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President: Mr. Ismat T. KITTANI (Iraq).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. NOGUÉS (Paraguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): For reasons of brevity, given the lengthy agenda of the present session of the General Assembly, the delegation of Paraguay will refer only to a few items that call for its immediate attention.

2. Mr. President, we wish you success in the important functions entrusted to you, and we hope that at the end of your term we will be congratulating you, as we now congratulate Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar for the skill with which he conducted the thirty-fifth session. We also wish to thank the Secretariat and its distinguished and diligent head, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the assistance they have rendered to the Organization during the past year.

3. We welcome the two new States of Vanuatu and Belize on their joining the United Nations, and we present our best wishes to them for the prosperity and well-being of their respective peoples.

4. Peace, the *raison d'être* and supreme purpose of the 1945 Charter, is a source of continuous concern for us, dominating our meetings and constantly challenging the ingenuity of our creative capacities.

5. It is natural that it should be thus, for, without exception, we are all here to speak of peace: to praise it, to call for it, and to defend it. All of us, every one, are unswerving protagonists in this common effort, and all conventionalism vanishes before that inevitable equality. We all have the right to express our opinions on the state of the world, where peace is concerned.

6. In this important field, the world is reeling from one shock after another. It is true that war, terror and crime

cast shadows on our hopes, threaten them and even annihilate them. We need only go over the geography of our planet in order to find that every day violence reigns. We raise our voice here to denounce it, as in the case of Afghanistan, which has been trampled underfoot by the invasion of Soviet troops, or that of Kampuchea, which has been militarily occupied by Vietnamese forces. The Middle East and various regions of Africa are also hotbeds of tension jeopardizing world peace.

7. It is because every effort must be made to preserve peace that my delegation favours a proposal made by President Chun of the Republic of Korea aimed at bringing about a resumption of talks, at the highest level, with the People's Democratic Republic of Korea with a view to reaching an honourable solution that would ensure a peaceful future for the peninsula in which, in the not-too-distant past, the United Nations made such great efforts. The Koreans themselves must, in an independent and peaceful manner, resolve the question of Korea—which for 36 years has been divided—through direct negotiations between the North and the South of the peninsula. Accordingly, it would be most desirable for the Secretary-General to continue the efforts that began in 1979.

8. The Americas are also feeling the scourge of violence. For more than two years the Republic of El Salvador has been prey to the ravages of a war of extermination, which is being encouraged by sinister designs of political domination. In keeping with its tradition of complete respect for the sovereignty of others, Paraguay rejects any attempt at bringing El Salvador under a power other than one that is freely and democratically chosen by the Salvadorian people themselves.

9. Accordingly, because my country has consistently defended the principle of non-intervention—and the Assembly will recall the case of Nicaragua, which in 1979 was notable for Paraguay's single and solitary vote—we repudiate any attempt at foreign interference in that tormented sister Republic. It is a pleasure and a source of pride for me to say that the international position of my country in this regard has never wavered nor shifted one iota. We are faithful, loyal and convinced performers of our international commitments and the governing principles maintaining the dignity of nations.

10. My country has understandably taken an interest in everything which has to do with the law of the sea since the start of the conferences on that issue almost a quarter of a century ago. We are a country without a coastline, but our situation as a landlocked country is a challenge which we must meet with dauntless will. We must overcome the obstacles that limit our access to the sea and seek other benefits from it; thus, protected by the future convention, my country will at the appropriate time request the legitimate advantages to which it is entitled.

11. Our position as a landlocked country has for a long time adversely affected the development of our country, which today, fortunately—thanks to the patriotic and extraordinary administration of the President of the Republic of Paraguay, General of the Army Alfredo Stroessner, and to the persevering efforts of my compatriots—can point to highly significant indices within the group of the countries of the American continent which accurately reflect the economic reality in Paraguay.

12. An annual growth rate of 10.4 per cent, a rate of inflation lower than 16 per cent, a favourable balance of payments for 10 years, per capita income above \$1,000, an exchange rate between the guaraní and the dollar which has remained practically unchanged for 20 years, a national budget without deficit and a considerable increase in exports—all are eloquent data which we in Paraguay can show today.

13. As has been so rightly stated by President Stroessner in his message last 1 April to the National Congress:

“ . . . our powerful reality is the fruit of peace, which we have been able to affirm and which we are willing to defend with all our energy, without ever giving up in the struggle against factors which oppose our national greatness. We have replaced the opprobrious régime of anarchy by freedom with order. We are not interested in any democracy which means the weakness of free institutions and sterile demagoguery. For us, democracy represents the rule of the popular will within a framework of law. For us, freedom means the reconciliation of all rights with a view to the common good.”

14. The Government of President Stroessner has a foreign policy based on full respect for the norms of international coexistence and the promotion of ties of solidarity with those countries which share the same ideals of independence, democracy and freedom.

Mr. Castañeda (Mexico), Vice-President, took the Chair.

15. Paraguay has throughout its history maintained a well-defined American position, which in the course of this century has led it to take an active part in all political and economic organizations which have been established in the continent and to which we naturally belong by reason of geography or trade links.

16. By reason of the same principles of solidarity and integration, Paraguay participates in the River Plata Basin System, in order to speed up the economic and social development of one of the potentially most wealthy regions in Latin America. With regard to specific achievements, my country has begun construction of two major hydroelectric plants on the Paraná River—one in conjunction with Brazil, which will have an installed capacity of 12.6 million kilowatts and the other with Argentina, with an installed capacity of 4.2 million kilowatts. These major sources of energy open up tremendous possibilities for the River Plata basin and will be true monuments to the fruitful and creative peace in which many million people will live. This is our significant contribution to the well-being and progress of mankind.

17. I cannot, nor should I, end this brief statement without replying to the injudicious speech—one more example of the truculent Castrist verbal diarrhoea to which we are accustomed—made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba yesterday [12th meeting].

18. The policy of open criminal interference in the internal affairs of other States practised by Fidel Castro, a kindred satellite of a super-Power, was experienced by Paraguay in 1959 and in 1960 when international brigands who entered our country across the long border with Argentina were found to be in possession of weapons and equipment belonging to the Cuban army. That attempted invasion, the sinister design of which was to bring communism to my country, was severely repulsed by the Paraguayan people themselves taking up arms and by the regular army of the nation. Paraguay severed diplomatic and consular relations with Cuba in 1960 and ever since then has maintained unchanged its position of repudiation of Fidel Castro's bloody tyranny. My country never compromised by granting that régime concessions which proved fatal for other nations of the Americas. That is why we are not surprised or frightened by the bullying attitude of the arrogant Minister.

19. Mr. GALLIMORE (Jamaica): The outstanding personal qualities which the representative of Iraq brings to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly assure its success. We sincerely congratulate him on his election. Our delegation pledges its full support and co-operation.

20. A special tribute is owed to his predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany. He earned the admiration of all for the keen wisdom and outstanding skill with which he conducted the deliberations of the thirty-fifth session, as well as those of the special session held this year.

21. Our delegation is again grateful to the Secretary-General for his unstinting efforts to promote peace and development throughout the world.

22. The Government and people of Jamaica warmly welcome the recent advance of the people of Belize to independence. Bound as we have been by close and varied ties for many years, Jamaica joined with many in supporting the legitimate struggle of the people of Belize for unfettered sovereignty and territorial integrity. That struggle has been conducted with persistence and dignity. Much praise is also due to the non-aligned movement, in which Belize had a special place, for making the cause of Belize its own.

23. On this happy occasion we extend our most cordial congratulations to the Government and people of Belize, and look forward to continued close and fruitful relations. We wish for them a prosperous and secure future. They can be assured of our unstinted efforts on their behalf as they seek to participate fully in the international community.

24. We also extend a warm welcome to Vanuatu, which has recently joined our community of nations.

25. Jamaica fully recognizes that the international community has become increasingly interdependent. Indeed,

within the context of non-alignment, much of our foreign policy is based upon that awareness and the reality of it.

26. In working on and looking at the problems of the Caribbean and Latin America, Jamaica is convinced that the choices our region makes at this time and the options exercised, first and most importantly within our own region, but not inconsequentially by those outside the region, will have a decisive bearing on the scope and quality of the future which awaits our peoples. It is very important, therefore, that the priorities of our region be clearly stated at this time.

27. In our view the most urgent task confronting the countries of Latin America is that of halting and reversing the impoverishment, stagnation and in some cases decline of already low standards of living for our people. It is equally important to do so within political and institutional parameters which do not circumscribe or threaten their fundamental rights and freedoms.

28. In this respect, it is the unshakable conviction of the Government of Jamaica that the understandable aspirations of the people of the region to social and economic advancement cannot be met or fully realized in an environment in which democratic processes and fundamental freedoms are imperiled.

29. Jamaica continues, therefore, to be deeply concerned at certain events elsewhere in the region. We also frankly acknowledge our scepticism and fundamental difference of opinion regarding the viability of some other political strategies and approaches to the region's social and economic problems. But Jamaica continues to maintain as a matter of fundamental principle and policy our recognition and acceptance of the right of States and peoples to choose freely their own path to social and economic development. This we believe to be not only an inherently sound and logical principle in a community of sovereign States, but one which, if practised and adhered to by all States, will ensure that it is the people of our region themselves who determine their own future.

30. It is necessary and timely to reiterate this because the geographic location of the Caribbean has imparted to the area an unhappy history as a prime theatre of competition in the ideological, strategic and, in an earlier period, colonial conflicts of major Powers. That era and the policies it entails must fully and finally be put behind by all States, whether within or outside of this hemisphere.

31. The people in many countries of the region are seeking to chart a new course for the future. We are convinced that the time is opportune for our region to become a theatre of co-operation. Jamaica is gratified that there has been some response to its call for concerted efforts of economic assistance to the region as part of a renewed assault on social and economic deprivation in the Caribbean basin.

32. The elusive goal of economic transformation, which we believe to be consonant both with the aspirations of our people and the best interests of the international community, will not be met in the foreseeable future without large-scale assistance and increased economic and functional co-operation within our region.

33. In this latter regard, Jamaica is heartened that developments during last year and this year point to an increased willingness on the part of some Member States to commit themselves—despite pressures on scarce resources—to programmes of intraregional economic assistance and co-operation. This can only augur well. My Government, for its part, is unwavering in its support for and commitment to the strengthening of economic and functional co-operation in Latin America and the Caribbean. Indeed, we are confirmed in the view that this process will be found to be one of the critical determinants of the destiny of our area.

34. But at this point, and particularly in the context of the history of my own region, I would wish to express Jamaica's concern at the heightening level of international tension and polarization. This is for us, as it must be for the entire international community, a cause for grave unease. We can but be hopeful that events do not indeed portend the chill wind of the cold war.

35. Jamaica is well aware that in our region, as elsewhere, peace and development are inextricably linked and are certain casualties of rising tension and exacerbated disputes. This is the spirit in which we repeat our call for the establishment of a zone of peace in the Caribbean and emphasize our Government's general support for and encouragement of such policies and measures as serve to lessen tension and promote peace in the region.

36. Jamaica is aware that if the 1980s are to become, in economic terms, a watershed decade for Latin America and the Caribbean, as for other developing countries, certain adverse trends in the international environment must be reversed, and certain pressing issues of interest to the global community must be addressed soon.

37. Recent trends towards confrontation and militarism are contributing to the weakening of the fabric of international security. There is now a new momentum in the escalation of the arms race and in the resurgence of the notion that force and military power are necessary elements for national existence. The arsenals of nuclear and conventional weapons that have been accumulated threaten the very survival of man on this planet and mock our alleged rationality. The nuclear-weapon Powers should lead the way and begin to curtail further nuclear weapon development. Now, more than ever, we need to strengthen the non-proliferation régime, to have universal application of effective safeguards and to put a stop to vertical proliferation.

38. The buildup of increasingly sophisticated conventional weapons and the dramatic increase in international trade in arms over the last decade are also cause for great anxiety. Sadly, developing countries, often a theatre for war in recent times, have become an important market for weapons. This squandering of scarce resources on spiralling military budgets has to be halted and reversed.

39. All States have accepted that the goal of general and complete disarmament is both desirable and attainable. It is time that this consensus on the principle be translated into a consensus for action. It is our expectation that the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly on disarmament in 1982 will produce new and more effective approaches to disarmament.

40. Developments over the past year in the Middle East have not been encouraging in the search for peace. Tension and hostility have increased, contributing to the hardening of attitudes. Understandably, feelings ran high when Israel attacked the nuclear facilities in Iraq—an act which was rightly condemned by the international community. The whole episode demonstrated the need for statesmanship in the region. Peace cannot be impeded by military force. Rather, it must be built on mutual trust and confidence and mutual accommodation. Jamaica has for a long time urged such an accommodation as a means of achieving peace. The rights of all parties in the region should be recognized. The elements of comprehensive settlement have already been identified by a broad consensus in the international community. They involve, first, the withdrawal of Israel from territories occupied in the 1967 war; secondly, the implementation of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and national independence; and, thirdly, the establishment of appropriate arrangements to enable all States in the region, including Israel, to exist in peace and security within their recognized boundaries. These elements would require adjustments of position on the part of all the parties concerned and would establish a basis for negotiating a just and lasting peace.

41. At present Lebanon is being absorbed into the Middle East conflict and is being torn apart by forces from without and within. The tragedy of Lebanon is the tragedy of a small country caught helplessly in the cross-fire of a larger conflict. But we cannot abandon Lebanon to this fate. What is necessary is stronger international support for the Government of Lebanon in its efforts to extend its authority throughout the entire country. The time has come for the United Nations to insist on the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon. In addition, we require an end to the attacks by Israel, an end to outside exploitation of internal divisions and an end to interference in the internal affairs of Lebanon.

42. Elsewhere, there are conflicts and tensions of varying degrees and intensity. None of them appears as intractable as that of southern Africa. There, the racist régime of South Africa, with the support of its newly acknowledged ally, continues to maintain an illegal colonial domination of Namibia and to entrench further the inhuman policy of *apartheid*. We reiterate our total condemnation of the system of *apartheid* and our full support for the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and its struggle to liberate Namibia.

43. On the Korean peninsula stubborn problems await a peaceful negotiated solution, but we note the encouraging signs of practical proposals for the resumption of a dialogue. In South-East Asia the withdrawal of one super-power has not brought the hoped-for peace and tranquility. Intervention and pretensions of domination have aroused instability and fear, instead of the needed trust and co-operation.

