

联 合 国

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安全理事会



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大会
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安全理事会
第五十年

秘书长关于联合国工作的报告

审查《加强国际安全宣言》的执行情况

维持国际安全

可持续发展和国际经济合作：贸易和发展

联合国国际法十年

联合国宪章和加强联合国作用特别委员会的报告

消除国际恐怖主义的措施

1995年12月27日

伊朗伊斯兰共和国常驻联合国代表

给秘书长的信

奉我国政府指示，谨随函附上1995年12月27日伊朗伊斯兰共和国外交部长阿里·阿克巴尔·韦拉亚提先生阁下给你的信。

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常驻代表

卡迈勒·哈拉齐(签名)

附 件

1995年12月27日

伊朗伊斯兰共和国外交部长

给秘书长的信

美利坚合众国政府对伊朗伊斯兰共和国的常年敌意政策最近已经加强,并达到新的危险程度。你可能知道,美国国会正在进行两项立法,其一授权对伊朗伊斯兰共和国秘密进行颠覆活动,其二单方面地企图打乱伊朗同其他国家的经济关系。两项立法都公然违反关于国家间关系的公认准则与原则,造成危险的先例,其伤害法治秩序和国际和平与安全的严重后果尚不可预料。因此,国际社会、尤其是联合国,必须立刻严肃地予以研究并采取对策。

你可能已经注意到,美国传播界所公布的报导,包括本信所附1995年12月22日《华盛顿邮报》题为“白宫同意授权在伊朗进行秘密活动的法案”,揭露了美国政府的一项对伊朗伊斯兰共和国及其合法政府进行秘密活动的阴谋。这些报导显示白宫同意国会的一项法案,授权支出高达2 000万美元的款,进行秘密的反伊朗活动。列令人惊异的是,据《国会记事》消息,这笔款中至少有200万美元是拨给在伊朗境内的颠覆活动。

因为该立法是机密性的,所以其设计的冒险分子非法活动的规模仍属未知之数。必须指出,据美国众议院议长正式公开的建议,该立法的原来目的是推翻伊朗伊斯兰共和国政府。

从少数已经公布的细节可知,白宫和国会同意直接干预,以便破坏伊朗伊斯兰共和国的稳定,其措施包括支持反对伊朗政府的团体和“培养新反对力量”。

鉴于绝大多数这类团体之参与在伊朗境内境外反伊朗人民的恐怖主义罪行是完全根据无可怀疑的文件所证明,甚至美国政府也承认,因此现在所宣布的美国政策是

不折不扣的、最公然的、政府所主持的国家恐怖主义的鲜明例证。美国一个政府机构中央情报局的参与也指明这是居然以立法通过的国家恐怖主义活动。

美利坚合众国政府多年来一直执行着现在所公开的反伊朗的干预、干涉、颠覆政策,这是违背普遍公认的国际法原则和《联合国宪章》原则,包括尊重各国主权和政治独立以及不干涉与不干预他国内政的基本原则。

并且,美国政府根据其1981年1月19日在《阿尔及利亚声明》中的承诺,有法律义务不得干涉伊朗伊斯兰共和国的内政,这是美国政府正式表示遵守的义务并构成一种条约义务。

美国干预伊朗的政策已有长久历史,对我国人民一向造成忧患和不安。为了结束这类行为,《阿尔及利亚声明》除其他外规定:

美国保证美国的政策现在是,今后也是不直接或间接地在政治上或军事上干预伊朗内政。

十分明显,美国政府采取上述立法中的措施,是再度违背了它在这项《声明》中的承诺,是严重破坏它的国际条约义务。

不干预和不干涉他国内政原则是载在《联合国宪章》和为几项其他国际和区域条约中的普遍公认准则。除了美国对伊朗伊斯兰共和国的条约义务外,大会的若干决议,包括“不容干涉各国内政和保护各国独立和主权宣言”(1965年12月21日第2131(XX)号决议)、“关于各国依联合国宪章建立友好关系和合作的国际法原则宣言”(1970年10月24日第2625(XXV)号决议)、“不容干涉和干预别国内政宣言”(1981年12月9日第36/103号决议),都重申国家有义务不得直接间接干涉他国的内政外交。

