood of the innocent Lebanese people not cry out for the conviction of those régimes in the region whose compromised positions were revealed in the so-called Jordan-Palestinian proposal? Are the statements made in the Assembly by certain heads of States promoting the infamous policy of "compromise and capitulate" to the usurper Zionist régime, not intended to bury the cause of the Palestinian people forever?

We declare here that the treacherous efforts by the Amman-Baghdad-Cairo axis for recognition and legitimization of the usurper Zionist régime are doomed to failure. We are convinced that the Islamic Ummat will in time confront this aggressor and restore its stolen rights in Palestine, the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, the Lebanon, Egypt and now Tunisia. The latest raid on Tunisia by the latter-day Nazis occupying Palestine, which was carried out in complete harmony with the United States, serves as another reminder to certain reactionary, compromising elements in our region, that retreating before an aggressive enemy will only make it more violent. It demonstrated once again that the Zionist régime knows no limits for its aggressions and that all Arab and Islamic countries are potential targets for the future invasions of this satanic régime. In other words, this latest act of aggression is the proper reward for those who at this very rostrum uselessly praised the Israeli and American régimes.

The Muslims of Palestine, having learned this lesson whole-heartedly, continue their struggle to regain their usurped rights, and no plots may weaken their resolve for the liberation of Palestine and driving the big Powers out of their homeland.

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In reviewing the record of the United Nations and its affiliated organs, we sometimes come across certain encouraging signs, such as the verdict of the International Court of Justice at the Hague on American aggression against Nicaragua. The value of this decision is more clearly recognized when we see the United States declaring that the ruling was outside the jurisdiction of this universally recognized international court. Such equitable decisions by United Nations organs should be strongly supported and helped to become dominant in the Organization. Otherwise aggression against independent countries and intervention in their affairs, and imposition of illegal jurisdiction, such as the so-called mobile sovereignty in the Persian Gulf and other areas granted to the United States fleet by the United States pirate Government itself, will continue unabated. The United States is also intervening in the internal affairs of Nicaragua and El Salvador and continuously tries to expand its hegemony over Latin American countries in political, military, and economic matters.

It is with regret that we have to mention other sensitive issues receiving similar treatment by the super-Powers in the United Nations. The ongoing talks on Afghanistan is one such issue.

Five years have passed since talks commenced under the auspices of the United Nations aimed at ending the occupation of Afghanistan. Due to certain reasons, however, there seems to be no tangible change in the position of the occupying party. This is what the Islamic Republic of Iran predicted from the very beginning, knowing that the absence of the true representatives of the Afghan people and the conditions set by the occupying forces for immediate withdrawal, had doomed the entire exercise to failure. But the United Nations, which already had the experience of dealing with similar issues for nearly 40 years, has not paid



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due attention to these two negative factors in these talks. Thus, we may ask, what is now the justification for the continuation of the talks?

Have these talks resulted in anything but entertainment for world public opinion and diverting it from the original question which was supposed to be the unjustified continuation of the occupation of Afghanistan? This problem can be solved only through the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of the occupation forces, non-replacement of these troops by other imperialist forces, voluntary return of all Afghan refugees to their homeland, respect for Afghan national integrity, and the determination of the future of Afghanistan by the Afghan people themselves.

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The Islamic Republic of Iran believes that the political crisis in South-East Asia, especially in Kampuchea, can be overcome only on the basis of the wishes of the peoples of that area and in an atmosphere free from great-Power intervention; the Islamic Republic of Iran also supports the aspirations of the Korean people for the unification of their country. On other continents, we must condemn the military occupation of the Argentinian Malvinas Islands and voice our strong support for the struggle of the people of Western Sahara for independence, and for the decisions of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations in this respect.

Although the United Nations attitude towards the problem of South Africa is clear in comparison with other issues, what is happening in South Africa is a disgrace to humanity. Apartheid is a tunnel that bypasses all the intellectual, cultural and ethical achievements of mankind and links the 20th century to the dark ages of the past. The assistance granted by imperialism, particularly by the United States of America and its satellites, both in overt and covert forms, strengthens and fortifies this horrendous tunnel. The ruling clique in South Africa, supported by imperialism, has not only engaged in the shameless arrest and indiscriminate murder of the leaders of the anti-apartheid campaign but has also stepped up its acts of aggression against the front-line countries.

