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at 10.40 a.m.

NEW YORK

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

## AGENDA ITEM 9

## General debate (concluded)

1. Mr. VOLIO JIMÉNEZ (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The people and Government of Costa Rica welcome the accession of a new State, Saint Christopher and Nevis, to independent life and to the United Nations. We were pleased to be present at the solemn celebration of its independence. We extend to its people and Government our wishes for prosperity in freedom and a national life full of accomplishment and constant development.

2. International co-operation is an essential element in achieving the principles embodied in the San Francisco Charter in the sphere of human rights. In pursuance of those principles, the United Nations has adopted, among other instruments, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its Optional Protocol, thus upholding the principle that the human being is the subject matter of international law.

3. A great deal has been done in this field. Regrettably, none the less, there still remain victims of discrimination by reason of colour, race, sex, religion or national origin. Millions of people, particularly in the third world, live in conditions of poverty unworthy of the human being. Regrettably also, the numbers of refugees increase because of persecution for ideological reasons, foreign occupation and forced displacement caused by military conflict.

4. I should like to take this opportunity to express thanks on behalf of the Government and people of Costa Rica to UNHCR and the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration for the attention given to the great problem of refugees in my country. We have registered 11,464 refugees thus far—one third of the total number—but the flow of refugees in the past months, particularly that of Nicaraguan refugees, has increased rapidly. In March this year 45 refugees per week entered our country, and in October the average rate is 175 per week. This is a tremendous burden to Costa Rica, and we hope for international co-operation to resolve the conflict.

5. So much violence, injustice and poverty illustrate the vast task we must carry out in the human rights field in order to make them a reality for everyone. States' compliance with the principles and legal instruments protecting those values is an indispensable factor in that urgent endeavour, which is intrinsically related to peace, but we must rely on other machinery as well to make the work of the United Nations more effective and expeditious. Eighteen years ago Costa Rica, understanding that need, proposed the establishment of a United Nations high commissioner for human rights. That initiative has had many ups and downs, but the need for it is felt

increasingly. It is not the first time in the United Nations that a good idea takes a long time to yield fruit.

6. We hope that at the next session of the Commission on Human Rights, of which Costa Rica is a member, the resolution recommending the creation of a high commissioner's office will be adopted. The proposal is not intended to be a panacea for the ills afflicting the world in the field of human rights, but the high commissioner could be an important factor in improving the situation and going beyond rhetoric. We urge all delegations to give careful attention to that initiative, which has been given serious study by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. That Sub-Commission has helped to dispel doubts concerning the mandate of the high commissioner, whose work would provide the United Nations with another tool in the struggle which has already given it so much prestige.

7. One serious danger to peace is what was so eloquently described by President Betancur as "this insidious disguise of barbarity which is terrorism", whose most recent manifestation was the Rangoon tragedy, where a group of high government officials from the Republic of Korea were killed, where an attempt was made on the life of its President and where the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma was plunged into mourning. The United Nations must wage an intense struggle against that dangerous scourge of modern man.

8. There is a need to reactivate the process of peace through national reconciliation in Central America, Cyprus, Korea and Chad. This is true of Lebanon as well, where such reconciliation requires the withdrawal of foreign troops. It is as urgent there as in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. There is also an urgent need for peace for the noble Palestinian people. I reiterate here what I stated last year: Costa Rica is confident that we are not far from the day when that long-suffering people can at last live at peace with its neighbours in a territory where it can assert its national identity.

9. Another terrible scourge is that of racism, which is so odiously manifested in South Africa. The international community must redouble its efforts to convince that country that its behaviour violates the fundamental values of mankind today. The tension caused by the conflict in South Africa is also a threat to world peace.

10. One other manifestation of institutionalized racism and continuing colonialism is the illegal behaviour of South Africa in Namibia. Costa Rica had the honour of hosting the first regional symposium organized by the United Nations concerning that situation. On that occasion, the President of Costa Rica, Luis Alberto Monge, reaffirmed our determination to contribute, within the United Nations framework, to efforts to bring about the self-determination of Namibia and affirmed that "no force, interest or consideration alien to the legitimate will of the Namibian people to establish the Government of its choice should be allowed to weaken the pressure of the international community on the Republic of South Africa to comply with the United Nations resolutions on the problem of Namibia."

11. The thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly is taking place in the midst of an unprecedented crisis which particularly afflicts the developing countries. It is a crisis which, as President Mitterrand has said, widens the gap between the rich, who are increasingly rich in spite of the crisis, and the poor, who are increasingly impoverished because of the crisis.

12. The experience of recent years demonstrates that the world economy cannot work properly with the restrictive policy of the industrialized countries, the high rates of interest, the increasing indebtedness, the squandering of resources on weapons in both North and South and the social inequalities that exist within both poor and rich societies and lead to increasingly superfluous consumption. The stagnation of the financial system and the weakening of the sources of the growth of production have created untenable imbalances and generated a crisis which cannot be resolved through the traditional economic policies. The seriousness of contemporary problems makes necessary a reformulation of existing relations in the world economic order.

13. What particularly concerns us in this bleak general picture is the foreign debt problem of the developing countries. The non-industrialized nations today have debts amounting to \$700 billion, loaned for the benefit of creditors and debtors alike. On the one hand, the efforts to control inflationary pressure in the industrialized countries by restricting the supply and demand of money moderated the growth of production and trade and reduced the demand for local credit. On the other hand, in the developing countries it was necessary to compensate with external credits for the income lost through a decline in the value and volume of exports and the further imbalances caused by an increase in the price of oil for the importing countries. The convergence of excessive liquidity in the hands of the international banking system and the developing countries' growing need for external financing resulted in the creation of a situation whose seriousness calls for joint action by the industrialized and the developing nations.

14. It is essential that the entire international community heed the appeals to begin the urgent task of global negotiations. The first signs of an economic recovery that is restricted geographically and limited to certain sectors should not be a reason for closing the door to those negotiations, which concern the future of the entire international economic system. We should not make the mistake of thinking that a few nations can by themselves bring about lasting well-being.

15. The heavy burden of indebtedness of the third world nations endangers the health and the future of the world economy. Several developing countries, including Costa Rica, have shown an unprecedented sense of responsibility in imposing upon themselves austerity programmes which in many cases endanger their political and social balance. For example, Costa Rica has managed to control inflation. At the beginning of 1982 the inflation rate was 85 per cent per annum, and it has now been reduced to 17 per cent per annum. It has acted similarly to tackle the phenomenon of currency devaluation. Our exchange rate in 1982 was 64 colones to the dollar, and today it is 44 to the dollar. All this has been done at a high social cost which has tested the strength of our democratic institutions. This has taken place, and is taking place, during critical times, when the contraction of international trade, the marked deterioration in the prices of primary commodities and the ruinous terms of trade all work against us and the sacrifices that have been accepted by our people. Today, when the poor nations give daily proof of their good will and sense of responsibility, North

and South must work together to formulate a new pattern of international economic relations so as to bring about justice through equitable distribution of the fruits of progress, giving new momentum to the process of development and also distributing responsibilities equitably.

16. It must be clear that partial actions taken by some countries in collaboration with the major international institutions, although necessary and useful, can be only a first step towards more complete structural action.

17. At the thirty-seventh session [27th meeting], from this rostrum, I commented on the initiatives promoted by Costa Rica to bring about peace in Central America. I spoke of the Forum for Peace and Democracy and the peace plan for Central America adopted at the San José conference held on 4 October 1982, with the participation of eight foreign ministers. The immediate result of the Forum was the creation of the Centre for Electoral Consultation and Promotion. That Centre is now establishing a group of experts able to provide, on request, services to Governments and public bodies in regard to the better conduct of voting procedures. It functions in San José and is part of the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights, which also has its headquarters in the capital of my country.

18. What we are seeking to ensure through the activities of the Centre is that the will of the people, respect for which is essential to the exercise of the right of self-determination of the peoples, is expressed as authentically as possible through periodic, free and honest consultation of the people. Elections must be not only a means of expression of the people's acceptance of the system of governing the destiny of the nation, but also an essential criterion for deciding whether or not in any given country democracy is working. This is so because the exercise of electoral rights, together with that of all the other human rights, makes the ordinary individual's participation in the Government of his country possible, genuine and significant.

19. The realistic and imaginative San José peace plan was followed by other joint efforts when the Contadora Group was formed, with its own commendable and sincere initiatives. Costa Rica was pleased to welcome that Group because it saw in it the development of the ideas put forward at San José, strengthened and enriched by the political will of four Governments that foster harmony and international solidarity. After many months of determined work, in September in Panama, the five Central American foreign ministers and the four from the Contadora Group prepared the Document of Objectives,<sup>1</sup> which is to play such an important role in the future. Costa Rica participated constructively in its drafting, with initiatives that were reflected in another document, entitled "Bases for peace in Central America", which was presented by Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala. My Government also proposed a link between the ideas of peace and democracy, and that concept too was welcomed. All that work gave a strong impetus to the Contadora process and made it possible to progress beyond the initial statements and begin a stage of talks in which the political will of the Central American Governments would be tested. The parties concerned will soon set about giving legal form to the Document of Objectives with a view to its implementation. We are approaching the moment of truth.

20. In the last analysis, we must ensure real freedom, and to achieve that noble and fundamental purpose we must promote the establishment in Central America of truly democratic Governments, so that in each country there will be, as is already the case in Costa Rica, political and legal mechanisms capable of dealing with the social

demands and problems with respect for the essential dignity of the human person. That is possible only when the citizens participate in the political process and in all social activities in complete freedom.

21. Therefore, Costa Rica is confident that the Contadora process will soon reach its ultimate goal. Of course, many difficulties will have to be overcome. Some will arise as a result of the complex nature of the problems at the root of the crisis, others as phenomena promoted in order to hamper the work being done to bring about peace.

22. The achievement of détente in Central America now and of lasting peace subsequently is basically the responsibility of regional bodies or mechanisms. Regional bodies are more suitable and appropriate than universal ones because they are closer to the circumstances and are better able to appreciate the causes of the occurrences and the reasons underlying the attitude of the countries involved in each problem or conflict. In the view of Costa Rica it makes no sense to confuse the issue and bring into the debate, as Nicaragua has done, those who have little basis for judgement and might, in spite of their good faith, be victims of harmful manipulations.

23. My Government today reiterates its support for the Contadora process, because peace is its earnest aspiration. Why does Costa Rica want peace? This question might seem at first glance to be redundant, because peace is essential in any society. None the less, a careful examination shows that there are some that impose peace in order to eliminate any vestige of a free, creative or even rebellious spirit. That is the peace of the totalitarian State, of a monolithic society—a peace that subjugates. Others, on the other hand, promote peace so that all ideas may merge irrepressibly and assert themselves with full vigor. That is the peace of a democratic State, of a pluralistic society—a peace that is life-enhancing.

24. Since the dawn of its existence, Costa Rica has had the good fortune to live in peace and develop a democratic society, in the constant and zealous search for styles of life consistent with the dignity of every inhabitant of the country. Democracy works in Costa Rica because it is a faithful reflection of the nature of Costa Ricans. There is nothing artificial or imposed in our political system. Democracy works in Costa Rica because Government institutions correspond to the way of thinking, the feelings and the beliefs of the people, that is to say, to its culture. It is the people that determines its destiny through periodic free and honest elections and participates in public office through its representatives or directly by constant control of the leaders, helped by the free expression of opinion. Similarly, in order to fulfil civic obligations and other social and individual tasks, the citizens make an intelligent use of the law. Costa Rica is a country that believes deeply in law as the fundamental means of bringing harmony to the society and making it possible for a constant process of change to take place. That is why electoral rights are enshrined in a special chapter of the Political Constitution, separate from the one that is devoted to the other human rights.

25. This highlights its great importance. In that chapter we have the guiding principles for the electoral process and the basic prerequisites for exercising it. At the top of the system the Political Constitution puts an electoral high court with full jurisdiction to act independently of the legislative and executive branches. The pluralism of ideas expressed in the country fully and without limitation daily strengthens and tests the political system. The right to establish political parties is guaranteed in a constitutional clause, and in practice those organizations fulfil the complex and essential functions assigned to them in

the modern State for the progress of government. Four political parties are represented in the Legislative Assembly—two major parties and two minority parties—and they reflect the spectrum of contemporary political thought.

26. Pluralism is reflected as well in the functioning of the press, which is in the hands of private individuals and which acts with complete freedom, aware of its decisive role in safeguarding the democratic institutional apparatus. There are four newspapers and several weeklies, seven television stations and more than 100 radio broadcasting stations. The State has only one television station and one radio station, for cultural purposes.

27. Freedom of worship is complete and is constitutionally protected. Artistic performances are varied, rich in expression and free from interference by the State. This alone suffices to answer the question "Why does Costa Rica want peace?". But we have other data further underscoring Costa Rica's desire to continue to live as it has thus far.

28. Costa Rica allocates 6.2 per cent of its gross domestic product to education and 7.8 per cent to health costs. This contrasts with the 0.7 per cent allocated to the police forces in the country. Public expenditure per capita on education and health is 20 times higher than that allocated to the police forces. As a result of this allocation of resources to social development, life expectancy in Costa Rica today is 73.2 years, and 80 per cent of the population is covered by the social system, while there are other systems covering almost the entire population. Of the nine goals set by WHO for the year 2000, Costa Rica has already achieved seven. As to the other two, in 1983 we achieved 85 per cent of the target for one. With regard to chronic diseases, such as cardiovascular diseases and cancer, we hope to achieve the target in the near future. As regards education, at the present time 92 per cent of the population is literate, reflecting an educational system which is mandatory and universal.

29. Therefore, Costa Rica wants peace in order to continue its progress towards the goals of individual and community growth. It does not want peace for repressive purposes internally or for aggressive purposes externally. Of course, there are great obstacles and dangers that the people must overcome in its indefatigable struggle for individual freedoms and general well-being. At the present time Costa Rica is confronting the obstacle of the world economic crisis, to which I have already referred. The impoverishment of broad sectors of the population puts pressure on the political system almost to the point of preventing its emergency adjustment machinery from functioning effectively, with the consequent negative effects on social stability. Costa Rica wants peace in order to correct this situation, always within the framework of democratic institutions.

