



CONTENTS

Agenda item 9:

General debate (concluded)

Speech by Mr. Viera (Cuba)	645
Speech by Mr. Ramadan (Chad)	648
Speech by Mr. Ould Zamel (Mauritania)	653
Speech by Mr. Uribe-Vargas (Colombia)	657
Speech by Mr. Ogouma (Benin)	660
Speech by Mr. Fernandes (Guinea-Bissau)	665
Speech by Mr. Ardakani (Iran)	670

President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR
(Federal Republic of Germany)

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Katapodis (Greece),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (concluded)

1. Mr. VIERA (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It had been planned that our Foreign Minister would address the Assembly. However, given the great concern that has been caused by the conflict between Iran and Iraq and the obvious desire of the countries of the non-aligned movement—a desire shared by many other countries—to see an end to that serious incident, the current Chairman of the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Fidel Castro, decided to send Foreign Minister Malmierca to the countries involved, as his representative, in order to initiate a mission of good offices, which is now proceeding.

2. We earnestly hope that a peaceful negotiated settlement will speedily put an end to that conflict which divides two members of the non-aligned movement and which entails serious consequences for both those countries, the countries of the third world and the interests of international peace and security.

3. On behalf of the Government of Cuba and its Minister for Foreign Affairs, I should like to extend our cordial congratulations to Mr. von Wechmar on his unanimous election as President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly and to pledge our determined co-operation in the discharge of his important functions.

4. We should also like to express our great admiration for the exemplary manner in which his predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, conducted the proceedings of the thirty-

fourth session of the General Assembly and those of the three special sessions over which he presided. His performance in presiding over the meetings of this body does honour to his country, the United Republic of Tanzania, and the entire African continent.

5. We wish also to express our appreciation for the outstanding work which the Secretary-General has done on behalf of international peace and security.

6. I come to this rostrum on a day of special significance for Cubans. Today we commemorate the one hundred and twelfth anniversary of the beginning of our heroic struggle for independence. We are also celebrating the return to our land of the first cosmonaut of Cuba and of Latin America. A few hours ago, the people in the capital, Havana, on behalf of all Cubans, extended to Colonel Tamayo and his companion pilot the special welcome which that event deserves. That sums up the achievements of 20 years of our revolution and it is our modest contribution to the efforts being made for the development of science and technology in the service of peace and progress for mankind.

7. Today we are completing the general debate of this session of the General Assembly. If anyone could give a precise definition of the nature of our deliberations, it would unquestionably be that the overwhelming majority of those who have preceded me to this rostrum have expressed great concern over the ominous turn of events in the international situation during the last few months.

8. There has not been a greater threat to the peace and security of the world since the time of the so-called cold war and the "policy of brinkmanship". Mankind's aspiration to move towards détente, general and complete disarmament—especially nuclear disarmament—development and international economic co-operation has been frustrated time and again by the re-emergence of a policy of war, the replacement of dialogue by confrontation, the stagnation of negotiations to limit strategic weapons and the non-ratification of the SALT II agreement,¹ as well as by the failure of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly devoted to economic questions and the constant deterioration of the economies of the developing countries.

9. To those factors which have a negative effect on the world situation must be added the emergence of new sources of tension and discord in various parts of the world, the aggravation of problems in the Middle East as a result of the expansionist and colonialist policies of Israel, the increased tension in the Indian Ocean, the Arab Gulf and the Carib-

¹ Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979.

bean and Central American region as a result of the escalation of the war-like policies of the United States and the establishment of new bases and imperialist facilities in those areas. Also there has been an increase of interventionism in South-East Asia, encouraged by the hegemonists in Beijing and their new allies in the United States, and in El Salvador and the formation of a reactionary "holy alliance" against the revolutionary peoples and countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

10. When we speak of peace we must necessarily refer to the one and indivisible peace which the peoples of the world want—a peace with responsibilities and benefits for all, and not a limited peace, one which is of interest only to some Powers. Peace must be universal and must be based on respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, within secure and recognized boundaries. There can be no peace without détente and disarmament. That is why it is necessary for us to concentrate our efforts on achieving an effective relaxation of international tension and continuing negotiations on the limitation of nuclear weapons and general and complete disarmament. Also, there can be no peace without development.

11. The need to establish a just and equitable international economic order, to eliminate unequal exchanges and barriers to the expansion of trade with the developed countries; the need to transform the world monetary system so as to reflect the requirements of our countries; the need to ensure, during this decade, a massive flow of financial and material resources for development; the need to transfer technology in assimilable and unburdensome conditions; and the urgent need to give assistance to the relatively less developed countries and to promote economic, scientific and technological co-operation among our countries—all these constitute *sine qua non* conditions for a just and lasting peace.

12. This is not mere rhetoric. The legitimate interests of each of the 154 States Members of the United Nations must be recognized now and no one must be guided solely by narrow national interests, no matter how justified those interests may be. The world will not be capable of tackling or, of course, resolving the grave economic problems which have arisen during the last fifth of the century without broad and deep international co-operation.

13. Cuba hopes that the obstacles and difficulties which we recently encountered when we discussed the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, and especially the next round of global negotiations, arising from the intransigence and narrow-mindedness of a few developed capitalist countries, will be overcome in the coming months so that we can lay the groundwork for the necessary co-operation which our peoples demand.

14. Twenty years ago the United Nations took a step of historic importance when it adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In the years since then the political map of the world has changed radically with the attainment of an independent sovereign life by dozens of countries.

15. Today we welcome the entry of the Republic of Zimbabwe into the Organization as a full-fledged Member,

following its historic victory over the forces of racism, oppression and colonialism. We also welcome the emergence of the Republic of Vanuatu and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines as new independent States.

16. The disgrace of colonialism and the monstrous outgrowth of the racist mentality that is known as *apartheid* still prey on the peoples of southern Africa. After years of unfruitful negotiations, which in various delaying tactics have reflected the twisted intentions of South Africa and its Western allies, and despite the firm resistance of the Namibian patriots under the leadership of their legitimate representative, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], Namibia continues to be occupied and the will of the international community has been brutally stifled by the racist régime of Pretoria and the handful of imperialist countries which support it to the hilt by preventing the implementation of the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter.

17. In the year of the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration against colonialism, Cuba reiterates its unswerving solidarity with the people of Namibia, with its vanguard, SWAPO, and with the cause of its independence and sovereignty throughout the entire Territory, including Walvis Bay. Our support also goes to the black people of South Africa and to their liberation movement, the African National Congress [ANC] in their just struggle against *apartheid* and for a majority government of the people.

18. The remnants of colonialism are not limited, however, to southern Africa. Once again we proclaim the right of the Latin American people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence; the right of Belize to complete the process of decolonization and accede to independence without further delay and to preserve the integrity of its territory; the right of the Sahraoui people to establish a sovereign, free republic in its ancestral home; the right of Madagascar to recover its sovereignty over the islands of Juan de Nova, Bassas da India, Europa and Glorieuses; and, finally the right of all subjected peoples to emancipate themselves finally from colonial domination.

19. Similarly, Cuba supports the unconditional withdrawal of United States troops from the south of the territory of Korea and the peaceful reunification of the Korean people without foreign interference.

20. We support the right of the peoples of Indo-China and of the whole of South-East Asia to live in peace and security and we reject any interference in their internal affairs. We also condemn the usurpation of the legitimate rights of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in the Assembly by the genocidal Pol Pot clique.

21. The question of Palestine, the core of the Middle East conflict, has today won the support of all progressive mankind. For more than 30 years the Palestinian people, under the courageous and staunch leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], its sole legitimate representative, has been waging a battle against the Zionist State of Israel, which has been trying to trample upon its inalienable national rights.

22. It must be repeated that a just and lasting peace in that crucial part of the world can be achieved only by the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the Arab and Palestinian territory occupied since June 1967; by the effective exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights, including its right to return to its home, to receive compensation for the losses caused by the illegal occupiers and to establish its own State in Palestine; and by the participation of the PLO, on an equal footing in all negotiations which may take place to resolve the question of the Middle East. In that context, Cuba reiterates its vigorous condemnation of the so-called Camp David accords, in so far as they claim to provide a solution of the Palestinian question without the PLO, of the unilateral decision by Israel to modify the international status of Jerusalem and to establish its capital there, and of the bandit-like policy of settlements in the occupied territories.

23. In accordance with the decisions of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979,² Cuba considers that the international community must demand the implementation of the most severe sanctions provided for in the Charter of the United Nations against the Zionist régime of Israel.

24. The situation in the Indian Ocean requires the most rapid possible implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)] and to that end we support the convening at Colombo of the Conference on the Indian Ocean in accordance with General Assembly resolution 34/80 B, and, as a complement thereto, the summit meeting proposed by the President of Madagascar, Didier Ratsiraka.³

25. The irrational forces which pull against the tide of history are attempting to return us to the world of barbarism and fascism that existed before the birth of logic. The creation of interventionist "special rapid deployment forces" is compounded by the installation of 500 missiles with nuclear warheads in Western Europe, the interruption of negotiations on disarmament and the threat of non-ratification of the SALT II agreement; as well as the attempt by the United States Congress unilaterally to revise the Panama Canal Treaties,⁴ signed only after an historic battle by the people and Government of Panama; and the creation of new alliances and military installations, in this and other continents, with obvious expansionist and counterrevolutionary purposes.

26. Invoking arguments which have been rejected by our peoples, they are attempting to convert the Caribbean into a Yankee lake and plotting all kinds of conspiracies against the revolutionary countries of the area. To their plans to destabilize the Governments of Jamaica and Grenada, we can now add their open support for the Fascist military-Christian Democratic junta in El Salvador through the supply of the weapons and technology of genocide and the repetition of the shameful stages of their collusion with the

régimes of Trujillo, Somoza and Batista. The Monroe Doctrine has been resuscitated with the abject complicity of certain Latin American régimes which, betraying the legacy of the liberators, have colluded in the extermination and persecution of the Salvadorian patriots. Our peoples will punish such base cowardice.

27. Cuba condemns the brutal repression of the Fascist military against our brothers in El Salvador, as well as the attempts to intervene, directly or indirectly, in that country, with a view to undermining the inevitable victory of the people. Cuba restates its support for the heroic resistance of the Bolivian people against the military coup, fomented and supported by outside forces, which cancelled out the electoral victory of the People's Democratic Union and has subjected the country to a shady and corrupt tyranny, headed by a group of international traffickers.

28. The policy of harassment against the Cuban revolution is continuing; the blockade persists and new imperialist threats are voiced; fresh terrorist attacks have been made upon our diplomatic missions abroad, such as the attack against a staff member of the Cuban Mission to the United Nations, our unforgettable comrade Félix García.

29. In Latin America some still claim to be defenders of human rights while trampling under foot the memory of Bolívar and taking part in the genocide of the Salvadorian people. In a recent, unprecedented step, they proposed the acquittal of the group of convicted assassins who, in 1976, to the horror of the world, blew up an airborne plane full of Cuban passengers over Barbados, causing the death of 73 persons. The inconceivable actions of the Venezuelan authorities can only encourage in future the carrying out of new and cowardly terrorist acts.

30. Those who once again believe that they can encircle and isolate the Cuban revolution are mistaken. Today, as yesterday, the acts of aggression and plots of the imperialists and their lackeys will come up against the courage and determination of our people. The voice of Cuba will never be intimidated or silenced. No reactionary force can stand in the way of the victory of the peoples of Latin America.

31. For the peoples of the third world, the existence and strengthening of the United Nations system has acquired growing importance. Created to safeguard peace and to prevent the recurrence of war, the Organization has become an indispensable driving force behind initiatives in support of détente, general and complete disarmament, decolonization and international co-operation. Its universal character must be reaffirmed, as must its primary role in the creation of a new international order that is just and equitable and as an instrument to produce peaceful solutions to conflicts which have convulsed the world in its present phase of upheaval and transformation.

32. The policies and principles of the movement of non-aligned countries have always been primarily aimed at the conservation of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of our peoples; the elimination of interference and foreign intervention in the internal and external affairs of States and of the use or threat of the use of force; the elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, apartheid, racism, including zionism; the prevention of the

² See A/34/542.

³ See document A/AC.159/L.32.

⁴ Panama Canal Treaty of 1977 and Treaty concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal, signed in Washington on 7 September 1977.

division of the world into blocs; the halting of the arms race, especially of nuclear arms and achievement of general and complete disarmament under effective international control; the promotion of solidarity and co-operation among the non-aligned countries; the speedy establishment of the new international economic order with a view to speeding up the development of developing countries, eliminating inequality, hunger, sickness and illiteracy; the establishment of a democratic system of international relations based on the equality of States; respect for and preservation of human rights and fundamental freedoms. If these objectives are to be attained, our movement considers that it is necessary to strengthen our world Organization. We pledged our support of these goals at the Havana Conference and we will spare no effort to achieve them.

33. In the capitalist world undermined by the economic, political and moral crisis which characterizes those societies that are no longer in step with history, the forces that would bring us back to the past may be heard; the dark forces of fascism, expansionism and war may still be found. Let no one be mistaken. The outlook in the next 20 years is discernible. Either the international community will be capable of placing the fabulous resources of the scientific and technological revolution at the service of mankind through co-operation and through the building of a new system of world relations, or mankind's hopes for a world free of the scourge of war, oppression and poverty will be frustrated once again.

34. As revolutionaries we are not frightened by the idea of future social change being produced through violent means. But if we are not to be remiss, we must realize that tomorrow's world will come about peacefully only if our generation is capable of exchanging weapons for tools of labour; confrontation for dialogue; and pursuit of narrow national interests for fruitful and just collaboration among all nations.

35. Cuba will always be ready to help to achieve these lofty ideals, contained in the Charter of the United Nations.

36. Mr. RAMADAN (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): The thirty-fifth session of the Assembly is being held at an extremely critical time in international relations when the relative peace which has prevailed among nations since the Second World War is today seriously threatened.

37. Whether it be in the Middle East, in Asia or in Africa, what we have seen is a recrudescence of violence and turbulence which, if we are not careful, is liable to undermine all the efforts undertaken by the United Nations and other bodies to save present and future generations from the horrors of war in keeping with the ideals of the Charter.

38. The economic and international monetary turbulence at the present time, far from creating a climate of confidence between the industrialized and the developing countries with a view to better collaboration, is, on the contrary, giving rise to a feeling of frustration and is holding up solutions for the establishment of a new international economic order that will be more just and more equitable.

39. That is why our delegation, which represents, as is well known, one of the poorest countries in the world because

our resources are not exploited and because we are a victim of the present system, is much concerned both by our internal situation and by the very future of mankind.

40. By electing Mr. von Wechmar to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, the United Nations intended to pay a sterling tribute to his great country, the Federal Republic of Germany, with which my country, Chad, maintains excellent relations of friendship and co-operation.

41. It is a particular pleasure, therefore, for us to extend to him, on behalf of our delegation, our warmest possible congratulations. His distinguished diplomatic and statesmanlike qualities make it highly probable that he will with dynamism, tact and foresight conduct the proceedings of the present session of our Organization to full success.

42. The delegation of Chad will spare neither effort nor time contributing its own part to our deliberations.

43. I should like to express our warm satisfaction and great admiration to Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania. That worthy and brave son of Africa conducted the proceedings of the thirty-fourth session and the three special sessions of the Assembly with competence and dynamism.

44. We should also like to congratulate our valiant Secretary-General for having made himself so readily available and for the bold initiatives he has taken to face up to the many situations which seemed liable to threaten or breach international peace and security, which are the fundamental objectives of the Charter of the United Nations. I hope he will find in what I have said an expression of the profound gratitude of the Government and people of Chad for his concern over the situation of exceptional gravity prevailing in our country.

45. We should like also to welcome in our midst the representatives of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. The accession to independence of their beautiful country illustrates once again the victory of the peoples that love peace and justice over the forces of domination and exploitation.

46. The United Nations has set itself the task of ensuring the maintenance of international peace and security, the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, co-operation among States in the various areas of international relations, disarmament and the decolonization of Territories still under foreign domination and administration.

47. If we want to maintain international peace and security, we must continue to work to reduce the causes of tension in the world. Competition among the great Powers in the field of armaments, in spite of the recommendations of the General Assembly at the tenth special session, increases the danger of a war which may turn into a nuclear holocaust in which all nations, great and small, rich and poor, will be destroyed. In order to maintain this international peace and security all those Powers that possess arms must show by specific deeds their determination to respect the fundamental principles laid down in the Charter.

48. Therefore we should like to stress here our concern about the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran, two fraternal countries with which we share so many ideals. We appeal urgently to the two belligerents to listen to reason and find a rapid solution to their dispute by peaceful means. It is within this framework that we welcome the mediation efforts of the President of Pakistan, undertaken in accordance with the recommendations of the members of the Islamic Conference.

49. The obstinate refusal of certain régimes to implement resolution 1514 (XV), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, makes manifest the contradiction between the extolling of human rights and the frequent violation of those rights, particularly in southern Africa, in the Middle East, in Western Sahara and in other parts of the world.

50. In southern Africa, the independence of Zimbabwe, so warmly welcomed by all the Members of the Organization, represents an undeniable victory over colonialism. This overwhelming victory of the martyred and heroic people of Zimbabwe arouses our increased admiration and confidence concerning the bright future ahead for all peoples still under colonial and racist domination. The knell is tolling for the last bastion of colonialism and *apartheid*.

51. The explosive situation in Namibia is of grave concern to us and more sustained efforts are needed to combat the unjust policy of the minority racist régime of South Africa. The installation by Pretoria of a puppet Government in Namibia strengthens our determination to support SWAPO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people. Any overt or covert attempt to lend a semblance of legitimacy to that Government is clearly doomed to failure. We vigorously condemn the minority régime of South Africa, which, in flagrant violation of the relevant resolutions of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the United Nations and in defiance of international public opinion, is stepping up its reign of terror, violence and racial discrimination.

52. Furthermore, we very much appreciate the considerable efforts made by the Secretary-General, and we, too, regret that, as he stressed in his report on the work of the Organization [see A/35/1, sect. III], South Africa in particular is still obstructing the implementation of the proposed settlement approved by the Security Council in resolution 435 (1978).

53. In South Africa itself, international attention is still focused on the odious practice of *apartheid*. The minority racist régime is continuing its shameful oppression of the African majority. The increase in repression and violent incidents in recent months in South Africa makes it amply clear that that régime is obstinately pursuing its policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid*, but nothing can break the will and the resistance of a people when humiliation reaches the point of no return.

54. We should not like to leave the African continent without referring to the situation in Western Sahara. With regard to this, we express the hope that the conclusions of the recent deliberations of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the

OAU will be applied by the parties concerned. The OAU, we believe, still has vast resources at its disposal and we have every confidence in it.

55. The problem of the Palestinian people over the years has been a focal point of our concern. Any solution of that problem must take into account the effective participation of the PLO, the sole authentic and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Experience has shown us that none of the partial attempts at a settlement has yielded the results hoped for. For our part, whether in the OAU, among the non-aligned countries or in the United Nations, we have constantly asserted that the Palestinian people, like any other people, has the right to a homeland and its inalienable rights must be preserved. That is why we condemn the decision of Israel to make Jerusalem its capital, contrary to the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

56. Permit me now, in view of the gravity of the tragedy that has afflicted the people of Chad, to ask the indulgence of the representatives here briefly to recall the facts, so that they may be placed in their proper context, of the events that have been occurring in our country and particularly in the capital, N'Djamena, in order to explain better to the international community the position of our Government. The Lagos agreement signed on 21 August 1979 is a valid historical compromise for the normalization of political life in Chad following the bloody events of February and March 1979. But that agreement was deliberately violated by one of the signatories known as the Armed Forces of the North, a title that only serves to illuminate the separatist tendencies of their leader.

57. In putting into effect its policy of national reconciliation, the military régime of General Malloum, which had overthrown President Tombalbaye on 13 April 1975, concluded on 16 September 1977 the Khartoum agreement with Mr. Hissene Habre, the leader of the Armed Forces of the North. Pursuant to that document, the latter returned peacefully to N'Djamena, where on 25 August 1978 he signed with the central authorities the fundamental charter, the new institutional framework of the country. It was an extremely rare event in the history of Africa that the rebel chief was made Prime Minister of a Government of National Union established in accordance with the provisions of the charter I have mentioned. However, instead of combining his efforts with those of the President of the Republic in order to complete the task of national reconciliation and to bring about a frank and direct dialogue with the other forces still in armed opposition, the Prime Minister set about obstructing them and rose up against the authority of the President. Furthermore, refusing the necessary political debate, the Prime Minister mobilized the support of the section of the public on matters which were as subjective as they were separatist, such as the north-south and the Moslem-non-Moslem antagonism. This belligerent attitude led to the outbreak on 12 February 1979 of hostilities between the national armed forces remaining faithful to the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister's Armed Forces of the North. This was the first war in N'Djamena and the first act of sabotage of the process of national reconciliation. This military explosion caused the people of Chad tremendous losses in human lives and material damage, the consequences of which are incalculable.