Not only the South African aggression but also the political realities and, more particularly, the economic situation of the African continent deserve our greater attention. Of course certain constructive measures taken by the United Nations and the Secretary-General to channel economic assistance to the famine-stricken people of Africa in the past year are to be appreciated; but this aid, plus the voluntary assistance provided by some countries, is far too little to meet the real needs of the African people. The Islamic Republic of Iran has, as a

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duty, extended a helping hand, but, unfortunately, because of problems emanating from the war imposed on us, assistance has not reached satisfying levels. Here I deem it necessary to draw the attention of other countries to this human responsibility which all of us must shoulder. How can we justify the poverty, hunger, famine and deprivation of large numbers of people in an era identified with progress and development? How will God and history judge us when we witness the deaths of tens of thousands of people from starvation and deprivation and still spend a great amount of our wealth and natural resources on a lunatic arms race? Can humanity take any pride in centuries of cultural and intellectual advances in view of such diabolical crimes?

I hope this fortieth anniversary of the United Nations will be marked as the beginning of the end of the miseries of mankind; an anniversary for the deepening and consolidating of human bonds, the development of bilateral relations, the establishment of peace, the negation of domination and aggression and the securing of justice throughout the world.

Mr. PAZ BARNICA (Honduras) (interpretation from Spanish): On 25 April 40 years ago a close observer of the city of San Francisco related how there was a gathering of representatives of various States, some of which had a proud past, while others had been in century-long isolation, with cultures that had changed little; some had been overwhelmed by the chaos of war, while others had just begun to move along the paths of history. The differences between the countries, both spiritual and material, were reflected in the flowing robes of the desert, the saris and the turbans. They were meeting under the aegis of peace and the most generous hopes for the building of a new and different world which would draw inspiration from the shattering experience mankind had lived through until then. It was said that men at long last had learned through bitter experience that the

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Tower of Babel could be built, and it was hoped that this time it would reach to the sky.

At the conclusion of that Conference Lord Halifax expressed the yearnings of the people of 51 nations, vested in the United Nations Charter which they had created in order to bring a future of peace and security, co-operation and democracy:

"Let us pray, keeping equally in mind the needs of the world and our own weakness, that what we have done, assisted by the hand of God, here in the past few weeks will be worthy of the faith that gave rise to it and the human suffering at the cost of which it was achieved."

In this general debate most of the eminent speakers have quite rightly agreed that the President at this session of the General Assembly bears an enormous responsibility. The challenge faced by the United Nations at this time is matched only by the responsibility assumed by the founders of the Organization four decades ago. We are fortunate that an experienced diplomat has been elected President of this Assembly. We are certain that he is fully familiar with every aspect of the work of this Organization, because of his years of outstanding service and his personal dedication to the cause of peace, and his election as President of the Assembly is also a tribute to Spain. That noble and admirable country gave birth to us and nourished us, and is permanently committed to the lofty purposes and principles of the Charter.

The phenomenon of the world Organization has become possible only in the twentieth century. The old world empires were only an expression of expanded sovereignties. Before this century the world had a very weak political framework, based on a precarious balance of power. In our age, international relations are based rather on interaction between power and morality. Power expressed through

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the use of force in relations among States has been gradually curtailed by the new responsibilities imposed on the monopoly of power. Even the super-Powers have been obliged to adjust to the restrictions on the use of force imposed by considerations of their own survival. No State in our age can invoke the use of force in moral terms without previously availing itself of the means of negotiation and international law.

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We are still far from achieving the Plan for Perpetual Peace of the Vicar of St. Peter, or from governing the international community on the basis of the principle of magnanimity advocated by Burke; but it is equally true that today's world is far removed from the realities confronted by our forefathers, the builders of a past which still has its repercussions on the historical development of peoples and States.

The fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations invites us to ponder dispassionately on the most appropriate way of meeting the challenge of today's world. International relations have become universalized with the dizzying increase in the membership of the international community. The list of the protagonists on the world stage has grown more diverse, thus complicating the development of this Organization and the attainment of its purposes: international peace and security.