44. This year Jamaica had the honour of being chosen as the site of the International Seabed Authority. Once again we should like to thank the international community for this honour. The Government and people of Jamaica are gratified at the trust placed in them and give the assurance that everything is being done to live up to that trust. We look forward to acting as hosts to the preparatory commission as soon as it is established. Like the vast

majority of Member States, Jamaica expects that there will be no obstacles in the way of adoption of the convention by next year, to enable the signature to take place in Caracas in the autumn of 1982.

45. The world economy today is beset by difficulties and uncertainties. The pace of world economic growth has fallen to its lowest level since the recession of 1975. This has been accompanied by a slow-down in the expansion of world trade, by worsened imbalances in current account, by increasing unemployment and by accelerated inflation rates reaching levels unknown for many years. No country or group of countries has been able to escape their effects.

46. These difficulties are but a reflection of the underlying structural maladjustments and the persisting lack of equity in international economic relations.

47. The economic circumstances of the North cannot be divorced from those of the South. Attempts by countries to find individual solutions have not worked. In fact, the restrictive policies pursued to combat inflation in the industrialized countries have not brought prices under control. Instead they have adversely affected world trade and have contributed to a further deterioration in the global economy. As the economic crisis persists we witness an intensification of protectionist tendencies in the industrialized countries. But resort to such measures merely serves to impede the structural adjustment process and leads to a contraction in world trade.

48. At no other time in history has the reality of interdependence been more evident. At no other time has there been a greater shared need to find solutions and to formulate collective policies. The international community must commit itself to managing the process of change, which is so vital to us all, if we are to achieve peace, equity and growth.

49. Jamaica is still convinced that one such opportunity lies in the launching of global negotiations which will allow us to treat vital issues such as money and finance, trade, energy, raw materials and food in a coherent and integrated manner. The launching of the negotiations is already one year behind schedule. Time is not on our side, and we cannot afford to wait much longer. We must take a decision at this session to launch the global negotiations.

50. We have just seen a temporary slow-down in the movement of world oil prices. It is, however, no more than that—a temporary halt in the rise of world oil prices. The international community should not delude itself with visions of a glut in oil supplies on the world market and a consequent fall in the price of crude oil. Not even a stabilization in the world price of oil is to be expected.

51. The high cost of energy and high interest rates in the capital markets of the world are still the major obstacles which lie in the way of development for us, the energy-deficient oil-importing developing countries. These two major items render all current development programming an exercise in futility. The recurrent deficits continue to rise for the oil-importing developing countries; they were over \$80 billion last year. This major aggregate of deficit must be financed at ruinous rates of interest.

52. It is for that reason that Jamaica cannot avoid a feeling of despondency at the meagre results which were shown by the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, held at Nairobi. A useful Programme of Action¹ has indeed been worked out, but no means of implementing it have been found. Neither finance nor institutional arrangements have yet been worked out, and the interim proposals which emerged from the Conference will almost certainly show their inadequacy in due course.

53. The inability of the international community to find measures for implementing the Nairobi Programme has not removed the need for energy investment in developing countries. The energy-deficient developing countries still need to diversify their sources of energy supply away from oil and gas.

54. The Jamaican delegation regards it as a major misfortune that the World Bank has been unable to embark upon the expanded programme of energy investment which the proposed energy affiliate would have made possible. It has been unable to do so because important members of the Bank are opposed to its creation. The investment which is required cannot be financed by private enterprise. Jamaica therefore calls upon the industrialized countries and those developing countries which possess surplus resources of cash to expedite their negotiations so as to bring the energy affiliate of the World Bank into existence as rapidly as possible.

55. It is in the context of energy needs that my Prime Minister proposed at the Nairobi Conference² the establishment of a centre for research and development of new and renewable sources of energy, and a means of promoting equipment which will bring important energy supplies within the reach of the poorer rural people of the world. Jamaica has discovered that a long road will probably have to be traversed by the sponsors of our energy centre before the centre is established, but we shall reach the end of that road in due course. The Jamaican delegation expresses the hope that the decision to establish a centre for research and development of new and renewable sources of energy will be made before the end of another regular session of the General Assembly.

56. The interest of the world community in having balanced and sustained economic growth and development will not be met if the critical needs of any group of countries are ignored. The growth and dynamism of the international economic system as a whole can be assured only if we ensure the growth and development of its component parts. This is perhaps the single most important lesson to be learned when we look at the performance of the international economy over the years.

57. It is a disturbing history of uneven growth, depressions and recessions. Indeed, even the crisis we now face is the result of insufficient regard for what on the face of it should be a truism: the whole can only be as buoyant as its parts. That is why Jamaica is increasingly concerned at the growing tendency in the international community to underestimate the needs of the so-called middle-income developing countries at this juncture of their development. This, we believe, carries with it a regrettable element of myopia and does not augur well for the future dynamism of the world economy as a whole.

58. What is the reality with regard to this group of countries? The fact is that the overwhelming majority have found it impossible to make the transition to self-sustaining economic growth. In the face of a prolonged world economic crisis and against a background of historical structural distortions, the sought-after transition has proved elusive. Many middle-income countries have remained essentially primary mineral and agricultural producing economies with a measure of diversification. For them minimal growth and stagnation have been the shared experience of the past decade.

59. Jamaica believes that the international community, without prejudice to the real and pressing needs of others, must take seriously the need to assist middle-income countries in such areas as diversification and strengthening of export capacity, inducing high levels of investment flows into their development, improving the terms of their access to the international capital markets and removing tariff and non-tariff barriers to their exports. That is not an exhaustive list, but those are measures which we believe are suited to the needs of many middle-income countries and which therefore urgently recommend themselves if dynamic and sustained growth is to be generated within this group.

60. Jamaica is pleased to find that the developing countries have at last decided to devote serious attention to economic co-operation among themselves. We are pleased with the Programme of Action that was approved at the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries held at Caracas last May [see A/36/333 and Corr.1]. We thank those countries which have offered to host the series of expert groups which have been identified and trust that these groups will pursue their programme of activities with vigour and will discover how wide an area of co-operation is still open to developing countries without assistance from the developed world.

61. The industrialized countries are sometimes heard expressing the view that agencies in the United Nations family should reserve their resources exclusively for activities which are universal in character and which concern all Members of the United Nations. It is said that to apply resources and facilities in order to deal with problems which are of direct concern only to one group of States Members of the United Nations is to misuse such resources. Economic co-operation among developing countries is sometimes singled out for that particular criticism.

62. Jamaica most strongly dissents from that view. It cannot be said that economic co-operation among developing countries should not be a major concern of the United Nations because it is of interest to only 130 or 135 of the 156 Members of the United Nations. It is neither parochial nor a misuse of resources for UNCTAD or UNDP or IMF to devote resources and manpower to matters which are of interest primarily to the developing countries of this Organization.

63. What greater anomaly is there than the devoting of our human and material resources to arms while in this very Assembly, year after year, we continue to hear that in many parts of our globe man is losing the struggle against hunger and malnutrition?

64. At this time, when the seriousness of the food crisis has prompted FAO to call a global food alert, the international community might reflect on the solemn resolve made at the World Food Conference at Rome in 1974. There it was resolved that all Governments should accept the goal that "within a decade no child will go to bed hungry, that no family will fear for its next day's bread, and that no human being's future and capacities will be stunted by malnutrition."

65. The failure to eradicate hunger within the decade is a glaring reminder of the priorities of the international community.

66. That pledge will not be kept, not because of any intrinsic impossibility of attainment but simply because the food problem has not been treated seriously enough by the international community, nor have efforts at the national level, in most cases, been anywhere near sufficient.

67. Food production will continue to lag in the developing world, unless effective measures of agrarian reform, tax credit and investment policies, improvement of the rural infrastructure and appropriate education and extension programmes are carried out. Jamaica notes with concern that food production is further hampered by the increasing cost of inputs such as energy and fertilizers and by high interest rates.

68. The establishment of IFAD and the recent creation of a food facility within IMF had proffered some hope, but, unfortunately, there has been a growing resistance to providing more funds for IFAD. Jamaica hopes that the major contributors to IFAD will be able to conclude negotiations with regard to the replenishment of that Fund's resources at an early date. This is an urgent matter.

69. We urge the international community to recognize fully the urgency and dimensions of the food crisis and to do all that is necessary to ensure that the call of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*General Assembly resolution 35/56*] for the elimination of hunger and malnutrition at least by the end of the century does not begin to ring hollow.

70. All of us as States Members of this noble Organization are custodians of the hopes and aspirations of mankind for peace and security and for a better way of life. We must translate these aspirations into realities. Therefore let us summon anew our energies; let us pledge ourselves anew to the principles and objectives of the Charter; let us act wisely, lest, as custodians of the future, we betray irrevocably that trust which has been placed in us.

71. Allow me to close with a few words which are taken from a UNICEF calendar of some two decades ago but which I think are still relevant:

"There shall be peace on earth,
But not until each child shall daily eat his fill,
Go warmly clad against the winter wind,
And learn his lessons with a tranquil mind
And, thus released from hunger, fear and need,
Regardless of his colour, race or creed,
Look upward smiling to the skies,
His faith in man reflected in his eyes."

72. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): Let me at the outset sincerely congratulate Mr. Kittani on his election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the Assembly. His election is a fitting tribute to him personally and an honour to his great country, with which my own country enjoys very cordial and friendly ties. His personal role, contribution and accomplishments in international affairs are a matter of public record. We are therefore confident that he will successfully guide the Assembly in all its deliberations. The delegation of the United Republic of Tanzania pledges to him its full co-operation.

73. May I also congratulate his predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, who presided over the thirty-fifth session of the Assembly with such dedication and distinction. We have noted his persistent efforts during his presidency to seek solutions to the major and pressing problems of our time, particularly in the area of international economic co-operation. We wish him well in his new assignment and hope that he will continue to devote himself to these issues.

74. I wish also to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his commitment and tireless efforts in pursuit of the noble goals of the Organization. I am particularly happy to express our appreciation for his dedicated services, since I had the opportunity to work closely with him during the period that I was privileged to represent my country at the United Nations.

75. My delegation takes particular pride in welcoming into our midst the newly independent Republic of Vanuatu. The emergence of new countries from colonialism will always be a source of great joy to my country.

76. In the same spirit, therefore, we warmly welcome the accession of Belize to independence and its membership in the Organization.

77. The agenda before the thirty-sixth session of the Assembly is long and, in most cases, not new. Many items have remained on the agenda and have been debated over and over again. As solutions to these problems elude us, tensions continue to rise. In turn, these tensions make it even harder to search for lasting solutions. Problems that plagued the 1960s and the 1970s are still with us in the 1980s and have led to the creation of new and hitherto unknown problems which not only have added new dimensions to the old ones but have, in fact, compounded them. The world continues to witness the worsening state of the international political and economic situation. The welfare of all nations and the well-being of all peoples are at stake. Amidst these disquieting developments, there is mounting disillusionment and even resignation among the peoples of the world.

78. There are today dangerous signs symptomatic of the cold war and reminiscent of the early post-war period. The danger of polarization of the world has again cast the world into a state of extreme uncertainty. The spirit of détente, which served to lubricate the relations between East and West, seems to be fading fast. An era of confrontation, with its imponderable consequences, appears to be superseding dialogue and tolerance; there is a monumental escalation of the arms race; and regional conflicts and areas of tension are multiplying. Unless the present trend is arrested, the threat to the very survival of the present and succeeding generations is very real indeed.

79. That the world situation is so disquieting and the future so worrying is no longer subject to disagreement. Nor does anyone doubt that there is need for urgent action. Therefore it is a sad paradox that, notwithstanding the reality of the threat to its own existence, and having demonstrated great ingenuity in science and technology, mankind still appears to be helpless and, as it were, at a loss when it comes to solving problems which are essentially of its own making. In fact, there is no doubt whatsoever among us all as to the capacity we have to change the course of many things, nor is it a case of ignorance of where the solutions are to be found.

80. The problems of the arms race and disarmament are much too familiar to all of us, and I therefore need not give a lengthy account of the issues involved. Perhaps the time has come when a mere restatement of the problems is not sufficient. There is a need to explore new ways and means to cope with the problems of peace and security in the world. We must ask ourselves whether saving the world from a nuclear holocaust is not a fair price to pay for our tolerance in diversity. The promotion of the principles of peaceful coexistence among all nations, ideological differences notwithstanding, can be an important development in the process of conflict resolution. Whether it be in the consideration of the comprehensive test ban treaty, the Indian Ocean or outer space, solutions will continue to elude us unless there is a firm commitment to peace through the restoration of confidence among States and a mutual respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of all States.

81. There can be no peace for people who continue to live in the darkness of humiliation or suffer the indignities of racism, colonialism and other forms of domination. History teaches us that people who have been denied their fundamental rights have invariably stood up defiantly in defence of such rights. Their resistance has taken different forms. To those millions who are oppressed, who suffer the ordeal of colonial domination or foreign occupation, or who face the nightmare of racial discrimination, the United Nations must be a source of hope and inspiration.

82. While the decolonization process has perhaps been one of the most remarkable achievements of the United Nations, the final stages of this process seem to be the most difficult and painful. In Namibia, for example, we continue to witness colonial oppression and suffering which its people has gallantly resisted for decades. Oppression and suffering are rapidly being extended to peaceful independent States through aggression and provocation by a racist minority régime.

83. The numerous meetings at which the question of Namibia has been considered, culminating in the eighth emergency special session of the Assembly, are testimony to the importance which the international community attaches to this problem. This underlines the need for an urgent solution before peace and security in the region are put into further jeopardy.

84. As we had occasion to state during the Security Council debate on the issue in April,⁴ as well as during the eighth emergency special session [9th meeting], we remain committed to the scrupulous implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). In this process, we have insisted and shall continue to insist that first the

five Western States, as the authors of the plan—which the Council endorsed by that resolution—have the obligation to see it implemented. In this context, we have noted with interest the joint communiqué issued by the Foreign Ministers of those five Western States following their meeting yesterday. Secondly, further prevarication serves only to strengthen the intransigence of South Africa. Thirdly, the central role of the United Nations in the implementation of the plan must be maintained. Fourthly, for as long as the path of a negotiated settlement continues to be blocked by Pretoria's recalcitrance, the people of Namibia and its liberation movement, SWAPO, should be effectively assisted in its liberation struggle.