58. It was in those circumstances that, thanks to the benevolent and fraternal mediation of neighbouring countries, particularly the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the first conference brought together the warring brothers at Kano from 7 to 15 March 1979. That conference gave rise to the so-called Kano agreement signed by the two opposing parties, that is to say, the President and the Prime Minister, and two other leaders of certain political-military movements invited by the Nigerian authorities.

59. That agreement provided for, *inter alia*: the observation of a cease-fire throughout the national territory; free circulation of the civilian population; dissolution of political institutions; and the formation of a transitional Government of national union, which was to come into effect only after a meeting bringing together all the political families of Chad with political-military representation in the country.

60. Furthermore, by related arrangement, the President and the Prime Minister promised to resign from their respective posts and to entrust power to a provisional council of State which was to manage the country's affairs until the Government provided for in the agreement was formed. That resignation actually took place on 23 March 1979 and the President withdrew from the political scene in order to facilitate the search for a solution to the tragic situation in Chad. The former Prime Minister—instead of following the President's example, since he was equally responsible if not more so for the situation which had been created—clung desperately to his political life and returned to the second Kano conference at the head of his movement. That second conference was convened at the beginning of April 1979 and brought together all the political groupings in Chad without exception. But that meeting was a failure even before it started, because of the intransigence of the leader of the Armed Forces of the North who systematically opposed the participation of movements which had not been represented at the first Kano conference on the pretext that they had no representatives in the field.

61. That was a further disavowal of the commitments undertaken by the head of the Armed Forces of the North and the second act of sabotage against national reconciliation.

62. In the face of the impasse thus created, the President of the conference, Major-General Shehu M. Yar'adua, then Chief of Staff, and a member of the Supreme Military Council of Nigeria, managed to secure agreement—by way of compromise—on the establishment of a commission of inquiry made up of representatives of the participating countries and each of the political movements in Chad. Its mission was to verify in the field the political and military presence of the new movements.

63. Faithful to his strategy of systematically going back on commitments, the former Prime Minister prevented the commission from fulfilling its task. Furthermore, profiting by a major military presence in the capital, he was to force the hand of the other heads of movements and form a government in clear violation of the Kano agreement and compromise. That Government, in which the leader of the Armed Forces of the North held the defence portfolio, was not only challenged by neighbouring countries and the rest

of the international community but was also flatly rejected by those who had no part in the proceedings.

64. It was in that context that at its sixteenth session the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU decided at Monrovia to entrust the settlement of the Chad conflict to an *ad hoc* committee composed of Chad's neighbours, observer countries and representatives of the Secretary-General of OAU.

65. Nigeria once again offered its generous hospitality as host to a new conference on national reconciliation in Chad. That was organized in Lagos from 13 to 21 August 1979. Under the aegis of the OAU, it brought together 11 national political and military movements in the presence of those nations which has been duly commissioned by the Monrovia Assembly.

66. Following difficult negotiations, those talks led to the conclusion of an historic political compromise which became known as the Lagos agreement. The relevant provisions of that agreement, which have been aptly recalled in the General Assembly by the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of the Congo [15th meeting], include the following points: demilitarization of the City of N'Djamena; release of political detainees and prisoners of war; formation of an integrated army; establishment of a neutral inter-African force with the task of maintaining peace; formation of a transitional government of national union with the task of leading the country to free democratic elections within a period of 18 months; and, finally, the withdrawal of French troops.

67. Of those principal points, only the formation of the Transitional Government of National Union, the arrival in N'Djamena of part of the neutral force composed solely of the Congolese contingent, and evacuation of the French military base in N'Djamena were actually carried out.

68. As for the other points, not only was their implementation not even begun but the Armed Forces of the North, whose representatives held two important ministries—defence and finance—started to infringe the Agreement. Thus, they violated the cease-fire by attacking the positions of the other movements in the north and centre of the country.

69. With regard to the demilitarization of the city of N'Djamena, the Minister of Defence, who moreover was the chairman of the committee on demilitarization, in no way tried to perform his task but rather strengthened his positions in the capital, thus paving the way to a *coup d'état*. What is more, he prevented the Congolese contingent of the neutral force, which had arrived in N'Djamena, from being deployed in order to ensure order and protect persons of rank in Chad. We should like to take this opportunity to express our admiration and profound gratitude to the Congolese contingent for its exemplary behaviour during the hostilities.

70. Putting his plan for a *coup d'état* into effect, the head of the Armed Forces of the North, after his followers had violated the cease-fire, surrounded the Chamber of Commerce building where a meeting was being held with all the

heads of movements and the OAU representative, Chairman of the Independent Control Commission, which was attempting in a concerted way to put an end to the hostilities started by the Armed Forces of the North within the country. Not being able to achieve power in that way, at dawn on 21 March 1980 he launched the hostilities which are still going on. Thus the followers of the former Minister of Defence betrayed the spirit of the Lagos agreement and the confidence of the OAU.

71. The unfortunate consequences of the tragedy caused by the Armed Forces of the North are numerous. The former Prime Minister in effect attempted to bring about a *de facto* partition of Chad by ordering, in the course of the February 1979 hostilities, the systematic murder of people from the southern part of Chad who were living in the north and in the capital of the country. That Fascist, pursuing his policy of division based on primitive tribalism, is persecuting and exterminating, even before and particularly after the beginning of the events that are now going on, the Arab people of Chad and all enlightened patriots living in the zones controlled by those hordes. The brutalities committed by the Armed Forces of the North, furthermore, provoked the exodus of the civilian population into the neighbouring countries of the United Republic of Cameroon, Nigeria, the Central African Republic, and the Sudan, which have to bear a greatly increased social burden. We should like to repeat to them here the expression of our profound gratitude for the sacrifices that they are so generously making to help the suffering people of Chad.

72. But it should be noted that it is not only the refugees in neighbouring countries whose plight is of such concern to the Government of Chad and the international community; there is also the case of persons displaced within the country itself whose situation is also critical.

73. In the light of the above, one might well ask how it was possible to arrive at this bloody imbroglio, which is almost without solution, after the Lagos compromise which, as so many delegations have so rightly pointed out, gave rise to a gleam of hope after the terrible events of 1979.

74. The answer to that question, as was stressed by President Goukouni Weddeye, is the following:

"If Chad has been put to the fire and sword, if the people of Chad are dying in their thousands and have been for a year and a half, if the economy is in ruin and if the very existence of the State of Chad is threatened today, it is because of the Satanic ambition of one of our fellow-countrymen."

Indeed, this man believes that he has a mission to govern Chad at any cost

75. However, this nonentity would not have been able to plunge the people of Chad into this tragedy if he had not enjoyed the solid support of certain foreign Powers for which the unity and happiness of the people of Chad matter little in comparison with their ambition to dominate. They do not wish to admit that the individual who has caused so much bloodshed among innocent people who only wish to live in harmony and concord, has been rejected by the country as a whole.

76. The people of Chad, like the other peoples of the world, is jealous of its independence and its national sovereignty, and it refuses to concede to anyone the right to impose any course of conduct upon it.

77. Chad is rightfully respectful of the sacrosanct principles of the Charter and those of the OAU such as territorial integrity, free choice of a socio-economic régime, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, non-acquisition of territory by force, and the self-determination of peoples.

78. The distressing situation in which Chad has been plunged is, it should be recalled, the result of an internal rebellion against the authority of the State. Hence it is up to the Transitional Government of National Union, which derives its legitimacy from the Lagos agreement, to find an appropriate solution to the conflict. Nevertheless it has always made itself ready to co-operate in any initiative likely to assist in bringing back peace to the whole of its national territory.

79. It was within that framework that, at the OAU meetings in June and July, at Freetown, the Chad delegation gave its full support to the resolution dealing with the Chad crisis with a view to finding an African solution. For to act in any other way would run the risk of lending international dimensions to an internal conflict. We are therefore fully confident that the current Chairman of the OAU Assembly will help the Transitional Government of National Union in its search for a solution to the Chad tragedy in accordance with that resolution.

80. We hope that Mr. Siaka Stevens, President of Sierra Leone, the other African heads of State, and all those who are tireless in their efforts to restore peace to Chad will find in this an expression of our profound gratitude.

81. Because of that serious political situation a country in the heart of Africa is in its death throes. Indeed, ever since its accession to international sovereignty Chad has virtually known no tranquil political life liable to promote its economic and social prosperity. Only five years after independence Chad was faced with a turbulent political situation the epilogue to which was the destruction of the State. Our economic development, which in any case was only embryonic and largely jeopardized by drought, was totally frozen.

82. All administrative, economic, social and cultural structures were disrupted if not swept away entirely. It was a veritable *débâcle*. The whole country must be reconstructed.

83. At this tragic time, when the very foundations of the nation and its unity are threatened, the international community has not remained indifferent. It responded promptly to the appeal made by our delegation at the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly and in resolution 34/120.

84. In that resolution the General Assembly appealed urgently to all Member States, specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system and international economic and financial institutions to provide generous emergency aid to Chad through bilateral or multilateral channels, with a view to meeting its reconstruc-

tion, rehabilitation and development needs, both short-term and long-term.

85. In that resolution the Secretary-General was requested to dispatch a mission to Chad to review with the Government the aid it needed for reconstruction, and the question of organizing of a meeting of donors and, in this respect, to co-ordinate his efforts with those of UNDP, ECA and the World Bank.

86. The delegation of Chad repeats here the warm expressions of gratitude which the President of the Transitional Government of National Union and Head of State, Mr. Goukouni Weddeye, addressed to the United Nations following the adoption of that resolution. That resolution gave rise to considerable hopes. Together with the Lagos agreement, it constituted genuine grounds for satisfaction and relief, and it seemed then that everything was going to be restored to order in Chad. But unfortunately that important resolution could not begin to be implemented to any extent at all because of the political situation.

87. As we have said, the people of Chad took refuge abroad or were displaced within the national territory, and they are living in precarious conditions of hygiene, stripped of resources, food and medicine.

88. That situation did, of course, gain the attention of the Council of Ministers of OAU, and at their thirty-fifth ordinary session at Freetown, they adopted a resolution on assistance to refugees and displaced persons in Chad [see A/35/463 and Corr.1].

89. We should like to take this opportunity to repeat our appeal to the international community for adequate and even increased assistance for Chad because resolution 34/120 is still valid and we are readying ourselves to embark, once peace has been restored, on an even more formidable war—the war, as the Assembly may be sure, of national reconstruction.

90. We venture to hope that the will of the international community to help us remains unswerving, because the problem of Chad is just as acute as ever.

91. But, beyond States and specialized agencies, our appeal goes also to the various charitable organizations and welfare organizations throughout the world, because women, children and old persons are languishing in poverty and dying of disease and malnutrition.

92. We believe we have laid sufficient stress on the extreme gravity of the problem in Chad and our appeal to the international community to help us solve our problem. But our internal difficulties, however grave they may be, do not cause us to overlook the equally disturbing problems of the international community at large, because the economic development of each of our countries is to a very large extent dependent on the world economic situation.

93. One thing is certain and universally acknowledged, and that is that we all aspire to a common ideal: improvement of the general well-being of our respective peoples and hence of all mankind.

94. To say that all the hopes in our Organization have been dashed is in our view not very realistic. We cannot pass over in silence the extremely positive role played by the United Nations in the emancipation of the colonized peoples, *rapprochement* and the peaceful coexistence of all peoples.

95. We cannot underestimate that role inasmuch as economic and political factors are intimately interconnected and very often political freedom has promoted and made possible economic and social advances. In a word, the record of the action by the United Nations is not entirely negative. But we have serious grounds for being disturbed and disappointed. Indeed, when we consider the international economic situation, we cannot conceal either our concern at the negative trends in the world economy or our disappointment in the face of the economic stagnation of the developing countries. However, important measures have been adopted by the General Assembly to promote development and to help the developing countries catch up. But the results that have been achieved still fall far short of the objectives.

96. If we compare the global objectives and targets laid down in the Lima Plan and for the First and the Second United Nations Development Decade with the progress actually achieved, we have to conclude that the endeavour has been a failure. The economic situation of those countries has hardly improved. In many cases it has become even worse. The African continent, which contains the greatest number of least-developed countries, including my own, is the principal victim of the world's economic crisis. The estimates of the World Bank are very alarming in this regard. They are the harbinger of catastrophe for most of the African States since they provide that their growth will be practically non-existent between 1980 and 1985 and that the rate of growth will not exceed 1.1 per cent between 1985 and 1990. Africa has not reached the goals set for the First and Second United Nations Development Decade because there is a lack of correlation between its actual needs and the resources it has available to satisfy those needs, since in 1979 the effective flow of public aid for development did not even attain one half of the target, which was 0.70 per cent.

97. With the prospect of a restructuring of international economic relations, the eleventh special session of the General Assembly has just produced, and we shall shortly adopt—at least so we hope—the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade.⁵

98. The new Strategy gives us a glimpse of the scope of the efforts that have to be made in the next 10 years nationally, regionally and internationally. It is for each developing country to set its own targets and to take the appropriate measures in the light of its own capacities.

99. In order to embark in the proper way upon the Third United Nations Development Decade, the African countries at the second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, in April of this year, adopted the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementa-

⁵ See General Assembly resolution 35/56 adopted on 5 December 1980.

tion of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa⁶—a declaration whereby the heads of State and Government have undertaken to respect the guiding principles and measures taken to bring about national and collective self-reliance in the economic and social realms. The implementation of that Plan will without any doubt contribute to the establishment of a new international economic order.

100. Although Africa has undertaken to count first and foremost on its own capacities and resources, it does not thereby exclude international assistance. The international community must help the African countries to put their development strategy into effect, because it is clear that development and the integration of the African continent are preparing it for better participation in the promotion of international economic co-operation.

101. In the final analysis, the international community must be vigilant in avoiding the formidable consequences of any possible failure of the Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade. In that regard, as the Secretary-General has pointed out we must "bridge the growing chasm between declarations and intentions, on the one hand, and the realities of hardship and suffering, on the other. . . . Exceptional efforts are required from all parties involved".⁷

102. It is not enough to take decisions; we must also, and above all, put our decisions into effect.

103. All the players in this international game must be involved in the Development Decade. Developed and developing countries must not be regarded as competitors but, rather, as complementary partners. They must transcend everything that divides them and must rely solely on what unites them; in a spirit of solidarity, they must co-operate in the restructuring of international economic relations. Chad, for its part, is ready to give all its support to the attainment of that noble objective.

104. In conclusion, I should like to say what a dangerous precedent the tragedy of Chad can constitute and what a serious threat it poses to international stability and security, and particularly to stability and security in Africa.

105. For our part, we solemnly declare that the Provisional Government of National Union, formed after the Lagos agreement, is working tirelessly, under the leadership of President Goukouni Weddeye, for the return of peace, union and stability to Chad. With that in view, we urge countries supporting the armed rebellion against the Provisional Government of National Union to put an end to their intervention in Chad's internal affairs.

Mr. von Wechmar (Federal Republic of Germany) took the Chair.

106. The Provisional Government of National Union is determined to apply the Lagos agreement faithfully and totally. Hence, one of the essential objectives of the Govern-

ment of Chad is that after the withdrawal of French troops free and democratic elections shall be held during which the people will be called upon to choose their leaders and to decide their destiny. That shows how faithful our Government is to its commitments; it shows that our Government has no intention whatsoever of shirking them.

107. In the meantime, the Provisional Government of National Union will be undertaking a major endeavour of national reconstruction. For that it will need contributions within the framework of the appeal we have just made. To that end, the Government will be guided only by the higher interests of the nation, in accordance with the legitimate aspirations of the people of Chad to independence, progress and social justice.

108. The Government of Chad intends also to pursue a policy of good-neighbourliness and mutually advantageous co-operation with all countries that cherish peace, justice and freedom.

109. Finally, in spite of the long civil war imposed upon Chad by foreign forces and their local lackeys, in spite of the ordeal it has been subjected to for years now because of the ill effects of drought and other natural disasters, despite its land-locked status and its very low level of development, Chad will do everything in its power and will work tirelessly to ensure the attainment of the Organization's objective of a more just and equitable world.

110. Mr. OULD ZAMEL (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): We are pleased to extend to you, Mr. President, at the very outset of our statement the congratulations of the delegation of Mauritania on your election as President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Your unanimous election is a tribute to an experienced diplomat, but it is also a token of confidence in the Federal Republic of Germany. My country, which has forged friendly relations with your great nation, both bilaterally and at the level of European-African co-operation, most sincerely welcomes your election.

111. I should like to take this opportunity also to thank your predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, on his enlightened and responsible leadership of the deliberations of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, which was without a doubt the most active session in the life of the Organization.

112. I would also greet our faithful and determined Secretary-General. Finally, I warmly welcome to the Organization the State of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines.

113. In about two months the international community will be celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in resolution 1514 (XV). That resolution was the first massive, consistent demonstration and the first genuine mobilization of the Organization's determination to accelerate the end of colonialism, which indeed was already on its last legs. The year 1960 also saw the emergence on the international arena of a large number of new nations, which had thirsted for freedom and had finally won it. The year 1960 saw the dawning of great hopes that with the end of political subjugation,

⁶ A/S-11/14, annex I.

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1st meeting, para. 36.

there would be an era of prosperity in a world that had finally recognized that the struggle of the peoples was sacred, that their liberation was inevitable.

114. The Declaration is, in fact, but a reflection in this forum of the admirable historical process that began in Bandung in 1955 and spelled the end of the old colonial empires. The spirit of Bandung and the struggle of the peoples of the world have made possible what had hitherto seemed unimaginable, have made commonplace certain ideas that in the past had been regarded as heretical by the colonial Powers. And, what is more, the Declaration in resolution 1514 (XV) has made possible the rehabilitation—timidly, it is true, but effectively—of “subversive” ideas that, thanks to the blood shed by martyrs, have become so natural, and so necessary to the equilibrium of the world.

115. But the euphoria did not last. The promises of the 1960s did not outlast the celebrations that marked the attainment of sovereignty in the new nations. There has been a brutal awakening from the splendid dream—indeed, the delirium. We have had to confront a sad, bitter and sometimes terrible fact: the rejection by the wealthy countries of the just aspirations of the third world.

116. Not everything about the ending of the illusions that followed independence is negative. Indeed, realism triumphed and gave us a more just, truer and often more complex and sadder vision of international relations. Thus the rights of peoples are no longer limited to political dimensions. Scarcely three months after the adoption of the Declaration, the First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in February 1961 at Belgrade was to usher in a new era, the era of non-alignment and of the undeniable awakening to the other dimensions of the rights of the peoples of the world, and particularly those of the third world. It was the emergence of a new world, in which the economic, social and cultural rights of the peoples that had formerly been dominated became an objective essential for the maintenance of genuine universal security based on justice and independence for the powerful and the weak, the rich and the poor.

117. Why be surprised then if the aspiration of the peoples of the third world to a reassessment of their wealth should have given rise to the demand for the establishment of a new international economic order? Why be surprised if the aspiration of those peoples to the diversification of centres of interest throughout the world should have given rise to the demand for a new information order? If tomorrow those same peoples, refusing to accept polarization around a single ethical standard, a single civilization, call for the rehabilitation of mankind's cultural values and civilization as a whole, that, too, will be only just.

118. The anti-colonial aberrations of yesterday have become today's self-evident truths. Certainly no one ventures to challenge openly the economic, social and cultural rights of developing peoples. Of course, it is nice to believe in détente and in the moral improvement of international political life. Yet the serious problems of the Middle East and southern Africa have dragged on throughout the years. Furthermore, new conflicts in Africa and elsewhere have broken out, complicating the international situation and threatening peace and security.

119. However, since the thirty-fourth session we have had a real cause for satisfaction where Africa is concerned: the independence of Zimbabwe after the implementation of the principle of one man, one vote, and the emergence of a democratically elected African national Power. Thus the maturity and sacrifice of the people of Zimbabwe, together with the undeniable statesmanlike qualities of Prime Minister Mugabe, made it possible for the majority to accede to power in Salisbury in order and dignity, contrary to the alarmist prophecies of the racists.

120. None the less, in our continent there remain many reasons for sadness. In a country next to Zimbabwe there is an implacable régime that openly despises all universal values and maintains in South Africa a system whose excesses have exceeded in horror all other modern examples of fascism.

121. We reiterate our support for the successive decisions of the Credentials Committee of the General Assembly which, year in year out, has regularly refused to accept the credentials of the delegation of the Pretoria authorities. Mauritania will join any plan aimed at making the South African régime act in accordance with the unanimous will of the community of nations and restore the fundamental freedoms of the victims of *apartheid*. Finally, we hail the struggle of the people of South Africa and express our full solidarity with ANC and all the patriotic forces of that country in their struggle for dignity, freedom and democracy.