Today's world is one in which interchanges of all kinds between nations have been intensified and multiplied, a phenomenon that runs counter to the fragmentation of the world into numerous sovereignties, national and absolute. These interchanges are at once a reason for the integration of the most dissimilar societies and a source of previously unknown conflicts, which are none the less always risky and dangerous.

But we cannot act today without taking into account the fact that international issues are no longer the preserve of an élite of initiates. There is a genuine international debate in which the citizens of democratic countries take an active part in the formulation of national foreign policy and, what is more, in the pattern of continuing relations between third States. The impressive development of communications and the resulting realization that many subjects in international affairs affect the life of ordinary citizens has led to an

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unaccustomed publicity being given to diplomacy which still cannot replace the efficacy of methods of private negotiation in order to reach working compromises.

We are now experiencing a world which has left behind the old systems of colonial and imperialist domination, a world which is caught between nationalism and the constant human need for political freedom. The struggle for national independence cannot make liberty irrelevant. None the less, the United Nations, which has contributed so greatly to the process of decolonization, which started at the end of the Second World War, notes the increasing frequency of the imprisonment of man by the State.

Now we are living in a world in which the concept of war equates with total annihilation. The development of thermonuclear weapons and the strategy of deterrence have left the destiny of mankind hanging by a thread. This is a sword of Damocles, which may deliver a mortal blow to the whole of mankind and plunge us into chaos.

Today we see a world in which tensions have shifted away from the old centres of power towards new zones of instability located outside the territories of the major Powers and concentrated in developing countries, in which the various ideologies and sources of hegemony pursue their own interests.

Today we third-world nations cannot be indifferent to the imperative need for understanding among the strongest in order to prevent, as Bertrand Russell said, open confrontation and the oppression of the weak nations.

Now more than ever are we duty-bound to close the gap between wealthy and poor nations. In this century, which is now drawing to a close, we have experienced a period in which the fundamental idea of economic and social progress has been focused on the construction of increasingly egalitarian national societies. The challenge of the future is this: Will we be able to build a more just and more humane world society?

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Today's world tells us also that we have set up a genuine international system with a series of specialized agencies which are working to fulfil their responsibility to bring men closer together as brothers through co-operative efforts for common understanding and common well-being. This impressive network of agencies also leads us to inquire whether we have been capable of meeting with the urgency required the fundamental needs to which they are addressed: hunger, illness and ignorance, which afflict to an equal extent millions of persons languishing in despair and anguish in "a world divided for all".

The States Members of the United Nations are confronting this reality, which is, at the same time, what we have done and what we have failed to do to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to promote fundamental human rights, to maintain justice and respect for international obligations and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

The United Nations as an Organization cannot be merely a debating society in which the sufferings of our peoples and the sorrow of mankind is described. As well as being a forum for exchanging views, the United Nations must increasingly be a meeting-place for finding collective solutions to the problems facing this age of unknowns and expectations.

There is also a growing requirement for the United Nations to be known more for its achievements than for its failures in the effective maintenance of international peace and security. This requires that Member States should strengthen their political role and their means of action in order resolutely to confront the dangers that lie in wait for us.

There is a need for the United Nations to have the ability to change with time and in time. Perhaps this capacity for accommodation and flexibility has enabled it to survive moments of immense confusion and turmoil. But essentially it is necessary that the United Nations should cease to be peripheral to the vital



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interests of the Member States, particularly the super-Powers. It must assume shared responsibility based on a pattern of national policies which will not interfere with the fundamental objectives of the United Nations, policies which will not challenge its authority but which will, on the contrary, strengthen its prestige.

The "first and most important step towards peace is to desire peace sincerely"; and this sincere desire does not allow for reserving spheres of competence, which would be detrimental to the dynamic and effective activity of the United Nations in building peace on the solid basis of collective interest rather than of isolated and exclusive interests.

We should not be too confident that the worst will not in fact come to pass. At the present time there are political, strategic and security conditions which are so dangerous that they constitute in themselves an appeal to common sense and compromise. There are economic and social conditions which, like open wounds, are clamouring not just for compassion but also for justice and equity. Let us not commit the error of relying unduly on our development and underestimating our weakness.