30. The upheaval which is afflicting the brother peoples of Central America also threatens the peace of Costa Rica. As the tyrannies of the past several times endangered the democratic vocation of Costa Rica, the Costa Rican people is now afraid that dictatorships of another character may interfere in the activities of a society which only pursues progress in freedom. Costa Rica wants peace in order to avoid the realization of its fears in Central America.

31. My country is not involved in the armed conflicts taking place in other parts of Central America. Its neutrality is a result of its respect for the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and the fact that 35 years ago it banned the army as a permanent institution in order to devote its resources—as I have

already pointed out—to social programmes of great priority. None the less, this does not mean that my country is not concerned by what is happening in the region. On the contrary, Costa Rica feels that it is bound to continue to promote vigorously and tenaciously the united participation of the international community, especially the democratic community, in the establishment of a climate conducive to freedom. In this way the Central American conflict can be settled, leading to the creation of genuinely democratic political institutions and thus to the firm establishment of the reign of peace which Costa Rica desires, for its own benefit and for the benefit of all its brother countries.

32. Mr. FERRARI (Seychelles) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the Republic of Seychelles, I wish to convey to Mr. Jorge Illueca our warm congratulations on his election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. That important choice certainly represents a recognition of his noble qualities both as a man and as a diplomat. We wish him every success in the discharge of his duties.

33. I wish also to convey to Mr. Imre Hollai our deep appreciation of the admirable and far-sighted way in which he carried out his mandate as President of the thirty-seventh session.

34. I should like furthermore to express to the Secretary-General our highest appreciation of his tireless efforts in the search for the most appropriate solutions to the serious problems faced by the international community. I wish to pay him the highest tribute for his perseverance and courage in his many approaches to those who consider themselves to be directly concerned in sensitive situations in various parts of the world.

35. As a citizen of an island developing country, I am happy and proud to welcome to the Organization a brother island State, Saint Christopher and Nevis.

36. I wish to say immediately how much Seychelles appreciates the position taken by the United Nations with regard to the question of mercenaries. The United Nations, indeed, played an important role by severely condemning the armed intervention by mercenaries of which we were the victim in November 1981. Our national territory was attacked and our Republic violated. International conscience, represented by the Assembly, voiced a clear protest against that cruel action. Fortunately, the attempt failed, thanks to the vigilance of our people. The six mercenaries who were captured were tried according to our rules and procedures. Four of them were sentenced to death, but they were not executed. President France Albert René, in a magnanimous gesture, exercised his right of clemency. He pardoned them, which they certainly did not expect. That recent act of clemency formed part of an amnesty announced by the head of State during the celebration on 5 June 1983 of the anniversary of our revolution.

37. It is relevant to stress that this act was carried out at a time when throughout the world violence was pursuing its course. The fighters of the African National Congress [ANC] had just been hanged in South Africa despite international appeals for clemency. Wherever one finds oneself—in Victoria or in New York—one cannot fail to feel pity and anger at the injustice afflicting peoples which thirst for progress and freedom.

38. In our Republic, the forces of freedom prevail, and they guide our actions. Our abiding goal is to seek peace, not only in our own country but in our region of the Indian Ocean and throughout the world. The economic balance and the social progress of the world depend on peace among men and on security for all.

39. I have referred to the mercenary aggression against the young Republic of Seychelles because that criminal act teaches us certain lessons, for everything that comes to pass, even in a tiny island in the middle of the Indian Ocean, concerns people and must therefore be of concern to us all. Each one of us should share the burden of mankind's injustices. When the General Assembly decided to deal with the problem of this act of aggression, we felt that we were understood, that we were being helped and supported. I wish to emphasize that here.

40. Our world is a unit, and we are all interdependent. To survive, we need to co-operate and to help each other. A united front by all against every kind of aggression offers hope that our respective development goals will be met.

41. That is why we in Seychelles are fighting vigorously against military escalation of any kind.

42. Our Indian Ocean region must remain a sanctuary of peace: peace for the mammals of the sea, but also peace for human beings. We must not permit our ocean to become a place of confrontation for other Powers, not only because the arms race is harmful to us, but above all because we must banish from the face of the earth the very idea of aggressiveness. We, the peoples of the Indian Ocean, wish to live in peace in our region. However, we know that the geographical position of our islands makes them strategically desirable, that our freedom, our peace and our aspirations to prosperity are seriously threatened and that only international co-operation, acting to stabilize individual forces, can curb the military rivalries in our area.

43. There can be no more noble forum than this Assembly to undertake this endeavour for peace, which would be a reason for hope and an act of faith in the future.

44. The nuclear threat and excessive militarization must disappear from our Indian Ocean and from the face of the Earth. Unfortunately, the world is dominated by interests other than those of humanity at large, and all our hopes, all our attempts to achieve peace, have thus far been in vain.

45. I wish to voice our serious concern about the recent nuclear collaboration between certain Western Powers and South Africa.

46. The opposing parties constantly change, the conflicts move from one nation to another, alliance agreements are made and unmade. Our Indian Ocean region does not escape these constant threats, and that is why the Republic of Seychelles reaffirms its determination to work for the convening as soon as possible of the Conference on the Indian Ocean, which has repeatedly been postponed. We note with great regret that no mention of the Indian Ocean was made in the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/38/1].

47. Let us always remember that the nuclear risk involved in two countries confronting each other in fact constitutes a threat to mankind as a whole. It is therefore imperative to oppose the blind machinery of fatality with lucid analysis, courageous action and effective structures for international co-operation.

48. If a nuclear war can destroy men, it can also destroy what men need—food. Famine is a serious scourge in our century and it is a paradox that we are unable to end it immediately. The enormous progress of agricultural technology should enable us to fight famine and wipe it from the face of the Earth. Since that is not the case, we must do our utmost to see that no more children die of hunger in our world.



49. International co-operation should be a driving force of agricultural development so that all peoples can become self-sufficient in food. I would point out that the industrialized countries possess approximately half of all arable land and that only 11 per cent of funds is allocated to agricultural research. Those figures do not make very good sense, as we are all responsible people here and our task is to improve the well-being of mankind.

*Mr. Fakhoury (Lebanon), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

50. Another scourge that afflicts our world is the world-wide damage to our environment. The warning signs of this are the death of the forests, the rapid extinction of many types of trees, plants and animals, the pollution of our seas and oceans, and so forth.

51. Indeed, the question of the preservation of the environment has over the last decade gained considerable importance. It has become so important that several countries have made it the major topic of their electoral policies. In an unprecedented tide of action, 119 countries, including the Republic of Seychelles, signed the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. That Convention provides the true foundation for international co-operation to protect the environment against any marine pollution.

52. Without further ado we must start to preserve the environment in all its aspects. According to an old proverb, the death of the forest is followed by the death of man. Unless we immediately implement a new policy for the rational management of the Earth's natural resources, the effects of environmental damage will harm future generations.

53. In his statement at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, the President of the Republic of Seychelles appealed for international co-operation for the preservation of the environment of the Indian Ocean and its natural resources. On that occasion the head of State of Seychelles spoke of an Indian Ocean alliance in which all the littoral countries of the Indian Ocean would take part.

54. The people of Seychelles is keenly aware of the fragility of the ecosystem of its territory and is striving to protect it at all costs. By defending and protecting the variety of species, it is our territory, our people, the riches of men and their freedom that we are defending. We have assumed this mission for the well-being of humanity.

55. That is why the people of Seychelles has, as it were, made available to humanity at large, through UNESCO, a third of its territory to be part of the world heritage. I am referring to the Aldabra Atoll, which is now one of a number of famous sites or monuments—natural, historical or archaeological. "Humanity", by definition, involves all men. Any human venture, however particular it may appear, involves humanity as a whole, and the Aldabra venture is an example of this and represents an ideal. Aldabra has always represented peace and freedom, and its inclusion in the world heritage enshrines it as a symbol of peace and freedom.

56. I must recall the rending of the soul of Seychelles at the time of the separation of Aldabra in 1965, a rending caused by the creation of a new territory for a purpose that does not represent a quest for tranquillity. Diego García, separated from Mauritius at the same time, remains today a military base in our Indian Ocean.

57. How much ground has been covered since the 1960s, and fortunately for Aldabra, respect for nature has triumphed, peace reigns and freedom shines forth.

58. I repeat that we must protect the environment of the Indian Ocean region, which for us is a source of incalculable wealth. It is a question of the survival of our region. We have fought and we will continue to fight in international forums to demand that the super-Powers remove their rivalries from that region.

59. Today the world is facing other serious problems. One of the great dangers, which could lead to decisive confrontations in the future, lies in the increased gap between the poor countries and the industrialized countries. By the year 2000 the world population, according to the statistics of the experts, will be over 6 billion, of which three quarters will be living in the developing countries.

60. The famous North-South negotiations remain deadlocked. The sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade, achieved mediocre results. None of the steps designed to tackle the most urgent issues requested at New Delhi by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries was taken at Belgrade. No commitment was made concerning transfers likely to lead to a recovery in the economic and social activities of certain countries that are heavily dependent on foreign capital markets and raw materials. It is high time that a policy of support for the prices of the raw materials of the poor countries was implemented. A policy of agricultural or food self-sufficiency is also necessary. Similarly, we believe that we must together find procedures for a new monetary system which does not introduce imbalances into the economies of the developing countries.

61. Another important sector that should be improved is that of the borrowing capacity, choice and facilities for developing countries, but borrowing opportunities and conditions have been analyzed and made more difficult and more scarce at the very time when the economies of many developing countries are expanding and need fresh sources of financing.

62. Since dangerous prospects are opening up, a new universal approach must prevail, as must boldness, imagination and, above all, determination. It is essential to meet the challenge of the poverty of the third world, not only out of a spirit of brotherhood or generosity but also because an expansion of trade is in the interest of the whole world, particularly the industrialized countries.

63. We are not asking the industrialized countries to sacrifice their legitimate interests, nor are we asking them to stop making their best efforts to ensure the well-being of their peoples. We are asking them to join us, to fight with us for a more humane development/with a view to establishing a new international economic order. We know that several industrialized countries are aware of the scourges that beset the countries of the third world and are convinced of the need to remedy them.

64. I should like to take this opportunity to thank all the countries that are working in this direction and all the countries that have confidence in the Republic of Seychelles and continue to make a meaningful contribution to the development of our young Republic.

65. The peoples of the third world have the right to development, to life—in short, to a future. But this future can be built only through economic co-operation based on dignity, human solidarity and brotherhood. If this co-operation is to be sound and successful, the economic structures put in place to maintain the developing countries in a situation of dependence must be eliminated. The time has come to practise a development policy based on dignity and justice.

66. The United Nations system remains the essential tool<sup>1</sup> for a peaceful transformation of international relations, the best instrument for promoting international co-operation on a basis of equality that will lead to the establishment of the new international economic order. Therefore economic co-operation among developing countries is indispensable. By its very nature and because it is so necessary, it depends on the determination of our countries to achieve collective self-sufficiency and play a dynamic role in lasting and mutually beneficial international co-operation on a basis of equality.

67. Without being a precondition of or a substitute for North-South relations, South-South co-operation, because of its great potential, necessitates specific collective action to strengthen its unity and solidarity. In this context we welcome the structures that the islands in the south-west of the Indian Ocean have established by creating a committee on the Indian Ocean for commercial, cultural, economic and technical co-operation. The initial results of the establishment of this committee have encouraged the legitimate aspirations of our States and can be considered the forerunners of new and greater prospects of regional co-operation among peoples and States of the Indian Ocean.

68. The future of a nation is not unpredictable. It is built on peace. But peace cannot prevail unless the basic principles of the Charter are respected: self-determination for peoples, independence and security for States, and dignity, justice and equality for individuals.

69. That is why we cannot fail to be aware of the need in the Middle East for the existence of a Palestinian State. We should not disguise this basic point by trite formulas, such as "the Palestinian question" and the "rights of the Palestinian people". Let us stop disguising the true question, which is self-determination for the Palestinian people.

70. In the Mediterranean, the policy and the principles of non-alignment of Cyprus must be respected, as must its territorial integrity.

71. In Korea, the Korean people is doing everything to restore national unity. We firmly support the struggle of the Korean people for the reunification of its country by peaceful means and without any foreign influence in its internal affairs.

72. In Chad, how much more loss of human life must there be before the people of Chad, which has been so sadly rent asunder by many years of war, can decide its own future? We stress the urgent need to find a lasting peaceful solution to this conflict within the framework of the Organization of African Unity [OAU].

73. In Central America, Nicaragua has become the scene of argument, but the facts show the strong determination of a people to defend its development and to struggle against oppression, domination and injustice. I repeat our sympathy and great friendship for the people of Nicaragua and its Government. At the same time, we wish every success to the Contadora initiative.

74. In El Salvador, we are also witnessing a struggle for the triumph of a policy of economic and social change, whose fervour has been damped because the people cannot decide its own future.

75. The right of the Namibian people to freedom and dignity has suffered too much from constantly deferred time limits. Its martyrdom continues. Unfortunately, its will is still being frustrated, its decisions are being defied and its values are being outraged. It is time for the relevant resolutions of international organizations, in particular those of the United Nations, to be implemented

so that the Namibian people can become free and independent. The presence of Cuban troops in Angola is no obstacle to this, in our opinion. The Namibian people will triumph, because its struggle is the struggle of all.

76. The struggle for national liberation also being waged by the courageous fighters of the ANC deserves and always receives our unqualified support.

77. The Saharan people, under the guidance of POLISARIO,<sup>2</sup> is in a crucial phase of its struggle for independence and national sovereignty. It is with justified hope that we await the necessary political solution within the framework of the OAU, in co-operation with the United Nations.

78. The many attempts to destabilize fraternal countries must end. To curb the development of peoples towards their freedom is to hold up the progress of humanity as a whole.