122. That same *apartheid* régime, scorning the decisions of our Organization and the right of the people of Namibia to national independence and territorial integrity, maintains its illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia by refusing any dialogue with Namibia's legitimate representative, SWAPO.

123. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania, while supporting the framework for the independence of Namibia laid down in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), condemns the manoeuvres of the South African occupying Power and reiterates its support for the implementation of sanctions against it in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. It is worth reminding the Assembly of Africa's understanding attitude to the settlement plan of the five Western Powers. That plan, which was approved by the Security Council, apparently received the support of South Africa. Unfortunately, despite the efforts of the Secretary-General and the approval of that plan, the South African authorities have not fundamentally changed their position. Experience has shown that all the attempts at a peaceful settlement that the Organization has made have been in vain because of the totally negative attitude of Pretoria. In this connection the Islamic Republic of Mauritania wishes to state that it endorses the Algiers Declaration and Programme of Action adopted on 1 June by the United Nations Council for Namibia at the extraordinary plenary meeting [see A/35/24, vol. I, para. 91].

124. Our Government thus believes that all possible material and moral support must be given to SWAPO to enable it successfully to oppose any plan to destroy the territorial integrity of Namibia or to install a puppet régime. Our country also reaffirms its full solidarity with all the African

front-line countries in the face of the acts of intimidation of the Pretoria régime. We should like especially to extend our fraternal support to the People's Republic of Angola in its resistance to South African aggression against its national territory.

125. By equating zionism with racism the Organization has simply legalized what South Africa and Israel have long demonstrated in diversifying and accentuating the many forms of co-operation between them. The similarity and the community of interest between the South African and the Israeli forms of colonization need no further proof. In Palestine as in southern Africa we witness the same suicidal arrogance, the same denial of the rights of peoples, the same provocations regarding the United Nations.

126. The General Assembly, which has so often dealt with the problem of the Middle East and specifically with the question of Palestine, is well aware of the facts of a process that began long before the creation of our Organization and which has led to the plundering of the land of Palestine and the oppression of its people. The work of the seventh emergency special session devoted to that problem earlier this year and the outstanding efforts of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People have shed further light on all aspects of this distressing conflict. I should like to take this opportunity to extend our heartiest congratulations to that Committee and in particular to its Chairman, Mr. Falilou Kane, for the application and competence that characterized his work.

127. We do not wish to repeat the statement we made at the emergency special session devoted to Palestine, but we should like to recall the position of our Government on a problem which concerns us directly. Any genuine, just and lasting peace in the Middle East must, in our opinion, satisfy certain conditions.

128. The first is the complete and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all Arab lands occupied as a result of the aggression of 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem.

129. The second is the complete restoration of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their inalienable right to create an independent State in the land of their ancestors.

130. The third is the urgent need to associate the PLO, the sole representative of the Arab people of Palestine, with any settlement in the Middle East. Consequently, we reaffirm our opposition to any partial settlement, especially the Camp David one, which creates confusion in the Arab ranks and causes the Israeli occupying authority to become even more arrogant.

131. The fourth is the rejection of all attempts to make demographic, institutional or other changes in the Arab, Moslem and Christian character of the Palestinian lands which have been occupied, particularly the Holy City of Al Quds.

132. In this connection, the General Assembly in its resolution ES-7/2 and the Security Council in its resolution 478 (1980) of 20 August 1980 reaffirmed their condemnation of Israel's unilateral decision to declare Jerusalem the eternal

and indivisible capital of its State. We express our satisfaction and gratitude to those countries which, out of respect for international law, have decided to transfer their embassies from the Holy City.

133. On the other hand, we vigorously condemn Israel's systematic refusal to abide by the decisions of the international community and we believe that the Organization should apply sanctions against Israel and should in particular reject the credentials of its delegation at the present session because of that country's permanent obstruction and its scorn for all forms of international consensus.

134. We condemn Israeli aggression against Lebanese territory and extend to the fraternal people of Lebanon our solidarity with their courageous struggle for the unity, independence and territorial integrity of their country.

135. Our total identification with the tribulations of the Palestinian and other fraternal Arab peoples and our horror at the systematized racism in southern Africa does not make us forget other places in the world where peoples are suffering and dying. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania, whose fraternal solidarity with Iraq is only natural and which welcomed the birth of the Islamic Republic of Iran, is painfully concerned over the fratricidal conflict which is taking place between those two nations in the Middle East. We add our voice to those of the Islamic Conference and the international community and call upon Iraq and Iran to end their bloody confrontation and to settle their territorial dispute in a fraternal, just and lasting manner.

136. In Afghanistan, we find a dangerous source of tension which since the end of 1979 has further complicated a regional situation that was already quite complicated. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania, bound to Afghanistan by spiritual ties deeply rooted in the multi-secular history of the two peoples over past centuries, is very aware of the Calvary of the Afghan nation resulting from the inadmissible occupation of its national territory and the stifling of the sovereignty. Our bonds of solidarity with the Afghan people, and also our concern for the triumph of moral principles in international relations, require that we remain faithful to two principles: first, the refusal to compromise on the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghan territory and on the free choice of that fraternal people of the political and social structures which best suit their cultural heritage and development needs, in accordance with resolution ES-6/2 adopted by an overwhelming majority at the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly; second, total condemnation of the attitude of those who arrogate to themselves this rather strange right to change by force the internal balance of a neighbouring country which they judge to be hostile, a theory which, in our view, is completely reprehensible and dangerous.

137. Turning to South-East Asia, we consider that the occupation of the national territory of Democratic Kampuchea and the aggravation of the indescribable suffering of its people are inadmissible. No ideology and no motive can justify that flagrant and brutal interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State. We demand, along with the overwhelming majority of the community of nations, the unconditional withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea also so that its people can exercise its full sovereignty.

138. Unfortunately, as I have already stated, international political relations over the years have not led to the acceptance of the right of others to be different or to the refusal of States to succumb to the temptation to use force in the settlement of conflicts.

139. Economic relations as well, despite well-intentioned declaration, have not in fact led to the recognition of the interdependence of nations, the solidarity of peoples, the unity of the world and the need to bring about some sort of balance in economic relations based on equity and on the realities of today. In fact, it is rather difficult today to draw a picture of international economic relations without being pessimistic. The basic truth would show that, since the adoption almost seven years ago of the historic Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VII)], the actual progress achieved has fallen far short of the expectations of the international community, which had unanimously set certain goals for itself.

140. That situation is an insult to the principle of the interdependence of nations and has led to a good deal of disappointment. The most bitter disappointment and the most recent one was the conclusion in haste and confusion of the special session, which ended on the eve of the present session. My Government believes that the lack of agreement on procedural matters concerning the global negotiations can only exacerbate an already serious situation, which cannot help any country or group of countries represented here. We hope that those delegations which blocked the consensus on this question will, in their own interest and in the interest of the international community, join in this new effort of the community of nations. International solidarity requires that that be done, as does the urgency of outstanding problems.

141. In the field of trade, finance and food, to mention only those areas, the reasons which set off the process of negotiations of the past 10 years remain basically unchanged.

142. The imbalances in international trade, which are the legacy of the colonial era and which were at the origin of the initiative aimed at establishing a system of compensation, continue generally to characterize relations between the North and the South. It must also be pointed out—and we are gratified by this—that UNCTAD successfully carried out certain negotiations on a code regarding restrictive commercial practices, a multimodal international transport system and a common fund for raw materials.

143. With respect to monetary and financial problems, it would also seem that the decisions of the Assembly have not been applied. The balance-of-payment difficulties experienced by a growing number of developing countries cannot be separated from the lack of initiatives which continues to characterize this particularly sensitive area of international economic relations.

144. The actions taken thus far have been too timid and too fragmentary to lead to any concrete benefits for the developing countries. Any partial solution, it seems to us, would be vain inasmuch as the present system, by its very nature, is in contradiction with the types of reform which we

should like to see carried out. Thus, an increase in financial assistance for development and the lightening of the debt burden, among other things, are only palliatives compared to full and effective participation of the developing countries in the international decision-making process.

145. Another problem which I should like to take up here and which has a special significance and importance concerns agriculture and food. Here again there is a distressing gap between the needs of the international community and its achievements. The developing countries have two thirds of the world population and represent 91 per cent of the agricultural jobs, but produce only 44 per cent of the food of the world. A billion human beings living in 40 countries with a permanent food deficit are in danger of dying if the shortages are prolonged; 450 million human beings are chronically underfed—and all this at a time when the world continues to allot \$1 million a minute to military expenses.

146. These figures, which seem to us to beggar comment, make it necessary to give some thought to solutions that can change the situation. The General Assembly has, on a number of occasions, taken up that problem and proposed a series of measures which, if they had been implemented, might have led to a solution. The net results are, in the meantime, easy to tabulate. Apart from the conclusion of a new Food Aid Convention which brings the guaranteed minimum to 7.6 million tons, which is well short of the objective of 10 million tons recommended by the World Food Conference [see A/35/19, part one, para. 35], everything else remains in the area of intentions.

147. Finally, I should not like to conclude my comments on food assistance without mentioning the timely initiative of the Director-General of FAO, Mr. Edouard Saouma, in convening a meeting of donors last month in Rome, with a view to mobilizing food assistance to benefit a certain number of African countries particularly affected this year by the drought. We hope that the commitments made at that meeting will be followed up.

148. With regard to the negotiations of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, we welcome the results of the ninth session held recently at Geneva. We are thinking particularly of the agreement on a system for exploiting the sea-bed and the informal draft of a convention on the law of the sea.^{*} We hope that the tenth session of the Conference, scheduled to begin on 9 March 1981, will at last make possible the conclusion of these difficult negotiations, which, moreover, is in our view an essential factor for the future of international economic relations.

149. Indeed, the approach which is taken in the final negotiations on the law of the sea will be the best test of the good or bad faith of the industrial Powers of the East and the West with regard to the technological lag of the third world and the temptation to plunder, without regard to principle, the incomparable wealth of the sea-bed of the world.

150. Those are the thoughts which occur to us with regard to the state of international economic relations in general.

^{*} A/CONF.62/WP.10/Rev.3 and Corr.1 and 3.

151. In respect of Africa, aware of its share of responsibility in the building of a more just and equitable economic order but aware too of its tragic, paradoxical condition of being the continent at once richest in resources and least developed, it devoted an extraordinary session in April of this year—the first of its kind—solely to problems having a bearing on the economic development of the continent. To that end the needs were identified, the priorities determined, the means surveyed and the Lagos Plan of Action adopted. We hope that international solidarity will not be found wanting in the implementation of the Lagos Plan.

152. I should like to conclude this statement by expressing our sorrow at the continuation on our doorstep of another conflict, which concerns us more closely, that of Western Sahara. Shortly after the changes in our country in July 1978, the head of our delegation to the thirty-third session of the General Assembly stated at this rostrum:

"We in Mauritania want to turn this dark page of our history and commit ourselves resolutely to the search for peace, which requires that the protagonists in this drama clearly understand that they share the same ineluctable destiny.

"...

"... our ingenuity, our courage, our fighting spirit must henceforth be directed to producing concord among our peoples to promoting their development and to achieving all their aspirations. That is the firm belief of the Mauritanian people and its Government."⁹

153. We have thus knowingly taken historical action in favour of the peaceful and fraternal coexistence of the peoples of the western Maghreb subregion, in keeping with the spirit and the letter of the charter and the resolutions of the OAU and those of the United Nations. More specifically, on 5 August 1979 we put an end to the state of war which then existed between us and the people of the Western Sahara by signing, with the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro [POLISARIO] the Algiers agreement, which was then reported to the Assembly.¹⁰ In so doing we put an end to this fratricidal war and we believe we have made a positive contribution to the quest for a lasting and general peace in our region.

154. No longer making any territorial claim to Western Sahara, but particularly affected by the continuing confrontation on its borders, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania has since July 1978 consistently given its total, loyal co-operation to the efforts of OAU and the international community to find a just solution to the problem. Thus we participated in September in the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the OAU and approved the plan for a settlement of the Western Sahara conflict that it had adopted. The proposed peace plan provided for a six-point process and, in particular, a cease-fire in December 1980 at the latest, and the organization of a referendum on self-determination in the Sahara.

155. Having emerged from an anachronistic situation, and in a desire to leave behind a dark chapter in its history, the

Islamic Republic of Mauritania, for its part, recognized the inalienable and undeniable right of the fraternal Sahraoui people to self-determination in accordance with our long and fraternal common history, with our understanding of good-neighbourliness and with the recommendations contained in resolutions of OAU and the United Nations.

156. In more general terms, by deciding to put an end to our military commitment in the Western Sahara conflict and by affirming our neutrality with regard to the protagonists in this fratricidal tragedy, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania is at the same time determined to have that neutrality and the inviolability of its national territory respected by all its neighbours.

157. My country makes that commitment from this rostrum. It also makes another: to plan not on the permanence of tension, hatred and fratricidal confrontation but on the necessary return of the Maghreb subregion to tranquillity, peace and fraternal harmony. At the dawn of the fifteenth century of our Muslim era, that is the most sincere wish of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania—not only for the Maghreb but also for the Arab nation, Africa, the Islamic *Ummah* and the entire human community.

158. Mr. URIBE-VARGAS (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on behalf of my Government, on your well-deserved election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. In electing you, this body wished to acknowledge the valuable contribution of your country to the peaceful development of international life in the post-war period and the extraordinary achievements of the Federal Republic of Germany in the building of a highly efficient and equitable society and also wished to pay a tribute to the distinguished human and intellectual qualities which have marked your conduct as representative of the Federal Republic of Germany in the Organization.

159. We should also like to associate ourselves with the expressions of gratitude which have been made by members of the Assembly for the task accomplished by your predecessor in the presidency, Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania. In a difficult period the Assembly benefited from the effective and judicious conduct of our proceedings by this outstanding representative of generations trained in the struggle for the emancipation of African States.

160. At a time when severe conflicts threaten the peaceful coexistence of nations, we consider it fortunate that our Organization should be able to profit from the enlightenment, experience and vigilance of its Secretary-General.

161. We should also like to welcome the admission of a new State from the Latin American area, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. On behalf of the Government of Colombia, I wish to bid a fraternal welcome to that State and I take pleasure in offering our co-operation in ensuring that its participation in the international arena shall have the scope merited by its people.

162. This session of the General Assembly comes, at a particularly difficult time for world peace when, in a climate of perturbation, we can observe signs of potential conflagration and conflict. The optimism, which seemed to be spread-

⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 20th meeting, paras. 12 and 14.

¹⁰ See A/34/552, annex II.

ing as a result of the policy of détente, reflected in such a promising way in the Salt II Treaty, and in particular in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki in 1975, has been replaced by states of war, a situation which we must confront with objectivity and realism.

163. The conflict between Iraq and Iran, the consequences of which we cannot foresee, makes it imperative that the United Nations itself renew its efforts to restore harmony and to ensure that the principles on which world solidarity rests will prevail. These facts have made it clear that the whole complex of international relations must be reviewed and the role of each nation in the face of the conflict defined.

164. The most important thing of all, of course, is not only to rebuild the climate of confidence among all countries, but to give the policy of détente every opportunity to become effective and stable. Colombia has always called for a détente that would not be confined to a few geographical areas but would extend to every continent, but we must not allow the benefits of the agreement between the two super-Powers to be limited to a privileged group of nations.

165. Détente—understood in its essential terms, such as the limitation of strategic arms, economic co-operation transcending ideological barriers, and in particular the curbing of the arms race—is a goal that is binding on the international Organization, and no country should be allowed to shirk the duties incumbent upon it in the maintenance of peace. In order to achieve these goals, the United Nations must bring its entire institutional machinery into play. More particularly it must strengthen the vocation for peace, which is the most appropriate safeguard for understanding and dialogue.

166. The developing countries wish to see détente become universal. It would be wrong for peace agreements to be worked out by a small group of nations while other countries suffer the tragic consequences of conflicts fostered from abroad.

167. We welcome the preparations for the second review session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to be held at Madrid, to follow up the Helsinki Final Act and to adapt its conclusions to the new circumstances. However, détente limited to one continent alone must of necessity transfer many disputes between the great Powers to outlying areas, condemning them to international conflicts with tragic consequences. Universal détente with the participation of representatives from every continent would make a true and sound contribution to international security. It is incumbent upon the United Nations to promote détente by creating, through its operative machinery, the conditions that would bring it about.

168. Within this context, encouraging disarmament projects is something that should have priority over other matters. Without any doubt, the developing nations are the ones which bear the heaviest burden because of the arms race which diverts basic resources from the well-being of their peoples and, in relative terms, limits economic growth and increases their technological dependence on the major centres of power.

169. It is highly possible that in the institutional field there is already considerable machinery capable of bringing about disarmament successfully. Thus, what is required is the political will to lay the bases for a real limitation of weapons of mass destruction, on which the major risk of a generalized conflagration depend.

170. Another item of concern to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session is the question of Afghanistan, a situation that was analysed in the course of the sixth emergency special session held this year. In its resolution ES-6/2 the Assembly called for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of the occupying troops, an appeal that has not been heeded, while the so-called justifications put forward cannot be accepted because they are contrary to international law. The presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan is, from every standpoint, contrary to the Charter of the United Nations. Hence, at the current session the General Assembly should repeat the appeal for the evacuation of the occupying troops, permitting the Afghan people to recover its right of self-determination, free from compulsion and without advantages for other countries.

171. In the Middle East unmistakable symptoms of a disruption of peace persist, and have become more acute. Yet the United Nations has not been able to prevent the situation from worsening.

172. Colombia is convinced that suitable machinery for a stable peace lies in a dialogue among all the countries of the region, and including the PLO, in order to secure through reconciliation of the different viewpoints, effective measures for maintaining the security of all the peoples of the area on a basis of justice and equity. The demand for a Palestinian homeland, a matter the urgency of which my country has emphasized in this very hall on other occasions, cannot be indefinitely delayed. Establishment of such a homeland, besides redressing a wrong, would also contribute to the normalization of relations among the peoples of the area. Guaranteeing the fundamental rights of all the countries in the Middle East requires a search for an appropriate solution to the serious crisis in Lebanon, a nation that has been suffering from very tragic circumstances and whose plight the United Nations cannot ignore if it is to retain its territorial integrity without outside intervention. International action so far has not, in respect of Lebanon, been sufficiently active or effective.

173. The regional balance that might arise from a security conference for the Middle East, for which the General Assembly has on other occasions called, should take into account the very special conditions of the area and base itself on the guiding principle of the United Nations, which is that peace should be based on the rule of law, which in its turn must be the expression of justice. Any unjust attempt, far from contributing to lasting solutions, would open up the field to fresh conflicts with unpredictable consequences.

174. My country favours the creation of the Palestinian State, since its people has the right to a legal, dignified and peaceful existence. Similarly, Colombia defends the existence of the State of Israel, with secure frontiers within territorial limits recognized by the international Organization.

175. The process of decolonization, for which the United Nations may justly claim the greatest credit ever since its foundation, has met with the obstinate resistance of the South African Government in its attempt to create the necessary conditions for recognition of Namibia as a free and sovereign nation. This is all the more serious if we realize that South Africa continues to pursue its policy of *apartheid*, a flagrant violation of the most elementary human rights and a vestige of the discriminatory policy of ancient empires.

176. The fact that my country has for more than 12 years belonged to the United Nations Council for Namibia strengthens its authority when it calls once again on the Assembly to condemn *apartheid* and to require South Africa to comply with its international obligation to permit the complete independence of Namibia with all the prerogatives inherent in the sovereignty of States.

177. Colombia is a country which throughout its history as a republic has maintained unswerving respect for the principles of international law as an irreplaceable rule for peace and coexistence among peoples. Respect for the inviolability of treaties, the security of obligations agreed upon under conventions and, particularly, the principle that international conduct should be governed by the rule of the law of nations constitute the best guarantee for a nation so profoundly committed to the precepts upon which international solidarity is based.

178. The principle of *pacta sunt servanda* is something that our neighbour, Nicaragua, has tried to disregard. It is unilaterally attempting to repudiate the validity of the Bárcenas Meneses-Esguerra Treaty of 1928, which defined the territorial dispute between the two States. Any attempt on the part of the Nicaraguan Government to repudiate the Treaty of 1928 would be unprecedented and would imply disrespect for treaties that have been duly and properly signed. The Treaty with Nicaragua was signed and subsequently approved in both countries with full compliance with all constitutional requirements, and then the respective instruments were solemnly exchanged there having been prior discussions of the document in Nicaragua, with the full participation of the various political parties. The abortive attempt by the present Nicaraguan Government to abrogate arbitrarily the Treaty of 1928 with Colombia simply deserves the repudiation of the international community, because it is an attempt to disregard law and alter the situation of friendly relations between our two peoples. The juridical claim of Colombia is based on prevailing law, which faithfully and fully interprets the principles of *uti possidetis juris* of 1810, is irrefutable and admits of no argument.