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We should never have to repeat the words of Sir Charles Webster, who said, deploring the situation which gave rise to the second world conflagration:

"There were so many enmeshed links between nations that some, with excessive enthusiasm, felt they were sufficient to check the forces that were capable of leading to war. None the less, when they were put to the test those intermeshed links turned out to be no stronger than a spider's web across the mouth of a cannon."

The United Nations is today facing a whole range of problems that will have a great bearing on our future. We note with justifiable concern that little or nothing has been done by us towards disarmament, the reduction of the arsenals of war. The principle enunciated at the Hague Peace Conference in 1899 remains valid. It is that

"it is highly desirable for the improvement of the material and moral well-being of mankind that there should be a restriction of military expenditures, which at the present time constitute a heavy burden on the world".

We are today confronted with the same problems as yesterday, without having committed ourselves to freeing mankind from the sinister spectre of the balance of terror, death and destruction.

Lowes Dickinson explained this, showing a striking grasp of the facts, when he said:

"As long as the States of the world go on arming themselves with a view to war, as long as they continue to follow policies which can be carried out only by means of war and as long as they enter into alliances with the expectation of war and conduct their relations in secret because of war, there will continue to be war, until that war puts an end to mankind; and throughout

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all that time anything alleged to be a reason for the continued existence of the State - the prosperity of the people, the quest for knowledge, the practise of art and religion - will be sacrificed to Moloch, which in turn will offer nothing back except the expectation of sacrificing it all yet again."

We may well wonder whether the twenty-first century will find us without an institutional system that will truly get rid of the use of force as a means of resolving conflicts between States, without a system for the prevention of conflicts, without a collective system capable of suppressing acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace. It is truly a source of concern that the international legal order, notwithstanding the noteworthy progress made in the development of its codification, might in fact fail, even in certain specific areas to become a common law of mankind applicable on a mandatory basis as the only way of exorcizing the bellicose spirit. A common law of mankind which would give practical expression to the maxim of Thomas More that "nothing is less glorious than glory won by war".

With that in mind, we must work hard to banish the use of force as a means of settling disputes between States. As long as the system of the peaceful settlement of disputes is applied universally, to that extent also we shall be serving the essential purpose of the United Nations, which is the maintenance of international peace and security. As far as the mechanisms of peace are concerned, the task facing us is such a pressing one that we must make greater progress than has been made in the machinery for extermination through war.

Within the broad and fundamental chapter in the history of peoples concerned with human rights, it has been one of the primary purposes of the United Nations to promote respect for the dignity of man. None the less, the world witnesses with

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indignation and horror continuing disregard of and contempt for human rights, which has given rise and continues to give rise to acts of barbarity which are an outrage to the conscience of mankind. This is all the more important in that it has been universally recognized that the highest expression of man and the advent of a world in which human beings, freed from fear and poverty, enjoy freedom will derive from those rights.

We are also deeply convinced that, through world and regional institutions, one of the primary obligations of the community of nations is to protect those rights and condemn those who, inexcusably, violate them and trample them under foot.

The concept of human rights has spread from the original individual and public rights to rights in the economic, social and cultural spheres which should be enjoyed by all men and women. Such a concept indicates that we should also strengthen our struggle against discriminatory practices which, unfortunately, still prevail against certain human groups and minorities.

By virtue of their very universal essence, human rights cannot be the privilege of one country or group of countries or to any system of government. Human rights, in addition to being a collective obligation, constitute an ethical obligation that must be fulfilled in each and every one of our societies.

We shall discover that the true essence and nobility of democracy lies precisely in respect for and the promotion of human rights, and in those States where the systematic violation of those rights tarnishes our primordial commitment to the Creator we shall find the most cruel expression of offensive and degrading absolutism.

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Perhaps the greatest challenge facing the United Nations is that of meeting the most pressing demand of our time - the demand for international justice. The United Nations has devoted much of its efforts and resources to this task, through its specialized agencies, in areas such as food, population, trade, education, refugees, children, industrialization, technology, development finance and monetary questions. This titanic task requires a new political impetus. There is an urgent need for motivation, which will be derived from the feeling of humanity and the need for the survival of the international community, for without any doubt international injustice is the greatest threat to international peace and security.