85. South Africa's continued intransigence and illegal occupation and use of the international Territory of Namibia as a spring-board for repeated acts of aggression against the neighbouring front-line States of the region are a matter for serious concern. Its recent massive aggression against and occupation of part of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola was carried out in total disdain for the reaction of the international community, as well as for its consequences for international peace and security. Tanzania, in concert with other African States, will continue to render all the necessary assistance and support to the people of Angola.

86. In South Africa *apartheid* constitutes a constant crime against that country's people and seriously threatens international peace and security. The General Assembly would be talking in rather abstract terms of blatant violation of human rights if it were found lacking in its commitment to the elimination of this evil. We say so because nations have not been lacking in expressions of verbal outrage against *apartheid*. Yet *apartheid* is still with us, certainly not because of its invincibility, but because of the failure of the international community to back condemnations with effective action. On our part, we will spare no effort in supporting the struggle against *apartheid*. In doing so, we are bound by our conviction that the system of *apartheid* is an affront to the dignity of man. Tanzania is also convinced that the process of total isolation of the Government of South Africa until it abandons its *apartheid* policies is aimed at averting consequences harmful to peace and security.

87. The explosive situation in the Middle East remains a source of serious concern to the world community. Tanzania continues to stress that peace in the region will continue to elude us if the root cause of the conflict is not resolved. While the observance of the principle of the non-acquisition of territory by force and respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all the States in the area are conditions necessary for the attainment of a genuine, viable and lasting solution to the problem, the core of the Middle East problem remains the continued denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to establish a homeland of their own.

88. We cannot make reference to the Middle East situation without voicing our concern at the anguish and suffering of Lebanon and its people. We support that country's legitimate aspirations for the safeguarding of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

89. It is a matter of profound regret to my country that despite the efforts of the United Nations, the non-aligned

movement and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the war between Iran and Iraq continues, imposing enormous suffering on the peoples of the two States in the process, besides endangering peace and security in the region. We shall continue to support all efforts aimed at bringing to an end that unfortunate conflict.

90. We note with hope the possibility of a solution to the question of Western Sahara. As the current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, Mr. Daniel T. Arap Moi, President of the Republic of Kenya, reported yesterday [11th meeting], the session of the Assembly held recently at Nairobi adopted important decisions which, *inter alia*, provide for a fair and free referendum in the Territory which will enable the people of Western Sahara to determine their own future. We are gratified that through the Organization of African Unity [OAU] it has been possible to establish a framework within which this problem can be settled. As a member of the Implementation Committee, Tanzania will continue to work for the successful implementation of the recommendations adopted by the Committee at its session at Nairobi in August.

91. The problem of Cyprus remains unresolved. It is, however, a source of hope that the intercommunal talks have now gained momentum with the submission of comprehensive proposals encompassing both the territorial and constitutional aspects. Those efforts deserve the support and encouragement of all of us so that they can culminate in a final and lasting solution which ensures the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus.

92. Developments in the Korean peninsula, Indo-China and Afghanistan continue to preoccupy the Organization. While we strive to search for viable solutions, we must continue to promote dialogue and eliminate courses of action which may further exacerbate tensions.

93. We witness also the deepening of the world economic crisis, which continues to have particularly severe consequences on the economies of the developing countries. That crisis has led to a further deterioration of the terms of trade of the developing countries, slow economic growth, imported inflation and a sharp deterioration in their balance of payments. That situation aggravates the already poor economic conditions of the third world.

94. While the developing countries continue to bear the brunt of the world economic crisis because of the vulnerability of their weak economies to external conditions beyond their control, the impact of that crisis is also increasingly being felt by the developed countries. The impact of the crisis on the economies of the developed countries is characterized by high rates of inflation, widespread unemployment, recession and fluctuations in exchange rates. Those conditions have led to widespread dissatisfaction and social tension in the developed countries. Unilateral efforts by some developed countries to seek national solutions to those global problems have not only failed to resolve such problems but have also had a severe cumulative impact on the economies of the developing countries.

95. The failure of those efforts to find lasting solutions to those global economic problems confirms our conviction that the present world economic crisis is structural

and institutional rather than purely cyclical in character. The world economy is in a state of structural disequilibrium characterized by, among other things, stagflation, unemployment, under-utilization of industrial capacity, chronic imbalances in international payments, monetary instability, trade distortions and an energy crisis. Those problems have engulfed the entire world, and now more than ever before the imperative to act together on a global scale has become evident.

96. The demand for the new international economic order is not simply a moral appeal. It is a call for the attention of the world society to the interdependence of countries in economic development. For the truth is that in a world of economic interdependence, it is unrealistic to think that a solution to the economic problems of one part of the world can be achieved in isolation from the rest of the world. Nor is it possible to deal with one issue in isolation from the rest, as there is always a direct link between all the various issues of development.

97. The proposed global negotiations offer the best framework for the comprehensive, coherent, integrated and therefore effective treatment of the entire world economic malaise. It is the hope of my delegation, therefore, that all efforts will be made during this session of the Assembly to reach an agreement which would enable launching of the global negotiations as early as possible. Tanzania also looks forward to the forthcoming International Meeting on Co-operation and Development to be held at Cancun, which we hope will provide the necessary positive political impetus and create an atmosphere which would be conducive to progress in the currently stalled North-South negotiations on international economic co-operation.

98. The United Nations provides the most viable forum for the promotion of freedom, peace, justice, international security and co-operation. We must therefore endeavour to make it well equipped to face the new challenges before us. The United Nations must truly become an effective instrument for the promotion of world peace and economic and social progress for all. If the Organization is to continue as an effective instrument for peace, the people of the world must place their confidence in it. Our commitment to its aims and principles must likewise never be in doubt.

99. Mr. KUSUMAATMADJA (Indonesia): My delegation wishes to express its great satisfaction at Mr. Kittani's election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. As he is a fellow representative of an Asian State with which my country has very close relations, it is also a source of great pleasure to us to see him preside over our deliberations. It is most fitting that one renowned for his commitment to the cause of co-operation among nations as well as for his deep dedication to the work of the Organization should lead us during the current session. We are sure that he will distinguish himself and the Assembly through his leadership.

100. My delegation also wishes to convey its deep appreciation to the outgoing President, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, for the efficient manner in which he guided the deliberations of the thirty-fifth session and the eighth emergency special session. The record of his dedicated and determined leadership, especially in furthering inter-

national co-operation, gained the admiration of the Assembly.

101. I should also like to express our respect and appreciation to the Secretary-General for the able and dedicated way in which he has consistently promoted the objectives of the Organization and for the many initiatives that he took in the course of the year for the promotion of global peace.

102. My Government and people salute the Governments and peoples of the Republic of Vanuatu, a neighbouring Pacific Ocean State, and Belize on the attainment of their independence. We welcome them warmly to the Organization and look forward to fruitful co-operation with their delegations.

103. While the decade of the 1970s was characterized by perplexing and complex problems, this was until recently also a world in which the danger of war between the great Powers had considerably lessened, thanks to an increased willingness to undertake negotiation rather than confrontation. We had in fact hailed détente as a process of great importance in easing the atmosphere of suspicion and enmity, thereby greatly enhancing the prospect for more constructive relations between all countries. Thus, the trend of events in the 1970s offered us hope that less emphasis would be put on armaments or ideological rivalry in the conduct of international relations and that the world would be moving finally from strife and confrontation to peace and prosperity.

104. Unfortunately, our optimism has proved ill-founded. Instead of a progressive relaxation of tension, once again confrontation and strife plague various regions of the world. Political and economic pressures, the use and threat of the use of force and subversion have again become dominant features of present-day international relations. Indeed, tensions have reached such frightening proportions that a minor conflict can now ignite a conflagration or have repercussions of world-wide dimensions.

105. The crisis in détente has affected the security of the world, especially that of the smaller and weaker nations. The continued stalemate in the North-South dialogue has further widened the inequalities between the industrialized nations and the third world. The intensified rivalry among great Powers, their frantic efforts to expand their spheres of influence and domination and the escalation of the frenzied arms race to unprecedented levels have led to the worsening of the global situation and have dissipated the hopes for a stable world order. In brief, the world is relapsing into the old order of spheres of political and economic influence based on hegemony and dependence. This tendency must be avoided, and our collective determination should be directed towards correcting this dangerous drift.

Mr. Kittani (Iraq) resumed the Chair.

106. History has shown that such determination was evident in and demonstrated by the non-aligned movement two decades ago when the world was on the brink of war. As we observe the twentieth anniversary of its founding with a special item in the agenda of the plenary meeting, it is fitting to recall that the movement made very significant contributions to defusing the danger of confrontation

threatening mankind with extinction at that time. Since then, the non-aligned movement has consistently worked to further the cause of disarmament, peace and security, as well as national liberation. It has opposed foreign domination, imperialism, racism and hegemonism, rejected military alliances, power blocs, spheres of influence and the more dangerous manifestations of great-Power confrontation. The movement has correctly assessed the negative trends in the current economic situation as being rooted in the disequilibrium and asymmetries of the international economic system and has called for its restructuring.

107. Now when the world is faced with the return of the old order of international power politics, the movement is again called upon to reassert its responsibility as an independent non-bloc factor and play a more decisive role in the preservation and strengthening of peace and security.

108. Indeed, as the movement is commemorating the twentieth anniversary of its founding, we must all recognize that its continued strengthening is indispensable to arrest and reverse the frightening escalation of tension. The non-aligned States can respond to these challenges by stoutly upholding the true principles which they enunciated at Belgrade, by adhering to their political and economic systems, free from external pressures, and by refusing to be drawn into the antagonism of great-Power politics.

109. The non-aligned movement also recognizes its historic responsibility by playing a dynamic role in resolving international conflicts, especially in halting the ever-spiralling arms race and in the establishment of a new system of international relations based on freedom, equality and justice. I am confident that in this very difficult phase of international relations the contribution of the non-aligned countries to strengthening world peace, and their role, deriving from their traditional strength, insights and dedication, will become even more crucial and evident. This role will be played constructively, especially in the United Nations, for the peaceful resolution of disputes and for strengthening the Organization and its efficacy.

110. My delegation would now like to address itself to some of the major problems affecting various parts of the world, problems that have continued to occupy our attention.

111. There has been no change in the situation in Kampuchea. There has been no withdrawal of foreign troops, and no elected government has been installed to give expression to the people's right of self-determination. Against this bleak background, it is indeed heartening to note that the International Conference on Kampuchea was held in July with the participation of an overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations, thus underscoring the international dimensions of the conflict.

112. The Conference adopted a set of proposals that could lead to a comprehensive political solution by bringing together the warring factions in the peace process. Noteworthy among those proposals are measures for the withdrawal of foreign forces, a cease-fire and the disarming of all factions so that elections supervised by the United Nations can be held, thus enabling the people of Kampuchea to regain their sovereignty and non-aligned status. We believe that those proposals can form the basis

for negotiations leading to the emergence of a new Kampuchea, free from foreign interference and dedicated to the welfare of its people and the peace of the region.

113. The Conference also set up an *ad hoc* committee to establish contact with all the conflicting parties and to be a vehicle for facilitating the search for a comprehensive solution. My delegation is confident that that committee can play an active role in the formulation of constructive proposals acceptable to all. We look forward to the day when Kampuchea will regain its rightful place in the comity of nations and will no longer be used by others for actions inconsistent with the provisions of the Charter.

114. We are happy to note that after two years of integrated emergency aid operations, the people of Kampuchea, although still in dire straits, are no longer in danger of mass starvation. However, the fate of the Kampuchean refugees who fled their homeland remains bleak, and further international assistance to rescue them should be provided.

115. There is no doubt that the establishment of peace in Kampuchea would promote stability in South-East Asia and speed up the creation of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region. The establishment of such a zone, which has been endorsed by the countries of the region and by the United Nations, is the express will of the peoples of South-East Asia for ensuring conditions of peace and tranquillity. The countries of the region have dedicated themselves to secure the recognition of, and respect for, South-East Asia as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, free from any form or manner of interference by outside Powers. Thus they are committed to rid the region and their countries of foreign political and economic hegemony, and they refuse to be used as an instrument of policy of any outside Power. They are convinced that only within that framework can the region be removed from big-Power rivalry or even big-Power confrontation. It is their firm belief that only through such an approach can they build their societies and live with each other in conditions of peace and fraternity.

116. On the question of Afghanistan, my delegation is also convinced of the need for a comprehensive political solution as a way out of that dangerous situation. Elements for a solution, including the withdrawal of foreign forces, have already been included in the declaration adopted by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in February [see A/36/116 and Corr.1, annex]. Within the framework of that declaration, further consultations should be held to prepare the ground for the re-emergence of an independent and non-aligned Afghanistan. In this regard, we laud the efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and other parties, as well as the constructive attitude shown by Pakistan, to facilitate negotiations to achieve a political solution and ensure that the Afghan people will be able to determine their own destiny free from foreign intervention and interference.

117. Despite the growing consensus in the international community on the modalities and principles for a Middle East settlement, the situation there has of late dramatically worsened. Israel's indiscriminate bombing of Beirut, resulting in massive casualties and destruction, coupled with its military raid on the nuclear installation in Iraq, has rightly

earned the condemnation of the world community and has threatened the viability of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The cease-fire achieved in Lebanon with the co-operation of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] has demonstrated beyond doubt that that organization is a responsible body and can be a reliable partner in the search for peace based on justice.

118. It is sad to note that for too long the Middle East conflict has been enmeshed in great-Power politics and that, in the onward rush of the major Powers to confrontation, the crux of the problem has become secondary, and their strategic and other interests have gained pre-eminence. The central issues in the Middle East continue to be unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all occupied territories, including Jerusalem, and the upholding of the right to self-determination and independence of the Palestinian people. Until those issues are resolved, the Middle East will remain the most critical danger point in the world.

119. In the context of the Middle East situation, my delegation joins others in urging Iran and Iraq to redouble their efforts to seek a peaceful solution to their conflict.

120. In Africa, no progress has been made towards the independence of Namibia, despite the overwhelming wishes of the international community. South Africa's defiance was clearly exhibited at the Geneva pre-implementation meeting. For this same reason many other diplomatic efforts also failed to bear fruit. However, we believe that Security Council resolution 435 (1978) provides a solid framework for achieving self-determination and independence for Namibia and that any changes or modifications of that resolution will not bring Namibia's freedom nearer. The Security Council itself has failed to play its assigned role in the maintenance of international peace and security by enforcing its resolution 435 (1978) through the imposition of sanctions against the Pretoria régime for its defiance of that resolution. The need for Security Council action was highlighted when that régime used Namibian territory as a base to launch its recent aggression against Angola.