79. Here I should like to mention the perseverance of Angola in its struggle and once more to assure the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] of our complete, unqualified support.

80. While it is not for the Government of my country to say what is the solution to these political and social problems, we none the less believe that the best solutions should be found through peaceful dialogue. Violence is not the only way to resolve conflicts. The pardon granted by President René to the mercenaries who committed an act of aggression against our country is a clear example of that.

81. The General Assembly must be the pillar of the search for joint solutions. We must not be a passive body which merely takes note of international events. The United Nations attaches fundamental importance to respect for rights and freedoms, irrespective of sex, race, language or religion. Our ideas are guided by the fundamental principles of freedom, equity and the self-determination of peoples, international co-operation and non-interference in the internal affairs of all sovereign States.

82. That is why in Seychelles, under the high-minded guidance of President France Albert René, we are fervently struggling to implement all our principles because we are sure that they will lead to peace and the consolidation of international bases for security.

83. The Seychelles revolution is six years old. We have passed through a number of stages on our path to freedom. We are no longer a society that reserves privileges for a minority. There have been many achievements in education, health, agriculture, industry, fisheries, transport and housing. We can therefore look forward to a promising future in the economic and social development of the Republic of Seychelles. We know that we still have some way to go, but we are determined not to allow ourselves to be beaten by the obstacles that we shall have to confront.

84. The people of Seychelles, faithful to the goals that it has set itself and strengthened by its past experience, will continue to strive tirelessly for the consolidation of its revolutionary achievements, for the establishment of the necessary structures which will lead to its full development and strengthen its unity and national defence, and for building the foundations for a socialist society. In this respect, we know that we need support, and we also know that the General Assembly remains one of the essential structures for the success of our various peoples. With that success, we should be able to make a worthwhile contribution to world peace and security.

85. MR. TONYE MBOG (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): It is a privilege, a great

honour and a genuine pleasure for me to be here in this *aula magna* of the United Nations, a sanctuary dedicated to the pursuit of peace.

86. After the great historic changes that have taken place in the administration of the Cameroonian State, I feel privileged to be mandated to bring you our message, a message which can only be one of peace. How can it be otherwise, when in spite of superficial disturbances, quickly calmed, my country remains stable, resolutely pursuing its development in unity and peace, which we dearly cherish and which the entire people of Cameroon intends to guard jealously? How can it be otherwise, when we also know that President Paul Biya, on assuming high office, chose the twin themes of commitment and loyalty as the hallmark of his mandate? His commitment is to the construction of a society that is democratically governed, with stability and peace, a deep peace for hearts and minds, a society whose primary concerns are the well-being, freedom and happiness of all the people of Cameroon.

87. Certain as he is of the complete, unfailing support of all the vital forces in Cameroon, regardless of race, tribe, religion or region, the President of the Republic has promised his people that he will keep that solemn commitment.

88. The other theme is that of loyalty: loyalty to our friends old and new; loyalty to the principles of the charter of the Organization of African Unity; loyalty to genuine non-alignment, the only way to preserve our independence and make it possible for us to contribute effectively to promoting peace and justice in international relations; and loyalty to the principles and ideals of the United Nations.

89. As I reiterate those inspiring words of commitment and loyalty spoken by President Paul Biya, may I, his Minister for Foreign Affairs, take this opportunity to reaffirm before the Assembly the pledge of loyalty and commitment of Cameroon, my country, to the common struggle of all peoples of the world for the safeguarding of the noble ideals of mankind—peace, independence, justice, co-operation in equality and progress for all countries.

90. At this point may I associate myself with the eminent speakers who have preceded me in congratulating Mr. Jorge Illueca, on behalf of my delegation, on his election. We welcome that choice because through his country it honours the whole of Latin America, which because of its cultural and human affinities with my continent is so near to Africa. There can be no doubt that our work will benefit from his wisdom as a statesman and his faith in the United Nations. I should like to assure him of the complete co-operation and support of my delegation in the accomplishment of the tasks of his high office as President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

91. It is also a pleasure for me on this occasion to thank Mr. Imre Hollai of Hungary for the competence and objectivity with which he guided the work of the thirty-seventh session.

92. We should like also to pay a particular tribute to the Secretary-General and to express our appreciation to him for his tireless efforts, made with courage, foresight and self-sacrifice, in the exercise of his delicate functions. We also express our gratitude to him for the dedication and clarity of mind that he has placed at the service of the international community. Lastly, we welcome his contribution to the strengthening of international co-operation.

93. I should like most warmly to welcome the delegation of Saint Christopher and Nevis and to congratulate it on its admission as the 158th Member of the United Nations.

94. We have said from the outset that we are gathered here in the temple of peace, a peace without which it is impossible for us to build the future, but we view with concern the many challenges and obstacles on the road to peace and to the future.

95. We are indeed aware of the seriousness of the world situation and the dangers threatening mankind. International, political and economic relations are in a state of serious crisis which, because of its global nature and its complexity, is unprecedented in recent history and places at stake our vital interests, namely peace, independence and development. Hence what we have always affirmed is confirmed today at the world level as an irrefutable truth and as a warning: the way in which blocs perceive international relations and world security cannot guarantee the realization of any of those noble goals. That is why these sessions of the General Assembly always arouse great hopes in the world and why we bear such a heavy responsibility.

96. We are meeting here, it should be recalled, at a time when the world requires drastic changes in order to live in peace and security. The solution of the present crisis must be sought through genuine democratization of international relations. This implies on our part a more determined struggle against all policies of domination that seek by every means to preserve acquired privileges and to perpetuate conditions of inequality in the world. Those policies are, in effect, one of the causes of tension in all areas of international relations. The ensuing rivalries, the threats to the independence of countries, the escalation of the arms race and the worsening of the world economy are the major obstacles to the settlement of all these crises which confront us today.

97. The major Powers obviously have an important role in questions of peace and security. None the less, in a world characterized by interdependence and a shared destiny, it is essential that all international protagonists co-operate on an equal footing. Responsibility for the future of mankind cannot be left in the hands of a small circle of countries, however large and powerful they may be.

98. As I have said, the struggle for peace and security, independence and development remains our purpose today as it has in the past. When we speak of peace we are not thinking only of the absence of war, a situation maintained by the balance of force and terror. The peace to which we refer is broader; it is universal. That peace is inseparable from freedom and development in independence. There can be no stable peace in conditions of confrontation and rivalry between blocs, the terrible arms race, the deepening of economic and social inequalities. In other words, the struggle for peace, which requires renewed co-operation, must be waged on several fronts: the stopping of the arms race, the relaxing of international tensions and the search for adequate solutions to the present economic crisis.

99. It is to those different aspects that I should like to devote my statement.

100. As a non-aligned country, Cameroon has always attached the greatest importance to questions of disarmament, deeply convinced that peace and security cannot be built in the shadow of weapons. Without disarmament there can be neither lasting peace nor development with security. It is encouraging to see that world public opinion, by and large, shares this feeling. However, the absence of the necessary political will on the part of the

major Powers and their mutual mistrust have been and remain the principal obstacles to any effective negotiations. This was also the essential cause of the failure of the twelfth special session of the General Assembly, the second devoted to disarmament.

101. In the present international context it cannot be repeated too often that the beginning of a process of disarmament is of primary importance. Never in the course of its history has mankind been exposed to so serious a threat as the arms race today between the big Powers and the blocs. The danger of a nuclear cataclysm has in recent days been felt even more because of the emergence of the concept of the possibility of limited nuclear wars. It is in the shadow of that danger that a wide-ranging race is continuing also in the field of conventional weapons, the use of which in many local or regional wars increasingly threatens world peace and the independence of a large number of countries.

102. It is therefore essential that the United Nations should not only consider the nature and consequences of the arms race but also and above all promote the adoption of concrete measures for putting an end to it. Here we have in mind the conclusion between the two super-Powers of agreements on strategic nuclear weapons and on the missiles in Europe. We are also referring to the need for treaties on the complete prohibition of nuclear tests and the prohibition of chemical weapons. Lastly, we have in mind the need to embark on global negotiations on nuclear and conventional disarmament issues. The preparation and adoption by the General Assembly of a programme of disarmament would be an appreciable contribution to that end.

103. Cameroon, for its part, will continue to support all initiatives aimed at opening disarmament negotiations. Here we recall that only determined and united action by all members of the international community can ensure progress in this field. Such action requires strengthening the role of the United Nations. That is the sense and the spirit of the New Delhi Message adopted at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries [see A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2], which Cameroon fully supports.

104. It is self-evident that at the present time the first step towards peace must be the relaxation of international tension. Cameroon has always stressed that. *Détente* must be general; it must cover every region in the world and all forms of international activity. Such a process presupposes the renunciation of threats, of the use of force, of intervention and interference, an end to all forms of aggression, withdrawal from occupied territories and the final elimination of colonialism and racism. These are all goals of the Organization. They are also questions on which we must now, more than before, take a clear stand and define the framework for our action. It is now more than ever before an imperative, since we know that in 1983 no significant progress has been achieved in solving the different crises which have been affecting the world for years, even decades. Today, no region of the world enjoys complete security and peace. The policy of force, interference, pressures and overt aggression are the reason. Bloc rivalry and interference considerably delay settlement of these crises by peaceful means with respect for the rights and interests of the peoples and countries directly concerned.

105. This is the case in Africa, on which history has imposed many hardships. At a time when the OAU is making patient efforts to root out the terrible evils of colonialism, racism and their surrogates, Africa today is exposed to threats of division and to ever-growing external pressure. This is a deep-rooted and dangerous

process, an attempt to make use, for purposes alien to the interests of Africa, of certain difficulties and problems inherited by African countries. Cameroon is convinced that by uniting their efforts, the African countries will manage to preserve the unity of the OAU, whose role is irreplaceable in the struggle of Africa for freedom, for more rapid economic and social development, in short, for mastery of its own destiny.

106. The tragedy which the people of Chad have experienced for more than a decade now is a source of deep and constant concern to my country, as the situation deteriorates and becomes daily more complex. The position of Cameroon, defined since the very beginning of the crisis and reaffirmed recently by the President of the Republic, Paul Biya, is well known. Loyal to the principles of sovereignty and the territorial integrity of States, my country remains convinced that the problem of Chad must be resolved by peaceful means. This is why it remains our hope that weapons will be silenced and a process of negotiations will begin. To that end, all citizens of Chad at home and abroad must tear down the barriers that they have erected or encouraged and which prevent peace in Chad. We hope that the legal Government in N'Djamena will find appropriate ways and means to open up dialogue and to call upon all the vital forces of the Chadian nation to enter into a covenant of fraternity with honour.

107. Cameroon, in any case, reaffirms its readiness today, as in the past, to contribute to any concerted action aimed at restoring peace to Chad, national reconciliation, and the reconstruction of that neighbouring fraternal country which has been ravaged by so many years of war. In this respect, we feel that the OAU has a primary and irreplaceable role to play in Chad in the quest for peace and unity.

108. In the Western Sahara, the deterioration of the situation characterized by the heightening of armed confrontation constitutes a source of deep concern. In the view of my delegation, the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the OAU, adopted by its Assembly of Heads of State and Government at Nairobi in 1981 and at Addis Ababa in 1983, constitutes a valid basis for the search for a political settlement of the Western Sahara conflict based on a cease-fire and the organization of a referendum of self-determination under the auspices of the OAU and the United Nations.

109. Cameroon is also concerned at the situation in southern Africa, where, because of South Africa, *apartheid* and the colonization of Namibia still constitute two sources of violence, two causes of humiliation for the African people and two major challenges to the international community.

110. From the moral standpoint, we can never repeat too often that *apartheid* remains a most repulsive and condemnable philosophy because it is the only example of an institutionalized policy of racial discrimination. An exclusively white minority Government has arrogated to itself all political power and 80 per cent of the wealth of the country, thanks to an extraordinary arsenal of evil laws and a most barbaric form of repression. South Africa, therefore, is the only country in the world where 85 per cent of the population is officially deprived of all political and economic rights and even the most basic human rights.

111. This situation is untenable. Untenable also are the deceptive reforms promised or implemented by South Africa, because they are designed to keep the black population, which is in the overwhelming majority, on the fringes of society. That is why Cameroon, a member of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation



of Africa, will continue to help the liberation movements in their struggle against *apartheid* and for the promotion in South Africa of a multi-racial society which respects the dignity and equality of all its members.

112. The question of Namibia is the second part of the South African régime's insolent defiance of the international community since 1966. Cameroon has followed with the greatest misgivings the negotiations that have gone on for several years now with the Pretoria authorities, with whose duplicity and basic disdain for the norms, principles and ideals of international society we are all familiar. South Africa looks upon these negotiations with the Secretary-General or with the western contact group only as a delaying tactic, an exercise to gain time. For Pretoria, which was worried at the collapse of the protective buffer formed by the European colonies around its borders, Namibia represents the last line of defence before the winds of freedom sweep away that bastion of *apartheid*.

113. How long will the international community be deceived by the delays and subterfuges of *apartheid*, dictated by a total rejection of the values of civilization that constitute the pride of our day?

114. Cameroon, for its part, remains devoted to Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), which define the only acceptable framework for the independence of Namibia. Any policy aimed at creating a link, a parallel or reciprocity between the application of those resolutions and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola is inadmissible and constitutes unacceptable interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State. The self-determination and independence of Namibia are inalienable rights of the Namibian people, recognized and solemnly affirmed by the General Assembly three decades ago. Their exercise and their observance should be neither delayed nor compromised by considerations that relate solely to the hegemonic struggle of the super-Powers.

115. A member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Cameroon will continue to support in every way the heroic struggle of the Namibian people for genuine independence under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole legitimate representative.

116. We appeal to the Powers friendly to Pretoria to compel it, while there is still time, to heed the voice of wisdom and of reason. Any policy based on racial injustice and supported by violence and repression can only lead to tragedy and endanger the peace and security of all society. We direct our appeal in particular to all those people who know the high cost of freedom because they themselves made the greatest and most noble sacrifices for it.