Nearly 900 million human beings are in a situation of extreme poverty. There are so many needs that we must establish a system of priorities and it will be necessary to review the categories of countries which should receive international assistance in accordance with the particular features of their economic and social situation. In order to be successful it is essential to incorporate in this task of salvation the efforts of the populations of the countries themselves.

In this regard, the United Nations should establish an international development strategy that would give concrete expression to assistance in well-structured programmes based on proper priorities. We need precise plans and goals, the achievement of which necessitates also a commitment on the part of the most privileged countries to contribute a sufficient quantity of material and human resources.

The United Nations should give proof of the political will of its Members and the ability to innovate and show imagination.

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We cannot continue to allow millions of human beings to die of hunger from inanition, nor can we continue to tolerate the present high rates of infant mortality when measures such as universal immunization, proposed by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), can effectively reduce them before long.

We cannot continue to allow arms expenditures to grow in inverse ratio to the decline in international development aid.

We cannot continue allowing the absurdity of having the poorer countries being major capital exporters despite their heavy burdens resulting from the overwhelming weight of servicing foreign debt, given the onerous conditions in which financing has taken place.

We cannot continue to allow the massive efforts to develop production in the third world to be frustrated by restrictions imposed by international trade designed to protect the most advanced economies.

We cannot go on tolerating a situation in which, through an imbalance in the terms of trade, our countries continue to transfer wealth to the richer countries, thus widening the enormous gulf that already separates them from us.

We cannot continue to allow delays in the necessary reforms in the international monetary system that should permit greater participation by the developing countries in decision-making that directly affects them, a participation that should become particularly evident in the processes of adjustment of their economies but which will not mean greater social sacrifices that might destabilize their political and economic systems.

The United Nations has an agenda that is crucial for the years ahead. The report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues put it as follows:

"At the beginning of a new decade, just 20 years from the millenium, we must rise above disputes and routine negotiations and face the problems that

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threaten us over the long term. We live in a world where poverty and hunger continue in vast regions on earth, in which weapons are manufactured and sold as never before, and in which the destructive capacity to blow our world to smithereens has been built up.

"What can now be seen on the agenda is the reordering of international relations, the establishment of a new order and a broad approach to development problems. A similar process of reconstruction and renewal should be guided by the principle of equality of rights and opportunities. It should seek just settlements in order to put an end to grave injustices. It must put an end to pointless disputes and promote the common well-being of nations. Experience shows that there will be a need for great determination and firmness of purpose in order to achieve structural changes that will be just and of mutual benefit."

We must not leave out of account in our thoughts the machinery necessary to keep the peace. We see that the United Nations has to cope with problems of efficiency and means for action essential for it to do its job.

In this connection I wish to draw the attention of delegations to the problems arising from the lack of implementation of the provisions for collective security provided for in the Charter, the lack of a harmonious relationship between the principal political bodies of the United Nations, the use of those bodies as spheres for confrontation and rostrums for propaganda, and the importance of guaranteeing the political independence and initiative of the Secretary-General in pursuit of the purposes and principles of the Organization.

We also cannot fail to refer to the need for greater, more effective co-ordination among the organs, bodies and institutions of this international entity and the urgent need to establish priorities to solve the basic problems and to discuss subjects of fundamental importance.

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The United Nations now faces a challenge of knowing whether man will prove able to perfect a system to govern himself and to exercise the right to self-determination inherent in the purposes of the United Nations.

The main issues on which the United Nations capacity to fulfil the purposes and principles of the San Francisco Charter are being challenged today have been demonstrated by a series of peripheral conflicts which are detrimental to international stability and the security of States.

These conflicts, most of which are local in nature, have been before the Organization for many years and in some cases for decades. The fact that pending conflicts remain unresolved is also a new test for the world system of peace and security.

Suffice it for me to refer to a few striking and disturbing examples cause us some concern: the case of the bloody struggle going on for the independence of Namibia; the foreign occupation of Kampuchea and Afghanistan; the bloody war between Iraq and Iran; the prolonged absence of South Korea from this Organization, a fact that strikes at the principle of the universality of the United Nations; the violence that is shaking the Middle East; the uncertainty as to the future of Cyprus; the crisis afflicting the Central American region; the conflict of the Malvinas, and the odious policy of racial discrimination in South Africa, which is an illustration of the dominance of the force of might over the force of law.