121. Faced by such continuous failures, the international community convened the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly, which has now called for comprehensive mandatory sanctions on, and for the total isolation of, South Africa [resolution ES-8/2]. My delegation fully supports the resolution and is committed to its implementation. The question of Namibia is a question of illegal occupation, pure and simple. It is therefore disquieting to note that extraneous issues are being injected to stifle the progress towards freedom in Namibia.

122. Despite United Nations condemnation of *apartheid* as a crime against humanity and the dignity of man, the Pretoria régime has not displayed any willingness to adhere to the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Now, when the struggle against *apartheid* is reaching a crucial stage, international unity should be maintained; any breaking of ranks amongst those of us who abhor *apartheid* will only encourage South Africa to sustain that abominable and odious system. Meanwhile, before the Security Council adopts decisions to force South African compliance, Member States should scrupulously implement the unilateral sanctions agreed on by the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa held in Paris in May [see A/36/319, annex I].

123. It is self-evident that the present tendency towards global brinkmanship is not conducive to disarmament. The world is very concerned and disappointed that disarmament negotiations have not produced any tangible progress, as it had high hopes that concrete results would follow the decisions of the first special session of the General Assembly on disarmament. The only achievement giving us some hope was the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects.⁵

124. It is essential, therefore, that serious negotiations begin in order to arrest the momentum of the arms race. Although the Committee on Disarmament has been in existence for over three years, it has not been able to initiate serious negotiations on questions that have been accorded the highest priority, namely, the comprehensive nuclear test ban, the cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament. For those reasons the second special session on disarmament has assumed greater importance, and we should proceed with renewed determination to ensure its success.

125. Efforts to implement the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace have, regrettably, reached an impasse. The arms buildup, both on land and at sea, has intensified in the general area, leading to a deterioration in the climate of peace and security in the Indian Ocean region. If we are unable to reverse this trend, we may in fact be entering a more dangerous period in which confrontation with all its disastrous consequences will finally be inevitable. For those reasons Indonesia believes that it is imperative that serious efforts be exerted to convene the proposed conference to implement the Declaration. The deterioration in the military and political situation in the area cannot and should not serve as a pretext to postpone the conference; on the contrary, it should set the stage for such a conference.

126. My delegation had placed considerable hope last year in the forthcoming Second United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. However, crucial issues relating to its preparation have remained unresolved. In view of time constraints, we urge more determined efforts by the States involved to overcome the remaining obstacles in order to enhance international co-operation in space exploration, science and technology for the benefit of mankind, especially for the developing countries, which space technology could greatly benefit.

127. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, during its recent session at Geneva, succeeded in overcoming a number of major difficulties, despite the reluctance of the United States to commit itself to the agreements already reached. The painstaking endeavours over the course of the past seven years of negotiations have resulted in the formalization of the informal draft convention. My delegation is confident that all States will extend their whole-hearted co-operation to ensure the successful conclusion of the Conference. Indonesia, together with the overwhelming majority of participants in the Conference, looks forward to a definitive, final session in New York next spring and the signing of the convention later in 1982 at Caracas.

128. For a number of years the picture of the world economy has become increasingly bleaker, offering us no optimistic outlook for the near future. Ominous warnings indicative of a world economy experiencing greater instability than at any time since the Second World War have sent shock waves throughout most of the developing countries and many of the developed countries as well.

129. More than ever before, mutual economic survival is now at stake. In the developing countries, severe external pressures have led to increased poverty and degradation of the quality of life and, in many cases, have shattered prospects for achieving social and economic goals. In consequence, the gap between the rich and the poor nations has widened further.

130. In my opinion, there persists an inconsistency between our recognition of the state of the world economy and the vacillations on the part of some Members about committing themselves to a commensurate remedy. For some time now the reality of interdependence has been increasingly evident, not only between countries but also between sectors of the economy. Therefore, we could not meaningfully address problems through *ad hoc* and piecemeal measures. Yet, short-sighted considerations and narrow self-interest unfortunately still persist, thereby inhibiting some from joining the consensus for a global solution.

131. My delegation is deeply disappointed with the failure of the international community to launch the global negotiations in accordance with the schedule already agreed upon. We note with great concern that the momentum already generated is now being dissipated. Yet these disappointing set-backs do not weaken our belief that the comprehensive approach, as embodied in the proposed round of global and sustained negotiations within the framework of the United Nations system, is the only one capable of genuinely solving the real problems confronting the world economy.

132. Indonesia is firmly committed to a process of dialogue and co-operation and deeply believes that, no matter how intractable the current international economic problems remain, they are still solvable through such a process and in such a spirit. My delegation therefore appeals once again to those who are still opposed to joining the consensus for launching a global round of negotiations to reconsider their position. In this regard we share the hope that the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development to be held at Cancún next month will assist in effecting a breakthrough in the present stalemated situation and thereby stimulate the launching of the global round.

133. The operational activities of the United Nations development system have also felt the full impact of the grim economic situation. The disappointing result of the recent pledging conference is now further aggravated by the prospect of new deficiencies in resource mobilization for the coming years.

134. My delegation has already stated on an earlier occasion that we are deeply concerned with these adverse trends in the availability of resources for operational activities of the United Nations development system. Such prospects not only create problems among the recipient countries but also do not augur well for the future of mul-

tilateral co-operation for development. It is therefore essential for all of us, in particular all developed donor countries, to spare no effort in providing the United Nations development system with the necessary resources on an increasingly predictable, continuous and assured basis.

135. The United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, held at Nairobi recently, was certainly a major step forward towards co-operation in this field. However, while we welcome the adoption of the Programme of Action at the Conference, we very much regret the continuing opposition by some major developed countries to certain specific proposals of the Programme. Therefore we earnestly hope that the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session will be decisive in solving the still-pending problems of institutional mechanism and financial arrangements.

136. By the same token, we welcome the recent United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris. Although it must be admitted that the Substantial New Programme of Action adopted by the Conference⁶ has fallen short of our expectation, it nevertheless has given us renewed hope for a revitalization of the development of the least developed countries. This positive step is essential not only for addressing the worrisome problems besetting the least developed countries, but, it is hoped, also for furthering the overall prospects for revamping international co-operation for development.

137. On the more positive side of this rather grim picture of the world economic scene is the steady progress achieved in the pursuit of collective self-reliance among the developing countries. South-South co-operation, while not designed to be a substitute for the restructuring of North-South economic relations, is a crucial imperative of our times for altering the legacy of endemic colonial economic patterns and structures that have stymied the efforts to accelerate the development of the developing countries. In this connection we salute the progress registered at the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries held at Caracas and the meeting on technical co-operation among developing countries held in New York.

138. While we recognize that the primary responsibility for the development of the developing countries resides with those countries themselves, it is also obvious that the international community has a useful role to play. It is our firm conviction that the international community should create a fully supportive environment for these efforts because they too, in fact, have a vested interest in the success of South-South collaboration. Indeed, a stronger and more prosperous South would have great dynamic potential for revitalizing the ailing international economic situation and the stalled North-South negotiations.

139. It is widely recognized, even by the developed countries, that the successful adaptation to growing world economic interdependence and the stronger resilience of the developing countries are important factors in world stability. The dawning of this global consciousness gives us renewed hope. In this spirit we must lose no time and spare no effort in marshalling our collective resolve and political will to build a new economic order of accelerated development and structural change.

140. In this context, the organs and organizations within the United Nations system could and should play a crucial role, and to this end it is imperative to equip them with the necessary means. My delegation is among the first to urge efficiency and economy. But we are of the view that efficiency and measures of economy should not be misused by setting arbitrary limitations that would impair the system's ability to implement legitimate programmes and activities, because the United Nations system with all its weaknesses still remains our best vehicle for channelling our concerted efforts to achieve our goal of social and economic development.

141. I have painted a gloomy and pessimistic picture of the world situation, but, despite the many obstacles which lie in our way, we must be steadfast. Our ability to find solutions to the major issues of which I have spoken may well determine man's capacity to survive in the decades to come. Unless we accord these problems the necessary priority, we run the risk of soon reaching a point where they will be beyond peaceful and rational solution.

142. My delegation is confident that faced with tasks of such enormous proportions, our common search for peace and security is not mere day-dreaming about accomplishing the impossible. Man's intellectual capacity and his technological prowess and sheer determination in the past have succeeded in taming mighty rivers, making the desert bloom and sending man to the moon. Let us, therefore, not abandon our hopes and ideals for a peaceful, better and more equitable world, but rather muster the will and determination to make these hopes and ideals come true.

143. Mr. NOTHOMB (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): I take particular pleasure, Sir, in congratulating you upon your election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. In awarding you this high office, the Assembly has chosen a diplomat whose invaluable personal qualities, long experience and profound knowledge of the workings of the Organization will ensure the successful outcome of our work.

144. I should also like to express once again my profound appreciation of the dedication, determination and efficiency with which your predecessor, Mr. von Wechmar, carried out a most difficult task.

145. I take this opportunity of extending cordial greetings to the delegation of Vanuatu. I recently had the pleasure of being host in Brussels to a mission from Vanuatu. My country looks forward to maintaining and developing the close ties which we established on that occasion.

146. On this very day Belize has joined the United Nations. I should like to extend to it our warm welcome. The alphabetical order will mean that our two delegations will be neighbours in most meetings, and we take pleasure in that.

147. The highest aspiration of human society is to organize its solidarity in justice and peace. The United Nations is the trustee of that aspiration, and the essential meaning of the general debate in the Assembly should be to gauge each year our achievements and to plan ahead. The General Assembly is the place for Governments to meet annually and examine their conscience. It should

come as no surprise to find in this forum the contradictions and the doubts of all mankind.

148. Beyond the diplomatic niceties and political constraints, serious reflection is necessary for us to see what we can really do to progress step by step toward the goal assigned to us.

149. When we view the present state of the world it is all too easy to emphasize the injustices, the conflicts and the danger. The agenda of the current session is, in part, a catalogue of the problems which endanger international relations. We have discussed many of these problems year after year without finding any satisfactory solutions.

150. I shall speak on a single theme, that of peace, because my British colleague, Lord Carrington, on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community, has already explained our views, our activities and our hopes concerning the main agenda items [8th meeting]. I need not cover all the points he has dealt with, for his speech was also that of Belgium. The very fact that the 10 member States of the European Community speak with one voice is in itself a concrete contribution to peace and to the transformation of a world of confrontation into a world of co-operation. We have here 10 countries of Europe, many of which for a century have repeatedly battled against each other and which, hardly 22 years after the First World War, were all caught up in another war which set the world aflame. Today, war between these countries of Western Europe has become unthinkable. What is more, they have embarked on building a genuine community. The results are not yet perfect, but they demonstrate that reason, a sustained will, a clear vision of the basic solidarity among peoples and the patient alignment of interests can overcome the age-old curse. Starting from this example, I should like to consider practical ways which could ensure peace on a more stable basis, granting to all a real solidarity.

151. Article 1 of the Charter defines the purposes of the Organization. Foremost among these is the maintenance of international peace and security. Belgium, a victim throughout the centuries of the quarrels of its neighbours, has traditionally been particularly devoted to the search for peace. Few peoples have had as much experience as we have of the disasters of war and therefore also of the blessings of peace. But this experience has also freed us from simple illusions about ways to achieve and maintain peace.

152. Taught by its past and conscious of its own particular situation, Belgium has entrusted its security to a regional defensive alliance, in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, an alliance characterized by a high degree of permanent consultation among its members. Determined participation in this alliance enables my country to contribute fully to the difficult but essential dialogue between East and West without which world peace would be no more than a precarious truce.

153. When we view the problems of peace today, several facts stand out. In centuries past war was the ultimate instrument of international policy. When all other methods became impossible, it was through war that the divergent views and interests and conflicting passions of men and Governments were finally resolved. Disputes found their

solutions through war in ways that were often unjust but expedient. The threat hanging over everybody of destruction and misery encouraged compromises to some degree and often produced a period of stability of uncertain duration, characterized by fear and resignation. Power, above all military power, was the main goal of States, for even in times of peace, military power governed relations between States.

154. It is this unorganized and savage world, in which force takes precedence over the rule of law, that we have tried to change by adopting the Charter of the United Nations. Such a change is the fundamental meaning and highest objective of the Organization. Have we completely succeeded? We know very well that we have not, but we have sparked some hope in the world and have opened the way to another ambition for mankind, that of a world based on international law, on the sovereignty of States, on respect for the weak, on reciprocal assistance and on the refusal to use violence. Several elements tend to lead us to believe that war is no longer a normal instrument of international policy: regional co-operation among States, the balance brought about in some regions by strong alliances, the will to independence of peoples in the face of the biggest Powers and their contesting the fruits of invasion, and finally the devastating power of the weapons themselves.

155. The most striking and hopeful development, however, is the coming of age of world public opinion, which makes itself heard here in the United Nations, its point of convergence and its preferred means of expression. Aggression is not yet banished from the world—we see this from recent and still current instances—but it now involves a higher political cost and offers less promise of success. Aggression faces the general condemnation of the General Assembly, and its victims, feeling themselves supported, refuse to submit.

156. Such is the progress achieved. It is still modest, but it shows us a direction in which our efforts can usefully be aimed. Our awareness and our solidarity represent the principal chance for peace. Our first concern should be to develop them at the regional level, as well as in the world Organization.

157. A particular and spectacular question that strikes public opinion is obviously the accumulation of armaments. It is a scandal that huge resources are thus spent each year to the detriment of the production of goods more beneficial to mankind. It is easy to wax indignant and to content oneself with words or to recommend radical disarmament measures. This is a natural and popular response, and it corresponds to a deep-seated sense of morality. However, if we look at the question dispassionately some basic facts stand out.

158. The first is that in the disarmament field, rhetoric cannot take the place of action. It is not the pedlars of dreams who best serve humanity. On the contrary, they tend to waste on illusions energies that could better be spent on the patient search for practical solutions.

159. The second point is that only those States or groups of States which nurture deep-seated mutual distrust enter the arms race. Many countries do not maintain any military apparatus against their neighbours, even though the means to do so are available to them. This is the case

with the countries of Western Europe, which have developed ties of solidarity and enough mutual confidence to allow them to dispense with any kind of military precautions against each other.

160. Armaments, therefore, are the consequence rather than the cause of distrust and hostility. If we truly wish to curb the arms race—and Belgium certainly does—we must first of all tackle the causes. Several approaches could, I think, be followed simultaneously.