117. But given the political short-sightedness and the bad faith that characterizes the white minority in Pretoria, the Security Council, in order to make its decisions respected, should resort to the collective measures given it by the Charter, including the provisions under Chapter VII.

118. The Middle East region continues to be the most dangerous hotbed of crisis in the world. This situation results from the expansionist policy of Israel, which for many years now has been endangering the freedom and sovereignty of neighbouring countries and brutally denying the elementary national and human rights of the Palestinian people. The occupation of a large part of Lebanon, the genocide perpetrated against the Palestinians, the annexation of the Golan Heights and Jerusalem and the preparations for the appropriation of the West Bank and Gaza confirm that the deliberately intransigent orientation of Israeli policy remains unchanged.

119. It is impossible to stifle the liberation struggle waged by the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], its sole legitimate representative. In this regard we reaffirm our constant support for that heroic people and our profound hope that the Palestinian leadership will transcend its internal dissensions and regain that coherence which has always been its strength.

120. The United Nations, today more than ever before, must play a decisive role in ensuring a comprehensive political settlement of the Palestinian question and the Middle East crisis.

121. We have long since approved the bases of such a settlement. There can be no just and lasting solution without Israel's withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, without recognition of the right of all the States in the region, including Israel, to live in peace within secure and recognized international borders and without the achievement of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to its own independent State in Arab Palestine.

122. It is essential to guarantee the participation of the PLO in all the negotiations concerning the destiny of the people it represents. This is also the only means of achieving lasting peace for all the States of the region. The proposals of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, at Fez, and the recent decisions of the Palestine National Council are an important contribution to the search for a solution to the Middle East crisis and the problem of Palestine. We equally appreciate the other initiatives that respect the national rights of the Palestinian people. But any new advance necessarily requires an end to all support for and encouragement of Israel's intransigent policy.

123. Following the invasion of Lebanon, a second prerequisite has become obvious to everyone—that is, the restoration of the authority of the Lebanese Government over its entire territory. For that purpose it is essential that the Israeli occupation forces and all the foreign troops withdraw from Lebanon, that foreign Powers refrain from further interference in the internal affairs of that non-aligned Arab country. In this context, Cameroon is pleased at the extension of the mandate of UNIFIL, an important element in bringing stability and peace to the region.

124. But this is only a palliative. The Middle East problem as a whole can be solved only through broad negotiations in the framework of the United Nations and with the agreement of the great Powers and with the effective participation of all the parties to the dispute, including the PLO.

125. In addition to these long-standing situations so fraught with danger to peace and security, there are new crises caused by foreign intervention in the Mediterranean and in South-West Asia. Cameroon's position in this respect is clear and consistent with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

126. In Cyprus the two communities could find a field for understanding that would preserve their respective interests and the independence, integrity and unity of this non-aligned country if foreign Powers would once and for all refrain from interfering in the country's internal affairs. Cameroon will continue to support any initiatives towards promoting brotherly dialogue between the two communities concerned in order to restore peace to the island and guarantee the sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus.

127. We recognize the legality of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. We believe that a solution to the present situation can and must be found through a

political settlement including the withdrawal of foreign troops and the cessation of all foreign interference so that the people of Kampuchea may decide freely and in all sovereignty on the means for its own development.

128. With regard to a settlement of the problem of Afghanistan, it is highly important in this case too to enable the people of the country to decide its own destiny freely. This presupposes the withdrawal of foreign armed troops, the prohibition of outside interference and the return of the refugees. We welcome all the constructive efforts undertaken in that direction, and we particularly appreciate the good offices of the Secretary-General.

129. We deplore the recent destruction of the Korean Air Lines civilian aircraft. This not only has cast a pall over the already tense relations between the blocs but has also caused the death of hundreds of innocent persons. We wish once again to express here our deep sympathy to the bereaved families and to the Korean people.

130. The aggravation and perpetuation of these situations that we have just mentioned result, let us not forget, in the appearance of that new category of persons forced to wander through the world without shelter, without a homeland and without possessions—that is, refugees. There are at present about 10 million in the world, more than half of them in Africa. This flow of refugees creates problems for the host countries, which for the most part are developing countries already concerned with problems of their own survival.

131. We hope that the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, to be held in 1984, will conduct a precise evaluation of the results of the first conference, provide increased resources to alleviate the plight of these refugees and give new impetus to the search for ways and means to find a long-term solution to this problem.

132. In speaking of the suffering endured by peoples of Africa, Asia, Palestine and Lebanon and the heroic struggle they are waging, we cannot but make an urgent appeal to the international community. For all these peoples expect the United Nations to demonstrate active solidarity with them, mobilizing the Organization's considerable means and influence. They expect the United Nations to contribute to the restoration, once freedom has been regained, of a just and lasting peace in all these regions.

133. Peace and security do not allow for the transfer to our countries of conflicts stemming from the confrontation between the big Powers. Still less can peace and security accommodate the greed and the designs, clearly apparent today, of which our countries are the targets and which awaken the memories of an era that we had thought long past.

134. The peace to which mankind aspires cannot exist if its benefits are not extended to all the peoples of the world; it requires respect for the independence of every country and the free expression by every people of its national will.

135. To be maintained, peace requires active and balanced co-operation within the framework of a renewed and more democratic system of international relations; it requires the creation of an international atmosphere favourable to equal economic and social development for all. That is the essence of this new international economic order which must be established without delay.

136. How can we not regret that our developed partners still do not want to hear us and persist in believing that through a series of corrective measures they will be able to overcome the present crisis, which, we must recall, is a structural one. It stems from the inadequacy of post-

war international institutions. Because of various changes that have taken place since then in the configuration of the international community, those institutions are outdated and have revealed their limits, both conceptual and structural. It is this new fact that is causing deep disorder in the international economic machinery. That is why, however useful the corrective measures adopted may be, they still fall short of the urgent large-scale measures that must be taken for the recovery of the world economy.

137. Despite the emergency measures taken here and there, the international economic situation remains disquieting.

138. No decisive breakthrough is expected before 1985 in the States members of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. Moreover, according to forecasts of some specialized agencies, including IMF, the Western countries as a whole will not this year reach the 3 per cent growth rate which is considered the threshold for any viable economic recovery.

139. The manifestations of the crisis, which are the present massive unemployment, affecting millions of persons, trade confrontations and endemic inflation, remain serious in themselves.

140. The situation in the developing countries, where absolute poverty is the daily lot of millions of persons, deteriorates day by day because of those countries' growing indebtedness, the continuing deterioration in terms of trade and the protectionist measures that exhaust their export earnings. For many of them the basic question today is not one of being better off, but rather one of simple survival. Recent reports of the World Bank and IMF are particularly enlightening in this connection. It is therefore easy to understand our disappointment at the level of official development assistance and the insignificant results of major international conferences in this connection.

141. We are deeply concerned at the depletion of the resources of multilateral organizations that work for development. Although we are pleased by the recent increase in IMF quotas and the broadening of general loan agreements, our anxiety persists. Apart from the fact that measures must be ratified in order to be effective, which takes a long time—the example of the Common Fund for Commodities is enlightening in this respect—the agencies of the United Nations system are in a critical financial situation. Some of them are now moving from recession to depression. This is the case in particular with UNDP, whose resources have decreased by 50 per cent. All of this endangers the realization of many projects, especially in Africa.

142. The failure of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development also attests to the dangerous deterioration of the spirit of international co-operation. Of course, it did manage to adopt a few resolutions in favour of the Common Fund, as well as some measures concerning the conclusion of agreements on certain commodities and some international arrangements to stabilize prices. This was only a reaffirmation of an existing consensus. On the other hand, the Conference did not reach agreement on substantive problems, in particular the causes of the present crisis and ways of overcoming it.

143. For the same selfish reasons, the new United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, the result of more than 10 years of laborious negotiations, is now the object of manoeuvres aimed at obstructing its implementation. Certain developed countries are no longer concealing their bitter disappointment at the lack of co-operation and solidarity which has become evident within

the restricted framework of the summit meetings of the industrialized countries that share the same philosophy and are linked by many agreements.

144. The signs of recovery that have emerged in certain developed countries do not reveal any sustained and lasting growth. Even if this recovery strengthens in those countries, its effects on the economy of the developing countries seems uncertain, the so-called locomotive theory having shown its limits through the present machinery governing the world economy.

145. The persistence and deepening of the present economic crisis show that it is futile to try to overcome, through piecemeal measures or expedients unilaterally worked out and applied, a crisis which is both profound in its effects and global in its scope. Hence, in this era of interdependence the only way to overcome the crisis is through a global, integrated approach both to the analysis of situation and in the search for solutions. This is the very basis of the patiently developed global negotiations project, the opening of which is unfortunately blocked by the unjustified hesitation of a tiny minority of rich countries which are excessively attached to the present archaic economic system, and this endangers international peace and security. This project appears more than ever to be the most appropriate framework, because the approach to a global challenge to the international community must be global.

146. There is not and will never be any security based on exploitation and the impoverishment of the third world. Development is and will remain the key to peace. That is why we renew here our appeal, the appeal of the non-aligned countries for collective action for world prosperity. Will this appeal at least be heard? We venture to hope that it will. We hope this most sincerely, because the tragic situation now prevailing, the present crisis, demands this.

147. Our support for world-wide co-operation cannot conceal our deep conviction that the task of development is in the last analysis a matter for the national will and our own efforts. Thus Mr. Paul Biya has said:

“Our common task is to persist with ever-increasing determination in our national development effort; to develop a strategy that will make it possible to bring about social change; to modernize our structures and make them factors in increasingly self-reliant, endogenous and balanced development.”

148. But our internal dynamics, our efforts to achieve ethical development and to make the best and most rational use of our resources will not be enough, we well know, if an unfavourable international environment systematically nullifies what we have worked so hard to achieve.

149. Having described from this rostrum its vision of international relations, Cameroon has tried to make its own contribution to the search for suitable means of guaranteeing peace and security, which are so gravely threatened, by recourse not to weapons but to co-operation. Could there be any more appropriate forum in which to do this than that of the United Nations, which was established precisely to safeguard these ideals and to strengthen co-operation among nations in order to guarantee for all an equal chance of achieving well-being?

150. In the face of the persistence of colonialism, the increase in hotbeds of tension, the growing inequality among nations and the erosion of the spirit of co-operation, there is a great temptation today to question the capacity of the United Nations to fulfil its essential mission. Indeed, its Secretariat shows signs that its means of action are insufficient.

151. The Security Council, the supreme body for the safeguarding of our collective peace and security, is consistently paralyzed because of the immoderate use of the right of veto possessed by some of its members. Those that enjoy decisive influence in international relations and should therefore act for the common good too often find their judgement clouded by their own interests.

152. The time has therefore come to revitalize the Council. The authority of the United Nations depends on it. That is why Cameroon reiterates its appeal for the convening of a special meeting of the Security Council, as proposed by the Secretary-General at the thirty-seventh session. We hope that the members of the Council entrusted with considering this question will give the matter priority and propose positive measures as soon as possible. We will continue to support the expansion of that Council, as we have in the past, since this is necessary because of the new geopolitical configuration of the world.

153. It is high time to make it possible for the United Nations to organize effective solidarity among all peoples, to co-ordinate and promote development, to bring order to world economic relations, in accordance with the principles and objectives of the new international economic order.

154. By committing ourselves to that process we shall be restoring credibility to the United Nations, enhancing its prestige and meeting the three-fold challenge that we face: to be worthy of the architects of this Organization, who, learning from the sufferings of the wars of the past, dreamed of harmony and peace; to meet the expectations of present generations for a better life; and to respond to the aspirations of the poor to freedom, progress and well-being, to their urgent appeal for greater justice.

155. Only in this way, as stated by Mr. Paul Biya, will the United Nations “remain not only an enlightening and stimulating moral authority, but also a force for the benefit of the harmony, development and betterment necessary for peace, liberty and progress in a difficult world, an instrument for the solution of such major international problems as those of disarmament, the situation in the Middle East, southern Africa, the resumption of the North-South dialogue, the just distribution of the riches of our world”.

156. Mr. BEYE (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): Twenty years ago, Africa rose above the emotion and tensions inherent in post-independence periods to present itself united to the rest of the world and thus to bring to the international community a message, the thrust of which was as potent as that of the Charter of the United Nations.

157. In this twentieth anniversary year since the creation of that great African assembly, the OAU, it is quite natural that at the opening of the thirty-eighth session of this Assembly the first words of the spokesman of the Republic of Mali should be in salute to this message of responsibility, this message of the unity of hearts and wills in the service of peace, at this time of extreme tension in the world.

158. This state of the world makes the peoples of the United Nations live in anxiety about the future. The overwhelming picture of this state was described by the many eminent heads of State and Government who have spoken in turn from this rostrum and who, in their wisdom, have preached their love for peace and indicated the best ways to give the world confidence again.

159. The dominant features of the present international crises they have dwelt on, far from having moderated since the thirty-seventh session, have rather become so

accentuated that we are, unfortunately, perhaps without even realizing it, on the brink of the apocalypse. The Member States on whom the Charter has conferred special responsibility for the maintenance of peace remain locked in the search for fatal weapons; other States, unfortunately, are still involved in wars to which there is no end in sight. In some places anachronistic colonial domination persists in its demeaning and destructive effects. Almost everywhere the world is idle, the world is ill-nourished, the world is hungry. Another outburst of racism aids and abets the crime of *apartheid*.

160. Unless it reacts vehemently, the United Nations will remain in the restraint of a certain political fatalism in its approach to dangerous developments in those events that we analyse at each session with such impressive lucidity. Unfortunately, each time we find only ineffectual solutions, because some are accepted by general agreement but never implemented, while others remain tenuous because of the major reservations entered when they were adopted.

161. However, the drafters of the Charter dreamed of a grand world which would constantly improve in a healthy and inspiring competition to exalt the grandeur and dignity of man.

162. In our work of seeking viable solutions for distressing international problems, we welcome as an exceptional stroke of fortune for the international community the fact that the work of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly is being guided by a statesman of the calibre of Mr. Jorge Illueca. This sign of international approval is a tribute to the continuing action of his country, Panama, in working for peace. It is also a tribute to the efforts he personally has made throughout an outstanding career devoted to the defence of the lofty principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the noble ideals of the Charter.