179. This session of the Assembly is being held at a time when the economic situation of the countries of the third world is showing undoubted symptoms of crisis, particularly because of the growing deterioration in terms of trade. The great Powers have been coping relatively successfully with their difficulties, but at the same time the rises in the prices of petroleum and its derivatives are continuing directly and incontrovertibly to affect the financial structures of the weaker nations. Nobody can deny that the fluctuations and increases in the oil prices have been a factor altering the basic conditions underlying world order. It is

equally clear that the economies of the developing countries are suffering from a diminution of their real income that alters the priorities of public investment to the point where not only have growth possibilities been restricted but the very political stability of the countries has often been threatened. For the developing countries the oil crisis has reduced the possibilities of proper and appropriate planning to make bold structural changes. To this must be added the tragic situation of countries which export primary commodities, which have seen a dramatic reduction in the volume of their earnings, in contrast to the gradual increase in the prices of the goods they are obliged to import.

180. The delay in the entry into force of the International Coffee Agreement between producers and consumers has made clear the short-sightedness of the latter with regard to the real impact of the fall in coffee-bean prices as a destabilizing element. The coffee-consuming countries did not want to realize that, with prices below producers' real requirements, the only thing that is achieved is the stimulation of the factors of national and international disorder. The consumer nations did not give their decisive support at the proper time to the negotiation of a coffee agreement, and consequently the producer countries were forced to organize their own defence machinery. The latter is a valid and effective instrument for the free market situation in which the importing countries have placed us, but in spite of the success of the machinery adopted, Colombia is aware that in the long term the Agreement between producers and consumers is the best tool for the management of the coffee trade, and for this reason we have agreed to it. The producer countries insist that the International Coffee Agreement, with all its mechanisms in full force, should function as a forum for the scrupulous analysis of market trends, particularly so that it can act as a regulating instrument and preserve the real income of the producer countries, since nominal pricing is not enough for the defence of our economies.

181. The generalized crisis in international co-operation runs the whole gamut of the financial institutions and clearly shows how the developing countries have been traversing the most troublesome stage of the last few decades, without the international community coming to their assistance. The recently concluded eleventh special session of the General Assembly only left as its corollary a greater distance between the rich and the poor countries, without any speedy possible solutions having been glimpsed. Within the United Nations itself and the specialized agencies there have been initiatives for the protection of primary commodity prices, to restore the balance between the industrialized countries and the raw materials exporters. However, in this field we find an increasingly unjust distribution of world power and an increasingly evasive attitude of the great Powers in regard to the international commitments which should underlie the new international economic order.

182. World public opinion should be made known clearly in favour of strict compliance with the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)], which so far has been only a catalogue of good intentions without any practical effect. Its establishment as a binding rule for the international community is becoming an indispensable requirement for ensuring peace.

183. In the period since the end of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the implementation of measures of co-operation for the developing world has been postponed or reduced to absurd terms. The policy of the North-South dialogue remains bogged down in the face of indifference and delay. The demand of the peoples of the world for general and complete disarmament has been met simply with denials or delays. This obviously discouraging picture should be the subject of very serious and alert consideration on the part of the third world countries which have been so sorely afflicted by present economic circumstances.

184. Colombia believes that only a vast movement of unity in the third world can rescue the objective of the new international economic order. As long as the developing nations maintain their casual attitude, their role will always be diminished. We find that the belligerent intentions of some countries are becoming clearer and clearer, and the only response, in order to ensure peace and co-operation, is a movement towards unity on the part of the third world, so that it can become a genuine force of moral deterrence in the face of any nuclear adventure.

185. The unity of the third world, or the developing world, is something that Colombia would adopt as a banner for international action, and it should have as its objective the neutralization of any military provocation and should mobilize public opinion against anything that might give rise to a conflagration. The new international economic order will always be a fallacy so long as we fail to improve the machinery already agreed upon to maintain the prices of primary products. As long as the only lines of credit open to developing countries are for the purchase of armaments, the fate of world peace will be seriously jeopardized.

186. The unity which the third world needs would be the best weapon to promote genuine conditions of détente within a necessary global context. The present situation in the world requires a sufficient determination to see to it that the peace-loving peoples of the world alert humanity as a whole to the dangers which threaten collective security.

187. On behalf of my country, I should like to express best wishes for success in the deliberations of this thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. We are convinced today more than ever that solutions for peace must derive from the institutional framework of the United Nations, which is the strongest instrument ever created in history for settling disputes among States.

188. The call to unity of the third world to become the major peace movement is a call also for it to demand that just and fair conditions be adopted in the economic field so that security should not only be a precarious balance between Powers but also a co-ordinated effort, an harmonious effort, on the part of all nations on earth to achieve better conditions of life, free from the daily more threatening spectre of total war.

189. Mr. OGOUMA (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): This being the first time that we have spoken from this rostrum, we wish to convey to this august Assembly the best wishes of the people of Benin and a message of peace from our leaders, the People's Revolutionary Party of Benin, and the President of the People's Republic of Benin, Comrade

Mathieu Kérékou, and the Permanent Committee of the Revolutionary National Assembly and the National Executive Council.

190. I wish also to join in the warm congratulations addressed to you, Sir, on your unanimous election as President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. This is a tribute by the international community to your distinguished qualities as a diplomat and to your competence. We are convinced that with those qualifications you will conduct our difficult and important deliberations with great skill and calm. Your election is also a tribute to the Federal Republic of Germany. In the fight being waged throughout the world, your country is playing a most outstanding role, thanks to its active presence and remarkable contribution to the universal undertaking of détente, of peace and friendly co-operation among the peoples of the world. We in Benin welcome our relations of co-operation and friendship with the Federal Republic of Germany, at both the bilateral level and within the framework of the European Economic Community.

191. We should also like to express to our brother Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, that worthy son of Africa, the satisfaction, admiration and appreciation of our delegation for the remarkable manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the thirty-fourth session and for his courage at the sixth and seventh emergency special sessions and the eleventh special session of the General Assembly.

192. The delegation of Benin would like finally to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his outstanding qualities and constant efforts in the service of the noble ideals of the Charter. We pledge to him our constant support and assistance in the overwhelming tasks that he has assumed in the service of the international community.

193. Less than a year ago, in the face of the legitimate demands of the heroic people of Zimbabwe and as a result of their armed struggle, those who in the West had learned nothing from history tried in various ways—through blackmail, provocation and armed aggression against the front-line countries—to make it appear that the ultimate victory of the fighting forces of the Patriotic Front was impossible. We are pleased to pay a tribute here to the representatives of free and sovereign Zimbabwe who now stand by our side. Our brothers of Zimbabwe have proved the historical invincibility of the legitimate fight for national liberation.

194. This is for all of us, but especially for those of us in Africa, a shining example of courage and conviction; it gives hope to our oppressed brothers in Namibia and South Africa. The people of Zimbabwe have preceded them on the path to freedom and justice. Imperialism will sooner or later learn the lessons of Zimbabwe's independence. They will perhaps prolong the untold suffering of our oppressed brothers in southern Africa, but the lessons to be learned from Zimbabwe's resistance will inspire further fights, result in more victories and lead to further solemn and historic celebrations in the General Assembly.

195. We should also like to bid welcome at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly to the representatives of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. We extend to them our

congratulations and the expression of our fraternal solidarity.

196. As so often in the past, the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session is renewing its pledge, a vow it took more than a third of a century ago to rid the world of the scourges of war, injustice and hunger, and to build a world of peace, justice and prosperity for all; its vow to seek, thanks to the growing awareness of the peoples of the entire world and especially the oppressed and exploited peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, just solutions to the many problems that mankind is confronted with today.

197. Since its revolution of 26 October 1972, our country, the People's Republic of Benin, has fought on all fronts, inside and outside the country, to ensure that from what are often mere pious wishes and from our often unimplemented resolutions, a better world will emerge. Today again, through us, the revolutionary people of Benin intends to participate actively in these efforts to bring about a better world by making its modest contribution to our debate.

198. This thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly is being held at a time when the already disturbing international situation has become alarming and dangerous, essentially because of the global strategy adopted by the imperialist Powers as they try to defend their selfish interests in the world, the divisions they have created, the wars they have caused and the conflicts they have encouraged.

199. In our countries we witness powerlessly the redeployment of the armed forces of aggression, the forces of destabilization and the forces of colonial reconquest of the imperialist Powers. Former gunboat policies seem to have made a comeback, as has the quest for spheres of influence. But in Africa and the Middle East, in Asia and in Latin America, one hears an outcry, the outcry of the oppressed peoples of the world as they fight their oppressors, the outcry of the exploited against the exploiters, the outcry of those who have been starved. That, of course, disturbs the easy consciences of those who persist in going against the tide of history. It upsets them. And that is what fortifies our optimism and confirms our hopes and our unshakable conviction that the peoples of the world fighting for a just cause will triumph in the end.

200. How can we fail to share the feelings of those who would like to see Namibia move towards genuine independence in keeping with a process similar to that followed by the valiant people of Zimbabwe? Although it is clear that that process is the only one that will point South Africa towards the least shameful way out of the hornets' nest of Namibia, South Africa will, we know, continue to defy the international community because its political short-sightedness is as great as its arrogance; and we know that, regardless of the turn of events in that area, South Africa's protectors, the Western Powers, will continue to plunder the resources of the country and will not fail to come to the assistance of South Africa by refusing to carry out the resolutions of the United Nations aimed at resolving the question of Namibia once and for all.

201. No one is unaware that the implacable logic of trade, the quest for profits and good business, together with the need for strategic control of certain maritime Powers, are all

reasons for the duplicity of the West and explain its diplomatic shenanigans.

202. If one considers the nature, the origin and the size of the companies taking part in the mining of uranium in Rossing in violation of Decree Number 1 for the Protection of the National Resources of Namibia, enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974 [see A/35/24, vol. I, annex II], then certain positions suddenly become clear and the procrastination that has been observed can be explained in mercantile and strategic terms.

203. That has left SWAPO and its fighters only one way out: armed struggle. That is the only way that will bring the Pretoria régime to heel, the only way that will force it to capitulate, as indeed, it forced its toadies in Salisbury to capitulate.

204. At this decisive and ultimate phase in the struggle before the final outcome, we are convinced that our Organization has a primary role to play. It has no alternative but to stick to the commitments it has entered into *vis-à-vis* the Namibian people. As was affirmed at the conclusion of the historic International Conference in Solidarity with the Struggle of the People of Namibia, held in Paris in September last [see A/35/539-S/14220, annex], it must continue to denounce the fraudulent constitutional or political manoeuvres by which South Africa tries to perpetuate its oppressive colonial system and to exploit the people and resources of Namibia. It must continue its refusal to recognize any political or administrative entity set up in Windhoek that does not result from free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations. It must protect the territorial integrity of the country as an indivisible State, including the entire Walvis Bay area.

205. The People's Republic of Angola and the front-line countries are experiencing the repeated criminal assaults of the aggressors and mercenaries in Pretoria, and our delegation expresses its complete fraternal solidarity with them. No amount of bombing, no amount of suffering blindly inflicted on innocent populations, no amount of material destruction will defeat our collective resolution in Africa and our inflexible determination to support the legitimate fight for the national liberation of the Namibian people under their sole legitimate representative, SWAPO.

206. The victory in Zimbabwe is an inspiration to millions of human beings in South Africa, where elementary rights and dignity are being denied.

207. In Sharpeville in 1960, in Soweto in 1976, children were killed by racist and Fascist bullets. Men were tortured and murdered. But they did not die in vain. Sharpeville and Soweto have become for everyone, for all those who cherish peace and justice, symbols to which the uprisings of recent months in various cities of South Africa have given a hitherto unequalled significance. But the supporters of the ignoble system of *apartheid* must sooner or later understand that the outcry of the demonstrators and strikers in Durban, the Cape and Johannesburg are sounding the death knell of that régime, which has been repudiated. They must agree that reforms made merely for show will never blunt the determination or lull the vigilance of those who have been

exploited and oppressed. Legitimate aspirations to a democratic and just society can never be thwarted.

208. What is striking today is that the womb that gave birth to the repulsive monster of fascism is still fertile. The present insane and tragic resurgence of fascism haunts the consciences of all in the world who cherish freedom and justice from Bologna to Munich and, last week, Paris. But the leaders of *apartheid* are heirs and undeniable accomplices of Nazi ideology. This elementary lesson in history should encourage us to be ever vigilant, ever more determined in the struggle against South African *apartheid*. We must expose the true face of that inhuman, unjust system, which serves to oppress our brothers in South Africa, and we must do so without hypocrisy. After having supplied it with a reactor, after having organized with South Africa a "nuclear axis" that is productive and profitable, some in Europe are now preparing secretly to sell it the radioactive fuel it needs. Is that generally known?

209. Our Organization, which has called *apartheid* a crime against mankind and which says that *apartheid* is a threat to international peace and security, must play its role in promoting the emancipation of the peoples of the world. Regrettably, it is a fact that the resolutions adopted at each and every session have, become of their futility, only provided South Africa with opportunities to flout the Organization. Its constant defiance of the Organization would not be so open or so brutal if the racists and Fascists in Pretoria did not enjoy the protection of certain foreign Powers.

210. We have repeatedly, here and elsewhere, denounced and condemned their attitude, and there is no reason to hope today that they will abide by the obligations that flow from the application of the noble ideals of the Charter. In other words, all the measures that we shall continue to advocate against the racist Pretoria régime will produce no concrete effects unless more decisive enforcement action is taken against these imperialist Powers, and against their multinational corporations, whose economic activities contribute to shoring up that hatred régime.

211. The Security Council's refusal to adopt economic sanctions against Pretoria and all the other measures envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter—the only measures that can make Pretoria listen to reason—should prompt the international community to give all possible assistance to all the patriotic forces, particularly ANC, the national liberation movement which, like the Patriotic Front and SWAPO, has been waging its struggle for liberation in the field.

212. But it must be added that if the Pretoria régime is succeeding in perfecting its weapons, in building up its arsenals, it is because it can skilfully get round the binding embargo on the supply of weapons which has been officially declared. It is doing so with the thinly disguised complicity of Western companies; this is confirmed in the report of 19 September 1980 of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977).¹¹

213. The conclusions are clear; the recommendations are obvious and particularly simple for those who know that the

recommendations concern them. Indeed, they have a three-fold capability: political, economic and military; they have all the means of coercion to ensure that our resolutions are no longer treated with contempt and openly trampled under foot.

214. Although the problems of southern Africa are in the forefront of the concerns of our continent, there are other problems that the imperialists have created through the application of their policy of exploitation, domination and division. Certain foreign Powers are indeed directly responsible for the tragedy now unfolding in Chad. The Lagos agreement of August 1979 and the decision taken by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, at its seventeenth session, held in July, in Freetown, demonstrate—if it were still necessary to do so—that Africa has not only the will to solve its own problems itself, but also the wisdom and maturity necessary to do so. By providing for the deployment of a neutral African force as the prelude to a comprehensive and final settlement of this fratricidal conflict—orchestrated by remote control—Africa wished to avoid any internationalization of the problem, under the cover of which foreign interference, in its most criminal and subversive form, could continue.

215. Wisdom, maturity and a sense of fairness were also at the basis of the decisions taken at Freetown in regard to Western Sahara. By reaffirming the rights of the Sahraoui people to self-determination and independence, the OAU has remained faithful to the letter and spirit of the many clear and unequivocal resolutions on the subject adopted both by the United Nations and by the non-aligned movement.

216. POLISARIO is constantly winning military victories on the battlefield and, in addition, because of the recognition of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic by the majority of African States, it has now won a particularly significant diplomatic victory. That is why the position of the People's Republic of Benin will remain unchanged so long as the present factors that explain that consistent position do not themselves change.

217. The General Assembly, which for many sessions now has adopted a clear-cut stand on this question, will have no choice but to invite Morocco to comply with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the OAU and withdraw its troops forthwith from the territories it is illegally occupying, and thereby make possible the rapid application of the September 1980 decisions of the OAU *Ad Hoc* Committee on Western Sahara.

218. This is the appropriate place for our delegation to express its gratification at the decision of the General Committee of the General Assembly to inscribe on the agenda of the thirty-fifth session the question of the Comorian island of Mayotte [item 25]. We express the hope that the Assembly will finally take a just and equitable decision with a view to the decolonization of that island.

219. It may have been thought in certain quarters—in defiance of all probabilities—that the Camp David agreements had some chance of promoting peace and stability in the Middle East. But it must be agreed today that those agreements, which were a real fool's bargain and nothing

¹¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980*, document S/14179.

but an empty treasure chest, have solved nothing with regard to the substance of the problem of the essential claims of the Palestinian people.

220. The Camp David agreements seem actually to have contributed to an exacerbation of the situation and to have enabled the Israeli authorities to assert their territorial claims with increased arrogance and determination. Thus, among the acts so characteristic of the Zionist Government's policy of *fait accompli*, there was the recent decision by the Knesset proclaiming the Holy City of Jerusalem as the indivisible and eternal capital of Israel; that decision inevitably aroused the greatest possible indignation, even among those who have endorsed, or approved by their silence, the Zionist authorities' policy of aggression.

221. In those circumstances the People's Republic of Benin, faithful to its principles in questions of relations among peoples and States—principles that are, incidentally, none other than those proclaimed by the United Nations—cannot give its blessing to agreements from which the parties primarily concerned have been excluded, that is, the Palestinian people and their sole and authentic representative, the PLO. Today, when it is unanimously conceded that no lasting solution can be found in the Middle East without a just and equitable settlement of the Palestinian question, refusing to negotiate with the PLO means refusing peace.

Mr. Zainal Abidin (Malaysia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

222. Furthermore, demagogically to make use of blackmail based on anti-semitism in order to feed certain guilt complexes, cannot divert us from the fight against the Zionist imposter; it cannot possibly give us a guilty conscience. For nothing authorizes the Zionists to exact from the Palestinians the debt of blood, the debt of collective massacre and planned genocide, for which the Palestinians were not responsible and in which they played no part.

223. Speaking from this rostrum on behalf of a country and a people which, no less than the Jews of the Diaspora, underwent racism and endured the most brutal colonial oppression, we feel fully and legitimately entitled to condemn the Zionist aggression and endeavours in the Middle East. Therefore, Benin, which broke off diplomatic relations with the Zionist entity, cannot but fully support Security Council resolution 478 (1980) of 20 August 1980 calling on States that had established diplomatic missions in Jerusalem to withdraw them from the Holy City.

224. Turning now to Asia, which saw the birth and triumph of the great emancipating revolutions, we note that certain great sources of tension are still there, sources of tension that are maintained, fuelled and exacerbated by international imperialism and its accomplices. In Kampuchea, which has suffered for more than 30 years from intermittent warfare and colonialist and imperialist aggression, we firmly hope that peace will finally be restored, in the best interest of the Kampuchean people and in the interest of the other peoples of the region. That is why the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea—for which we should like once again to express our support—must consolidate national reconciliation and continue to work for peace.

225. Still in regard to Asia, we believe that the Iranian and Afghan revolutions, which have seriously shaken the positions of imperialism and feudalism, have opened up a process that will strengthen the unity and solidarity of the struggle of the peoples of the region.

226. The heroic struggle of the people of Korea, a people that for more than 30 years now has lived in the hope of reunifying its divided country, will not be in vain either. But this legitimate aspiration, although shared on both sides of the 38th parallel, has in the southern part of the country been the subject of the most barbarous repression by the various dictatorial régimes which, from Park Chung Hee to the present Government, have had no other policy but to follow the bidding of international imperialism. It is high time for a final settlement of the Korean problem; it is high time for the United States to understand finally that the safeguarding of peace in that region requires them to reconcile themselves to the withdrawal of their troops and the replacement of the Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement.

227. In spite of the conspiracy of silence by which some people would like to stifle and suppress it, the struggle of the Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente [FRETLIN] in East Timor is being stepped up. We hail this resistance and struggle and consider that East Timor must be freed and its people must fully enjoy its right to self-determination.

228. More than a year ago, the new Nicaragua, born of the heroism of the Sandinist fighters, enlarged and strengthened the domain of liberty and revolution in Latin America. The dream of freedom and patriotic gaudes of Bolívar and José Martí, which the invincible Cuban revolution made an historical fact more than 20 years ago, has once again become possible. But beside those free territories in Latin America Fascist violence continues to torture, massacre and exploit in El Salvador, Chile, Bolivia and elsewhere, pursuing the mad dream of stifling the impetuous struggle of peoples for freedom, justice and dignity. The People's Republic of Benin brings its support and the pledge of its militant and fraternal solidarity to all the heroic fighters of Latin America.

229. In Cuba, the United States, on the strength of an unfair agreement, refuses to evacuate the Guantánamo base. Guantánamo must be returned to the Cuban Government and military provocations against the Cuban revolution and in the Caribbean must cease.