Honduras, my country, belongs to a part of the world that in the last few years has been subjected to the distressing harassment characteristic of international relations.

In Central America it would seem that the ideological hegemonies have turned a deaf ear to the cry of despair of the poor and oppressed which are so moving as to strike a responsive chord in the heart of Central American man.



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In this region of the Western Hemisphere a struggle is going on that is sometimes very much out in the open, and other times less so, aimed at imposing designs contrary to the dignity of the human being in order to give free rein to a totalitarianism that is incompatible with our peoples' desire to redress injustice.

The constant effort to secure freedom as an instrument for a better destiny for man; the unrelenting desire for justice as a principle that gives each one what is his due; the struggle for democracy as a pluralistic expression in the political and economic sphere; and the dedication to the cause of peace as constituting a state of understanding and not an artificial truce, all find in Central America a fertile seed-bed in which to germinate in the furrows of human activity; but this is a land abandoned because "it has been waiting in vain for the gardener". Those at the level of world-wide confrontations must not forget that man is part of society and that society is part of the State, and must respond to Christian and spiritual values so that all human beings may coexist on a basis of co-operation and solidarity.

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In this tumultuous region in which we live - and live together - attempts are being made to supplant our aspirations for a better future. This is the region which has so long been under discussion by the Contadora Group, which seeks to replace our collective plight by dedication to peace and democracy, to justice and security, so that men can work together as brothers and flourish.

If we fail to understand this situation, which speaks for itself like a cry of protest at an unhinged world, we shall be failing to interpret properly a fundamental aspect of the preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, drafted in this Organization, which warns us that human rights should be protected by the rule of law, so that men should not be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression.

Natural and political tragedies, in violent and destructive form, have struck the destiny of our peoples. The earthquake which caused such damage in Mexico has greatly saddened us. The international community has expressed its solidarity with this Latin American nation, where the republican voice of Benito Juarez was once heard saying that among men as among nations, peace lies in respecting the rights of others. The kidnapping of the daughter of the President of El Salvador is a barbarous act which deserves to be strongly condemned by all countries which seek, through dialogue and democracy, systems of civilized and pluralistic coexistence.

There are other actions which downgrade the noble aspirations of man on this continent. The breach of values of the human being looms like a spectre roaming the dark alleys of absolutism, while violations of the attributes of the sovereignty of the people strike at the very essence of our collective desires at a time when we should all be concentrating on our internal obligations and international commitments.

When submitting the fifth annual report on the work of the United Nations

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on 12 July 1950, barely five years after the foundation of the Organization, the then Secretary-General, Trygve Lie, said:

"At the time that this report is written it is not possible to be confident about the future of the United Nations and the prospects of world peace. But it is equally impossible to be hopeless. There is too much support among the peoples of the world for the United Nations and too much constructive work being carried out under United Nations auspices to permit any of those who bear the burdens of authority in the Governments of Members or in the Secretariat of the United Nations to relax for an instant in the determination to do everything possible to save the United Nations as a universal Organization standing firmly against war and to make it a stronger instrument for peace and progress.

"If the United Nations is able to emerge intact and successful from the present crisis, its strength and influence will be immeasurably enhanced, and the world will be much closer to lasting peace than at any time since 1945."

(A/1287, Introduction, p. XIV)

In the four decades that have passed since its founding, the United Nations has represented in the history of mankind, an instrument available to all for the building of peace, as the supreme ideal of man and of nations. While in San Francisco we were able to meet the challenge of the post-war period, it is now our obligation to attack with equal strength and resolution our task of building a world of peace and freedom.

It was for those ideals that General Francisco Morazán, who was born in Honduras 193 years ago today, fought and died. General Morazán, born on 3 October 1792, was shot on 15 September 1842 by the diehards of conservative reaction, just when the twenty-first anniversary of the political independence of

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that turbulent region was being celebrated. He is the most outstanding hero and martyr of the unity of Central America, the creator and President of the Federation of the five States, who spurned the lure of dictatorship in order to establish a democratic government and who engraved in the bronze of history the visionary warning that freedom must recover its rule in the world.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.