*Miss Dever (Belgium), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

163. The heavy burden that an exceptional destiny has led him to assume will be made lighter by the fact that the Secretariat is guided by that other diplomat whose competence has been recognized by all, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, citizen of a country neighbouring his which, like Panama, is a friend of my own country. After scarcely two years in office, the Secretary-General, thanks to his calm determination and his high-mindedness, has conferred fresh dynamism on the administration of the United Nations. We salute the courage and tenacity he has shown in calling upon the United Nations to be receptive to fresh ideas which can lead us finally to build this world where all nations, without exception, will redouble their concerted efforts to bring about a society of peace, built by peoples all of whom are free from all forms of domination, a society of progress built on the just satisfaction of the common aspirations of peoples and nations to well-being, freedom and security, and thus to peace.

164. Mr. Illueca's predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai of the Hungarian People's Republic, worked throughout the thirty-seventh session with his customary ability for the triumph of the Organization's ideals and principles. We renew our heartfelt congratulations to that citizen of a country which is friendly with mine.

165. The aim of the United Nations is to achieve universality. One glimmer of hope is that this dream of universality of the drafters of the Charter is inexorably becoming a reality. Thus the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly has had the pleasure of welcoming into its midst Saint Christopher and Nevis. On behalf of the people of Mali and its leaders, it is an honour for me to

welcome the brother nation of this new State and to assure it of our firm intention of joining in fraternal co-operation in defending the principles and ideals of the Charter of the United Nations.

166. Although the Organization has been enriched by another fighter for the triumph of the right to freedom and national existence, nevertheless we must mention the persistence of colonial domination, and this almost forty years since the Charter was signed and almost a quarter of a century since the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Through its arrogance and excessive violence, this anachronistic colonial domination is without any doubt a challenge to the Charter, a challenge to the Organization, a challenge to the conscience of mankind and therefore a challenge that is unacceptable. This situation is one of the major causes of the increasing deterioration of the international climate. In order to preserve peace, all nations have the moral responsibility and the imperative duty to resist all attacks on the dignity of peoples and the free choice of their future. But unfortunately this fight that we must wage together is coming up against the selfish interests of the Organization's Member States, some of whom have a specific responsibility for the maintenance of peace.

167. That is why the Pretoria régime, which negates the elementary values of civilization, can continue with impunity to defy the international community by illegally occupying Namibia and by practising the heinous policy of *apartheid*.

168. After the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) by unanimous vote, including the five great Powers, and the Pretoria régime's unreserved acceptance of the resolution, we had hoped that the Namibian question had finally been resolved. But we did not take into account either the customary arrogance of the racist régime or, especially, the attitude of certain States Members of the United Nations which unhesitatingly contradicted their noble ideals of justice and freedom by showing great understanding towards and even complicity with the illegal racist Power of Pretoria.

169. In order to delay Namibia's accession to independence, South Africa has constantly initiated plans, manoeuvres and evasive tactics to link that independence sometimes to the presence of Cuban troops in Angola, sometimes to the prior adoption of a sham electoral system, sometimes to the alleged partiality of this Organization. The establishment of a supposed security zone in southern Africa is the latest argument advanced by the Pretoria racists for installing a puppet council of State in Namibia.

170. Memories are not so short that we can forget that the People's Republic of Angola, shortly after it achieved independence, was invaded without any declaration of war by South Africa. First of all, Angola went to the United Nations to obtain a guarantee of its security, but without success, and that young Republic had no choice, other than self-destruction, but to exercise its natural right of legitimate defence, which is recognized and authorized by Article 51 of the Charter.

171. The plans, manoeuvres and evasive tactics of Pretoria are merely well-known delaying tactics, while South Africa is still with impunity occupying part of Angola by force and is pursuing its armed aggression against neighbouring independent, sovereign countries.

172. The true intentions of South Africa in linking Namibian independence with the prior establishment of a security zone in southern Africa are those same intentions as lead it to keep Namibia in perpetual subjection,



to break the revolutionary spirit of the people of Azania and persuade the international community to give its approval to *apartheid*. Thus it is easy to understand why the proposals for a settlement of the Namibian question have remained a dead letter.

173. Therefore it is through the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) and the relevant annexes, which in and of themselves are sufficient, that we must make every effort to help SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, finally and in the very near future, to begin the construction of its country, returned to freedom in strict respect for its demographic homogeneity and territorial integrity.

174. Mali will continue to give its active support to the valiant people of Namibia so that final victory may be the just reward of its long martyrdom and further proof of the faith of the peoples still under colonial domination in the United Nations.

175. The freedom of peoples and respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States are sacred. Respect for human dignity is also sacred. *Apartheid* defies the solemn undertaking that we have given on behalf of the peoples of the United Nations to attain the noble objectives of the Charter. Thus the struggle against *apartheid* is becoming the struggle of all to preserve human dignity. It pits the Pretoria régime, the legatee of a racism which almost brought the world to its downfall, against our common determination to live in harmony and to enrich ourselves through our differences.

176. *Apartheid* cannot be humanized; it is its nature to divide in order to strengthen repression. The recent attempts to break the unity of the South African nationalists in fact hide its vulnerability in the face of the increasing triumphs of the freedom fighters and of the growing condemnation by the world public. The international community strengthened its support for the cause of freedom by deciding on more concrete measures at the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held from 1 to 12 August 1983 at Geneva.

177. It is the duty of the international community, in particular the United Nations, to intensify its struggle against *apartheid* by isolating Pretoria totally. We must fight by every means available—diplomatic, political, economic and military—against a régime which maintains an anachronistic colonial system, a régime which practises an internal policy which is a disgrace to mankind, a régime which through its daily acts of aggression violates the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of its neighbours.

178. The provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter show the way and give the means to the Security Council, to which the Charter has given the primary task of maintaining international peace and security.

179. The right of peoples to freedom is universal and inalienable. It applies to the people of Azania, to the people of Namibia and to the Palestinian people. The struggle for national existence waged by the Palestinian people under the banner of the PLO goes beyond the context of Palestine. After four wars it continues to shake the Middle East; it carries the seeds of another international conflagration which could have fatal consequences. The question of Palestine, far from being an Arab-Israeli conflict, is in fact a conflict between an occupying Power and a people that rejects colonial domination. It was in the quest for a final, but impossible, victory against the valiant Palestinian fighters that the Golan Heights were occupied, that the nuclear facilities at Tammuz were bombed, that Lebanon was invaded and that a year ago

the disgraceful massacres of Sabra and Shatila were perpetrated.

180. The proposals by Mali with the object of establishing peace in the Middle East, and reaffirmed by the head of State of Mali from this rostrum at the thirty-sixth session [23rd meeting], remain entirely relevant and valid.

181. The very pertinent conclusions of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983, and the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights<sup>3</sup> offer all countries that cherish peace and justice new reasons for redoubling their efforts to ensure that the Palestinian people, under the guidance of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, are able to exercise their inalienable rights, including the right to self-determination and independence.

182. Respect for the universal principles that underlie the basic right of peoples to self-determination must be seen by every Member State as a sacred duty. It is a duty fulfilled by my country, Mali, when it recognized and reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination by means of an open and properly organized general referendum, which is the only way of resolving the serious crisis resulting from incomplete decolonization. Only the speedy conclusion of this process can help establish a just and definitive peace in that subregion of Africa, whose peoples, including my own, have through the ages been mutually enriched by their experiences, their culture and their philosophy of life. The question of Western Sahara must in no way impair the harmonious sharing of this common heritage.

183. The differences on this question, as is known, have caused a serious crisis within the OAU. The African heads of State—although I shall not detail the many individual and collective initiatives that have been taken—have laid a solid foundation for a settlement of the question of Western Sahara. Indeed, at Addis Ababa, at its nineteenth session, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity adopted a settlement plan [see A/38/312] which calls for the co-operation of the United Nations.

184. Notwithstanding the difficulties that have now arisen concerning the implementation of that important and decisive resolution adopted at Addis Ababa, we pin our hopes on the actions and initiatives under way to find an African solution for the problem of the self-determination of the people of Western Sahara.

185. Several years of warfare in the Western Sahara have shown that the solution to the question does not lie in military confrontation. History also teaches us that there has not been a single conflict or war that has not ended at the negotiating table. That is the price of peace in Western Sahara, a price that the parties to the conflict, POLISARIO<sup>2</sup> and the Kingdom of Morocco, must pay with honour and dignity.

186. It is because of its awareness of the interdependence of all peoples, particularly those living in the same area of civilization, that the people of Mali has made and will continue to make good-neighbourliness a cardinal principle of its African policy. As has been repeatedly stated from this rostrum, Mali intends to consolidate that principle, which we see as the only way to guarantee the individual existence of all States.

187. That is why Mali continues to participate in the patient building of regional bodies which are demonstrating their mission of peace, solidarity, co-operation and friendship among brother peoples naturally united by a common history.

188. To cite but a few examples of such organizations, the West African Economic Community, the Organization for the Development of the Senegal River, and the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel are effective instruments for the development of our subregion. On an even wider scale, faithful to the strategy set out by the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa, the Economic Community of West African States is now operating a large, reliable pool of experts and economic, cultural and social resources which could give a new dimension to the fruitful contribution of the African peoples to the very necessary dialogue among nations.

189. Those are the sole and profound reasons that have led the Governments of our subregion, mindful of the reality of their history and the age-old devotion to peace of their peoples, to conclude border agreements to strengthen, in tranquillity, their many links of co-operation and thus to participate in bringing a new order to the developing world, given the present deadlock in the North-South dialogue.

190. Such agreements have already been concluded between Niger and Algeria, and Algeria and Mali, and will soon be concluded between Mali and Mauritania, and Mali and Upper Volta. They attest to the fact that good faith and a sound and brotherly concept of the principle of good-neighbourliness make possible the honest implementation of the OAU rule regarding the inviolability of the borders bequeathed by the colonial Power, and they remain the only basis on which to look beyond short-term issues and devote ourselves to the urgent tasks of development.

191. Only through the maintenance of positive dialogue and the spirit of good-neighbourliness among the nations, and particularly those of the third world, can we move towards the realization of the great aspirations of the peoples of the United Nations.

192. That phenomenon, which is already notable in its immediate effects, is undoubtedly based on age-old virtues. Those virtues are embodied in the collective wisdom of nations and will triumph over the present obstacles and the conflicts and wars which unfortunately still divide brothers, destroy families and wipe out societies. At each historic turning-point the people have found the appropriate response to their preoccupations. That is why my delegation is convinced that now, too, Africans will be able to resolve the problems that have arisen in the continent.

193. The situation prevailing in Chad, which is of concern to the people of Mali and its leaders, has become more tense, despite the precarious lull of recent weeks.

194. Chad, a Sahel State and a founding member of the Organization of Saharan States, must be the primary beneficiary of the principles governing the charter of that young subregional organization. The sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Chad must be safeguarded. The national unity of the people of Chad must be preserved. If those two major objectives are to be achieved, all States Members of the United Nations must ensure that two essential conditions are fulfilled. First, there must be no external interference, whether from within or outside Africa. Secondly, and above all, it is only through national reconciliation that a lasting solution can be found to the crisis in Chad. Only the reconciliation of all the sons of Chad will make it possible to resolve the Chad aspect of the crisis. When the children of Chad are reconciled, the external aspect of the crisis will be more easily resolved, because in unity people have

always found appropriate responses to attacks on their sovereignty and independence and territorial integrity.

195. We have already stated that only dialogue and a policy of good-neighbourliness can lead to the achievement of the great aspirations of the people who have given us a mandate to guarantee their security and well-being. Unfortunately, those aspirations are still thwarted in Latin America and in the Caribbean.

196. Those third world countries this year commemorate the bicentennial of the birth of Simón Bolívar, one of their greatest historical figures for whom freedom, tolerance and unity were the indispensable foundations of the emancipation of the region. Africa, which appreciated the awarding of the Simón Bolívar Prize to Nelson Mandela, imprisoned for life in South African gaols, welcomes that great event.

197. The message of Contadora and the Manifesto to the Peoples of Latin America in the Declaration by the Presidents of the Bolivarian Republics adopted at Caracas in July 1983 [A/38/325] clearly reflect the faith of Latin America in its unity and in its desire for co-operation in peace and with respect for the sovereignty of States. The Republic of Mali renews its support for them in the efforts to achieve those noble objectives which are so dear to the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

198. The seriousness of international disputes and their consequences require us to look for wise solutions. It is more than ever necessary for us to realize the futility of war as a means of resolving conflicts among nations.

199. My country is deeply concerned by the conflict between Iraq and Iran, two Muslim non-aligned countries both of which are friends of the people of Mali. The mediation efforts of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and by the countries of the Non-Aligned Movement have unfortunately not put an end to that war. The Republic of Mali, which has always supported any initiative aimed at the definitive solution of that painful problem, once again appeals urgently to the belligerent parties finally to heed the voice of reason and put an end to the hostilities, which threaten the stability of the region and jeopardize its development.

200. We hope that finally an atmosphere of peace, understanding and concord will be established among all the sons of Afghanistan. That proud and courageous people, which has a noble history, would gain much by laying down its arms, so that it could regain its unity and tackle its primary tasks of development.

201. With regard to Kampuchea, my country, which very much appreciates the age-old genius of the great peoples of the region, will associate itself fully with any action aiming at bringing about a political solution to the crisis.

202. The situation prevailing in Cyprus is also a matter of concern and continues to be a source of international tension. We encourage the two communities, Greek and Turkish, to continue along the path of negotiation and positive dialogue. For its part, Mali, which is a member of the contact group on Cyprus of the Non-Aligned Movement, will spare no effort to find a just and lasting solution to this conflict.

203. After more than two decades, we are still awaiting a solution to the splitting of Korea, which was artificially divided. The national feeling of the Korean people is profound and its thirst for unity is real. The seriousness of recent events in that part of the world requires that political ways and means be found for a peaceful reunification of the Korean homeland.