161. The first and essential one is respect for the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other States, which was reaffirmed by General Assembly resolution 2131 (XX) of 21 December 1965. Without strict observance of this principle, no genuine progress towards peace can be achieved.

162. Next, we must engage in the difficult but necessary dialogue on problems that divide us. Even though conflicting viewpoints and interests cannot immediately be reconciled, such a dialogue would gradually promote the accurate perception of the various motivations and views, the recognition of legitimate interests and, ultimately, a certain degree of tolerance and moderation and even co-operation in the search for solutions acceptable to all.

163. The third approach, without waiting for this general dialogue to bear all its fruits, is to begin well-defined conversations on security problems. Such conversations should not be limited solely to armaments but should also bear upon the ideas different sides have of their security and the suitable means to ensure it. Between potential adversaries, security can best be grounded in the existence of an equilibrium, but this equilibrium itself is difficult to achieve. Each seeks to counter the opposing strategy as it guesses or fears that strategy to be. At times, such strategies determine which arms will be produced, and at other times they are themselves modified by the appearance of new weapons. We therefore seem to be witnessing a pitiful race taking place in darkness and confusion, in which each participant pushes himself to the limit for fear of taking a risk where his opponent's supposed strategy is concerned. In this area of dialogue on disarmament, therefore, we must focus more sharply on the exchange of the precise ideas the parties have of their own security problems, their strategies and their weapons programmes.

164. My fourth recommendation would be to stress in the negotiations those measures which might decrease distrust and fear. Here, I should like to recall the steps taken in this regard by the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki, which, among other things, provides for prior notification of manoeuvres and military movements of a certain scope. We think this is of great importance and are very anxious to see those agreements respected.

165. We should like to see further progress in this direction, leading to the holding of a conference on disarmament in Europe in the near future, the first aim of which would be to agree on militarily significant, compulsory and genuine confidence-building measures extending to the entire European continent. I mention the efforts undertaken on our own continent because I believe that this approach should also be attempted in other regions of the

world, in ways, of course, suitable to each of them. Belgium is first and foremost desirous of obtaining practical results in matters of security and arms limitation and to this end has constantly advocated the free negotiation between neighbours of agreements likely to achieve these aims on a regional basis.

166. More clarity concerning military situations and a more accurate forecast of their possible modification by means of confidence-building measures on a regional level would allow all States concerned to proceed in an atmosphere of security towards genuine and far-reaching arms reduction measures. Indeed, is it not obvious that when States have divested themselves of the means of suddenly menacing their neighbours and have ceased to fear being suddenly menaced themselves, their interest would certainly be to reduce their military expenditures and to negotiate a stabilization of the balance at a reduced level of armaments?

167. A fifth approach pertains to arms limitation itself. We welcome the fact that a few weeks from now the United States and the Soviet Union will start negotiations on the limitation of medium-range nuclear weapons. My Government has actively encouraged the holding of such negotiations. If the rapid and genuine progress that we desire is to be made, it is essential that a number of principles be clearly established. First, we have to put a stop to the exchange of allegations and accusations; which poisons the atmosphere of the negotiations and tends to turn them into a propaganda exercise rather than a search for concrete results.

168. We must then recognize that the maintenance or restoration of equilibrium is a perfectly legitimate concern. Negotiations must start with the certainty that the equilibrium will be firmly assured in any eventuality, so that the negotiators can make a genuine, concerted attempt to reduce that equilibrium to its lowest possible level. If this certainty is lacking there can be no assurance of the determination to hold genuine negotiations.

169. From the outset we should concentrate our efforts on a limited number of arms and systems chosen from among those which are the most modern and of greatest concern—that is, the most dangerous—in a way that renders possible concrete and rapid results.

170. I am well aware of the fact that the negotiations to which I am referring involve chiefly the United States and the Soviet Union, which possess these types of arms. But the negotiations are of concern to all of us, because they are an element of the strengthening of peace, to which we all aspire.

171. War, as I stated at the beginning of my speech, seems and should seem to be less and less a normal instrument of policy. But we must be aware of another danger, namely, the sudden creation by a brazen nation of faits accomplis, the results of which are then difficult to undo. As the penalties for war are forgotten, so the temptation for frustrated and ambitious States to resort to it, hoping for impunity, will increase. Thus, the defence of international law should remain our constant concern. It is our guarantee, particularly the weaker among us, in the face of the most powerful. It alone can ensure the stability and security of our day-to-day relations, on which

the well-being of all peoples depends in our increasingly interdependent world.

172. To that end, we must remain watchful and ready to show, by our unanimous response, that a policy of fait accompli will bring general disapproval upon those who pursue it. We shall be able to prevent such action and apply effective sanctions only if we create among ourselves strong bonds of solidarity. No State will then lightly consider excluding itself from that solidarity and co-operation, from which all benefit. Such a state of affairs already largely exists in certain parts of the world on a regional basis. We must now develop it and extend it further so as to make it universal.

173. The defence of peace and international law therefore necessitates a search for solidarity and justice.

174. Hence, development co-operation is also essential in the search for peace. Just as transfers take place from richer to poorer areas within a country, so should they take place between nations. Balanced development of the family of nations and the reduction of economic disparities within it are thus prime concerns of the international community.

175. Aware of the fact that the poorest countries with practically no access to capital markets require an increased amount of official developmental aid, Belgium has progressively increased this type of assistance. At the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held recently in Paris, the Government of Belgium stressed the imperative need significantly to increase the volume and efficiency of the assistance to those countries. It announced that Belgium would pursue its efforts to attain, by 1985 at the latest, the goal of 0.15 per cent of its gross national product for assistance to the group of 31 most disadvantaged countries.

176. This assistance will not be at the cost of other developing countries; Belgium wishes to remain among the most active countries in matters of co-operation. The position taken by Belgium at the Paris Conference—the latest manifestation of the dialogue between developing and industrialized countries—illustrates the positive and constant attitude of my country in the field of international economic co-operation.

177. Over the last few years, and especially since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 34/138, calling for the launching of global and sustained negotiations on international economic co-operation, the Belgian Government has persistently demonstrated its determination to promote such negotiations, taking into account the mutual advantages, the common interests and the responsibilities of the parties involved.

178. The International Meeting on Co-operation and Development to be held at Cancún will bring together at the highest political level the representatives of 22 countries, from the most powerful to the neediest. We expect that this meeting will provide a new and much needed stimulus for the resumption of consultations leading to global negotiations.

179. The present difficulties should not blind us to the true progress that has been achieved in increasing the general awareness of the strong link which exists between

peace, justice and solidarity among our peoples. We can, I am convinced, advance along this road through a serious and practical approach. Let us not cling to what divides us. Rather, let us attempt, day by day, to develop confidence and co-operation among ourselves. At the same time, in order to strengthen our solidarity and promote a more reasonably organized security, let us follow both the regional and the global paths.

180. The Secretary-General in his report [A/36/1] rightly underlines the need to use the essential instrument—the United Nations—in a much more systematic, organized and regular manner so that it may better deal with the various aspects of international relations.

181. I fully share the Secretary-General's conviction, and I should like to pay a tribute to his untiring efforts to ensure respect for the laws and principles that the international community has laid down with such care.

182. Mr. HAMMADI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, permit me first of all to express to the General Assembly our profound appreciation for the confidence it has placed in our country, Iraq, by electing you to the presidency of the current session. Iraq, as one of the founding Members of the United Nations, will take this honour as an added impetus, despite the persistent efforts by some Powers in the opposite direction, for the intensification of our efforts towards the achievement of the purposes of the United Nations and the implementation of its principles in such a way as to serve the rights and interests of peoples in freedom, sovereignty, independence and well-being.

183. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, for the distinguished efforts he made in presiding over the General Assembly throughout a busy year.

184. I am also pleased to welcome to our midst the States of Vanuatu and Belize, to which I extend, on behalf of the Government and people of Iraq, sincere congratulations on their independence and admission to membership in the United Nations. We wish to convey to the two States our best wishes for their progress and well-being.

185. On 7 June this year American-made military aircraft of the Zionist entity, after violating the airspace of two neighbouring Arab States and hence violating their sovereignty and political independence, raided the nuclear installations situated near Baghdad. The raid caused many civilian casualties and much material damage. The authorities of the Zionist entity accepted full responsibility for the raid, which was carried out on the pretext of defending the security of that entity.

186. The raid constitutes the gravest act of Israeli aggression to date, as it represents a dangerous qualitative turn in the violation of the international norms observed by the international community. If we desire to comprehend the real motives for this Zionist aggression, we must put it in its correct perspective.

187. It is obvious today that the founders of the Zionist entity had contemplated from the very beginning of their occupation of Palestine the possession of nuclear weapons as a means of intimidating the Arab nation in order to

fulfil their plans for Zionist expansion in Arab territories, to create a "Greater Israel" from the Nile to the Euphrates, to impose Zionist hegemony over the whole region and to prevent the rise and progress of the Arab nation along with other nations towards economic development and well-being.

188. In fact, the Israeli nuclear programme goes back to 1949. The most important experiments conducted by the Weizmann Institute in the early 1950s concerned the development of techniques for extracting uranium from phosphates in the Negev as well as others relating to the production of heavy water.

189. In 1952 the Ben-Gurion Government established the Israeli Atomic Energy Commission within the framework of the Ministry of Defence, with a separate budget and special laboratories, which confirms the military objectives of the Israeli nuclear programme from its inception. The existence of that Commission was kept secret until 1954. In 1966 the Commission was reorganized and placed under the direct control of the Prime Minister, who became its chairman.

190. In 1953 a nuclear co-operation agreement concluded with France marked a turning point in the Israeli nuclear programme. The fact remains, however, that the United States was the first country to provide Israel with a nuclear reactor, under an agreement concluded in 1955, namely, the reactor at Nahal Sorek, south of Tel Aviv, with a capacity of 5 megawatts. This was in addition to providing Israel with a vast library of studies and reports on nuclear science, as well as 6 kilogrammes of enriched uranium-235, not to mention training 56 Israelis at United States nuclear establishments. Subsequently Israel obtained another United States reactor, with a capacity of 8 megawatts, which was installed at the Technion Institute.

191. On page 68 of his book entitled *Nuclear Arms in the Third World—U.S. Policy Dilemma*, published in 1979 by the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., Ernest W. Lefever has pointed out that both France and the United States have contributed to Israel's nuclear development.

192. In 1957 Israel took the decision to build the highly secret reactor at Dimona, in co-operation with France, and in 1958 a reactor with a capacity of 5 megawatts was built at Rishon Le-Zion in co-operation with the United States. Israeli co-operation in the nuclear field with the Federal Republic of Germany began at the end of the 1950s, through which Israel was provided with an accelerator enabling it to strengthen the department of experimental nuclear physics at the Weizmann Institute. However, Israeli co-operation with the Federal Republic of Germany assumed its official nature only in 1963.

193. The Dimona facility remains without any supervision or control and is operated by the Israeli Defence Ministry. The most striking fact about the Dimona reactor is that the truth about it was not disclosed until the United States Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] revealed in 1960 that the installation at Dimona, which the Americans were told by Israel was a textile factory, was in fact a nuclear reactor. Subsequently, Israel and France acknowledged this fact. *The New York Times* stated on 20 December 1960 that the Dimona reactor was particularly well suited for producing fissionable plutonium used in nuclear

bombs. In 1969 a United States team reported that it could not guarantee that there was no weapons-related work at Dimona because it was not permitted to move about freely in the installation. Likewise, a United States Congressional inquiry into Israeli nuclear efforts complained of the lack of any detailed knowledge on the part of the United States of the purposes of research and experiments conducted at the Dimona research facility. In November 1976, 13 United States Senators on a nuclear fact-finding tour of the Middle East were barred from the facility.

194. Furthermore, in addition to the reactor, there are large-scale facilities for separating weapons-grade plutonium from spent fuel at the Soreq research establishment at Dimona. In an article entitled "Israel's Nuclear Policy" by Lawrence Freedman, contained in the May/June 1975 edition of a periodical called *Survival*, published by the International Institute for Strategic Studies, it was stated that the natural uranium used in the Dimona reactor was obtained from France, Argentina and South Africa. It was also stated that Israel had become capable of producing increasing amounts of uranium from its expanding fertilizer industry and that it would soon pass the limits of self-sufficiency.

195. It has been well known for some time that the Zionist entity has had a nuclear capability since the 1960s. The Arab Governments have been issuing warnings since 1965 that Israel had obtained the basic technology for manufacturing nuclear weapons and that it might have developed its capabilities for manufacturing such weapons. In 1969, the *Buffalo Evening News* published on 9 May a Reuters report which had appeared in the West German magazine *Der Spiegel*, stating that Israel had become the world's sixth nuclear power and possessed six Hiroshima-type bombs of 20 kilotons. Lawrence Freedman, whose article I have already referred to, also stated that the President of the Zionist entity, Ephraim Katzir, told a group of scientists on 1 December 1974, "It has always been our intention to develop a nuclear capacity. We now have that capacity." In another article written by Anthony M. Cordesman entitled "How Much Is Too Much?", published in *The Armed Forces Journal International* in November 1977, it was stated that Moshe Dayan had said in March 1977, before becoming Foreign Minister, "we have to develop an option for ourselves, that is, an ability to produce nuclear weapons . . . we should develop this in addition to and not instead of the conventional weapons we have". Cordesman, who served as Civilian Assistant to Deputy Secretary of Defense Robert Ellsworth and as Secretary of the Defense Intelligence Board, continues in his article:

"These remarks take on an added meaning given press reports of Israeli and South African cooperation in developing nuclear weapons, and that the weapon the South Africans were going to test was Israeli."

196. It is worth mentioning that Israel pursued various illegitimate means of developing its nuclear capacity, including piracy and theft. At a conference on a "non-nuclear future" held at Salzburg in May 1977, Paul Leventhal, a former staff nuclear weapons expert for a committee of the United States Senate, revealed that 200 tons of natural uranium, enough to build 24 nuclear weapons, which had been placed on a ship that had disappeared nine years before, had ended up in Israel. The

uranium had been loaded on to a cargo ship named the *Scheersburg A*, which had sailed out of Antwerp bound for Genoa, where it never arrived. The cargo of the *Scheersburg A* was reported to be capable of keeping a Dimona-type reactor operating and producing plutonium for 20 years.