第2625(XXV)号决议规定:

……武装干涉及对国家人格或其政治、经济及文化要素之一切其他形式之干预或试图威胁,均系违反国际法。……任何国家均不得使用或鼓励使用经济、政治或任何他种措施强迫另一国家,以取得该国主权权利行使上之屈从,并

自该国获取任何种类之利益。

上述两项美国立法都构成公然违背关于国与国间行为的这些普遍公认的准则。

为了给它的非常行为找理由,美国大量借助于毫无根据的诬蔑性伪造新闻、诽谤、敌意宣传、并到处散播反对伊朗伊斯兰共和国的捏造事件与不实指控。我国过去已经指出,我国认为美国官员顽固地一遍又一遍进行没有证据的早已证明为子虚乌有的不实指责,是根本不负责任的,是严重而危险的错误,如果继续下去,将在国际关系上产生破坏性的影响,造成一种怀疑、不信任的气氛。

从较高的眼光看,在美国国会中等待通过的两项新立法标志着走向唯我独尊的趋势,将一国怀有政治动机的意见强迫施加给国际社会其他成员的趋势。这也是从根本地向法治和向联合国基本原则挑战,并显示有将国家恐怖主义和国家主持的恐怖主义以国内立法加以合法化的倾向。

很明显的是,美国政府继续这种不负责任的单方面行为和傲慢举动,将造成令人震惊的前例,对国际和平与安全将产生深远的恶劣影响,并在国际关系上制造不安定和不安全局势,美国必须对此负全部责任。全世界必须坚定地排斥这种政策。联合国、特别是安全理事会,应负有最基本的责任,防止这类灾难性的后果,并采取一切必要的适当步骤,立即阻止这种政策和作法。

请将本信及其附件作为大会议程项目10、60、81、95(a)、140、145和146的文件和安全理事会的文件分发为荷。

外交部长

阿里·阿克巴尔·韦拉亚提(签名)

附 录

White House Agrees to Bill Authorizing Covert Action in Iran

By R. Jeffrey Smith
and Thomas W. Lippman
Washington Post Staff Writers

Washington Post

December 22, 1995

Bowing to pressure from House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), the Clinton administration has agreed to accept a House bill authorizing a small-scale covert action program aimed at moderating the radical Islamic regime in Iran, including cultivating new opponents to the regime, according to administration and congressional sources.

Gingrich has described Iran as "the most dangerous country in the world" and for weeks had been quietly holding up House approval of a \$28 billion intelligence community spending bill in an effort to force the administration to accept a covert program that targets the Iranian government.

With support from Senate lawmakers, the administration resisted providing funding for any program aimed at overthrowing the Iranian regime, as CIA officials said it was unlikely to succeed. But House and Senate negotiators, acting with the consent of key administration officials, hammered out a deal on Tuesday that authorizes secret spending of up to \$20 million for a covert anti-Iran program.

Instead of trying to overthrow the regime, however, the program would have the less ambitious aim of trying to blunt Iran's extremist policies and encourage it to move—even slowly—toward becoming a democracy, several sources said. The bill does not authorize any spending for lethal military aid to anti-Iran forces, such as the assistance the Reagan administration provided to the contra rebels in Nicaragua to try to destabilize the government there, several sources said.

The House passed the intelligence bill containing this secret provision on Iran yesterday, sources said. Congressional sources said the Senate was expected to approve it as well, possibly by today, and sources in Congress and the administration predicted President Clinton will sign the legislation shortly after he receives it. Two sources said the administration has agreed to spend some of the anti-Iran funds.

"For the most part, Gingrich is satisfied with the bill," a spokesman for the House speaker said, while declining to discuss what the bill said.

The funding plan is one of several recent U.S. initiatives that target the policies of Iran's leadership. The government has angered U.S. officials, who say it has tried to undermine the Middle East peace process, supported terrorism in the Middle East and other regions and allegedly tried to create a nuclear arsenal.