204. The world is dominated by crises and confrontations which may lead humanity to its doom. These situations are taking on a terrifying dimension because of the strengthening of military alliances and the frenetic race for more and more sophisticated weapons. The serious risks of a nuclear conflagration are becoming more apparent every day. Thus, despite the declarations of principle and the best intentions, disarmament remains an empty word.

205. As the delegation of Mali emphasized at the thirty-fourth session:

“It is essential for us to continue to work together openly in order to make headway along the difficult road to general and complete disarmament, to the dismantling of all military bases forcibly stationed in third world countries and to the stopping and reversing of the arms race. It is only that type of co-operation that can lead to the creation of a more secure world where peace would depend less on weapons and would no longer be founded on the outmoded theory of a balance of terror and mutual destruction.” [27th meeting, para. 87.]

206. Therefore, my delegation will continue to support any proposal leading to general and complete disarmament considered in all its aspects. It will continue to take an active part, with total open-mindedness, in any positive initiatives to reverse the arms race. Mali associates itself with any effort to strengthen the just positions—just because they are truly independent of ideological or military blocs—as expressed at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at New Delhi in March 1983.

207. In the field of disarmament as in that of development, the true solutions to international problems must proceed from a comprehensive view of the world, in particular the primacy of our common future. This vision has been lacking and the world economy is beset by crisis.

208. In the face of this common peril, the attitude has been a negative one of self-defence and not a positive one of seeking collective security. Thus, further protectionist barriers have been erected to stave off the crisis. They have had the opposite effect since the crisis has worsened. Trade has shrunk and the monetary market is beyond our understanding.

209. In its 1983 World Development Report, the World Bank allows hope for a possible forthcoming recovery in certain economies of the developed market economy countries. To quote the document, this is a recovery “which is taking a long time to come”, or, to use an expression used by the economic services of the United Nations, “it is an elusive recovery”.

210. This recovery is not “taking a long time to come”, nor is it an “elusive” recovery for the developing countries which continue to suffer the most restrictive effects of the world economic crisis: an unprecedented drop in real terms of commodity prices, a constant drop since 1970 in the average export earnings from manufactured goods of developing countries, and unprecedentedly high interest rates. This means a lessening of their ability to pay and thus to a blockage of development.

211. The *World Economic Survey, 1983*—this time a United Nations publication<sup>4</sup>—reaffirms this in these words: “In the developing countries considered as a group, production has failed to rise for the first time since the end of the war.” And the World Bank goes further than this: “Low-income countries in Africa, more dependent on the imports of commodities, have suffered much from the crisis. Their per capita income continues to be

reduced, with the risk of being lower in the 1980s than it was in the 1960s.”

212. However, peace and development are interdependent, as was forcefully emphasized by the heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries at New Delhi. In the name of our abiding fundamental interest, the third world, particularly the non-aligned countries, for more than 20 years—that is to say, at the very time when the economies of the developed countries were expanding—has ceaselessly called for collective and broad thinking about the need to reorder our economies for their continuous harmonious expansion. Unfortunately, no satisfactory response has been given to this invitation.

213. Since 1964, on the initiative of the third world, the United Nations has been trying to fix a development target for international trade relations by setting up a more orderly and equitable world economic machinery. UNCTAD was given that mandate, and it has just concluded its sixth session, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, without even reaching agreements in principle on pressing issues, which are basic elements of the present economic crisis.

214. The enormous hopes aroused in 1979 by the invitation of the third world to embark on global negotiations on the establishment of a new international economic order are steadily receding. Indeed, after many long and irksome years of talks, with contacts very often at the highest level, negotiations are still at the procedural stage.

215. International development strategies and machinery conceived to make them effective have thus suffered setbacks because of the resistance of certain developed countries to a dynamic new approach to world problems of development and to the need to find advantageous solutions.

216. Because of insufficient resources, UNDP has been forced to reduce drastically the level of its involvement in the implementation of the programmes of the third programming cycle. It is useful to recall that these programmes were set up with special consideration for the greater vulnerability of the economies of many countries which are the beneficiaries of UNDP activities, in particular the least developed countries. Many United Nations funds exist in name only.

217. The developing countries, need I recall, are suffering tragically from the effects of the economic crisis. This blanket statement, however, conceals the even more untenable position of the least developed among them, particularly those suffering from especially difficult geographical and climatic conditions.

218. The drought which has afflicted the Sudano-Sahelian region for 14 years has continued and is steadily worsening. The national efforts made by the courageous peoples of the Sahel to assure their self-sufficiency in food and their effective participation in the international economy have been severely handicapped by the present unfair market laws. The countries affected by the drought have often drawn the attention of the international community to the grave danger of gradual desertification to their survival.

219. That is why Mali firmly supports the idea launched by ECA to organize an international scientific round table on problems relating to climatic changes in Africa and on the disastrous effects of drought, erosion, cyclones and hunger on African peoples.

220. However, it is encouraging to note that the economic difficulties of the least developed countries, particularly those in the Sudano-Sahelian region, fortunately have not left the rest of the world completely indifferent.

To improve their state of development—that is to say, to achieve the minimum economic growth targets that they set in close co-operation with the rest of the international community—the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris in September 1981, recognized that these targets, incorporated in a substantial new programme for development, would have a chance of being implemented only if these countries were to receive a significant increase in official development assistance during the present decade. The resolutions of the General Assembly concerning the least developed countries come to the same conclusions.

221. Since that time, round tables held on the welcome initiative of UNDP have enabled several of the least developed countries to engage in appropriate forms of frank and constructive dialogue with donor countries to facilitate the execution of their development programmes.

222. Our country has had the opportunity to appreciate the benefits of international solidarity, and we hope for the continuation of this active commitment by the developed countries, the international agencies and the financial institutions, particularly the Bretton Woods institutions.

223. Given the critical situation in the world, we must regain our self-control. We must restore to the United Nations its full capacity to act to eliminate hotbeds of war, to avoid new crises and to seek genuine solutions for the world economic crisis. The proposals made some time ago by the Non-Aligned Movement concerning the effectiveness of the United Nations system have consequently now become particularly relevant and important. In precise, measured and balanced language, the Movement's Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government called upon the international community to honour its commitment to peace.

224. In the field of disarmament, we must guarantee survival and coexistence in this nuclear age.

225. In the field of economic development we are calling for nothing more or less than collective action for world prosperity.

226. It would be a great source of satisfaction to the people of Mali to work for the triumph of the noble ideals of the Charter, especially for the restoration of international security and stability, particularly at the regional and subregional levels. This would be a great source of encouragement for the people of Mali, who are traditionally devoted to peace, to the reconciliation of hearts and minds and to the strengthening of friendly and fruitful relations among all peoples.

227. These objectives form part of the abiding concerns of the people of Mali, and that is why in October 1981 the head of State of Mali, President Moussa Traoré, reaffirmed from this very rostrum the constructive commitment of our country, which is located in the geopolitical heart of the West African savannah, to dialogue: dialogue among nations; dialogue of history with history; dialogue among differing civilizations; dialogue among men of all beliefs.

228. At this time, when the peace is being breached throughout the world, when hunger and poverty are on the rise, when the mad race to acquire the instruments of the apocalypse continues, the need to ensure the collective security of the world takes on a vital urgency.

229. The Republic of Mali calls on the members of the Assembly to join in this noble endeavour.

230. Mr. MOGWE (Botswana): The Secretary-General has once again awakened the international community to what he correctly characterizes as "the partial paralysis of the United Nations as the guardian of international

peace and security" [see A/38/1]. Indeed, the world Organization has been restricted in its efforts to defuse wars in Africa, Asia and the Americas.

231. The agenda before us tells a familiar story, the story of the institutional limitations of the United Nations, for it is replete with perennial political issues defying quick resolution. Yet once again these issues will be thoroughly debated. Many resolutions will be adopted, some, as the Secretary-General ruefully observes, "requesting reports which form the basis for new resolutions", others to be filed away, to be remembered and quoted at the next session. Whilst recurring resolutions, unimplemented and unimplementable, may provide sufficient justification for our annual pilgrimage to New York and for keeping the Secretariat in business, repeated failure to find solutions to international problems has only exacerbated our sense of insecurity and fear, hopelessness and desperation. We congratulate the Secretary-General for raising high the Charter of the United Nations as a beacon to guide our international relations, and for seeking from all Governments a recommitment to its purposes and principles. My country will not be found wanting in this regard. We thank the Secretary-General also for the practical interest he has displayed in his search for peace and security in our world.

232. Coming as I do from southern Africa, a region that has suffered and continues to bleed for the liberation and freedom of its oppressed people, I delight in the knowledge that the Secretary-General's visit to the region has, in his own words, brought home to him vividly the human tragedy of the situation and the urgency required to resolve it. In his words, "we have never before been so close to finality on the modalities of implementing [Security Council] resolution 435 (1978)".<sup>5</sup> He reached this conclusion after SWAPO, often maligned as dissident and recalcitrant, had declared its support for the recommendations on the composition of UNTAG and pledged its readiness to accept without conditions either of the two electoral systems set out in the Western constitutional proposals. By contrast—and characteristic of South Africa's consistently obstructionist attitude throughout the history of Namibia's struggle for independence—no definitive reply concerning the accepted electoral system has been received from South Africa. The South African Administrator-General in Namibia will hold his cards close to his chest until after the date for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) has been agreed on.

233. As if this dissonance were not blight enough on the hopes for the long-delayed implementation of resolution 435 (1978), the South African authorities are continuing to insist on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola as a precondition for the peaceful solution of the Namibian problem. The international community has unequivocally pronounced its opposition to the introduction of the concept of linkage. Even the façade of unity displayed by the contact group in defence of that linkage has cracked under the heat of the political opprobrium it has generated. The linkage of the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola has been declared illogical and irrelevant to the issue of Namibian independence by virtually all parties concerned. Its originators, the United States of America and South Africa, should therefore be persuaded to abandon it and thus to allow the resumption of the process leading to the political independence of Namibia.

234. On the economic front, the Thirion report, prepared by a South-African-appointed commission, reveals that Namibia has suffered serious decline in the past few



years and is in economic danger as the result of existing policies. The country's outstanding debt is equal to 130 per cent of its national income and is likely to rise even more. Although some of this can be blamed on the recession that has afflicted the world economy and some on the devastating drought engulfing southern Africa, more blame should fall on the South African *apartheid* constitution, which divides government in Namibia into three tiers, the second of which consists of 11 authorities set up to administer the affairs of the different ethnic groups. The report notes that the system has led to a remarkable multiplicity of Government departments for one of the most sparsely populated countries. There are 11 departments of education, 11 of health, 11 of pensions, and so on, for a population of just over 1 million—so that Namibians cynically refer to the system as "one man, one Government".

235. The longer the delay in the granting of independence to Namibia, the greater will be the ruin of the Territory's human and material resources.

236. We pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for the faithful observance of the terms of his mandate and his rejection of the contrived linkage. We urge him to continue to seek South Africa's co-operation in order to expedite the implementation of resolution 435 (1978). We urge the members of the contact group to help the United States and South Africa to extricate themselves from the impedimental and obstructionist position in which they have become embroiled.

237. On 2 November the people of South Africa—or *die volk*, as they are commonly known in their native Afrikaans—go to the polls to decide on a new constitution. The Constitution Bill, which has been the subject of discussion at political rallies, horse races and *braaivleis* parties for the better part of two years, was approved by the white minority Parliament in mid-September. The constitution provides for a tricameral parliament by giving Coloureds and Indians, some 5 million persons, a limited role in the white Government of the country, whilst it excludes the African majority in the so-called dispensation. One of the objectives of the proposed arrangement is to break the ever-growing solidarity of the oppressed black peoples in their struggle for the restoration of their human rights and dignity in their own country.

238. The measure is seen and opposed by the Conservative Party of South Africa as an erosion of white *baasskap* and domination; it is opposed by the Progressive Federal Party on the grounds that it continues to exclude black South Africans from power-sharing; and it is opposed by the black South Africans themselves because it denies them their basic rights and their role as citizens. The new arrangements will thus fan ethnic animosities, exacerbate tribal divisions and set back the peaceful evolution of concerted non-white opposition to racism.

239. In the meantime, opposition to *apartheid* in South Africa continues to manifest itself in various acts of sabotage and bomb attacks against offices, court buildings, police stations and bridges. Recent events, such as the Pretoria bomb attack and pronouncements by the leadership of the liberation movements, indicate a progressively deteriorating situation. Theologians of different races openly risk their liberty and security by proclaiming Christian witness of the oneness of humanity—and here I refer to personalities such as Bishop Tutu, Dr. Boesak and Dr. Naude.

240. Official reaction to these acts of sabotage has been the mobilization of the State apparatus for the confiscation of travel documents, house arrests, detentions which

have often resulted in mysterious deaths in custody, and death sentences in defiance of international pleas for clemency. Neighbouring States have been accused of harbouring freedom fighters, providing sanctuary for what are referred to as criminal fugitives and permitting in their countries the establishment of bases from which attacks are mounted against South Africa.

241. Assurances by neighbouring States that their territories will not be and are not being used for launching incursions into South Africa have been given. Notwithstanding such assurances, South Africa has chosen aggression as one of its foreign policy strategies in its relations with neighbouring States. We witness today various acts of aggression against the Kingdom of Lesotho, whether by direct commando raids or by way of aiding and abetting the activities of the insurgent Lesotho Liberation Army, the harassment of Lesotho nationals at border crossings, the impounding of goods consigned to Lesotho. Those are acts of economic and political sabotage. Lesotho is not alone in this, for the repeated military raids into Mozambique and Angola and, what is more, the permanent occupation of southern Angola by the South African Army, support by South Africa for dissidents in those countries and in Zimbabwe, the sabotaging of costly infrastructure, fuel tanks, aeroplanes, railways and locomotives, the curtailment of trade agreements, and so on, all confirm the fact of South Africa's policy of economic and political destabilization in the region. We look to the United Nations and particularly to the Western Powers to express the same indignation and the same moral outrage about the situation in southern Africa as they do about the situations in Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

242. The problems of the Republic of Chad in central Africa are not new. Chad has been the scene of political turmoil and civil strife spanning two decades. Solutions and resolutions to halt the conflict have had only a temporary effect, and interim arrangements pending the election of a Government have not held for very long. Towns have been razed and whatever infrastructure there might have been largely destroyed. N'Djamena, the capital, bears bullet scars as evidence of the battles that have raged there in the past and is a sad reminder of what may yet happen again, for it is clear that, with outside Powers ranged behind one or another of the different Chad parties, military victories will continue to be transient phenomena and peace will remain an elusive objective.