197. Shortly after the Salzburg revelation, Norway's former chief prosecutor stated that the Israeli agent Dan Aerbel had admitted taking part in the operation to divert the uranium-laden ship. Aerbel was seized in 1974 by the Norwegian authorities with four other members of Mossad, the Israeli secret service, for the killing of a Moroccan national who was mistaken for a Palestinian by the Israeli agents at the Norwegian town of Lillehammer. In the mid-1960s, the American Government discovered the disappearance of 200 pounds of highly enriched uranium, enough to make four atomic bombs, from the factory of the Nuclear Materials and Equipment Corporation at Apollo, Pennsylvania. *The New York Times* recalled on 27 January 1978 that the United States Department of Energy had made public two previously secret documents indicating that American intelligence agencies believed in 1976 that Israel might have obtained uranium in the mid-1960s from a Government-sponsored nuclear facility at the town of Apollo, Pennsylvania.

198. On page 65 of his book *Nuclear Arms in the Third World—U.S. Policy Dilemma*, Lefever says that on 26 January 1978 the CIA released a memorandum dated 4 September 1974 entitled "Prospects for Further Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons", which disclosed in its conclusion that Israel had produced atomic weapons. The conclusion was based on the "... Israeli acquisition of large quantities of uranium, partly by clandestine means; the ambiguous nature of Israeli efforts in the field of uranium enrichment; and Israel's large investment in a costly missile system designed to accommodate nuclear warheads."

199. Moreover, *The New York Times* of 16 March 1976 reported that the CIA estimated that Israel had 10 to 20 nuclear weapons available for use. A report in *Time* magazine of 12 April 1976, entitled "How Israel Got the Bomb", stated that Israel possessed a nuclear arsenal of 13 atomic bombs, assembled, stored and ready to be dropped on enemy forces from especially equipped Kfir and Phantom fighters or Jericho missiles.

200. On page 301 of the *SIPRI Yearbook 1981* of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, it is stated that "Israel, which has been reported to possess several untested nuclear bombs, acquired its nuclear weapon capability due to a reactor supplied by France many years before the Non-Proliferation Treaty and not covered by international controls, as well as heavy water supplied by Norway."

201. As regards a nuclear weapons delivery system, it is certain that the Zionist entity has not ignored this. In addition to what I have already mentioned, the International Institute for Strategic Studies indicates in its *Strategic Survey 1974*, in Table 6 on page 38, that Israel's nuclear weapons delivery system is represented by the French Mirage III and the American Skyhawk A-4 and the Phantom F-4. The same report refers to an Israeli programme for missile production relating to nuclear weapons. On page 39 it states that "in the 1960s the Marcel Dassault Air-

craft Corporation in France developed the MD-660 missile, reportedly both nuclear- and conventional-capable, of which some 24 were believed to be produced and some of these delivered to Israel. It is on this basis that Israel has reportedly developed the Jericho, a surface-to-surface missile capable of carrying a warhead of 1,000-1,500 lb over a 280 mile range: this missile is believed to be in production." That information has also been reaffirmed in the article on "Israel's Nuclear Policy", to which I have already referred. Lefever also states, on page 70 of his book, that: "The Jericho, which was developed in Israel with French cooperation, could reach Cairo, Alexandria, the Suez Canal, Damascus, and Amman from launching sites within the pre-1967 borders of the country . . . Several Israeli planes could deliver nuclear bombs to Baghdad."

202. Although the Zionist aggression against the nuclear installations in Iraq falls within the framework of the Zionist acts of premeditated aggression against the Arab nations and the people of Palestine, it is qualitatively distinct from the inhuman practices employed by the Zionists since the beginning of their illegal colonization of Palestine and of occupied Arab territories. The Zionists usurped Palestine in response to the strategic interests of the Zionist movement and world colonialism, which are based on exploitation and dictating the destinies of other people and plundering their riches.

203. Since the Balfour Declaration of 2 November 1917,⁷ Zionism has usurped Arab territories and possessions by force and terrorism. Since its establishment in Palestine in 1948, the Zionist entity has been embraced by those in colonial quarters who see it as their advance base of aggression for the purpose of wielding hegemony and influence in the Arab world. They have provided the Zionist entity with extensive political, economic, and military support. They have installed in it an arsenal of sophisticated weapons and encouraged it to launch repeated acts of aggression against the Arab nation, beginning in 1948 and followed by the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956, the war of 5 June 1967 and the present war against Lebanon and the Palestinian resistance movements. In all those acts of aggression the Zionist entity occupied more Arab territories and sought to impose surrender on the Arabs. World imperialism, especially American imperialism, has always been anxious to preserve its strategic alliance with that racial entity, a major alliance throughout the course of Israel's terroristic, aggressive and expansionist evolution.

204. Although the Arab nation does not bear any responsibility for the persecution of the Jews, the great Powers made it pay the penalty for that persecution. They detached by force a part of Palestine, expandable according to the wishes of the Zionist entity, in order to establish there the "State of Israel". If the Zionist entity pretended to the world that it was peaceful and desired nothing but recognition by the Arabs and permission to live in peace and security within the borders of the land usurped from Palestine, that pretension was proved false after the 1967 aggression. It has become clear that the Zionist entity is, in its very nature and objectives, an aggressive and expansionist one, since it has occupied the whole of Palestine, Sinai in Egypt and the Golan Heights in Syria. Since that aggression that entity has imposed by force and blackmail a special theory of security that is most odd and contrary to all norms and traditions of inter-

national life. The Zionist entity continues to commit aggression against the Arab States on the pretext of assuring its security. It has expanded in Arab territories, building colonial settlements, and has committed the ugliest crimes against peaceful towns and villages, including the killing of women and children. The Zionist aggression against Iraq, which is not a neighbour of the Zionist entity, has been based on the theory that it has the right to strike and commit aggression everywhere in Arab territories on the pretext of protecting its own security. The Zionist entity has not been satisfied with that; it has gone to the length of committing the crime of murder against the Iraqi and other Arab scientists who have been assassinated in some European capitals during past years and this year.

205. The Arab nation has no illusions about the nature and intentions of the Zionist entity. The slogan adopted by the Zionists, "From the Nile to the Euphrates", for the frontier of the State of Israel represents the real Zionist strategy. Israel's firm objective is aggression, expansion, and the imposition of its control by blackmail on the whole region to prevent its peoples from achieving liberation and progress. If there were ever any doubt as to that, Israel's aggressive and expansionist policies from the 1967 aggression to its aggression against Iraq and Lebanon have removed all doubts and exposed all these facts clearly.

206. Zionism from the beginning envisaged the seizure of the whole territory of Palestine. In his writings in the yearbooks of the Zionist entity for 1952 and 1953, Ben-Gurion emphasized that the Jewish State was established in a part of the land of Israel and that that part did not correspond with the historical borders which had been determined and fixed at the beginning of time.

207. As for Menachem Begin, he said at the time of partition:

"The Jewish homeland, the area which covers both sides of the Jordan, is a complete historic and geographic entity. Dissection of the homeland is an unlawful act; agreement to dissection is also unlawful, and is not binding on the Jewish people. It is the duty of this generation to return to Jewish sovereignty these parts of the homeland which were torn off from it and given to foreign rule."⁸

It appears from this that Begin will not be satisfied by holding the West Bank and annexing it to the Zionist entity, but also intends to annex Jordan in the next step in the Zionist expansion plan. It is worthy of mention that Begin stated in the Knesset on 12 October 1955: "I deeply believe in launching a preventive war against the Arab States without further hesitation. By doing so, we will achieve two targets: first, the annihilation of Arab power; and secondly, the expansion of our territory." Now that Begin has returned to power and has appointed Ariel Sharon as his Minister for Defence, he will no doubt carry out more of this policy.

208. There is no difference between the Likud and any other Zionist party regarding the Zionist ambitions in Arab territories. Moshe Dayan, for instance, said after the 1967 aggression:

"Our fathers had reached the frontiers which were recognized in the Partition Plan. Our generation

reached the frontiers of 1949. Now the Six-Day generation have managed to reach Suez, Jordan and the Golan Heights. This is not the end. After the present ceasefire lines there will be new ones. They will extend beyond Jordan—perhaps to Lebanon and perhaps to central Syria as well."

That was quoted in *The Times* of London of 25 June 1969. Could there be a more blatant pronouncement of Zionist expansionist plans? Could any politician in any other country in the world issue such a statement, which represents the peak of insolence, and the world remain silent? What is worse is that Dayan is now considered a moderate Zionist compared with Begin and Sharon.

209. The racism of the Zionist entity is evident in the Zionists' view of the Palestinians and their treatment of them in order to evict them from their homeland and establish a purely Jewish State. The Zionist historian, Michael Bar-Zohar, wrote:

"Ben-Gurion remained skeptical about any possibility of coexistence with the Arabs. The fewer there were living within the frontiers of the new Jewish State the better he would like it . . . a major offensive against the Arabs would not only break up their attacks but would also greatly reduce the percentage of Arabs in the population of the new state. (While this might be called racialism, the whole Zionist movement actually was based on the principle of a purely Jewish community in Palestine . . .)"⁹

210. The most revealing evidence regarding the Zionist racist outlook towards the the Palestinian people can be seen from the refusal of Zionist officials to use the word "Palestine". In 1969 Golda Meir contended that there was no such thing as the Palestinian people. It was further contended by her information media and her academic experts that this people belonged, in fact, to southern Syria. While Yitzhak Rabin referred to the Palestinians as the "so-called Palestinians", other Israeli leaders claimed that the Palestinians were, in fact, Jordanians, whose country ought to be Jordan. As for Menachem Begin, he describes Palestinians in occupied Arab territories and within the Zionist entity as the Arabs of "Eretz Israel", considering them the blacks of Israel, to be compared with the blacks in the United States of America. This is in addition the policy aimed at the complete annihilation of the Palestinian people, wherever they may be.

211. This approach means, in fact, that the Arab nation has to submit to and be at the mercy of the aggressive and expansionist aims by which the Zionist entity imposes its hegemony upon that nation and thwarts its goal to live in peace and enjoy freedom and progress.

212. The Israeli theory of security is the most dangerous and aggressive in modern times. It is even more dangerous than fascism and nazism. Those who support the Zionist entity are openly standing for aggression and expansion and encouraging the worst and most dangerous theories, against the interests of mankind and its legitimate rights. If the Europeans thought they had the right to struggle against fascism and nazism by all the means at their command and at whatever cost and sacrifice, so do the Arab people have the right to struggle against zionism by all legitimate means and whatever the sacrifices might be. The Arab nation is struggling for freedom, sov-

ereignty and progress and wishes to live in peace on its land and to establish sound and equal relations with other peoples of the world. The Arab nation is fully entitled to struggle for the attainment of these objectives and to define friend and foe on the basis of these sound principles, for the principles of freedom and justice are indivisible.

213. World Zionism and the Zionist entity, with the support of imperialism, are not the only forces which have sought to expand through aggression at the expense of the Arab nation. Iran and its successive Governments have sought the same objective throughout the centuries. The successive régimes of the Persian State have pursued a policy of expansion at the expense of the rights of Iraq and the Arab nation, particularly in the Arab Gulf region, for those régimes have always considered that region as a sphere of influence and domination. This policy has been expressed in various forms at different times according to the particular circumstances of the period.

214. On several occasions and in various international forums Iraq has fully described to the international community how it welcomed the new régime in Iran in genuine good faith and the sincere efforts it exerted to establish fruitful relations with that régime. However, the course of events revealed deliberate action by the new Iranian régime aimed at breaking the existing relations between the two countries, thereby creating a dangerously critical situation which led to the start of an aggressive war on Iraq on 4 September 1980. It was later established that the new régime in Iran had been harbouring such intentions since the first day of its accession to power. This has been revealed by a number of political leaders who until very recently carried weight in the Iranian political arena.

215. In his statement to the French newspaper *Le Matin* on 3 August 1981, Mr. Massoud Radjawi, leader of the Mujahideen Khalq organization, pointed out that the senior religious leaders were responsible for the war against Iraq and stated that his organization possesses tape-recorded evidence of the provocations carried out against Iraq. The former president of Iran, Mr. Bani-Sadr, also acknowledged this in an interview on 4 September 1981, published in the London-based magazine *Ad-Dastour*. In that interview he declared:

“I remember that during the first months of the revolution and the accession of Khomeini to power, President Saddam Hussein sent a special envoy to Iran to inform us of his readiness to co-operate with the new régime and to establish good-neighbourly relations . . . I conveyed to Khomeini what the Iraqi envoy had said to me, but Khomeini said that Saddam’s initiative meant that he was weak and afraid of Iran and that he was looking for peace with Iran so that he could stay in power, and consequently we had to work for the downfall of Saddam Hussein’s régime.”

216. The aggressive, expansionist course of the Iranian rulers has made them reject all peace initiatives to put an end to the war, whether they come from Iraq or from international organizations. The Iranian rulers persist in waging the war that they launched in the belief that it will enable them to achieve their expansionist goals at the expense of others.

217. The Iranian régime has made a number of claims in which it purports to be an ally of the Arab revolution and to be in favour of the liberation of Palestine. Those claims are mere slogans, for how can the Iranian régime be an ally of the Arab revolution while it is waging a war of aggression, creating problems and interfering in the internal affairs of an Arab country which plays a prominent role in the process of Arab revolution? How can the Iranian régime be contributing to the liberation of Palestine while it has itself occupied Arab lands and islands for several years? How can this be the case when certain press reports confirm that despite the closing of the Israeli embassy in Tehran, the Israeli consulate in Isfahan is still open and is functioning normally? In fact, there is no evidence at all to show that the Iranian régime seriously intends to enter into an alliance or a serious relationship with the Arabs for the sake of Palestine.

218. As a matter of fact, the similarities between the Zionist views and those of the Iranian régime are conspicuous. Both are based on religious and sectarian fanaticism; both pursue a policy of expansion at the expense of others and with extremely narrow horizons; and both are deeply entrenched in their racist philosophies and reactionary tendencies. It is no wonder, therefore, that the relations between Iran and the Zionist entity remain unbroken.

219. It has been considered that since the fifth day of air raids against Baghdad—27 September 1980—the Iranian air force was trying to cover the Israeli air force’s strikes at Iraqi nuclear installations.