The Senate approved a bill yesterday that would tighten existing U.S. trade sanctions against Iran by punishing foreign companies that invest in the country's oil industry—a bill the administration also has said it will accept. Earlier this week, U.S. officials formally agreed with representatives of 27 other nations to create a multilateral organization dedicated to stopping Iran and three other nations from obtaining armaments and militarily sensitive dual-use goods.

In approving the new sanctions against Iran, the Senate agreed to apply the same penalties against foreign companies that invest in Libya's oil business.

Sens. Alfonse M. D'Amato (R-N.Y.) and Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) went after Libya, another oil-dependent economy, to mark the seventh anniversary of the bombing of Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland. Libya has refused to hand over two suspects in the bombing, which killed 270 people.

The measure probably would have less effect on Libya than on Iran because Libya, unlike Iran, is already under United Nations sanctions prohibiting some investment in the oil industry there.

Clinton, in remarks this week to a Saudi-owned London newspaper, *As-harq al-Awsat*, said "our problem is not with the people of Iran; it is with the unacceptable behavior of the Iranian government." He said the trade embargo was meant to "demonstrate our resolve to compel Tehran to pay a price for continuing its threatening activities."

The president said Washington could begin a direct dialogue with the Iranian regime only after these activities stop, according to a transcript of the interview released by the White House.

CIA Director John M. Deutch and other U.S. intelligence officers have told lawmakers in recent months that Iran's leadership faces no serious domestic opposition for at least the next three years, and they outlined various difficulties the CIA would face in trying to destabilize the government.

One major problem is that key Iranian opposition leaders operate from the territory of Iraq, a U.S. enemy, or receive Iraqi funding. The Clinton administration has refused to have any dealings with the principal opposition group, known as the Mujaheddin, but several members of Congress have urged the administration to reconsider its position.

On the other hand, U.S. intelligence officials say the Iranian regime has been under growing economic pressure resulting from widespread corruption and a mountain of unpaid foreign debt. A senior U.S. defense official predicted two weeks ago that "Iran will moderate" in the coming decade, even though it is unlikely to abandon its ambition to become the dominant regional power.

The campaign against Iran has been strongly supported by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the chief pro-Israel lobbying organization. AIPAC has aggressively lobbied for the new sanctions legislation, which would impose penalties on foreign corporations, banks and lending institutions that make major investments in Iran's oil and gas industries, the country's principal source of revenue.

Clinton already has banned U.S.-based firms from doing business with Iran. Congress cannot prohibit foreign corporations from investing there, but the Senate bill is intended to force foreign organizations to choose between doing business with Iran and doing business with the United States.

The Senate bill was put on a fast legislative track because its chief sponsors, including D'Amato, want to set the Iranian economy back further by heading off several large new petroleum development projects for which Iran has been seeking foreign partners.

Similar measures are under consideration in the House, where staff members of both parties predicted adoption of a bill stronger than the Senate bill, probably including a ban on exports to the United States by foreign corporations investing in Iran.

Gingrich has been raising alarms about Iran periodically for at least the past year. He has called it a "terroristic state . . . committed to defeating the West in any way it can" and said Iranian-backed terrorism poses "a permanent, long-term threat to civilized life on this planet." He has further warned that Iran's efforts to develop weapons of mass destruction could enable it "to annihilate Tel Aviv and in the long run to annihilate Chicago or Atlanta."

Gingrich told a Jewish group in October that he favored making "Iran a real project," after earlier likening the idea to a "a serious, sophisticated campaign plan" or a battlefield effort "that applies all sorts of

indirect pressures." He has only vaguely described what this plan should consist of but said in February that its aim should be to replace the regime in Iran.

In April, however, he spelled out two other potential goals: "moderating" the regime, or merely guaranteeing that it "never gets nuclear weapons." Both are comparable to what the administration states it is trying to do already, by supporting the trade embargo and pressuring U.S. allies not to export sensitive equipment to Iran.

The Iranian government, for its part, has attacked Gingrich for his "parochial ignorance" and "lack of mental equilibrium." The Iranian parliamentary speaker, Ali Akbar Nategh Nuri, has called Gingrich an "imbecile." Last autumn, the country also said his criticism amounted to "state terrorism."