230. Puerto Rico is still one of the Latin American countries that has never exercised its rights to self-determination and independence. Using juridical sophistry, the United States has always opposed the inclusion of this item on the agenda of the General Assembly. However, those subterfuges have not prevented the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples from adopting various resolutions on Puerto Rico and the Organization must call on the American Government to comply with them.

231. The People's Republic of Benin gives its firm support to all actions initiated with the aim of making the Indian

Ocean effectively a sea of peace. In that connection we support the concrete proposals put forward by the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar. We must, however, express our concern at the establishment in the Indian Ocean by the imperialist Powers of a whole complex of military bases and telecommunications, both mobile and fixed, the obvious goal of which is to pose serious threats to coastal countries that have gained their sovereignty and to peoples that are struggling for their liberation; to control militarily all the lines of communication; and to be able to use means of military pressure to support their political or economic manoeuvres with a view to perpetuating the plundering of the raw materials of the countries of the area. Thus the presence of imperialist military bases in the Mozambique channel, on Diego Garcia, on Réunion and elsewhere, the militarization and the increased nuclearization of the Indian Ocean constitute a challenge to the decisions of the international community and a constant threat to the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the countries of the area.

232. The situation in the Indian Ocean, where we see the growth of a formidable armada of international imperialism, makes it easier to perceive the profits and the calculations which the distressing Iraq-Iran conflict enables imperialism to make. For the flames of war between Iraq and Iran, the deaths and the immense sacrifices imposed upon those two fraternal peoples will in no way benefit the struggle of the Palestinian people or that of other peoples of the world against imperialist domination and intervention. For this suffice it to observe the cynicism of certain plans for intervention or suspect offers of mediation, whose sole goal and motivation is the logic of the stock market and the statistics of the energy needs of the West.

233. The People's Republic of Benin therefore issues an appeal for peace and for the cessation of this fratricidal war and for the blind and murderous language of arms to give way to the language of revolutionary reason and the solidarity of struggle. Within the great family of the non-aligned, where both occupy such a distinguished place, Iraq and Iran, two great countries both friendly to Benin could settle their dispute with the fraternal assistance of the other members and the chairman of our great movement, on the basis of its fundamental principles.

234. The evils and the problems that the peoples of the third world are confronting are not only political in nature. Economic problems help to hand them an extra measure of acuteness. We have therefore always desired true development that could restore dignity to these peoples and put an end to their domination by imperialism. The appeal that the third world continues to make to the rich nations for the establishment of a more just and more equitable economic order still has not been heeded in any real way.

235. It is in order to attempt once again to seek the most appropriate ways and means of promoting this new order that we have just held in this very place a special session of the General Assembly on global economic negotiations. The delegation of the People's Republic of Benin, which has taken an active part in this work, has already made known the views of its Government on this important question. If we are to return to it, it will be to issue a few useful historical reminders.

236. Indeed, during the course of the work of the sixth special session of the General Assembly, held in 1974, on economic problems, two resolutions were adopted [*resolutions 3201(S-VI) and 3202(S-VI)*] on the basis of the claims of the developing countries, calling upon the international community, and particularly the industrialized countries and international institutions, to work to regularize trade in primary commodities through an integrated programme of which the Common Fund for the financing of buffer stocks would be the pivot; to open up world markets for the manufactured products of developing countries; to increase the volume of transferred resources from North to South; and to reform procedures providing for access to technology.

237. It is distressing to have to note that six years after the adoption of those texts and in spite of the many negotiations organized between the North and the South under the auspices of the United Nations, there has been no appreciable improvement in the situation.

238. Even worse, the major international conferences on the restructuring of relations between industrialized and developing countries have all failed. In particular the fifth session of UNCTAD in Manila from May-June 1979 and the Third General Conference of UNIDO in New Delhi from January-February 1980, served only to make even worse the scandalously unequal relations prevailing between producers of raw materials and industrialized countries. The reasons for that state of affairs are well known and we have only too often revealed them and condemned them.

239. In spite of those condemnations and appeals for solidarity, the external debt of the underdeveloped countries is constantly growing, as indeed is the already wide gap between developing and industrialized countries.

240. At their most recent meetings and in their preparatory documents, the World Bank and IMF have, through eloquent and even overwhelming statistics, made clear the tragic nature of that situation, of what is known as "absolute poverty" and of the threats of "negative growth" in the economy of many of our countries. The situation is only the more acute, and it is even more urgent to take concrete measures to spare mankind new crises and serious social explosions. The wager of peace and development will only be won in this way—if we sincerely want justice and equality among nations, as well as the independence of the countries of the third world, to be effectively won and secured.

241. The need to lay the basis and establish the principles for a new economic order in international life, in our view, is in keeping with the concerns of all of us about the future of the world, in the face of the real dangers presented by the vast means of destruction and of warfare, conventional and nuclear. Disarmament, accompanied by global détente, therefore is a universal issue which all States, whatever their size and whatever the size of their arsenals, must resolve to consider, in response to the mere instinct for survival and so that future generations will not have to mourn another Hiroshima and another Nagasaki, even more cruel and devastating. Furthermore, elementary arithmetic shows us how many social works, how many economic assistance projects, and how many cultural enterprises could be under-

taken with the enormous financial means and technology now devoted to the manufacture and increased stockpiling of armaments of all kinds, if the folly of the arms race were ended and definitely banished from the history of society and man.

242. Our country, the People's Republic of Benin, has, since 26 October 1972, decisively resumed the long history of its people's dignified struggle. Having embarked upon the revolutionary course of the anti-imperialist national liberation struggle, a few months ago it passed a new basic law and set up new institutions, thus entering the stage of constitutional revolutionary legitimacy, under the enlightened leadership of its vanguard Party, the People's Revolutionary Party of Benin. As a result of its courageous and bold policies and its determination for liberation, it has given rise to hatred, plots and subversion on the part of those former masters and new colonialists that have been unable to tolerate the sight of certain of their loyal chief agents being expelled from the centres of State power and from economic decision-making posts. That explains the military aggression committed by mercenaries against the People's Republic of Benin on Sunday, 16 January 1977. Their defeat is well known and their paymasters have been denounced and clearly exposed. We cannot remain silent about their crimes and their misdeeds, because of their shameful failure must give birth to increased vigilance against the historical phenomenon of the use of imperialist and neo-colonial mercenaries. Thus, pursuant to Security Council resolution 419 (1977) relating to the aggression against the People's Republic of Benin, we have just submitted new proof, published recently by a French historical review.¹² It is our most sincere wish that all States should do likewise whenever information or new material proof of the reality of aggression and the crimes of mercenaries comes into their possession. Such action is in keeping with the recommendations of the Security Council. Our country, a distressed witness and victim of those criminal endeavours at colonial reconquest, through its live testimony and its victorious resistance to aggression, wishes to make its modest contribution to the eradication of a scourge which has ceaselessly threatened our independence and jeopardized peace in the world.

243. Our reference to the affair of armed imperialist aggression of 16 January 1977, remains legitimate; it is entirely in keeping with the principles and requirements of the Charter, which binds us and justifies our common endeavours for peace, friendship and co-operation. Our great comrade in arms, President Mathieu Kerekou, stated in his appeal to all the fighting peoples in the world, at the International Conference on Mercenaries, held at Cotonou in January 1978, the following:

"International imperialism, after having enriched itself through black slavery, the slave trade in blacks, the wars of plunder and the colonial wars, is surviving and feeding itself today thanks to its cannon and other sophisticated military equipment, with the shameful design of restoring or installing in the countries of the third world colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, fascism and the plundering of our immense natural resources. That is why we must view mercenaries not only as an international scourge which curbs and impedes the liberation of people still

under foreign domination, but also and above all as a real threat to the independence and sovereignty of our young States. In a word, mercenaries constitute a veritable threat to the security of States, to democracy and peace in the world."

244. If détente is indivisible, the freedom of peoples and justice among nations also cannot be divided or confined to certain continents or certain parts of the world.

245. Therefore let us see to it that our work and our resolutions arouse hope and contribute to the solution of the major issues of our time; because it is only resolute, decisive and collective action for peace and development that really deserves our energies and our efforts and indeed our sacrifices.

246. Ready for the revolution.

247. The struggle continues.

248. Mr. FERNANDES (Guinea-Bissau) (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with tradition, this year Europe follows Africa in the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. That is a sign of our times and confirmation of a form of complementarity which, because it is indispensable, calls for close and dynamic co-operation among nations and continents.

249. I am therefore pleased to extend to Mr. von Wechmar the congratulations of my delegation and to greet him as a worthy representative of a friendly country. My delegation assures him of its co-operation, and extends to him our best wishes in the exercise of his exalted functions.

250. I should also like to extend greetings to his predecessor, our brother and my great friend, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania. My delegation is most grateful to him for having represented our continent, Africa, so successfully. Each time he was called upon to preside over the work of the General Assembly, he gave proof of his competence, modesty and high sense of responsibility.

251. My delegation warmly welcomes the admission of the Republic of Zimbabwe to the United Nations and wishes to express to the representatives of that new State the friendly feelings of the people of Guinea-Bissau and its profound desire to develop and consolidate the fraternal links of co-operation which unite the people of Zimbabwe with the people of Guinea-Bissau. The heroism, the spirit of sacrifice and responsibility which characterized the national liberation struggle in Zimbabwe augur well for the positive and beneficial contribution which that country will make to the Organization, with the objective of totally liberating southern Africa from the domination of the *apartheid* régime.

252. It is also a pleasure for me to welcome Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and to convey to it our best wishes for the progress and prosperity of its people.

253. The accession to independence of those new States bring us closer to the principle of universality proclaimed by the United Nations and the presence among us today of their worthy representatives comforts us and bears witness to the

¹² See S/14211.

success of the Organization in its struggle for the liberation of all the peoples of the world.

254. Those successes of the international community are in part the result of the contribution of the Secretary-General and of his very devoted staff. That is why I am happy to congratulate them on behalf of my Government as well as to renew our encouragement for their tireless efforts on behalf of the maintenance of peace in the world.

255. As everybody knows peace in the world is indispensable for the progress of our peoples because in truth it is all mankind which is threatened with extinction if the deadly rivalries and confrontations we witness and deplore do not give way to understanding and co-operation among nations.

256. The past year has not registered major progress in the solution of the problems which are faced by the international community. The victory of the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe, it is true, has altered the balance of power in southern Africa and created new hopes in Namibia and South Africa. Despite political assassinations and an intensification of repression, the people of South Africa continue to struggle courageously against the racist and inhuman régime of *apartheid*. The South African Government seems not to have learned from the victory of the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe and is striving desperately to invent every kind of subterfuge to lend credence to a new flexibility in its racial policy and a so-called will to change. The persistence of terrorism and oppression nevertheless brings us back to the sad truth, namely, the poverty and the suffering of which the people of South Africa are victims. That is a scandalous fact, the impact of which goes beyond the borders of South Africa to challenge the conscience of every human being. That challenge to the international community would have been taken up more vigorously and more rigorously had the efforts of that community not been weakened by certain complicity which makes difficult, if not ineffectual, the imposition of a total economic embargo against South Africa.

257. The sanctions decreed against the *apartheid* régime have not put an end to repression or even attenuated the suffering of the South African people. And yet one still hears cries that racism is inhuman and all vehemently proclaim that they are in favour of equality between races and men. But everyone knows that the South African régime still stands thanks to its close economic relations with Western countries and that its repressive system expands in proportion to the injections of foreign capital the origin of which is also known.

258. In our opinion it is high time to put an end to soporific hypocrisy. There is an obvious reality which cannot be denied, least of all lengthy speeches and paternalistic acts. Justice will not be restored in South Africa by the consolidation of the South African economy for the benefit of the white population alone or by participation in the exploitation of black workers. Nor will human rights be respected if we close our eyes to the brutal repression practised against the militants of ANC. Nor is it by the looting of Namibia's wealth that the process of achieving the independence of that country will be accelerated. The hearings on uranium here at United Nations Headquarters [see A/35/24, vol. III]

yielded proof of the true intentions of the transnational corporations, which will stop at nothing to loot the natural resources of Namibia.

259. The racist régime of South Africa, strengthened by the economic support and complicity of the Western countries, can thus with greater scorn and arrogance defy the international community and further extend its domination over Namibia. Its obstinate refusal to comply with United Nations decisions no longer surprises us, because it continues to find support among international financial groups, as well as attentive ears and generous hands to strengthen its repressive power and domination.

260. Everybody knows that the decision by the racist *apartheid* régime of 1 July 1980 to transfer power to the members of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance was a step towards the establishment of a puppet Government entirely under its sway. Furthermore, the fact that South Africa has illegally extended its territorial sea and proclaimed an economic zone along the Namibian coast obviously proves the absurd and deceitful nature of such a step, which is simply the new tactic of the *apartheid* régime to ensure the perpetuation of its occupation and so to satisfy its Western clients, which are greedy for cheap raw materials.

261. Defying the relevant decisions of the United Nations, the Western countries through the medium of transnational corporations acting on their behalf, are deliberately participating in maintaining the illegal occupation régime, trampling under foot Decree Number 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, which was adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974. In thus violating the economic and social interests of the Namibian people, the accomplices of the racist *apartheid* régime are strengthening the latter's repressive power and blocking the process of achieving independence by the Territory. They are preventing the Namibian people from exercising its right to self-determination in accordance with decisions of the United Nations, compelling that people to have recourse to armed struggle as the only alternative to defend its imprescriptible right to freedom.

262. In the face of the acts of aggression and barbarity by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola, acts which we vigorously condemn and whose only objective is the destruction of the Angolan economy so as to forestall any logistical support for the freedom fighters, SWAPO has no choice but to intensify its armed struggle. The sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people, SWAPO cannot participate in the peace process from a position of weakness. Nor will it plan its own suicide by accepting the conditions made by South Africa or by trusting solely in the smooth words of the five Western countries. As with Zimbabwe yesterday, we are witnessing today to the same holding back and the same scenario, in a perfidious attempt to prevent the accession to power of the genuine nationalists grouped within SWAPO and thus to turn aside the course of history and set up a puppet Government in the pay of those who defend *apartheid* and transnational corporations.

263. The responsibility of the United Nations in the decolonization process remains and must be assumed in its entirety. The international community must envisage urgent

measures capable of putting a final end to South African domination in Namibia. It will only be by applying the enforcement measures provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter against the *apartheid* régime that we shall see concrete results. The Western countries friendly to South Africa have to assume a double responsibility in that context, which requires, on the one hand, respect for the embargo against the racist régime and, on the other, a constructive contribution to the coming into being in Namibia of democratic power which derives from the people. Any other attitude would undermine the chances for a peaceful solution of the problem and uselessly prolong the war, the victims of which now number in the thousands.

264. Recognized and supported by the United Nations as the authentic representative of the Namibian people, SWAPO is, we know, prepared to participate in the peace process, on the condition that that process take into account the interests of the Namibian people and that it have no objective other than the satisfaction of its legitimate aspirations to true independence.

265. On the other hand, the SWAPO fighters remain opposed to any proposal for a solution which does not respect the real facts of the problem and which does not envisage an alternative to the establishment in Namibia of a puppet régime under the sway of the racist *apartheid* régime and its Western allies. In that they will enjoy, as in the past, the complete support of the international community, including that of my country, Guinea-Bissau.

266. The recognition today of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic by more than 40 States Members of the United Nations is the result of an obstinate struggle born of courage and sacrifice. It shows that the strength of a people cannot be gauged solely by the number of cannon or aircraft in its possession. In a war of national liberation, more than any other, it is motivation which matters and is therefore more important than the technical quality of weapons. The knowledge that he is defending so noble a cause gives each freedom fighter an incalculable dimension to his person. One can then understand why the militants of POLISARIO show so much courage and endurance and why they are able to strike such deadly blows against the enemy.

267. Africa, seasoned by its experience of struggle against colonialism, is opposed to Morocco's policy in Western Sahara. The OAU declared itself in favour of the self-determination of the Sahraoui people and has for several years sought to find a peaceful way to solve this conflict. We know that such a solution must include withdrawal of the Moroccan troops from Western Sahara and recognition of the Saharoui Arab Democratic Republic as an expression of the will of the people of that area.

268. That is what the OAU *Ad Hoc* Committee on the question of Western Sahara advocated on the basis of irrefutable facts and taking into account the opinion of the vast majority of African Governments.

269. In the meantime, current Chairman of the Assembly of the OAU, Mr. Siaka Stevens, in his statement before the Assembly [8th meeting], which was remarkable, faithfully reflected the desire of his peers, the eminent African heads of

State, to see the Moroccan Government return to the path of wisdom and renounce its policy of expansion by recognizing the Sahraoui people's right to self-determination in accordance with the principles of the Organization and in the interest of peace and harmony in the region.

270. In Chad, the war continues despite the repeated appeals for a cease-fire made to the opposing factions. The OAU, as everyone here knows, has for several months been working hard to find a solution to this conflict which sets the descendants of a same people separated by often irreconcilable political ambitions against one another. It is difficult, in a situation which plunges Africa into mourning, to refrain from mentioning the lack of wisdom of the leaders of Chad. The unnecessary suffering of their people should have induced them to show a greater sense of responsibility.

271. In this fratricidal war, how far, it may well be asked, can anyone claim to be defending the interests of a people and at the same time take part in their destruction? The people of Chad must regain its balance and strength in order to build its future, and the political groups or factions contending for power know this and should take it into account because they certainly cannot wish to govern a ruined, soulless and lifeless country.

272. On behalf of my Government, I should like to invite my brothers in Chad to make every effort to consolidate that which unites them rather than to widen further the gap that divides them. The leaders of Chad should use their intelligence for the benefit of their people to reject any foreign interference, regardless of its source, the effect of which is to undermine their unity and cause the death and destruction of their people.

273. Apart from the material destruction and innumerable victims caused by this armed conflict, there is the problem of the refugees and displaced persons created by any war situation. It is estimated that today there are 5 million of these unfortunate people in Africa, 5 million human beings fleeing death in tragic circumstances and compelled to live more often than not in indescribable poverty. This state of affairs, already alarming in the Horn of Africa, is today aggravated by the massive flow of refugees from Chad and Uganda into neighbouring countries, which are trying hard to help them.

274. Here we must congratulate the African countries which have given succour to these refugees in spite of the material and financial problems that such action implies, and also to thank the Governments and organizations which, in a show of international solidarity, have helped to ease the sufferings of all those unfortunate people.

275. The continued conflicts in Africa and their harmful effects on the development of our continent is of concern to African States and to the international community in general. It is, indeed, the upheavals in that continent that directly affect international peace and security. Conversely, the rivalries between the great Powers, in particular when reflected in the installation of foreign military bases, gravely threaten the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of our young States.

276. The situation in the Indian Ocean is alarming for a number of reasons, and the present difficult international

situation has confirmed the gravity of a state of affairs which the United Nations wished to prevent by adopting General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI), the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. My country, being perfectly aware of the dangers threatening the coastal States of the Indian Ocean and world peace, understandably supports our Organization's efforts to bring that about and welcomes with interest President Ratsiraka's proposal that an international conference be convened in Madagascar for the purpose of creating, in a common effort, conditions which would ensure the success of the Conference on the Indian Ocean to be held at Colombo in 1981. We are all the more pleased to lend our support to the initiative of the Malagasy head of State, since in our opinion it is based on a clear perception of the problem and stems from a sincere will to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security.

277. While it is true that the seventh emergency special session devoted to the question of Palestine enables us correctly to assess the support of the international community for the Palestinian cause, it is nevertheless undeniable that we have become increasingly aware of the injustice from which the Arab people of Palestine has been suffering for decades. The General Assembly, by convening that special session, intended certainly to unblock a situation created in the Security Council by one of its permanent members whose abuse of the veto is inadmissible. But it was intended, above all, to offer an exceptional opportunity to the international community to expose the real enemies of the freedom of peoples.

278. There has for several years been unanimous agreement on the aggressive and expansionist nature of Israel's policy. We can therefore expect the United Nations to do more than simply adopt resolutions. It could, for example, take concrete and effective steps to break Israel's obstinacy and arrogance.

279. On the eve of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 1514 (XV) on the inalienable right of every people to choose its own destiny, it is both inadmissible and regrettable, that Member States upon which their power confers special political and moral responsibilities, can endorse and encourage Israel's policy of occupying Arab territories and denying the Palestinian people their right to exist. It is dishonourable to proclaim oneself the defender of human rights and to ignore the elementary rights of millions of Palestinians.

280. The Palestinian people should, like any other people, be able to enjoy its right to be free and to create an independent State. It is common knowledge that any solution of the Middle East crisis, to be viable and final, must meet this essential requirement. The events of the last two years have shown that any attempt to reach a partial settlement that does not take this reality into account is doomed to failure. The PLO, which represents the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people, must be brought into any peace negotiations for it would be absurd to ignore the political, military and moral force it represents if one sincerely intends to help establish peace and stability in the Middle East.