220. The news media have recently revealed—although we have known about it for some time—the co-operation between Iran and Israel in the field of armaments. The British newspaper *The Sunday Times* stated on 26 July 1981 that the affair of the Argentinian cargo plane that crashed near Yerevan, the capital of Soviet Armenia, on 18 July 1981 was kept secret because it was carrying military equipment from Israel to Iran as the result of a secret deal by which Israel undertook to supply Iran with 360 tons of arms, ammunition and spare parts at a cost of \$28 million. The newspaper further mentioned that the Argentinian plane, a turbo-prop CL-44, was hired from a commercial firm in Buenos Aires, that it was flying between Tel Aviv and Tehran via Larnaca, Cyprus, and that it crashed after having completed 3 out of the 10 flights agreed upon. Military supplies were delivered to Tehran on 12, 14 and 17 July. The newspaper also stated that this information was revealed to it by a certain Andreas Jenny, the Swiss partner of the British pilot, Stewart Allen McCafferty, who died when the plane crashed.

221. The scandal of the military co-operation between Iran and Israel clearly reveals the difference between the claims of the Iranian régime and the reality of its unprincipled actions. It further shows that the United States of America strove to keep that co-operation secret, claiming no prior knowledge of it. But the American position became clear when Jody Powell, the press secretary for the former American President, acknowledged on the ABC television network on 20 August 1981 that Washington had had prior knowledge of the export of American arms and spare parts to Iran via Israel. The United States undoubtedly took an active part in that co-operation. It is worth mentioning in this connection that the former Iranian President, Mr. Bani-Sadr, in an interview given to

the Paris-based magazine *Al-Mustaqbal* on 5 September 1981, declared that the son of Beheshti, former leader of the Islamic Republican Party in Iran who was close to Khomeini, took part in the arms deals between Iran and Israel. The Iraqi delegation has already had distributed a document containing details of this information [A/36/518]. The weapons, spare parts and ammunition which reached Iran from Israel were American-made. This collaboration, which is now beyond doubt, is in violation of American laws. Now, where are the United States claims that it desires a speedy end to the war and that it maintains neutrality? We very much suspect those claims at present.

222. Despite all those facts, Iraq, which is fighting in self-defence to repel the Iranian aggression and to achieve its legitimate rights, remains ready to reach a just and honourable settlement of the conflict, one that would guarantee the parties their legitimate rights and create the conditions conducive to the establishment of just and balanced relations far removed from expansionist ambitions and acts of aggression.

223. While the political and military considerations of the First World War played a basic and direct role in the issuance by the United Kingdom of the Balfour Declaration, it was the United States which played a decisive part in the creation of the Zionist entity, lending it material and moral support and encouraging it to pursue its aggression and expansionist policies, to continue its occupation of Arab lands, and to deny the rights of the Palestinian people by scattering them. The United States is the principal supplier of modern sophisticated arms to Tel Aviv, besides granting it financial assistance reaching astronomical figures. The total American financial assistance to Israel from 1948 to 1977 exceeded \$25.6 billion. On that basis, and given that the United States population throughout that period was about 200 million, United States financial assistance to Israel comes to \$6 million daily for the period—that is, over \$10 a year for every man, woman and child in the United States. That represents a sum far exceeding any Federal Government assistance granted to any American State.

224. It is equally noteworthy that in 1976 the United States Government proposed to offer Israel assistance totalling \$2.3 billion, or one fourth of all financial assistance extended to the rest of the world. Furthermore, Mr. George Ball, former United States Under-Secretary of State, declared that the total assistance extended to Israel during the previous four years exceeded \$11 billion. American financial assistance has exceeded \$2 billion annually ever since the October war of 1973—the equivalent of \$3,500 annually for every Israeli family of five members. Besides, the United States Government has often cancelled huge amounts of the credits extended to Israel.

225. One of the basic facts that emerge from the record of American financial assistance to Israel is that the major part of that assistance is devoted to military purposes and that a large proportion of it is in the form of tax-free grants, quite apart from the opening up of the American market for the sale of Israeli bonds. Thus the American citizen has lost huge sums of money which could have been allocated for education, social services, health and welfare in the United States. Hence, the United States has become the principal contributor to the continuing exist-

ence of the usurping Zionist entity and its permanent aggression against the rights of the Arab nation.

226. Indeed, successive United States Governments have not hesitated to declare their absolute commitment to supporting and protecting the Zionist entity, despite all violations and serious acts of aggression which that entity has committed. What is more serious is that the present American Administration and its President have declared, for the first time, that Zionist settlements in occupied Arab territories are not illegal, in addition to statements that Israel is an ally of the United States. Lately, the President of the United States agreed with the Prime Minister of the Zionist entity to establish a "strategic collaboration" between their respective countries. This means augmenting Israel's armaments and, consequently, definitely encouraging it to commit further acts of aggression against the Arab countries. Indeed, any increase in Israel's military strength means direct participation in what Israel has done and will do in the future and is, therefore, directed against the Arab countries from beginning to end.

227. During the debate in the Security Council in June following the Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations, this unholy alliance became evident. Although the Governments and the peoples of the international community as a whole, represented by IAEA, the non-aligned movement, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the OAU, condemned this aggression and found it to be a dangerous act threatening international peace and security and violating all the norms which the international community had been able to agree upon concerning the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes as provided for in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons—despite all that, the United States in a clear case of aggression, by threatening to use its veto power, prevented the Security Council from taking measures to impose sanctions on Israel in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. That took place in spite of the fact that the Security Council had warned Israel on previous occasions that the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter would be applied should it again resort to committing acts of aggression.

228. In this connection it is fitting to note that successive American Administrations have often turned a blind eye to illegal Israeli actions to obtain uranium and even tried to conceal them, as, for example, in 1979. It is no secret that the means by which Israeli nuclear bombs could be delivered to their targets have been supplied by the United States, including the F-15 and F-16 aircraft used by the Zionist entity in its aggression against Iraq.

229. Finally, I should like to refer to an article by Jack Anderson in the *Washington Post* of 30 September 1980, in which he stated that the American Defense Intelligence Agency had warned President Carter that the Israelis were undoubtedly planning to attack Iraqi nuclear installations. Another article by the same author in the *Washington Post* of 16 June 1981 recalled that an abortive raid against the Iraqi nuclear reactor had taken place at the time when the previous article had appeared. The author further said that in the light of Washington's claims that the Israeli raid had come as a complete surprise, it was relevant to mention the report which the Defense Intelligence Agency had submitted to the White House eight months earlier, which stated that it was wise to assume that Israel was

considering action to prevent Iraq from acquiring nuclear capability and that the consequences of any such action should be taken into consideration. The report warned the White House that the problem before the United States was not the possibility of a nuclear confrontation between Iraq and Israel, but that of Israel using conventional weapons to attack the Iraqi reactor. Moreover, the *Washington Post* also said that it possessed a report indicating that at the time the Israelis were planning to attack the Iraqi installations they sought information from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, with the help of the United States Government, concerning the damage which could be inflicted upon nuclear reactors by 2,000-pound bombs supplied by the United States. This took place in October 1980, when the Israeli cabinet had decided to attack the Iraqi nuclear reactor. The bombs used in the attack on the Iraqi nuclear installations were indeed of that type. From what has been mentioned here, the question now arises as to the truthfulness of Washington's claim that it was completely taken by surprise by the dastardly Israeli attack against Iraq.

230. Israel is the only Member of the United Nations which enjoys absolute freedom to avoid its commitments under the Charter, thanks to the United States. The General Assembly should realize before it is too late that Israel's persistence in aggression against the rights of the Arab nation is the main cause of the weakening of the Organization and that the achievement of its objectives of safeguarding international peace and security and ensuring the rights of peoples to self-determination will be impeded as long as Israel is allowed to set the dangerous precedent of violating the Charter without being brought to account. Consequently, if the United Nations wishes to maintain its objectives, its principles and its future, to ensure international peace and security and to discourage other Member States from following in the footsteps of Israel, it has no choice but to take a more firm attitude towards the Zionist entity.

231. In this respect, the United Nations need go no further than applying the principles and provisions of its Charter. It must oblige Israel to withdraw completely from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, to enable the Palestinian people to enjoy their inalienable rights, including the right to return to their homes, to self-determination and to the establishment of their independent State. As long as Israel rejects the United Nations resolutions in this respect, and as long as Begin declares Israel's determination to remain in the occupied Arab territories, the General Assembly ought to look into Israel's fulfilment of the conditions of its admission, which were set out at the time of the creation of the Zionist entity.

232. Regarding the new and dangerous dimension of the Israeli aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installations, which is a warning that the Zionist entity will not hesitate to use the nuclear arms in its possession, it is necessary to expose Israeli nuclear armaments and to implement Security Council resolution 487 (1981), adopted on 18 June 1981, on the placing of Israeli nuclear activities under international safeguards, as required by the General Assembly in the past. The General Assembly should also oblige other Member States to desist from extending any economic, political, technical and military assistance to Israel, so that it cannot persist in its policy of aggression

against the Arab nation and the Palestinian people and threaten international peace and security.

233. The Arab nation will never condone what Israel has done and what it intends to do regarding the annexation of occupied Arab territories. The world ought to deal with the dangerous situation in the Arab region before it is too late. There is no doubt that the Arabs consider that the United States is primarily responsible for this dangerous situation.

234. Mr. OWINY (Uganda): Sir, I extend to you my delegation's warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. We are confident that with your enormous experience and your well-known diplomatic skills, the Assembly will be able to discharge its responsibilities with wisdom and efficiency.

235. May I also pay tribute to your predecessor, Mr. von Wechmar, of the Federal Republic of Germany, for the outstanding leadership he gave the Assembly during both the thirty-fifth session and the eighth emergency special session. We wish him all success and happiness in future endeavours.

236. I also wish to take this opportunity to pay tribute to our Secretary-General for his dedication to the service of the United Nations.

237. It is with much pleasure that my delegation welcomes into our midst Belize and the Republic of Vanuatu as new Members of the United Nations.

238. Uganda reaffirms its unequivocal commitment to the realization of self-determination and independence for all peoples who are still under colonial domination. In this regard, we welcome the recent step taken by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity towards constructing a framework for a just and peaceful solution to the question of Western Sahara [see A/36/534, annex II, AHG/Res.103 (XVIII)]. We appeal to the parties to the conflict to give full cooperation to the OAU Implementation Committee in order to ensure that the efforts of Africa are rewarded with a genuine and speedy exercise of self-determination by the people of Western Sahara.

239. One of the most important items on the agenda of the thirty-fifth session was that on the launching of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development [item 123], an endeavour aimed at correcting the present structural imbalances in the world economy. The international community has placed its hopes in the General Assembly for a positive move towards this objective. It is thus with a sense of frustration and disappointment that we observed the Assembly's failure to launch the global round.

240. Our frustration is all the more profound because this issue has been under discussion for a very long time. Indeed, the eleventh special session was devoted exclusively to it. Yet to this day no agreement has been reached on the framework and procedures for negotiations.

241. It is the view of my delegation that discussions on such substantial issues as the reform of the international

monetary and financial institutions, transfer of resources, raw materials, commodities and energy are long overdue. We appeal to the Western countries which are still holding out to rethink their positions and join the consensus. It is our strong hope that the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development to be held at Cancún will serve to open new avenues of understanding that will lead rapidly to the commencement of global negotiations.

242. Contrary to the impression that is sometimes given, the new international economic order is not simply about some massive transfer of resources from North to South without any benefits accruing to the industrialized countries. Clearly, the countries of the North and the countries of the South have many common interests in the long run, much more perhaps than some countries are now willing to acknowledge. This sense of global interdependence and mutual benefits was well expressed by the Brandt Commission in its report:

“ . . . all nations will benefit from a strengthened global economy, reduced inflation and an improved climate for growth and investment. All nations will benefit from better management of the world's finite resources (and from stabilization of the world's population). All nations—industrialized and developing . . . —have a clear interest in greater security, and in improved political capability and leadership to manage global problems.”¹⁰

Thus the restructuring of the world economy serves the long-term interests of both the industrialized and developing nations.

243. Uganda commends the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris, for recognizing the special nature of problems faced by this group of countries and for unanimously adopting the Substantial New Programme of Action.⁶ It is our hope that there will be a speedy and successful implementation of this Programme and that it will not suffer the same fate as the Immediate Programme of Action which preceded it.

244. With regard to official development aid, we appeal to those countries which have not yet attained the target of 0.7 per cent of their gross national product to endeavour to do so. We commend those countries that have fulfilled their commitment in this respect.

245. International measures for assistance are meant to be supportive of, and cannot be substitutes for, efforts by the developing countries themselves. The primary impulse for development, as all our countries recognize, must come from ourselves. In this regard, we can maximize our development through economic co-operation among developing countries. Uganda and its neighbours, for their part, have taken the initiative in strengthening regional co-operation in the area of eastern Africa in all spheres.

246. The sharp rise in the cost of energy in recent years has underlined the urgent need to expand and diversify our present energy supply and move from the present international economy, which is heavily dependent on hydrocarbons, to one increasingly based on new and renewable sources of energy.

Mr. Renzaho (Rwanda), Vice-President, took the Chair.

247. While we welcomed the compromise reached in the Nairobi Programme of Action,¹ we were disappointed at the lack of agreement on specific financial targets and mechanisms for mobilization of funds for the development of new and renewable sources of energy. We hope this Programme will receive the necessary international support for mobilization of finance and the transfer of technology to developing countries.

248. The Government of Uganda attaches great importance to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. We have viewed with great concern the decision taken in March this year by the United States to review the entire draft convention, the text of which is the outcome of 10 years of arduous negotiations and compromises. The present text is by no means satisfactory to my delegation, but we accept it as a reasonable compromise in the circumstances. In this connection, my delegation welcomes the recent decision of the Conference to transform the informal negotiating text into a draft convention. A speedy and successful conclusion of the Conference on the Law of the Sea would be a worthy credit to the efforts of the United Nations and a contribution to bridging the gap between North and South.

249. Another issue which has widened the gap between North and South is the question of the flow and dissemination of information. Uganda welcomes the International Programme for the Development of Communication approved by UNESCO at Belgrade in 1980.¹¹ For us in the third world, the quest for a new international information order forms an integral part of the overall framework of the new international economic order. The political, economic, social and cultural development of our communities is inevitably hampered by our lack of participation in the field of information dissemination. The near monopoly of mass-media communication sustained by the industrialized countries perpetuates such imbalance in the flow of information as to deny us the opportunity for adequate self-exposition, both internally and internationally.

250. Our desire to restructure this imbalance should in no way be misconstrued as an attempt to undermine the principle of freedom of the press. On the contrary, our action is prompted by a concern to universalize that freedom.

251. The year 1981 has witnessed a general deterioration in the international political situation. Events in most regions of the world, particularly in the existing areas of conflict, have dimmed our hopes for greater peace and security. We have this year experienced increased human affliction caused by senseless acts of aggression and continued warfare. We have also experienced heightened tension caused by a deplorable return to the vicious arms race between West and East.