243. Incentives should be offered to the various political groups to create a viable peace, not to carry on an unwinnable war. To assist Chad, the international community should call for a cease-fire and the withdrawal of foreign forces and should stop the shipment of arms to the warring parties. Simultaneously, the political groups in Chad should be given moral, political, and economic encouragement to negotiate a settlement and a Government that can develop the country in the interests of all.

244. The question of Western Sahara continues to occupy a sensitive place in the politics of Africa. In his message to the General Assembly [27th meeting], the current Chairman of the OAU, the head of State of Socialist Ethiopia, gave an account of his efforts in search of a solution to a problem which threatens the unity of the continental organization. Botswana supports those efforts without reservation and urges the parties concerned to implement without further delay the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, taken at its eighteenth session, at Nairobi in 1981, to allow the people of Western Sahara to settle the conflict through a referendum.

245. The situation in the Middle East continues to exercise our minds. An end to the homelessness, pain and suffering of the Palestinian people remains a pious objective. Israel has not complied with any General Assembly or Security Council resolution calling for its withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem. Yet, the same Israel often speaks of peace and security while its policies and practices in the occupied territories, particularly the establishment of settlements, are directly contributing to the absence of peace in the region. The General Assembly should continue to maintain undiluted the guidelines for the international effort to resolve the problem.

246. The Iran-Iraq conflict has been going on for about three years now. Whatever they were, the reasons that prompted the war in the first instance seem now to have lost their relevance and validity, and to those far away from the scene the continued fighting appears to be the result of the force of habit acquired over the past three years and disagreement about the terms of the cease-fire and the level of reparations to be paid.

247. The war, which has already taken a heavy toll of human lives and material resources, is likely to escalate with the rumoured recent acquisition of new sophisticated weaponry by Iraq, precipitating the threat of retaliatory action by Iran. Such action would adversely affect the national interests of other States and should therefore be avoided.

248. The international community should urge the two countries to end this destructive war, engage in negotiations leading to the peaceful settlement of their differences and accept mediation by disinterested parties.

249. Afghanistan and Kampuchea continue to suffer occupation by foreign forces. We urge their withdrawal so that the peoples of these two countries may exercise their right to self-determination. We continue to support the reconvening of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

250. My country, like many others, has conveyed to the President, the Government and the people of the Republic of Korea its condolences on the double tragedy of the shooting down of the Korean commercial airliner and the more recent bomb attack in Rangoon, which again resulted in loss of life, including that of four cabinet ministers. It is all the more tragic in that in both cases the killing was intentional, not accidental, and was carried out against unsuspecting civilians in peace-time.

251. The grievous experience of the Republic of Korea is a sad commentary on the ideological polarization of the people of Korea and the divided state of their country. Korean leaders from both the North and the South share the dream of a united fatherland. Their national political postures on the modalities of realizing that dream are poles apart and seemingly irreconcilable. The basic problem is that the Koreans are caught up in the ideological rivalry of the super-Powers. The procedural problems encountered in the current Geneva talks resemble those experienced in the Korean North-South dialogue. Proposals by one side are spurned by the other without dialogue or negotiation. The consistent position of my country is that the solution of the Korean question is the direct concern of the Koreans themselves. We believe that for meaningful discussions to be held, preconditions likely to wreck the convening of the meeting must be avoided and proposals submitted by either side must be examined and discussed before they can be discarded.

252. Korean leaders share the dream of a united fatherland. It should not be the United Nations itself or any

of its Member States that should be seen to discourage the attainment of that objective by any means.

253. Also of concern to us is the increasing number of centres of conflict in Central America. We join the people of the region in their call for an end to the bloody conflicts bedevilling El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua and for peaceful solutions to their problems. Here again external interference in their internal affairs for the sake of spreading or protecting spheres of influence can only serve to escalate their conflict and deny the people of those countries their right not only to self-determination but also to economic and political autonomy.

254. The year 1983 seems to mark a turning-point in the world economy with the first signs of an economic recovery from the long-drawn-out recession, particularly in the United States. However, we must ask whether this upturn will be strong enough to pull the developing countries out of their deep economic slump.

255. Many of the developing countries—particularly those whose well-being is predominantly dependent on their export earnings from primary commodities—have suffered seriously from the prolonged world recession. The precipitous decline in their primary export earnings has resulted in a sharp reduction in their capacity to import and has compounded the growing difficulties in their external debt repayments, as well as their access to additional international financial flows. In such circumstances, many of our countries have been compelled to take very painful adjustment measures, and in most cases the costs of such measures have been very heavy indeed.

256. The magnitude of the external debt burden of developing countries has reached alarming proportions. The total medium-term and long-term external debt, excluding that of the oil-producing developing countries, has quadrupled in the last 10 years, rising from \$125 billion in 1973 to nearly \$500 billion in 1983.

257. The presence of such a mammoth debt burden underlines the close and often fragile interdependence of all nations. It poses a serious threat to the lifeline of the developing nations. Moreover, the proportion of official development assistance in the net inflow of foreign capital to developing countries has been substantially curtailed in recent years, while the share of private commercial finance has risen sharply. This trend, combined with the extraordinarily high interest rates, has exacerbated the debt-service problems of the developing countries. I believe that we must address ourselves to this debt crisis with more than the short-term wisdom shown so far.

258. The implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries,<sup>6</sup> adopted at the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, must be speeded up, giving top priority to the question of debt relief to developing countries.

259. I strongly urge concerted international action and co-operation on this grave issue. In this regard the role of multilateral institutions such as IMF and the World Bank is critical. These institutions should consider additional alternative proposals in reviewing the conditions that usually accompany credit packages to developing countries. Very often the deflationary conditionalities conventionally imposed by these institutions have forced the developing countries to curtail productive programmes, while failing to engender greater use of their human resources to become self-sustaining.

260. I also appeal to the world community at large to augment the flow of official development assistance to

those low-income developing countries which have no access to world financial markets.

261. I am convinced that, without this concerted action at the international level, no degree of recovery in the Western world will end the deepening economic crisis in the developing countries.

262. It is now nearly seven years since the Integrated Programme for Commodities was adopted under the auspices of UNCTAD. It is disappointing to note the slow progress made on this important programme, in spite of innumerable meetings and conferences. The Integrated Programme should be put into effect rapidly, now that the Common Fund has been established.

263. The need for such action is all the more pressing in view of the virtual collapse of the export earnings of many primary producing developing countries. We should also consider implementing an emergency programme to supplement the existing export earnings stabilization schemes available through IMF and the Stabex system.

264. All our efforts towards greater trade, with commodity price stabilization, will be futile if the growing protectionist attitude of industrialized nations towards imports from developing countries continues. Unless the various tariff and non-tariff barriers are reduced, the prospects for the sustained development of most developing countries will remain highly unsatisfactory. In the process of developing more rapidly, these countries import each year capital goods, intermediate goods and even consumer goods from the industrialized countries, but these imports will be sustainable only if the developing countries can earn more foreign exchange than they can earn by exporting primary products alone. The expansion of world trade along lines of comparative advantage, which is essential to the continued development of both groups of nations, requires that developing countries be allowed to export manufactured products to the industrialized countries whenever they can produce such goods at lower real costs. If this is not allowed, neither aid nor lending to developing countries will be sufficient to achieve satisfactory growth, and both groups of nations will be worse off than they need be.

265. We must all learn our lessons from the prolonged global recession and its aftermath. We must develop international economic relations on a new basis to prevent the world economy from repeating its past and to enable all its participants to create a different future.

266. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We have heard the last speaker in the general debate, and have thus completed consideration of item 9 on our agenda. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

267. Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia): My delegation has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply to answer the spurious allegations and insinuations made by certain delegations during the general debate in connection with the so-called question of East Timor.

268. For the past seven years, references to this question—always by the same delegations—have shown a persistent pattern of misrepresentation and distortion of facts by those who continue to indulge in a campaign of slander against Indonesia. This campaign, orchestrated every year so as to synchronize with the timing of the General Assembly session, usually begins with the dissemination of the most outrageous claims, half-truths and outright lies on the situation in East Timor by spokesmen for, and sympathizers with, the so-called FRETILIN.<sup>7</sup> It then only takes one gullible reporter or editor in Portugal, Australia or elsewhere, to transform these completely

unverifiable stories into “objective” news reports. Invariably efforts by Indonesia and others to rebut or correct these false reports are conveniently ignored. Thus the stage is set for representatives of certain Governments and of certain quasi-humanitarian organizations to refer to these reports and to present them before this or any other forum as “facts”, with which they can further embellish their anti-Indonesia campaign.

269. This has been the pattern in previous years, and it is again the pattern this year. Whereas last year’s charges were centred on alleged famine and denial of humanitarian assistance, charges now dropped in the face of irrefutable evidence to the contrary, the theme this year appears to be “massive troop buildup”, “torture” and other concoctions in the same vein.

270. The references to East Timor by the Foreign Minister of Portugal [6th meeting] typically reflect the persistence of this insidious practice. He referred to “recent news of the increase of military operations in East Timor”, thus lending credibility through insinuation to the falsehoods earlier created by a malicious campaign of disinformation. Let me, however, try to set the record straight again.

271. As earlier publicized, in March this year efforts were initiated by the Governor of East Timor to persuade the last remnants of the so-called FRETILIN still holding out in the mountains to lay down their arms and to avail themselves of the general amnesty offered by the Government since 1977. This sincere attempt at fraternal reconciliation initially met with a positive response and contributed to a virtual cessation of all security disturbances in the Province. However, the atmosphere of hope and good faith was shattered when on 8 August a treacherous attack was perpetrated against personnel of an army engineering unit working on a development project in a remote village, causing the death of 16 men.

272. We do not want to believe that this is the answer to our generous offer of total amnesty, which, by the way, still stands. We remain hopeful that eventually the last remaining diehards of the ex-FRETILIN will realize the futility of further resisting the overwhelming desire of the people of East Timor for peaceful reconciliation and for the constructive development of their Province within the Republic of Indonesia. The culprits who committed this senseless act of violence are being pursued and will certainly be brought to justice. Thus, whatever increased military activity has occurred was limited to follow-up action in connection with this incident. Grossly exaggerated news reports and claims by so-called FRETILIN spokesmen about a massive military buildup in East Timor, some even quoting the absurd number of 20,000 troops, should be seen for what they are: a transparent attempt at tendentious deception and at creating public hysteria.

273. The Foreign Minister of Portugal also alluded to “difficulties raised concerning the intervention of the International Red Cross”. Although again he preferred to be vague on this point, we know what he intended to convey, as we are aware of earlier press reports accusing Indonesia of having withdrawn access to the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] to enter and to continue its work in East Timor. These baseless accusations have meanwhile been refuted by the ICRC itself through, among others, Mr. Pierre Guberan, ICRC Delegate in Jakarta, in his statement to *Agence France-Presse* on 26 September. I have the transcript of that statement with me for anyone interested in reading it, so I shall not bother to comment any further on it. I also have with me copies of the correspondence between the

ICRC and the competent authorities in Jakarta on the terms and understandings for the extension of ICRC programmes in East Timor, which, incidentally, is an annual procedure, and which this year is still going on.

274. On the basis of facts rather than fiction, therefore, I can categorically state that the ICRC is continuing its various programmes in East Timor and on Atauro Island, including programmes on family reunion and repatriation, tracing and mailing. A temporary suspension is in force only with regard to relief operations on the mainland due to the recent security disturbances, and here our concern is solely with the safety of ICRC personnel in the area where the earlier-mentioned incident occurred. However, negotiations are continuing, and we hope that on this aspect too a mutually satisfactory arrangement will soon be reached.

275. Indonesia has always respected the ICRC's desire for discretion as regards its humanitarian work in Indonesia and anywhere else in the world, but as Portugal and others have referred to ICRC activities we cannot but respond by giving the facts of the matter. Incidentally, for a party which has for years ignored and belittled the good work of the ICRC in East Timor, Portugal's sudden concern with a purported halt to these activities is indeed curious, to say the least.

276. The Portuguese Foreign Minister also spoke of hypocrisy and went on to admonish Member States that "The coherence of principles and not the mechanism of power must guide [their] conduct in judging this question." I do not know whether, in mentioning hypocrisy, he was looking in retrospect or speaking in the future tense. Given Portugal's decolonization record in East Timor, where it undertook to implement an orderly and democratic process of self-determination but instead ended up by irresponsibly abandoning the territory in a state of raging civil war, we would have thought that the Foreign Minister would have been more careful in using such words. Indeed, it would perhaps be helpful all round if Portugal would realize that one thing it cannot afford to do and should stop doing is to assume a sanctimonious tone towards Indonesia and others.

277. Mr. MARGETSON (United Kingdom): I am very conscious that lengthy rights of reply are an abuse of the patience of the General Assembly, especially so when the matter in question is due to be the subject of its own debate under a separate agenda item later on. Therefore, however provocative the remarks of the representative of Argentina at the 6th meeting may have been, I do not propose to detain the Assembly for very long, but one point I cannot allow to pass without comment.

278. This relates to the right—the inalienable right—of self-determination, which most of us regard as one of the fundamental principles on which this Organization is based. Sir Geoffrey Howe, my Foreign Secretary, was speaking nothing but the demonstrable truth when he said that our record in the matter of decolonization speaks for itself. I am content, as I look around this Hall, to let the representatives of those States which have had direct experience of the British attitude towards self-determination make their own judgement.