281. The international community should draw its inspiration from the principles stated in the Charter of the United

Nations and take measures capable of promoting Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied since 1967 and the recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to live freely in a sovereign State. The urgent application of these measures, as provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter, is today essential as a means of curbing Israel's inhuman policy in the occupied Arab territories and to break the Israeli Government's ill-advised arrogance. That Government has once again defied the United Nations by deciding to make of Jerusalem the capital of the Israeli State. The gravity of such a decision which, bearing in mind the importance of the Holy City of Jerusalem for the three major monotheistic religions, constitutes a real sacrilege, must be clear to all. The United Nations must compel the Government of Israel to respect the faith of millions of believers whose contribution, at least moral if not political, is essential if world peace is to be safeguarded.

282. The repeated Israeli aggressions against Lebanon constitute yet another flagrant violation of that country's independence and territorial integrity. My Government strongly condemns them and wishes to reiterate to the Government and people of Lebanon its brotherly feelings of solidarity.

283. Acceptance by every Member State of the principles set forth in the Charter and consequently of the obligations arising therefrom constitute the fundamental basis for contemporary international relations. The use of force as a means of repression and domination of peoples is contrary to recognized standards of international law. The Charter states that all men are equal and proclaims the right of every people, large and small, to live freely and to decide its own fate.

284. The Maubere people of East Timor, after several centuries of suffering under a colonial régime, has acquired that inalienable right which was recognized 20 years ago by the community of nations. A people does not fight against foreign domination to accept freely the confiscation of its dearly won freedom. This explains the extent of the resistance of the FRETILIN fighters to the Indonesian forces of aggression and their determination in an unequal and difficult struggle.

285. The attitude of the Government of Indonesia is all the more unacceptable since the Government of Portugal, the administering Power, in a communiqué issued on 12 September 1980¹³ has again reaffirmed its responsibility in the matter of the complete decolonization of East Timor. The United Nations, in condemning the Indonesian invasion in its relevant resolutions, should not confine itself to a mere verbal rejection of the policy of *fait accompli*. The international community must not lose sight of the fact that this is a flagrant violation of human rights and that the indescribable sufferings imposed on the population of a small country by a neighbouring State, powerfully armed and motivated by an expansionist policy, is contrary to the law of nations. The international community must demand the withdrawal of all the Indonesian forces from East Timor, and the United Nations and its specialized agencies, and particularly the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, should continue to intervene so as to help the Maubere people to

¹³ See A/C.4/35/2.

recover the right to independence. The Government of Guinea-Bissau encourages the Portuguese authorities to pursue their efforts and thus honourably discharge their debt to history.

286. One of the cardinal principles of the Organization is the settlement of disputes by peaceful means. The negotiations begun between the Government of the Comoros and the Government of France on the question of the Comorian island of Mayotte lead us to believe that a just solution, taking into account the territorial integrity of the entire Comoros and the unity of its people, will be found. We also hope that the same spirit of accommodation will lead the Government of France to establish with the Government of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar a fruitful dialogue concerning the problem of the return of the Malagasy islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova and Bassas da India.

287. The armed conflict that for some days has been going on between Iran and Iraq is grave and concerns us particularly because these are two fraternal countries and, above all, members of the non-aligned movement and of the Islamic Conference, to which my country, Guinea-Bissau, belongs. We sincerely hope that wisdom and a spirit of conciliation will prevail in the relations between these two friendly countries and that, with the sincere and constructive contribution of all, an atmosphere of harmony and friendship will be restored.

288. In a world in constant change because of the political upheavals which are sometimes beyond control, dialogue among peoples remains a *sine qua non* for the maintenance of peace. The efforts of the Secretary-General to promote direct intercommunal talks in Cyprus are in accordance with this objective which, in our opinion, is essential. My Government believes in fact that only negotiation among the parties concerned can lead to a just and lasting solution. Such a solution should take into account the national independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and its character as a non-aligned country. I would avail myself of this opportunity to pay a tribute to the United Nations Forces stationed on Cyprus and to congratulate the Governments which have made them available on their valuable contribution to the establishment of an atmosphere of peace in that region.

289. The peaceful reunification of the two parts of Korea had already reached an encouraging stage but now it is encountering inadmissible obstacles because of foreign interference. The Korean people must be able, in accordance with its legitimate aspirations, to achieve its unity freely, an essential prerequisite for which must be the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in Korea.

290. Cambodia, which was once the model of a "positive neutralism", is today undergoing a prolonged tragedy. The humanism that some countries vaunt to justify their excessive zeal in regard to this dramatic question seems to us to be doubtful. It is difficult to solve the problem of the Cambodian refugees without a realistic approach to the situation, and the international community is too mature to deceive itself. In this matter the United Nations should observe the rules and international practices and admit to its deliberations representatives of the Government that effectively exercises power.

291. The World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, held at Copenhagen last July, provided an opportunity for the women of the world to remind the international community of the many forms of inequality from which they are suffering and their firm determination to place the status of their creative abilities on all important decisions bearing on the peace and well-being of mankind. Guinea-Bissau, a country in which women are from every standpoint equal to men, actively participated in that Conference because it wished to emphasize the preponderant role of women in the liberation and development of African societies and their responsibilities in the building of our young nations. My Government welcomes the adoption by the Conference of the Programme of Action for the Second Half of the Decade¹⁴ and will participate with conviction and interest in achieving its aims.

Mr. von Wechmar (Federal Republic of Germany) resumed the Chair.

292. At a time when mankind is uncertain as to its destiny which, under the pressure of economic crises, seems to be heading towards an uncertain future, military expenditures are approaching the astronomical figure of \$500 billion. This is both revolting and scandalous when one considers the poverty from which most of the countries of the world suffer. A measure of relief came about in May 1978, after the adoption of a disarmament strategy, the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2*], but, unfortunately, this was not followed by any other measures, except an irresponsible escalation of the arms race.

293. The pressing development needs of the third world, which the members of OAU have described with conviction in the Lagos Plan, are thus relegated to the background because the organic link between security and development has been ignored for the sake of a peace which, since it is not based on an equitable redistribution of the wealth of the world, must be precarious if not unattainable. The security needs of our respective peoples, although legitimate, cannot justify the fact that almost 6 per cent of the world's product is spent on armaments, to the detriment of the balance of human society. Thus the international community, particularly the nuclear countries, must again read the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session, the better to give practical effect to the solemn commitment they have entered into and to renew, in these early days of the Second Disarmament Decade, their commitment to work for total disarmament, an essential condition for the security of our peoples, if not for the very survival of mankind.

294. The eleventh special session of the General Assembly, which dealt with development, led to a realization of the true scope of the problems regarding the establishment of a new international economic order. The hope of the developing countries to find among the industrialized countries a new concept of interdependence of peoples and of their solidarity was bitterly disappointed. No doubt the impatience of some, together with the stubborn attitude of others, limited the possibilities for success of that session, which concluded,

¹⁴ *Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, Copenhagen, 14 to 30 July 1980* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.80.IV.3 and corrigendum), chap.I, sect.A.

nevertheless, with the preparation of an International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [see A/35/464]. Although meagre, this result should encourage us to pursue global negotiations in such important fields as raw materials, energy, development, monetary and financial questions and trade. In this specific case, my country welcomes the important measures taken recently by UNCTAD leading to the establishment of a Common Fund and the adoption of a series of rules and principles regarding restrictive trade practices.

295. The ninth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea ended, as is well known, on a note of optimism. The importance of these negotiations for the strengthening of international relations confers on the results already achieved colossal dimensions, and my country attaches particular attention to this. The imminent adoption of a convention will certainly fill a gap and at the same time sweep away with many disagreements among States. In the meantime, Member States should refrain from taking any unilateral legislative measure which might undermine the chances for success of that convention.

296. My country, Guinea-Bissau, is a non-aligned State deeply devoted to the ideals of peace and social justice. The actions of our Government since the accession of Guinea-Bissau to national sovereignty have always tended to promote sincere and friendly co-operation among peoples and an atmosphere of confidence and mutual respect. My country is determined to pursue this conception of international relations, because it is in accord with the principles of our party, the PAIGC [*Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde*], and it is in conformity with the aims and objectives enunciated in the Charter of the United Nations. Guinea-Bissau is a peace-loving nation. Our people, who during its struggle for national liberation enjoyed the support of international solidarity, will continue to back all just causes throughout the world. It will spare no effort to consolidate the historical and fraternal links which unite it with the other peoples of the world and intends to leave its own imprint as an African people on mankind's march towards progress.

297. Mr. ARDAKANI (Iran): In the name of Allah, The Most Gracious, The Most Merciful, The Annihilator of Oppressors. On behalf of the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran I should like to extend to you, Mr. President, my warm congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that, thanks to your personal qualities as an experienced and skilful diplomat and your devotion to the fundamental principles of the Charter, this session will achieve positive results.

298. I should also like to express my delegation's appreciation of the outstanding performance of your predecessor, Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim, during his presidency of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly and the three special sessions that followed.

299. It is a pleasure for my delegation to welcome amongst us here the representatives of the freedom-loving people of Zimbabwe. The victory of the people of Zimbabwe is a clear sign that freedom for the people of South Africa and Namibia cannot be far.

300. A momentous historical transformation took place in Iran in February of last year. The brutal despotism of Mohammed Reza Pahlavi that had been imposed on my people by a *coup d'état* organized and financed by United States imperialism was pulled down and pulverized by the united Moslem masses of Iran. Using their bare hands and following the spiritual leadership of Imam Khomeini, the people of Iran in their millions staked their limbs and lives to liquidate a dictatorship that was armed to the teeth and dripping blood from its every pore.

301. The Islamic revolution shook the whole of the Moslem world. It towers above all else in a thousand years of our history. A mass revolution of the people rooted in Islam was triumphant before the world. Our people had resolved to return to the socio-political dynamism of Islam as a total way of life compatible with freedom and progress. The example of our revolution has given hope and courage to the masses of oppressed people.

302. The fundamental principles on which our revolution is based are, first the equality of all human beings regardless of race, social status, sex, language or ethnic background; secondly, the abolition of all forms of oppression and exploitation, individual as well as collective; and thirdly, the spiritual and moral development of our people and the mobilization of our material resources to that end.

303. We have sought to realize these principles both through struggle within our own country and in our relations with other countries. Within Iran we have instituted people's power; the people have obtained participation in government at all levels through a series of historic actions.

304. They have participated freely in two referendums to approve the Islamic Republic and the new Constitution, as well as in a variety of elections to choose the President of the Republic and the members of the parliament. Unlike any other revolution in history, the Islamic Revolution of Iran was able, despite attacks from within and without, to hold six free elections in the space of one year, the most notable of these being a vote to determine the nature of the post-revolutionary régime and votes on the Constitutional Assembly and on the Constitution.

305. It is therefore not surprising that the eyes of all freedom-loving peoples around the world who also aspire to be free and independent are focused on Iran. Freedom, independence and an Islamic Republic are sought by the peoples of all Moslem nations. That is why the Moslem masses everywhere have, in various ways, expressed their popular support for the revolution in Iran.

306. As long as there is oppression and terror and as long as there is inequality and exploitation, the forces of tyranny will wage war upon the forces of liberation, and right will battle wrong. Indeed, the history of mankind is the history of such struggles.

307. The holy books are also full of examples of the struggle between right and wrong. One such example, cited in the Old Testament as well as in Islamic literature, is the life-history of Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon. He lived in that same region which is today a burning inferno resulting

from aggression. Nebuchadnezzar sought to govern with the twisted logic of coercion and aggression. He ended his life leaving behind him a trail of destruction and death for his own people, no less than for the neighbouring peoples.

308. A new Nebuchadnezzar appeared in Iran in the form of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi. Our people removed him from power and extended the olive branch of peace to all our brothers in neighbouring countries. But now another Nebuchadnezzar, a new Shah, has sprung up in his place: Saddam Hussein and his thugs from Tikrit. The Iraqi and Iranian peoples will smash him and remove him and join hands to build a permanent peace.

309. Our revolution had learnt the lessons of history. The Islamic Republic of Iran stands for justice, freedom and independence for all peoples and nations. Accordingly, we support the Palestinian people struggling against the Zionist entity, and we stand against colonialism, imperialism and international zionism everywhere. The peoples of Africa, Latin America and the Arab world all know this, and thus they in turn support our revolution.

310. It is no accident that in every trouble-spot in the world where oppression and exploitation of man exists, at least one of the major Powers is involved, lending its support to oppression and exploitation. This is true in the case of the occupation of Arab territories by Israel and Israeli aggression against southern Lebanon. It is true of the exploitation of the black majority in southern Africa and in Namibia. It is true of the occupation of Western Sahara, and it is true of the aggression against Iran by Saddam Hussein and his gang.

311. Our position in international relations is clear. We do not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. But morally and spiritually we are with the oppressed people everywhere, for ideas and beliefs transcend national boundaries. That is why we have condemned the invasion of Afghanistan. The people of Afghanistan, the people of the Arab countries and the people of the whole Moslem world are our brothers and sisters in faith, and we cannot condone or accept aggression against them.

312. In the same way we are in full solidarity with all the oppressed peoples of the world. Our stand against occupation and aggression has been stated forcefully by Imam Khomeini himself. He made it very clear in his statement of 12 September 1980 that the servants of imperialism are trying to divide the oppressed people of the Moslem world on the basis of prejudices inherited from the era of colonial and imperialist domination. The purpose of Islam, he said, is to put an end to such prejudices. Contrary to that, the Government of Saddam Hussein has used these prejudices to stage an aggressive war against my people. It even seeks to stir up racial and sectarian hatred and resorts to the Zionist technique of digging into ancient history to make claims upon our territory.

313. The Islamic Republic of Iran stands for the genuine independence of the people. Imperialism has sought by every means at its disposal, overt and covert, to undermine this independence.

314. When Mohammed Reza Pahlavi was overthrown, his defeated supporters, including agents of SAVAK and some generals of the so-called Imperial Army, crossed the border and joined Saddam Hussein. The last puppet Prime Minister of the Shah also escaped via Iraq and has not hidden his close ties with the régime of Saddam Hussein. Ever since the overthrow of the Shah, Iraq has been a staging-point for counter-revolutionary actions inside Iran. A steady stream of Saddam Hussein's agents has been entering Iran along with the counter-revolutionaries. They have committed acts of sabotage and murder along the borders and especially in the provinces of Khuzestan and Kurdistan.

315. The Baghdad authorities have openly praised those attacks in their official radio broadcasts and their State-controlled press. There are many documented instances in which Iraqi agents have been arrested inside Iran with weapons and explosive materials. The Baghdad authorities have also indulged in acts of terrorism against Iranian embassies in various parts of the world. In August 1980, for instance, the Austrian Government expelled an Iraqi diplomat who was involved in supplying explosives to terrorists trying to bomb the Iranian Embassy in Vienna. Still fresh in public memory is the Iraqi terrorists' take-over of the Iranian Embassy in London. That incident, in which innocent people were murdered, involved the provision of documents and safe passage to the terrorists by the Iraqi Embassy there.

316. We have repeatedly warned the international community that, following the triumph of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, domineering Powers are seeking to return to the Persian Gulf region. Our worries have been confirmed by events. There has been a drastic expansion of American naval presence in the Indian Ocean. The United States has attempted to secure military bases in the region and to establish rapid deployment forces for direct American intervention in the region.

317. Parallel with those actions Saddam Hussein started his hostile policies towards the Islamic Revolution of Iran. Iranian border positions were shelled and professional saboteurs were sent across the border into Iran to damage our oil installations and public utilities in the hope of weakening our national unity. They did not even hesitate to bomb a mosque while prayer was in session. As that did not work, 40,000 Iraqi citizens accused of having Iranian ancestry were barbarically expelled. They were collected from everywhere, without prior warning, and taken by trucks to the border. There they were left in the desert in the most inhumane manner, without food, shelter or any of their personal belongings.

318. Imperialism and international zionism have never stopped their attempts to destabilize Iran. Bomb explosions, assassinations, attempted *coups d'état* and commando missions all failed to shake the Islamic Republic. From the very first day attempts were made to organize counter-revolution in Iran as well.

319. The Iraqi authorities have actively supported those imperialist games, and their actions can be understood only against this background. They began their expansionist drive by sending in insurgents. The arms they smuggled into Iran were confiscated in the thousands by the people and

authorities of my country. Their support for the imperialists escalated and culminated in the sending of regular armed forces into Iran. Infiltration by infantry which began in April 1980 was gradually replaced by artillery and tank attacks. These attacks became a daily feature as Iraq built up its forces at the border.

320. Parallel with those armed interferences in Iran, the Iraqi Government was involved in a political plan as well which included hosting the so-called political opponents of the Islamic Republic and giving them radio transmission facilities. They even invented their own names for cities and places in my country, clearly showing they are out to grab as much as they can.

321. On 11 August 1980, for instance, Iraqi forces attacked Makuman, only to be beaten back. On 15 August, Iraqi artillery fired for four hours at Kamarun, in south-western Iran. On 17 August, there was an Iraqi artillery attack on Palerashi. On 19 August, Iraqi agents were caught smuggling machine-guns into the Abadan area. On 20 August, Iraqi attacks on Qasr-e-Shirin and Golkhaneh were repelled. I could go on giving instances. On 17 August, for instance, Iran repelled a big Iraqi attack which was supported by artillery. On 1 September, 46 Iraqi troops lost their lives when their attack on Qasr-e-Shirin was repelled. There were heavy artillery and tank attacks on 3 and 4 September at Qasr-e-Shirin, Nasrabad and Kalantari. On 7 September, Iraq attacked in the Qasr-e-Shirin area with MIGs and helicopters. Thereafter air attacks became a regular feature of Iraqi intrusion into Iran. Iraq thus gradually escalated its attacks on Iran. This escalation had nothing to do with any perceived Iraqi grievances regarding the 1975 Treaty signed following the Algiers Agreement of March 1975¹⁵ and came much before any complaints that Iraq claims to have made to Iran.

322. After having concentrated an armed force on the Iranian border, Iraq unilaterally abrogated the Iran-Iraq Treaty of 1975 on 17 September of this year. Saddam Hussein declared on that day in person that Iraq would use all means to reach its so-called "just frontiers". This statement is reminiscent of the aspirations of one other than Adolf Hitler concerning Czechoslovakia and Austria, and also resembles the statements of Israeli leaders when they talk about their boundaries. The Iraqi Government also used the Nazi method in its justification of the unilateral abrogation of the 1975 Treaty. Hitler used to enjoy sending diplomatic notes to nations that were to be his victims. When they replied he would reject the reply and launch an armed attack. Then Goebbels would come in and use the big lie technique. The policy of escalation has culminated in the Iraqi blitzkrieg against Iran in the same way. But the enemy has so far only captured the city of Khurramshahr, and that only in fictitious claims, seven in number. Its attempt to destroy the Iranian air force on the ground—a pitiful copy of Israeli tactics—has ended in failure.

323. Both the Iraqi blitzkrieg and the Iraqi air attacks have failed. As a result, on the one hand Saddam Hussein hypocritically called for a cease-fire so that he could bring up reinforcements and on the other hand he carried out indiscriminate bombing of civilians in Iran.

¹⁵ Treaty concerning the State Frontier and Neighbourly Relations between Iran and Iraq, signed at Baghdad on 13 June 1975.

324. Saddam Hussein claims that his aggression has something to do with what he calls the non-implementation of the 1975 Treaty. His claim is utterly baseless. The Treaty of 1975, which he himself negotiated, contains an article that clearly specifies the methods by which all differences concerning the enforcement of the Treaty should be resolved. In any case, let us see what the Treaty calls for in case of non-implementation and let us see if Saddam Hussein even considered the relevant text of the Treaty. Here is the text of article 6 of the Treaty relating to provisions for resolving differences over the Treaty.

"1. In the event of a dispute regarding the interpretation or implementation of this Treaty, the three Protocols or the annexes thereto, any solution to such a dispute shall strictly respect the course of the Iraqi-Iranian frontier referred to in articles 1 and 2 above, and shall take into account the need to maintain security on the Iraqi-Iranian frontier in accordance with article 3 above."

Members can see how well they maintained their respect for borders.

"2. Such disputes shall be resolved in the first instance by the High Contracting Parties, by means of direct bilateral negotiations to be held within two months after the date on which one of the Parties so requested.

"3. If no agreement is reached, the High Contracting Parties shall have recourse, within a three-month period, to the good offices of a friendly third State.

"4. Should one of the two Parties refuse to have recourse to good offices or should the good offices procedure fail, the dispute shall be settled by arbitration within a period of not more than one month after the date of such refusal or failure."

Members can see how all these steps have been forgotten.

"5. Should the High Contracting Parties disagree as to the arbitration procedure, one of the High Contracting Parties may have recourse, within 15 days after such disagreement was recorded, to a court of arbitration.

"With a view to establishing such court of arbitration each of the High Contracting Parties shall, in respect of each dispute to be resolved, appoint one of its nationals as arbitrators and the two arbitrators shall choose an umpire. Should the High Contracting Parties fail to appoint their arbitrators within one month after the date on which one of the Parties received a request for arbitration from the other Party, or should the arbitrators fail to reach agreement on the choice of the umpire before that time-limit expires, the High Contracting Party which requested arbitration shall be entitled to request the President of the International Court of Justice to appoint the arbitrators or the umpire, in accordance with the procedures of the Permanent Court of Arbitration.

"6. The decision of the court of arbitration shall be binding on and enforceable by the High Contracting Parties.

"7. The High Contracting Parties shall each defray half the costs of arbitration."

325. It is clear that Saddam Hussein resorted to war not in response to a breach of the Treaty by Iran but in quest of

glory and empire. His adventure in launching this war will prove vain. Saddam Hussein named it the "Qadesiya of Saddam". It will be known by future generations as Saddam's battle of elephants. I refer here to a chapter in the Koran known to all who are familiar with Islamic history. His attack on the Iranian people with modern armour will collapse, just as surely as did the attack of Abraha Ashram with his elephants on Mecca.

326. It is an undeniable fact that both parties concluded the 1975 Treaty negotiations without registering any complaints. On the contrary, they had nothing but praise for each other and for their achievement.

327. The present President and Foreign Minister of Iraq were in full control of their faculties when they negotiated and signed the Treaty and had it ratified by their Governments. When we review their statements at the time of the signing it is evident that they expressed joy and thanks with no words that would point to the Treaty's having been imposed on them.

328. The Iraqi claims are not only contrary to the rules governing international treaties and accepted declarations but are based on an agreement which was colonial in nature. This is a heritage that both the Iranian and Iraqi peoples have rejected—a heritage of British colonial dominance over our region, after the defeat and collapse of Ottoman rule, whereby Iraqi sovereignty was overridden by the British.

329. The Treaty not only gave Iraq the security that it was seeking on its north-eastern frontiers but also a considerable amount of territory. The Treaty also settled the dispute over the common navigable river between the two countries which is known as the Shatt-al-Arab by dividing sovereignty over the river according to the thalweg line. This in fact ended a colonial heritage which was flagrantly in violation of common international practice concerning shared sovereignty of boundary rivers and which was deliberately created by the dominant colonial Power in the area in 1913 with the purpose of leaving a potential cause of conflict to be used when appropriate to further its age-old colonial policy of "divide and rule".

330. Saddam Hussein's recourse to aggressive war in order to settle a border dispute is thus not only in contradiction of the Charter of the United Nations, the charter of the Islamic Conference and the principles of non-alignment but also of the provisions of the Treaty itself.

331. The Islamic revolution in Iran and the downfall of the Shah shattered the classic vision of power in the Middle East and upset the division of the world by the super-Powers into zones of influence. That development was a great threat to the super-Powers, in particular the United States. The Iranian revolution led the United States to lose a loyal gendarme in one of the most sensitive regions of the world bordering on the territory of the other super-Power, namely the Soviet Union. The Shah's régime, which was imposed on the Iranian people, had the duty of safeguarding the interests of imperialism.

332. After the downfall of the ex-Shah, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran opposed having anyone, whether local or foreign, act as a policeman for the region

and declared that the security of the area had to be safeguarded by the countries of the region.

333. From the outset the United States has tried to sabotage the policy in order to preserve its control of the area. The United States has opted for the emergence of another policeman in the region to replace the Shah. Imperialism did not need to look far. The régime of Saddam Hussein was well suited to the job, for, like that of the Shah, it is based on oppression. But there was one catch: geography prevents Iraq from controlling the Persian Gulf effectively unless it expands its borders. It was to overcome that obstacle that Saddam Hussein launched his military aggression against the territorial integrity of my country. The aims of that aggression are to take total control of the strategic waterway that links Iraq to the Persian Gulf and to establish a buffer zone between the two countries in the province of Khuzistan.

334. But Saddam Hussein overlooked another obstacle: the Iranian people in defence of Islam. Iran and *Ingilab*—the revolution—will block and reverse all attacks upon Iranian sovereignty and territorial integrity. In doing so they have the support of all the peoples of the region.

335. The Government of Iraq, in order to weaken the obstacle of Islamic revolutionary consciousness, seeks to distort the character of this war. This war is not one between Arabs and Persians, nor between Iraq and Iran. It is a struggle between imperialism and its agent and gendarme—Saddam Hussein—on the one side, and the people, both Iranian and Iraqi, Persian and Arab, on the other. Saddam Hussein and his clique from Tikrit are the enemy of Islam, of the Arab nation, of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] and of the non-aligned. They are destined not for fame and glory but for infamy and shame.

336. After the fall of the ex-Shah a new phenomenon was born in the region. Not only did it not fit into the network of super-Power agreements or shoulder the burden of guarding their interests, but it also became a serious and attractive alternative for the oppressed masses of the world. It was to be expected that international imperialism would not accept the existence of the Islamic Republic of Iran and would use all efforts to destroy it.

337. At the outset the counter-attack of imperialism against the Islamic Republic took the form of attempts at *coup d'état*. That failed. The plan of economic boycott and the freezing of Iran's assets was then used in the hope of creating the proper environment for later *coups*. Then the United States launched a military attack in Tabas. It failed. Alongside those attempts, imperialism tried to exploit the just aspirations of Iranian minorities. That failed too. Residues of the Shah's régime tried to create chaos and insecurity in Iranian towns, hoping that the central Government would become so weak as to make changing the régime possible. Imperialism failed again.

338. Now imperialism is using a new weapon—Saddam Hussein. Having learned nothing from their previous failures, they calculated that within 48 hours the Iranian army would be destroyed, Saddam Hussein would triumph and the Iranian masses would scatter in confusion.

339. Once again imperialism faces defeat. The Iranian people have stood firm. They have rallied together and behind their Government and their leader. National unity has not been shattered but consolidated. The will to resist has not been bent but turned into a solid rock. The army has not been demoralized but revitalized. The common people have entered into furious battle with the enemy, fighting once again with little more than their bare hands. The Iranian people have demonstrated that a united people will never be defeated. An oppressed nation has shown that imperialism can be checked. Islam has shown itself to be a real and vital force against which arms and armour are powerless. The Iranian people have shown that Iran is eternal. Once more they have shaken the despots of the world. The heroic resistance of the Iranian people and their capacity to risk martyrdom in the face of tyranny and coercion has transformed the dream of imperialism and Saddam Hussein into their nightmare. As never before, the enemies of God and humanity are haunted by a spectre—The spectre of Islamic revolution. King and President have joined hands in an unholy alliance to crush us. Now they must reckon that they will themselves come crashing down if the aggression is not checked.

340. In calling upon the world community to condemn the aggressor, I ask the Assembly to view the actions of the Iraqi Government in the context of the accepted definition of aggression contained in the annex to General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX).

341. It is not only the armed aggression against my country that is most worthy of condemnation but the barbaric method of destruction which is being used against our cities and my people.

342. Iraqi artillery and ground-to-ground missiles are being indiscriminately and deliberately fired at residential areas, hospitals and schools. Saddam Hussein is using the infamous pacification method used against civilians by the Nazis in the Second World War, by the Americans in Viet Nam and by the Israelis in Palestine in order to force our people to desert their towns and villages. Two nights ago ground-to-ground missiles destroyed a great section of the city of Dizful around midnight while people were asleep. The aggressor, in its desperation, is fighting a dirty war of unprecedented cruelty and devastation. Our policy has been set by our leader, Imam Khomeini, who has declared:

"According to our Islamic beliefs we are always against war and destruction. We desire peace among all nations. However, if a war is imposed on us or we are attacked by an enemy, we shall be obliged to confront the attacker with all our ability and with all our able-bodied men. This will remain the case even if our enemy is enjoying the full support of the super-Powers. A basic reason for such a reaction from the followers of Islam is that we consider martyrdom a great blessing from God and this is exactly the case with our Moslem nation. The murderous puppet régime of Baghdad is attacking our civilians. In Dizful last night they fired rockets at innocent people in their sleep and killed many of them, but we shall never commit such an act. Our forces will only attack military positions and we are certain that we shall be the final winner as the masses are backing us."

343. We hold the aggressor fully responsible for the billions of dollars of material losses that have been inflicted upon the industrial installations, residential towns, harbours, roads and other possessions of our people; for the rendering homeless of thousands of civilians because of indiscriminate shelling; and for all the children who have lost their parents because of this barbarism.

344. We expect the human community to accept its responsibility in defending our people which has been subjected to a blatant act of aggression. We expect the international community to condemn the destruction of humanitarian and international values by the aggressor and to listen to the aspirations of our people after years of oppression.

345. The world knows that we did not start this war. We are victims of aggression and the aggressor is right now on our territory. It has been recommended to us to stop defending ourselves. The honour and credibility of our people and revolution dictate that as long as the aggressor is on our land the struggle must go on.

346. The Iraqi Government has stabbed us in the back at a time when we are confronting the forces of imperialism and Zionism. The Iraqi régime has taken a decision to annex some Iranian sections of the common Shatt-al-Arab waterway in the same way as Israel has declared its decision to annex the Holy City of Al-Quds al-Sharif. Saddam Hussein boasts of his commitments to Arab interests, so why does he not act against Israel which has been violating the interests of the Arab nation for 32 years? Instead he has directed all Iraq's armed forces against a country which has given most support to the Palestinian struggle. As a result it is the Zionist entity which stands to gain most. Saddam Hussein stands exposed; he is neither an Arab nor a Moslem, but a true ally of Israel and the super-Powers.

347. Iran stands for Islamic brotherhood and the unity of the oppressed. It has no quarrel with the Iraqi people. It makes no claim over Iraqi territory. But Iran cannot accept any cease-fire nor enter into any negotiations with the aggressor until it has pulled back from all the territories which it has occupied.

348. The PRESIDENT: Several representatives have asked to be allowed to exercise their right of reply. May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to five minutes for the second intervention and should be made by representatives from their seats.

349. Mr. SURYOKUSUMO (Indonesia): My delegation has listened to the statements made by delegations during the general debate. We regret that some of those statements contained the same unfounded allegations and falsehoods in reference to East Timor as at previous sessions. I should like to point out that the people of East Timor have already exercised their right to self-determination by their decision in 1976 to become part of the Republic of Indonesia, in conformity with the provisions of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV). The United Nations was kept fully informed of developments during that process

and the relevant information was submitted in the Special Committee on decolonization¹⁶ and in the Security Council.¹⁷

350. The people of East Timor are now living in peace and harmony. They are actively participating in and are fully benefiting from the various development projects, in such fields as education, agriculture, health, transportation and other infrastructures which are part of the five-year national development plan of Indonesia. We strongly oppose the continued unwarranted scrutiny of the non-existing problem of East Timor, which only serves to obscure existing realities. Not only do we categorically reject the false arguments which artificially keep alive the non-issue of East Timor, but we also object to the vituperative language used by certain delegations. Baseless inferences which have arisen from a desperate inaptitude to find valid arguments serve only to distract attention from the progress and success achieved by the people of East Timor in their efforts to develop their province. East Timor, as an integral part of Indonesia, has become its twenty-seventh province as a result of the free, democratic and peaceful exercise of the right to self-determination by the people of East Timor. No amount of scurrilous accusations and vitriolic rhetoric can change that fact.

351. Mr. MARROQUÍN NÁJERA (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): During this morning's meeting of the Assembly, a representative of the *de facto* Government of Grenada spoke for 45 minutes. He referred to the problems of his own country and to those of others and in many cases he demonstrated an obvious ignorance of their true nature, origin and consequences.

352. An experienced diplomat has stated that in international organizations "members' speeches are in inverse proportion to their size, which leads to their making serious mistakes". Those mistakes, however, may be attributed to involuntary actions or to bad faith.

353. If the progressive democracy of Grenada, imposed on its people, seeks freedom and independence for all peoples to decide their own future on the basis of that reality, that Government would do well to secure that right for its own people, which is now subjugated, before concerning itself with the rest of the world.

354. Belize constitutes for the entire Guatemalan nation the subject of a legitimate aspiration and demand for the restoration of territorial integrity to the Republic of Guatemala, whose Constitution, the fundamental law of the State, has stated for many decades "Belize is part of the territory of Guatemala". Our claim is therefore absurd only in the fevered mind of that speaker. What is absurd is to accept that the representative of the Government of Grenada can capriciously and tendentiously state that the vast majority of the people of Guatemala repudiate our territorial claim, because representatives of the entire nation, of various political views, participated in the drafting of our Constitution.

355. The claim of my country to the territory of Belize is a national cause. It is not the patrimony of a Government, or of a political group, or of a sector. This dates back many years and we have consistently and emphatically maintained it as the Guatemalan nation, as the international community well knows.

356. The Government of Grenada may vainly continue to insist on this matter in every forum, but as long as the problem of Belize is not solved in a just and equitable manner, on the basis of the peaceful negotiations being carried out by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Guatemala, taking into account the interests of the people of Belize, we shall not accept unilaterally declared independence.

357. Not only the people of Guatemala but also a significant part of the population of Belize, which have Guatemalan roots, expect an equitable settlement of the controversy.

358. For these reasons, we reject the intervention by Grenada, which pronounced itself in favour of the independence of Belize, not because Grenada is concerned about the destiny of the people of Belize or its well-being but because it is defending interests of various kinds which have no place in a controversy in which Grenada has neither voice nor vote.

359. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): The Prime Minister of Mauritius and some other speakers in the general debate have referred to Diego Garcia. The Prime Minister of Mauritius referred in particular to a statement by my Prime Minister, Mrs. Thatcher, in the House of Commons.

360. I wish to make it clear that the United Kingdom has sovereignty over Diego Garcia and has not accepted that the island is under the sovereignty of Mauritius.

361. When the Council of Ministers of Mauritius agreed in 1965 to the detachment of the Chagos Islands to form part of the British Indian Ocean Territory it was announced that those islands would be available for the construction of defence facilities and that in the event of the island no longer being required for defence purposes they should revert to Mauritius. What that means is that if the islands were no longer so required the British Government would be willing to consider ceding sovereignty over them to Mauritius.

362. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): The end of the general debate is drawing near and I shall attempt not to extend unduly this part of the work of the thirty-fifth session. My delegation is sorry to have to set the record straight concerning the statement made yesterday [30th meeting] by Mr. Jacques Hodoul, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Seychelles. He referred, indeed, to one of the 101 French departments in terms that might give a wrong impression.

363. As the Assembly is aware, Reunion is an integral part of the French Republic. Its inhabitants participate, in the same condition as all other French nationals, in consultations of the people which take place regularly over the whole of the national territory.

¹⁶ See A/AC.109/526.

¹⁷ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1976*, document S/12104.

364. In this way, they have on a number of occasions had the opportunity to express their choice in elections the democratic nature of which no one could question. Moreover, all are aware of the importance my country attaches to the free exercise of the right to self-determination.

365. My delegation, therefore, can only express its surprise at what in fact constitutes interference in the domestic affairs of France. Reunion being under French sovereignty, it must be understood that the rights attached to that status, including the right to security, cannot be called into question.

366. Mr. BENHIMA (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): Two or three delegations have referred this afternoon to the so-called question of Western Sahara in a polemical way, which accords badly with the position of the majority of delegations of Africa and of other continents. We note with interest the efforts undertaken by the *Ad Hoc* Committee charged by OAU with a mission of reconciliation so as to reduce the tension which has been artificially created in north-west Africa, and complete confidence in OAU has been expressed here.

367. We are bound to note that Benin and Guinea-Bissau, which claim to be progressive, have not added their voices to the voices of authentic Africa, or made their thoughtful contribution to the quest for peace. We should certainly have applauded a responsible attitude but it is known that those countries constitute relay stations for foreign subversion and bases for the destabilization of Africa.

368. Mr. NAVA CARRILLO (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The democratic Government of Venezuela has been singled out this afternoon with malicious intent in the statement of the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba, in reference to the sabotage of an aircraft of the Cuban airline, giving it a peculiar interpretation in terms of a political and legal reality obviously different from the one that prevails in Venezuela.

369. Venezuelan public opinion has, without exception, firmly condemned that tragic incident, in accordance with our consistent rejection of violence and terrorism. Last week the President of Venezuela reiterated that condemnation and characterized the occurrence as a terrible, reprehensible and savage act of sabotage, a crime which the entire country remembers and which it roundly, categorically and unanimously condemned.

370. In Venezuela the regular jurisdictional organs have always proceeded to render judgement, without distinction as to political ideology, against those who have resorted to acts of terrorism.

371. The Government of Venezuela maintains, respects and guarantees the independence and full autonomy of the various branches of public power as embodied in our Constitution. Accordingly, we comply with the decisions of the judicial authority in all its processes and all its jurisdictions. In a State based on the rule of law, such as ours, the accused has a guaranteed right to defence and can only be condemned or acquitted in accordance with what is proved in the courts. That is the procedure which is established and

applied under our legal system and judges must adhere to it when pronouncing judgement.

372. I reaffirm the irrevocable support of Venezuela for the full observance of human rights, among them the right of the accused to defence in the courts.

373. Venezuela is proud of its rule of law, and proud of its conduct in the active defence of the right of peoples to self-determination. In this manner we honour the memory and the heritage of the liberator Simon Bolívar.

374. Mr. BLUM (Israel): We have followed closely the general debate which has just been concluded. Many issues worthy of comment were raised. However, I should prefer to focus my remarks on one particularly disturbing phenomenon which was much in evidence in the course of this debate. We have witnessed the re-emergence of an ominous dimension in the realm of international politics: namely, the abuse of religion to fan the flames of political hostility and warfare.

375. In other debates and in different organs of the United Nations we have over the last year repeatedly cautioned against succumbing to this evil, which has brought so much misery, pain and suffering to mankind, not just in centuries gone by but also in our time. We feel duty bound to repeat that caution today.

376. We have witnessed moments in this general debate when we were hard pressed to tell whether some of the participants still regarded the United Nations as an Organization of States or whether they saw in the Assembly a forum for the propagation of hatred and fanaticism under the guise of religion.

377. The Organization was designed to ensure the equal and universal rights of all its Members. What we have been witnessing in the last few years and what was thrown into sharp relief in the course of this general debate was the emergence of exclusively religious blocs and the use of the political power at the disposal of such blocs for coercion in manners contrary to the Charter of the United Nations.

378. What is most disturbing is the exploitation of religious fervour for sectarian political purposes; the invocation of the sacred for mundane and ignoble causes. One State even went so far in this debate as to call on both Christians and Moslems to conduct a jihad, or holy war, against my country.

379. In this Organization numerous religions and ideologies are represented. It is not for a member of one faith to make judgements about another. But one thing is beyond question. It is not for anyone to use this rostrum to call for war—war of any kind—when the Preamble to the Charter opens with the words: "We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

380. The propagation of hatred and bigotry in the name of religion on a global scale is of itself a cause for great concern. But when, as today, such hatred and bigotry are combined with the economic power of Arab petro-dollars and oil blackmail, the potential danger facing the world becomes all

the more awesome. The arrogance of the Arab petro-hegemonists has been repeatedly demonstrated by overt threats, by bribery and by attempts to dictate to free countries how they should act in the international arena, how they should vote here in the Assembly and even what they can show on their television screens. Members of the Assembly know all too well that, even on those rare occasions when the fortuitous Arab beneficiaries of staggering oil wealth deign to share of their bounty, they seldom live up to their promises.

381. The unholy combination of bigotry and oil blackmail is of itself a cause for great concern. But, beyond that, when invective and the unbridled power of oil are then put at the service of international terror, the dangers facing the world are further compounded. If we are honest with ourselves, we must admit that the United Nations must also take some of the blame for the spread of international terrorism, particularly since the murderous attack on the Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics in 1972. Intimidated by oil blackmail, this body has been immobilized in the face of the scourge of terror. Not only has it been unable to go beyond sterile rhetoric, it has in fact tacitly and overtly supported international terror. Indeed, one such group of international terrorists has been granted irregular privileges in the Organization, in clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations and rules of procedure. For practical purposes that terrorist group enjoys all the rights of membership in the Organization without of course being subject to any of the concomitant obligations and duties.

382. The epidemic of international terror, compounded and supported by the twin evils of intolerance and economic coercion, is more than a cause for great concern. But, when we recognize that the régimes wielding these weapons are characterized by irrational behaviour and lack of respect for the accepted norms of international conduct, the terrible scope of the problem facing the world moves us to speak out now.