279. The position of Argentina stands in sharp contrast. It is now clear that the Argentine authorities rely, as an essential prop for their argument, on the claim that the universal right of self-determination is subject to a special exception in the case of the Falkland Islanders. This will doubtless be the subject of much discussion when the Assembly comes to debate the question of the Falkland Islands. The representative of Argentina has now made it abundantly clear that the people of the Falkland

Islands, their rights and their wishes, are of little concern to the régime in Buenos Aires.

280. I must also take up the reference made by the Foreign Minister of Malta at the 23rd meeting to the problem of remnants of war in Malta. He raised the question of Valetta Harbour in particular. His points were not new. These matters have been dealt with fully by my delegation in replies given in the Assembly in 1981 and again last year. The United Kingdom views with sympathy the problems certain countries have faced in coping with the problems of remnants of war left on their territory. Settled practice in the United Kingdom is that wrecks are normally left undisturbed unless they are a demonstrable hindrance to navigation.

281. While the British Government is under no legal obligation to clear unexploded ordnance or wrecks from Malta's waters, much of it the direct result of wartime attacks, it is prepared to examine what assistance it might be possible to offer in the context of specific harbour development plans where it can be shown that wrecks or unexploded ordnance constitute a hindrance to such plans. We have always been and remain willing to discuss any such problems bilaterally. An offer to Malta in this sense is on the table.

282. Mr. PRITCHARD (United States of America): We were surprised and disappointed that the representative of Nigeria chose to suggest in his address at the 20th meeting that the United States had in some way violated the military arms embargo imposed on South Africa in Security Council resolutions 418 (1977) and 473 (1980). This suggestion is false.

283. The United States has embargoed arms sales to South Africa since 1963, well before the adoption of the Security Council resolutions creating the United Nations embargo in 1977. The United States has also rigorously enforced these prohibitions on military sales, and it continues to do so. It is indeed regrettable that this conscientious effort should be maligned by false assertions on so important a subject.

284. The alleged violation concerns approval by the United States Government of bidding by American companies on a contract to provide advice and technical services to a South Africa firm whose commercial nuclear reactors provide electricity to a nationwide power grid. This action is neither a violation of the Security Council embargo nor a threat to peace.

285. The facts are as follows. The reactors are typical commercial nuclear electric power generators built by a European firm, similar to those found in four dozen other countries. They use only low-grade uranium fuel not suitable for military purposes. In addition to the safeguards made applicable by virtue of provisions of the United States Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act, South Africa has accepted monitoring by IAEA. The reactors are therefore covered by IAEA regulations, including those relating to inspections. The maintenance services upon which bids are to be submitted involve no arms, no military material, no transfer of sensitive technology and no risk of nuclear proliferation. A large number of companies from other countries with industrial nuclear capability—both European and Asian—have also submitted bids.

286. In fact, bids by United States companies represent the least chance of nuclear proliferation, as no other country has imposed on its industries controls as tight as those provided under the 1978 United States Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act.

287. We were also surprised and disappointed that the Foreign Minister of Upper Volta should have stated in his



address to the Assembly at the 30th meeting that the United States had accorded South Africa a credit of \$50 million to consolidate the nuclear potential of that Government. This is false. The United States has not accorded South Africa any credit, loan or grant for nuclear development—not \$50 million, not \$5 million, not anything. The assertion is wholly false and can only call into question the seriousness of the expressed concern.

288. We trust this explanation will clarify the misconceptions that have been circulating on this subject.

289. Mr. SALEH (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Yesterday at the 32nd meeting we listened to the representative of the United States of America refer in his so-called right of reply to a number of representatives of countries which have uncovered American policy, including my own delegation. While I pity the American representative for the embarrassing situation in which the policy of his Government has placed him, a policy that is hostile to people and which has placed him in confrontation with the majority of the States of the world, I wish to remind him, and perhaps this would be helpful, that the whole world is aware of the aggressive and hostile policy adopted by the American Administration against peoples in different parts of the world, from Central America, to Africa, the Middle East and Asia.

290. I do not wish to refer to the assassinations carried out by the American terrorist spy agency, the assassinations of such world leaders as Lumumba, Allende and the American nationalists, Martin Luther King and Malcolm X. There are other thousands of acknowledged victims of the machinations of the American terrorist agencies.

291. The people of Namibia are massacred with American weapons, money and support. The land of the Angolan people is occupied and its sons killed, also with American support. The people of Palestine have been dispersed and are daily being killed by the combination of United States arms and support and by United States mercenaries. The peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador and other Latin American countries are subjected daily to terrorism at the hands of United States mercenaries and weapons. The peoples of Lebanon and South Africa are also subjected to United States terrorism. A policy of international terrorism, the rapid deployment forces, and manoeuvres and provocations to which peoples are subjected, including the people of the Jamahiriya, are a matter of common knowledge. In addition, creating dissension, inciting States against each other and attempting to intimidate peoples by imposing unjust agreements has become the core of United States policy.

292. As for the United States itself, black people there are subjected to continuing assassinations and terrorism, in addition to racial discrimination which is even fiercer than that practised in South Africa. This is the case also for the people of Puerto Rico, occupied by the American Administration.

293. Again I repeat I pity the American representative, but I want to remind him that people who live in glass houses should not throw stones.

294. Mr. BARMA (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): Throughout this important debate many delegations, including heads of State or Government, paid a great deal of attention in their statements to the situation prevailing in my country, Chad. This shows, if there were any need to show it, the seriousness of the situation and the justifiable concern of the international community over this atrocious war imposed on us by Libya. My delegation

would like to express our appreciation to all those who have spoken, and we trust the Organization will fully shoulder its responsibilities in liaison with the OAU to help Chad regain peace, with scrupulous respect for its unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

295. To those delegations which, while expressing their concern that the situation in Chad threatens peace and security not only in the region but at the international level as well, have been confusing the situation in regard to the foreign interventions in the country, I would say, first, that Chad is the victim of outside aggression from Libya, an aggression known to everyone, inasmuch as the Security Council has taken up the matter twice this year. Secondly, following this aggression, which was most clearly a violation of the most elementary rules of international law, the Government of Chad, exercising its sovereignty, called on fraternal and friendly countries to help it deal with this aggression, the aim of which is nothing less than the annexation of Chad by Libya.

296. Zaire and France responded positively to the appeal from Chad by sending troops and military equipment. Other friendly countries made equipment available to the Government of Chad.

297. We take this opportunity to say to those friendly countries that the people and Government of Chad are grateful to them. We also welcome the excellent relations of friendship and co-operation that exist between Chad and these countries, relations based on strict respect for the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

298. All these actions are in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, Article 51 of which states:

“Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.”

This provision has been reaffirmed in Security Council resolution 387 (1976), which clearly specifies “the inherent and lawful right of every State, in the exercise of its sovereignty, to request assistance from any other State or group of States”.

299. As we mentioned earlier, we went to the Security Council twice this year, in April and in August, to get it to take action to restore peace and security in Chad, and thereby in the region. Despite the evidence and the gravity of the situation, the Council was not in a position to shoulder its responsibilities under the Charter. Therefore it is astonishing, to say the least, that representatives should come here and say outright that there would be outside interference in the affairs of Chad by the very ones who were invited by the legitimate authorities of Chad.

300. The only intervention which should be condemned is that of the aggressor, Libya. In this connection, I should like categorically to reject the irresponsible and gratuitous allegations by Iran and Laos which completely disregarded reality in Chad. It is rather odd that on the one hand it is asserted that a State has the right to call on whomever it wishes to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity, while on the other hand, when there is a similar situation elsewhere, the opposite view is taken. Are we to understand that there is a double measure, a double standard in affirming the principles of the United Nations? This is clearly a demonstration of bad faith, and those who indulge in it merely discredit themselves in the eyes of the world.

301. Everyone likes to reaffirm his country's commitment to the principles and purposes of the Charter, but once it is a question of defending them in concrete situations some, regrettably, back down.

302. As we have just shown, Chad has been a victim of armed aggression by Libya. In exercising our legitimate right of defence we called on our friends to help us, in accordance with international law. It is, therefore, important that the international community, which is quite rightly concerned at what is happening in Chad, should now exert pressure on Libya to withdraw immediately its troops occupying Chad.

303. The people of Chad, like its leaders, on several occasions has said that it is a peaceful people. We only aspire to peace and to social and economic well-being, so that we may devote our efforts to the rational exploitation of all our material and human resources. We have no ambitions against any other people. We seek to have trusting relations of brotherhood, good neighbourliness and mutually beneficial co-operation with all countries of the world, particularly with our neighbours.

304. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): I listened very carefully to the statement in exercise of the right of reply made today by the representative of the United Kingdom, in response to the genuine and vital concerns for Malta's development needs raised in this forum by my Minister last week. Unfortunately, I did not detect anything new to encourage us to expect a more forthcoming attitude by the British Government. Nevertheless, we shall continue to strive to obtain not a right of reply but the right reply from the British Government in the coming months.

305. I would only say that the relevant facts and figures have been presented to the British Government, and they have been the subject of independent verification. We only await favourable understanding. The friendship of almost two centuries between our two peoples deserves no less.

306. Mr. ANDINO-SALAZAR (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the 32nd meeting the representative of Grenada referred to the situation in El Salvador in terms which my delegation categorically rejects. The representative of Grenada tried in vain to produce political recipes to impress his audience. He used obsolete formulas that have been rejected and rendered out of date by events.

307. \* Since that representative does not believe in elections as a rational political method, he thinks that arrangements can be made behind the back of the people, as indeed is done by the dictatorial clique of the Grenada régime. It would be better if the Grenada delegation spared us its insults and devoted its energies to getting its country out of the present state of political servitude.

308. Mr. AL-ATASSI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the 32nd meeting we heard a statement in exercise of the right of reply from the United States representative. Our attention was attracted by his expression of regret at the criticism that the representative of Syria had levelled against the Marines in Lebanon operating within the framework of the multinational force there.

309. The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic wishes to repeat to the General Assembly, and particularly to the British and American delegations, the part of the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Syria to the Assembly which concerned the United States Marines. We do so in order to reaffirm the point of view of the Syrian Arab Republic regarding the role of the United States Marines:

"The American involvement in Lebanon and the direct interference of United States naval units in the civil war in support of one side represents a danger to the region and is a serious indication of the beginning of the 'Vietnamization' of Lebanon. The United States Administration and its allies should read ancient and modern history, learn its lessons and cease to embroil their peoples and interests in wars of which they cannot be the winners.

" . . .

"The Atlantic military presence in the Mediterranean is a challenge not only to us but to the entire international community, as it is a threat to security and peace. It is an expression of the rejuvenation of the aggressive colonialist spirit against the peoples and their right to self-determination . . .". [9th meeting, paras. 135 and 137.]

310. We say frankly to the United States spokesman that the complete bias of the United States in favour of Israel does not qualify the United States to play a constructive role in the region. It has turned into a party in the Lebanese civil war, instead of being a peace force.

311. We call upon the American fleet and the Zionist invasion forces to withdraw immediately from Lebanon so that the people may be able to achieve the reconciliation desired by all factions. The General Assembly should ask the Security Council to implement its resolution 509 (1982), which demands that Israel withdraw immediately and unconditionally from all Lebanese territory.

312. If Washington really seeks peace for Lebanon, it must comply with its obligations under the Charter, instead of wasting this Organization's time with speeches made for purposes of its election campaign.

313. Mr. MEDINA (Portugal) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation listened carefully to the statement just made by the representative of Indonesia. Because of the mandate given by the Assembly to the Secretary-General and because, accordingly, the discussion of East Timor has been postponed to the thirty-ninth session, my delegation will refrain from taking any position that might be interpreted as having been dictated by a spirit of polemics or confrontation. It will confine itself to confirming in the most formal way the statements made by Portugal's Minister for Foreign Affairs during the general debate. All those statements were based on undeniable facts—facts, moreover, publicly confirmed in the Bulletin of the International Committee of the Red Cross, number 93 of 5 October this year. It is indicated there that the activities of the International Red Cross on the island of Timor have been suspended because of the conduct of the Indonesian authorities.

314. At the same time, my delegation takes note of the statements of the representative of Indonesia that, first, the ICRC has freedom of action throughout the territory of East Timor and, secondly, no military repression by Indonesia is under way in that territory.

315. My delegation will revert to these points at the appropriate time and in the appropriate form.

316. Mr. BEAUGE (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation is impelled to express its surprise at the statement just made by the British delegation, which has seen fit to refer to questions which were dealt with here quite some time ago.

317. The Argentine delegation rejects those statements by the United Kingdom in connection with self-determination and we venture to reiterate what everybody already knows: namely that the specific framework for dealing with the Malvinas Islands question is to be found in General Assembly resolution 37/9, as well as in other

relevant decisions of this body. This framework clearly applies to the aspect referred to by the United Kingdom, but clearly and unequivocally rejecting its application to the particular and special case of the Malvinas Islands, for the reasons which we have already dealt with here and which we shall explain again, when this specific item is considered.

318. Mr. SALEH (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I will confine myself to saying that I do not want to answer what has been stated by the representative of Hisssein Habré, since I do not wish to reiterate what we have already said about the internal conflict in Chad between the legitimate Government of National Unity and Hisssein Habré.

319. Mr. DOUNGOUS MORO (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): I do not wish to miss this opportunity to say that we are accustomed to the lies of the representative of Libya. That representative is doing everything to try to cover up the characteristic aggression of his country with a fog of confusion, and I would just like him to admit that we represent the legal Government of the Republic of Chad. We do not represent one person. We

represent the President of the Republic, the head of State, Mr. Hisssein Habré.

*The meeting rose at 2.35 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1983*, document S/16041.

<sup>2</sup> Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

<sup>3</sup> *Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, Geneva, 29 August-7 September 1983* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21), chap. I.

<sup>4</sup> Sales No. E.83.II.C.1.

<sup>5</sup> *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1983*, document S/15943, para. 24.

<sup>6</sup> *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1-14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

<sup>7</sup> Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.