383. It behoves us, as Israelis and Jews, to raise these issues. Throughout our long history the Jewish people has all too often been the unfortunate victim of every form of intolerance, hatred and oppression. Indeed, within the living memory of many of those here today, we have been the victims of the most senseless, ruthless and vile application of persecution ever conceived and perpetrated by man. It is a chilling irony of fate that as the rostrum of the Assembly was being abused for a call for holy war against my country, a Jewish house of worship was made the target of a vicious bomb attack. That outrage in the heart of Europe must serve as a reminder of how a campaign of hatred, launched by rabble-rousers and bigots, can so easily lead to conflagration and massacre.

384. If Member States are unable to put a stop to this ominous development, the United Nations will be used for the perpetration of the very evil it was designed to combat. It will have irreparably betrayed its own *raison d'être*. We therefore voice these concerns now in the hope that there is still time to arrest this dangerous trend.

385. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq): It is beneath the dignity of my delegation to descend to the level of foul language which was used by the representative of Iran a few minutes ago. His

performance clearly shows a symptom of self-persecution psychosis. It reminds me of what H. G. Wells said in a short story entitled "The Country of the Blind": "In the country of the blind, the one-eyed man is king". Since he is a diplomat, I expected the representative of Iran to come here with both eyes wide open. Instead, he turned out to be completely blind to what is going on in the world.

386. I have jotted down many notes on what he said but in view of the time allotted for the exercise of the right of reply I shall concentrate on just one or two points.

387. On the question of history I think he proved himself nothing short of ignorant. He claims that the people of Iran are struggling, in their revolution, against Israel, but he quotes an incident from history concerning a Babylonian king who liberated Palestine. If they are really struggling against Zionist Israel and if they want to liberate Arab lands, why do they not liberate the three Arab islands in the Arabian Gulf from their occupation?

388. On the legal score, he painted a very gloomy picture, which shows nothing but complete ignorance of facts and law. He resorted to quoting in the Assembly the provisions of article 6 of the 1975 Treaty, but completely overlooked article 4, which talked about the indivisible element of a global settlement represented by the three protocols attached to the Treaty and said that any impairment or violation of any one of those three elements would constitute the collapse of the complete Treaty. As for article 6, it deals with interpretation and application. And it is indeed very interesting to hear an appeal to legality by the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran when he talks about the International Court of Justice and mediation, negotiation, arbitration. I think that it is quite clear to every State Member of the United Nations what the attitude of the Islamic Republic of Iran is to pacific settlements of disputes and, in particular, decisions of the International Court of Justice.

389. As to the conduct of the hostilities, he said that Iraq committed aggression and armed attack. I need not go into the details because they were put quite clearly before this body by my Foreign Minister at the 22nd meeting. Iran started attacking our posts long before 17 September, when my Government was forced of necessity to consider the Treaty terminated on the basis of article 4 and because of the unilateral termination by Iran. I would not expect a representative of the calibre which he has exemplified before the Assembly to understand these legal niceties; nor would I expect his colleagues to understand them. I do not know whether they still have any legal adviser in their Foreign Office.

390. One of the things that was said by the representative of Iran was that it does not interfere in the affairs of other States but that it is with the oppressed people all over the world, and in particular the Moslem world. Well, now, Khomeini himself said, in a speech delivered by his son on his behalf on 21 March 1980:

"We should exert our best endeavours to export our revolution to other parts of the world and give up the idea of confining the revolution within our borders."

And the representative of Iran said "We do not interfere in the . . . affairs of other countries" [*supra*, para. 311].

391. He also alluded to what he called 40,000 Iraqi citizens of Iranian ancestry. And he does not call that interference in the internal affairs of my country.

392. At the same time, he accuses my country of fomenting sectarianism inside Iran. Yet representatives must have noticed how this question of Shiism is being emphasized by the Government of Iran in all its statements.

393. It is really very interesting to see a representative of Iran at this rostrum obviously wishfully thinking that the so-called Islamic revolution of Iran is being observed the world over and is going to be emulated by Moslem masses all over the world. If that is so, I do not know how I should understand the statement made by his President two or three days ago on Teheran television, calling on the Iranians and reminding them that because of their policies they had been isolated from the rest of the world.

394. Finally, what the representative of Iran has said here demonstrates the opportunistic attitude of choosing the moment to state a lie, as was just done by the previous speaker, the representative of Israel. But let me say that it is very encouraging and interesting to see a representative of Iran speaking at this rostrum in the Organization which Iran considers to be a creation of Satan. Perhaps they have changed their minds and now consider all of us to be human beings.

395. Mr. TINOCO FONSECA (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We are exercising our right of reply to some points made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia in regard to our country and our Government. As our Minister for Foreign Affairs said on Wednesday, 8 October, at this rostrum [28th meeting], we have nothing but the warmest feelings for our brother people of Colombia, but that is no reason for us to set aside our historical responsibility to defend our territorial integrity by declaring the Treaty in question null and void. For the purpose of clarification and illustration we make the following comments.

396. It might be asked why after the lapse of 50 years the nullity of that Treaty is now declared. It must be remembered, however, that those 50 years constitute the blackest, most disgraceful half-century in the history of our country.

397. What is more, we wish to point out that the genocidal Somoza régime could not declare the Treaty null and void, for many and varied reasons: first, because that régime, like the Treaty, was born of the United States occupation; secondly, because, even from the point of view of principle, the concept of national sovereignty was a concept unknown to the Somoza régime; and thirdly, because Somoza, as a main shareholder in the coal mines in Colombia, would have endangered his personal capital if he had taken such action.

398. Therefore we wish to make the following points. First, the Barcenas Meneses-Esquerria Treaty was signed and ratified during the United States occupation. Secondly, the presence of more than 5,000 United States marines occupying our country and our capital exercised obvious pressure on the situation, subordinating our national interests to the strategic interests in the area of the occupying

Power. Thirdly, that Treaty was contrary to the letter and the spirit of our national Constitution, which on that date expressly prohibited the cession of any of our territory. Fourthly, quite apart from the fraternal feelings we have for Colombia, Nicaragua has no boundary conflicts with that country since our countries are not and never have been neighbours. Fifthly, the declaration of the nullity of that Treaty is the logical corollary of the new right and ability of the people of Nicaragua to act with sovereignty for the first time in 70 years. Sixthly, we respect the inviolability of public instruments, but public treaties are inviolable only when they result from the sovereign will of peoples; when, on the contrary, they are the result of foreign interference and occupation they are null and void in and of themselves. Accordingly the Revolutionary Government of Nicaragua has confined itself to declaring the intrinsic nullity of that Treaty. Seventhly, we reaffirm our readiness to reach a settlement of this conflict within the context of brotherhood and respect and we maintain that the process of dialogue is the most suitable course.

399. Mr. REY PRENDES (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Today the representatives of Grenada and Cuba, taking advantage of their statements in the general debate, referred to events occurring in El Salvador.

400. El Salvador categorically rejects the expressions used, since they are not in accordance with the realities of the political process in my country. El Salvador also categorically rejects the approach and the concept expressed, which show a deliberate distortion of the facts. Consequently the situation must be made clear.

401. For 50 years my country was controlled by a small oligarchy which owned the land and the banks and controlled the exports and our entire national wealth; it also controlled political power and used the army to prevent the people from expressing its will.

402. For 20 years the Christian Democrats—and I am referring to them because Christian Democrats specifically have been appointed to the Revolutionary Junta of El Salvador—were the main victims of the military tyranny in El Salvador. Many of our people were persecuted and exiled, and others were assassinated, but finally, on 15 October, a movement of military youth succeeded in bringing forth a new vision and new hope for El Salvador. When we, the Christian Democrats, took power, together with independent persons and with the military youth force, changes were made in El Salvador which have no parallel in the history of the country.

403. I can assure the Assembly that the agrarian reform in El Salvador is the most far-reaching ever carried out in any Latin American country. The banks are now controlled by the State, by those who work in the banks and by the people in general. Export businesses also are now State-controlled in the service of the people. A profound social revolution is taking place, but we are also creating the foundations for a true democracy in which the people for the first time will be able freely to choose its representatives.

404. For this reason, all those who oppose the revolutionary process of El Salvador can only be called real counter-revolutionaries. Therefore I wish to place on record the

position of the revolution of El Salvador, which sometimes seems not to be understood. Even if some try to understand it or indeed do so, it has not won the respect to which a people is entitled after sacrificing so much and struggling for so many years to ensure that no one interferes in the building of its future.

405. Our people continue to suffer. Many have died and more are dying in a struggle which at times seems senseless.

406. Today one of the highest-ranking leaders of the Christian Democratic Party—and I mention this here so that it will be on the record—Dr. Melvi Rigoberto Orellanas, was assassinated by one of the groups claiming to have a revolutionary following. But that it has totally lost because the people of El Salvador knows what it wants, knows where it is going and deserves the respect of all the peoples of America and of the world.

407. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am not surprised at the reply to our true accusations by those who seem to feel no shame in representing those who daily massacre the people of El Salvador with foreign assistance.

408. Last year in this hall Mr. Guillermo Ungo spoke on behalf of the people of El Salvador.¹⁸ Mr. Ungo, who genuinely represents the interests of the Salvadorian people, has returned to the United States again, after a long pilgrimage through various countries of America, to denounce in the most energetic and categorical manner the treachery being committed today by the Fascist military junta of El Salvador against that brother people.

409. Public opinion is well aware of the root of the genocide which reigns in El Salvador—the consolidation of the exploitative oligarchy. And when I speak of the exploitative oligarchy I am not referring to any remote past but to a bloody present. That precisely is how it was described a few days ago by Archbishop Rivera of El Salvador. It is an oligarchy which holds power as though the entire nation were its own fiefdom, with imperialism and with the solid support of the anti-nationalist, parasitic and predatory army. This is an old formula which has been and is still being applied today in our America by many tyrannical régimes.

410. Mr. Ricardo Ramírez, Secretary-General of the Christian Democratic Party—the party to which the representative of El Salvador was referring—went into exile yesterday. I assume that this is because the Christian Democratic Party represents today in El Salvador the main alliance of military Fascists. But there can be no doubt that the vast masses of the Christian Democratic Party, which did fight against the Salvadorian tyranny, do not today form part of the Fascist military Government. These obsolete forms have disappeared for ever in Central America, as was stated by a Cuban revolutionary—a true revolutionary, not someone who wants to use the label “revolutionary” to stain the honour of his people.

411. The representative of Venezuela, in referring to the statement made today by the Vice-Minister for Foreign

Affairs of Cuba, affirmed that the rule of law obtains in his country with a strict separation of powers. That may be true, but it does not seem relevant to us as regards the four criminals who were responsible for the destruction of a Cuban aircraft over Barbados. The Venezuelan judge, Delia Escava, in stating the charges, declared only a few days ago to the press that although the file contained the necessary information to indict those who were responsible for the terrorist attack, she did not know what happened to the file after it has left her hands.

412. The terrorists, two stateless Cubans and two Venezuelans, were brought before a military court. According to article 28 of the military penal code of Venezuela, the President of the Republic is the chief officer of the military courts. It cannot therefore fail to arouse suspicion that the military prosecutor, who had earlier requested a sentence of 30 years' imprisonment—that is, during the Government of President Carlos Andrés Pérez, and taking into account the conclusive supporting evidence—now requests acquittal for the criminals.

413. I frankly cannot believe that the spirit of Bolívar can have any relation to that curious interpretation and application of the rule of law. If, as seems likely, this group of convicted murderers are released, the authorities who make the decision will be unable to avoid the historical responsibility for having prevented the fulfilment of justice.

414. Mr. ARDAKANI (Iran): I think that a few moments ago I stated a fact that, as usual, bothered the parties who are in the wrong. Those who are afraid of the truth are always in pain when faced with it.

415. I referred to the fact based on truth, which must be faced, that Saddam's régime is at the service of Zionism and imperialism. Here I leave the polemics to Saddam's representative, since he enjoys that kind of self-perpetuating game. I myself do not indulge in such activity.

416. I was also very glad to hear him and the representative of the Zionist entity attack us and our Moslem brothers as fanatics. I am also very happy to know that he does not understand that being a despot has nothing to do with one's language. Nebuchadnezzar was a despot. He is condemned by Islam, he is condemned by Christianity, he is condemned by Judaism and he is condemned by humanity because of his barbaric actions. In any event, we are not quarrelling over history here. He could go back and reread it if he wished.

417. It is no accident that the representative of Zionism and the representative of Saddam have joined together and use similar language. They use big words with no meaning, repeat the memorized answers which they have kept on producing in this hall and ridiculing the principles of others without getting to the core of the discussion itself.

418. This is why I think that there is not much difference between the barbarism I have described that is being done to my people and that which has been done to the Palestinians. All the nations of the world are aware of this, as they themselves have confessed.

¹⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 84th meeting, paras. 104-168.

419. He raised a point about the decisions of the International Court of Justice. It seems that he is not aware of the principles of that Court, either. The decisions of that Court are always binding if the parties have agreed in advance to accept them, and that was the case with the 1975 Treaty.

420. I am glad that he is bothered by our revolutionary ideas. I am also glad that he was guilty of another lie here when he referred to a speech by our leader saying that we should try to export our revolutionary ideas. I think that if he knows enough Arabic, he knows the consequences of what we call taking up some parts of a statement and ignoring other parts of it.

421. Again, I think he was also confused by my references to the people and masses, especially with regard to the separation which we know exists between the aspirations of peoples and those of governments. That is why I never use the word 'government' but rather stick to 'the people'.

422. With reference to his irrelevant citation of our President's statement, I am very proud of what our President said because it is a great sign of our democracy and because our President was also referring to relations with Governments.

423. I am very glad that the representative of Iraq could not produce any answer to the facts that I presented. In any event, I did not expect any more from him than I heard from his Zionist friend, who produced the same kind of material. I think that what is important are the facts, bared before the people of the world, the people of Iran, the people of Iraq and the peoples of the non-aligned movement and their true representatives. I think that the true representatives of the people of Iraq will one day appreciate what I have said here. I should like further to note that there do exist records of their conspiracy against our people with respect to the points that I raised. It is described therein how their current régime was planning with the Shah's goons to abort our revolution. It seems that, as is usually the case, the liars are also forgetful. So I leave the niceties of the words and the cruelties of the deeds to him, and I am thankful to God that I have one faith and that I am not a hypocrite.

424. The PRESIDENT: The Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization has asked to be allowed to reply to a statement made by one of the speakers in the general debate. I intend to call on him on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974, and particularly on the basis of the ruling made by the President of the thirty-first session and of the precedents established under similar circumstances during subsequent sessions of the General Assembly.

425. I call on the Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

426. Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization): At the outset I wish to state that we are here by a decision of the overwhelming majority of the Assembly.

427. It is really ironic that the murderers of the infants of Deir Yassin—those who still drop bombs on peaceful and innocent civilian victims in their refugee camps in south Lebanon after they have been forced out of their homes in

Palestine and who murdered the envoy of peace Count Folke Bernadotte in the City of Peace, Jerusalem—should come here and talk about peace and terrorism.

428. It is true that in history there are many instances of genocide and mass killing of people, including Jews among others. The most recent of such crimes were the crimes and mass murders committed by the Nazis. Scores of millions were "exterminated" in cold blood. But I am surprised. Why single out one group of victims? That is precisely racial discrimination, even among the victims of heinous and odious racism and exclusivism.

429. Instead of joining with the rest of the world in the struggle and efforts to eliminate all forms of racism, the racist Zionists have chosen to capitalize on the suffering of Jews in a most shameful way and pursue a policy of exclusivism, racial discrimination, expulsion, oppression and murder against the Palestinian people. Those who collaborated with the Nazis and turned the misery of Jews into a lucrative business, as is the case of one establishment, the Bank Leumi, should be aware that the entire world now knows of their crimes and their infamous collaboration with the Nazis.

430. The PRESIDENT: Several representatives have asked to be allowed to speak again in exercise of the right of reply. Before calling on them, I should like to remind them that for a second statement the time-limit is five minutes.

431. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq): Again, the representative of Iran does not seem to take no for an answer. He stated that he had presented the General Assembly with facts and principles—the principles of a Moslem. I shall hold him to that. If he is a true Moslem, he should state the truth.

432. From that rostrum he said that our military forces are murderers because we have bombed civilian targets in Iran, when he knows it is a fact, established by diplomatic notes presented to their chargé d'affaires in Baghdad on 4, 7, 8 and 11 September, that they were the ones who started bombing civilian targets. Were they Iraqi forces who murdered unarmed sailors in the Shatt-al-Arab two days ago? If he is a true Moslem, let him come to the rostrum and say we did not do that.

433. On the question of law, I advise him not to tread that ground. It might be too intricate for him. I know for sure that the International Court of Justice had jurisdiction to look into the case before it and that the non-submission was illegal.

434. When the representative of Iran goes to the rostrum to talk about ethical principles, trying to have the world believe that what Iran stands for is a world mission to straighten out the injustices and inequities in this world, let him remember first that equity begins at home. What he calls gimmicks and rhetoric are nothing but facts, and those facts are not in the mind of the Iraqi people only but also in the mind of the whole world. Can we really claim that the whole world is blind to reality and that the only people who know it are those who follow Khomeini? That would be absurd.

435. When he goes to the rostrum, appeals to legalities and says "We shall not accept a cease-fire, we shall not negotiate", meaning "We shall not settle this dispute peacefully", and falsely alleges that in 1975 Iran gave Iranian territory to Iraq on a silver platter, he knows that is not true. Let him go to the rostrum and prove to the Assembly that what they gave to Iraq in 1975 was not Iraq's right. But what did Iraq give in return?

436. I sincerely advise any representative of the present authorities in Iran to look around and see for himself what the masses of the world think of their authorities.

437. Mr. REY PRENDES (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): When I listened to the Cuban representative, I felt as if I were listening to the most reactionary oligarchy of El Salvador, for he was using the same language as the right uses to attack the revolution of El Salvador. He devoted himself to criticizing and repeating propaganda slogans which El Salvador completely rejects.

438. I wish to make it clear that we have not come here to criticize any other revolution—whether good, bad, positive or negative. But it seems to us absurd to look to the revolutions of other countries for an interpretation of the situation in any given country. It is only when one is inside a country that one can know whether its entire people is supporting the revolutionary process. And in this respect, I have come here not to criticize anybody but simply to ask for respect for a people seeking to set its own course and for a Government which has called upon all sectors of that people jointly to build a free country, a country without injustice, a country without poverty.

439. Mr. NAVA CARRILLO (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation does not wish to start a process of reply and counter-reply, and we shall therefore confine ourselves to clarifications that we deem necessary. We do not intend to provoke; we do not intend to offend; nor do we intend to confuse. We have been clear in indicating the reasons why Venezuelan justice pronounced itself in accordance with the rules of law of the country both in the area of procedure and in substance.

440. But reference has been made to the President of the Republic of Venezuela in a context which makes it necessary for me to give a clarification. The President of Venezuela acts not on the basis of an all-inclusive power, which he is denied by the laws and the Constitution of the country; the President of the Venezuelan State does not have the power to intervene or interfere in matters which are within the exclusive competence of other branches of public power. He

may not intervene in the Congress or the judiciary. Among his fundamental obligations is that of having the Constitution and the laws respected and of guaranteeing the autonomy of the various branches of public power. In the case of the judiciary, it is applicable to all its jurisdictions, civil and military.

441. Mr. ARDAKANI (Iran): In answering Saddam's representative, I would say that I am very glad to hear that the truth as he says it comes from the notes from his Foreign Ministry. The world well knows how much truth coming from that source is worth.

442. As I have said, I will leave the polemics to him, but I have to repeat one thing that he said in which I think he was right. It is true that we do not negotiate with aggressors. We do not negotiate with the perpetrators of *coups*. We do not negotiate with oppressors. We do not negotiate with international goons and killers, and we do not negotiate with those whose history of blackmail and lies is well known.

443. We do not submit to force, be it from imperialists or from their kind. That is the nature of our people, who are able to act in this way because they have faith. We have no worries over that, and again I quote from the Koran, which the representative of Iraq claims to believe. God says:

"So be not faint of heart, nor fall into despair; for ye must gain mastery if ye are true in Faith".¹⁹

444. With respect to human rights, I think the record of the State he represents is very clear. But the fact that we do not negotiate with oppressors does not mean that we do not talk to anyone. Of course, we talk to those who speak of justice and truth, and I think this Organization was created to give a chance to those who would be able to resist pressure, who would be able to resist aggressors and who would be able to condemn those who violated the integrity of other nations.

445. The PRESIDENT: That concludes our consideration of agenda item 9. May I take this opportunity to thank all members for the co-operation rendered to me and to the other presiding officers throughout the general debate. I am confident that I can continue to count on that understanding and support from delegations, particularly with regard to their making it possible for the President to begin meetings on time.

The meeting rose at 8.35 p.m.

¹⁹ Quoted in Arabic by the speaker.

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة
يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم. استعلم منها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب إلى : الأمم المتحدة، قسم البيع في نيويورك أو في جنيف.

如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经售处均有发售。请向书店询问或写信到纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий. Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.