252. In our own region, Africa, 1981 has turned out to be not only a year of broken promises, but also one of great frustration. We have seen a more emboldened and belligerent South Africa consolidate its oppression in Namibia and in South Africa itself while committing massive aggression against the front-line States.

253. Last year and at the beginning of this year, we had all hoped that 1981 would be the year for Namibian independence. Instead of progress towards independence, we have experienced a record of set-backs and a painful pe-

riod of benign neglect. In January, we witnessed the collapse of the pre-implementation meeting held at Geneva. That meeting was supposed to be the last step before the full implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and the United Nations plan for Namibia which the Council endorsed by that resolution. But South Africa, with characteristic bad faith, deliberately wrecked the talks.

254. Consequent upon that failure, a global consensus emerged in favour of the Security Council's applying enforcement measures against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter in order to compel the racist régime to comply with the United Nations plan. However, this global consensus suffered a rebuff last April when the three Western permanent members of the Security Council vetoed the proposed measures.

255. Since last January, the Western contact group has been urging us to be patient and to await the results of their various consultations. We were even made to believe that they would have some concrete proposals by the time of the emergency special session. But to this day nothing substantial has emerged.

256. Instead of movement towards the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), there has been an inordinate preoccupation with strengthening that resolution and protecting minority rights. My delegation is disturbed that these peripheral concerns should postpone the attainment of freedom for the overwhelming majority of Namibians, who continue to suffer untold indignities under the most vicious machinery of colonial occupation.

257. There have been some unfortunate attempts to cast the problem of Namibia in the mold of East-West rivalry and global strategic considerations. We wish to emphasize that the problem of Namibia remains fundamentally a colonial issue. To present the issue otherwise is to justify the illegal colonial occupation and the continued atrocities being committed against the people of Namibia.

258. We must state clearly here that the five Western States bear collective responsibility for the continued suffering of the people of Namibia. They have a moral and political obligation to compel South Africa to comply with the United Nations plan for Namibia without further delay. In this connection, it must be emphasized that resolution 435 (1978), which is a compromise document produced by the five Western States and accepted by the parties to the conflict, is the only basis for a peaceful settlement in Namibia.

259. There is an urgent need for immediate action to bring about an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia. The consequences of any further delay are too grave to contemplate. South Africa is already taking full advantage of the increased East-West tension, as well as the equivocation of the five Western States.

260. The machinery of oppression in Namibia has become more vicious. The Territory of Namibia is being used as a spring-board to launch unceasing acts of aggression against neighbouring African States. Only a few weeks ago, the People's Republic of Angola suffered a massive invasion by South Africa. That invasion continues today, with the racist troops occupying a portion of the southern part of Angola. The scale and nature of this

latest invasion have marked a new and more ominous stage in the conflict in southern Africa.

261. It is clear that a major objective of the Pretoria régime is to create a Lebanon situation in southern Africa. In this sinister scheme, South Africa would play the role of Israel; the puppet renegade Jonas Savimbi would play the role of Major Saad Haddad; and the southern part of Angola would become the new south Lebanon. This scheme would provide a free hunting ground for the South Africans, a buffer zone from which they could permanently undermine the political and economic stability of Angola. It would also provide a corridor through which the racist forces could attempt to destroy SWAPO militants and Namibian refugees in general.

262. Will the international community stand idly by while South Africa is creating a Lebanon situation in southern Africa?

263. Within South Africa itself, the abominable system of *apartheid* is strengthening its machinery of oppression. The policy of bantustanization is being pursued with increasing ruthlessness. The forcible deportation of blacks from the urban centres to barren and overpopulated reserves is being carried out with cynical resolve. Several freedom fighters have recently been sentenced to death for acts of resistance against *apartheid*, and many more are in gaol and detention camps. Clearly, the persecutor is now so terrified of his victim that he wants to silence him for ever.

264. But this escalation of the machinery of oppression has not silenced the voices of resistance. On the contrary, it has strengthened the resolve of the oppressed. The recent attacks on selected institutional symbols of *apartheid* are sufficient testimony to the determination of people of South Africa to continue the struggle by all necessary means.

265. In the landscape of southern Africa, there is no fence on which to sit, and there is no middle ground for equivocation. The choice in southern Africa is between the forces of oppression and racism and the forces of freedom and dignity. To speak of neutrality is to add a voice in support of the system of *apartheid*. We commend the front-line States which, against formidable odds, have maintained a steadfast commitment to the cause of justice and freedom in southern Africa. I wish to reaffirm the total solidarity and unflinching support of the Government and people of Uganda for the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia and for the front-line States.

266. In considering the increase in world tension, we are struck by the unhappy developments in the Middle East. Just as ideological and military collaboration has strengthened South Africa's hand in Africa, so also has the same collaboration strengthened Israel in its sanguinary arrogance in the Middle East. This has enabled Israel to commit acts of unprovoked armed aggression against Arab countries.

267. Last June, in an unprecedented incursion, the Israeli air force attacked and destroyed Iraq's nuclear research facility. In July, the Israeli air force carried out intensive bombardments of civilian targets in Beirut, causing massive destruction of lives and property. In all these incidents Israel invoked the doctrine of self-defence,

in the absence of any prior provocations or attacks. Uganda strongly condemns these acts of aggression by Israel.

268. Meanwhile, in the occupied areas of the West Bank, Israel has unleashed a policy of harassment and deportation of political leaders, detention and torture of detainees, indiscriminate destruction of homes, collective punishment and expropriation of Palestinian lands. Uganda has consistently maintained that a durable peace in the Middle East is possible only if certain principles basic to the solution of the problem are recognized.

269. These principles are: the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people in its homeland without any external interference; the right of the Palestinians to national independence and sovereignty in a State of their own; the right of the displaced and dispossessed Palestinians to return to their homes, coupled with a guarantee of prompt and adequate compensation for those who may choose not to return; the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories; and the restoration of the city of Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty and the preservation of its historic and religious character. Since the Palestinian question is at the core of the Middle East problem, it is imperative that any initiative for a solution involve the full participation of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

270. Whatever imperfections the system of détente contained, it was itself a landmark in the easing of world tension. It focused attention on areas of co-operation, the need to resolve conflicts through negotiations and the need for a reduction in armaments. Above all, it focused on the need to avoid a nuclear holocaust. Today, however, the world is experiencing a fateful relapse from détente into a race between East and West for armed supremacy. This has manifested itself in terms of increased military spending and the development of new weapons, on the one hand, and the replacement of negotiations between the super-Powers by verbal rhetoric exchanged through the news media, on the other.

271. The impact of this development has been an increase in world tension, with the super-Powers vying for spheres of influence. This has led to what is now called "the global view of all conflicts". What is not realized by those who take this global view of all conflicts is the fact that the peoples of Africa, Latin America and Asia have their own interests which they seek to protect and consolidate. In this regard, Uganda has followed with concern the recent developments in Central America. In particular, we cannot remain indifferent to the suffering of the people of El Salvador. These people must be allowed freely to determine their own destiny within a democratic political framework.

272. In a world threatened by the forces of domination and exploitation, those who seek freedom and dignity must stand firmly together. Today, more than ever before, it is imperative that the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America strengthen their solidarity. In that solidarity lies our hope for collective survival, and it is to the cause of that solidarity that the Government and people of Uganda wish to renew their commitment today.

273. Mr. AUDU (Nigeria): First of all, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, I wish to extend to Mr.

Kittani our warmest congratulations on his election and assumption of the office of President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. His election is undoubtedly a testimony to his outstanding personal qualities, as well as a justly deserved reward for his long, selfless and outstanding contribution to the United Nations, which he has served in various capacities with such distinction for more than two decades. I am fully confident that, under his able and wise guidance, our proceedings at this session will be quite successful. I can assure him, particularly in view of the amity that exists between our two countries, that he can count on my delegation for the fullest possible co-operation in the discharge of his onerous duties and responsibilities.

274. I should like also to take this opportunity to pay the warmest tribute to the President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, Mr. von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany, for the able manner in which he guided the proceedings in the past year, when the Assembly was faced with many major issues of war and peace. It is to his credit that during his tenure of office he displayed great personal qualities, a sense of fair play and a complete dedication to the cause of peace in serving the Assembly as President.

275. I should like also to take this opportunity to extend my warmest congratulations to Vanuatu and also to Belize on their accession to independence and on their admission as the one hundred fifty-fifth and one hundred fifty-sixth Members of the Assembly and the comity of nations. With their admission, we are now nearer our dream of attaining the universality of the United Nations.

276. I believe that we also owe our Secretary-General much gratitude for his dedication to duty and his unfailing concern for the welfare and good health of the Organization. At no time have these sterling qualities served the United Nations better than in the past few years, when the international system has suffered considerable strains and tensions.

277. It is with great concern that my country and delegation view the general deterioration in the international situation since last year. On many of the prevailing global issues, we are no nearer to a solution. In several cases the prospects for resolving the problems are actually dimmer. Our willingness and capacity for the resolution of the major problems which now plague the world seem to have diminished considerably, despite the fact that here in the Assembly and within the United Nations system we have all devoted considerable time and energy to our common search for a durable solution to the strains and tensions in the international situation. Yet the need for a peaceful resolution of these problems has never been greater or more urgent, in view of the great danger to international peace and security engendered by these international tensions and strains.

278. My delegation is particularly concerned about the situation now developing in southern Africa, an issue over which a special session of the Assembly met only two weeks ago. There are three major elements in the situation now evolving in southern Africa, each one of which has the potential for erupting into a major world conflict. First, there is the continued occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of South Africa despite repeated pronouncements by the Assembly and the International Court of

Justice that such occupation is illegal. There is no need to rehash the several General Assembly resolutions demanding the withdrawal of the racist régime of South Africa from Namibia, nor is it necessary for me to bore the Assembly with details of the efforts that have been made, without any success, to secure the withdrawal of the racist South African régime from that Territory. All this is too well known to require any further elaboration. The Secretary-General has in his annual report also alluded to all the major efforts made by the Organization to secure a peaceful settlement in Namibia, including the United Nations peace plan on Namibia, which the Security Council approved in resolution 435 (1978) and which was unanimously endorsed by the Assembly [resolution ES-8/2]. All these activities eventually produced the Geneva meeting at which the racist régime of South Africa behaved in a most irresponsible manner by slamming the door on a negotiated settlement.

279. It is, therefore, a matter for deep regret that the danger posed to international peace and security by the continuing illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of South Africa is not recognized by some Powers which wilfully, and in an arrogant display of power, now openly encourage the racist and illegal régime of South Africa to continue its open defiance of the Organization. We have in recent weeks witnessed the bizarre spectacle of racist South Africa's forces launching a vicious, unprovoked and barbaric attack on the sovereign State of Angola under the pretext of pursuing SWAPO freedom fighters in that country.

280. No other subject has provided such absurd theatricals this year as has the subject of Namibia's independence; but we are far from amused. We have witnessed otherwise civilized nations cannibalize some of the most sacrosanct tenets of democracy in a desperate effort to make southern Africa safe for exploitation by the West, by the denial of freedom to the people of Namibia. We have witnessed nations that in February 1981 condemned South Africa for its duplicity and disruptive tactics during the Geneva pre-implementation talks veto sanctions resolutions against South Africa two months later in the Security Council in order to save the *apartheid* régime from economic, cultural and political ostracism. We have seen a leading advocate of a peaceful solution of the problems of Namibia's independence recently veto a Security Council resolution condemning South Africa's criminal invasion of Angola in violation of that nation's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Indeed, only a few weeks ago, at the eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly, we were witnesses to the callous indifference of a cluster of Western nations which abstained on a consensus resolution that could have enhanced and accelerated Namibia's independence.

281. However, these are merely symptoms of the times, an index of the convoluted rationalization of evil by a new breed of leaders of men and nations that has made it possible for otherwise rational beings in so-called civilized nations to agree to coexist with *apartheid* South Africa, that has enabled the exponents of democratic principles on earth to stifle the buds of freedom in Namibia and that has permitted and rationalized the use of naked aggression against Angola by South Africa, ostensibly as part of the white man's self-imposed burden to expurgate communism from southern Africa. For our part, we reject these tendentious premises, which provide no more than a

smokescreen for what is essentially an amoral and materialistic, as well as a racially biased, policy.

282. We have no illusions about the magnitude of the problems facing us at this session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia's independence. At the same time, we have no doubts about the consequences of failing to take appropriate measures to meet the challenge which continued South African intransigence poses. At the very least, we feel it necessary to reiterate some eternal principles associated with the Namibian struggle, lest our civility be mistaken for cowardice and our inaction taken for acquiescence.

283. Of the many things with which the world's historical landscape is strewn, the wreck of an abandoned liberation struggle is not one of them. And it is certain that, as night follows day, the struggle for the genuine independence of Namibia, under a democratically elected Government led by SWAPO, will never be abandoned. In plain language, it means that the day will never come when African nations will despair of the struggle for Namibia's independence and cast it adrift as a hostage to South Africa. That would be a gesture of abject surrender and appeasement to which no true African, with the blood of his proud ancestors running through his veins, will ever subscribe. If any proof of this were needed, the recent emergency summit meeting of the front-line States and Nigeria in Lagos should provide ample testimony of the continuing pursuit of the goal of that country's independence. The achievement of that goal remains a cardinal objective of the foreign policy of my country, and we will not relent until victory is won. Indeed, on the issue of Namibia's independence, all African countries are front-line States, and our continental commitment to the achievement of that goal will never waver or falter, come what may, no matter what the price. In this connection, we reiterate our unflinching support for SWAPO and our commitment to the early implementation of the Namibia plan approved by the Security Council in resolution 435 (1978) without amendment, modification or amplification.

284. In recent months, the element of super-Power ideological rivalry has been introduced into the already muddy political waters of southern Africa, with a view to confusing the direct and simple issue of the independence of the oppressed in that area. The underlying aim, no doubt, is to provide a pretext for the entrenchment of neo-colonialism in that part of our continent through its Achilles' heel. We know that the most strenuous efforts are being made to forge a link between the withdrawal of foreign troops from Angola and progress towards Namibia's independence. We see none, and unreservedly repudiate the claims of extra-continental Powers to dictate to any African country who their friends shall be when their national survival is threatened.

285. As long as South Africa continues its criminal military rampage over the territorial boundaries of sovereign African States, as long as that criminal State continues with its efforts to destabilize Angola, Mozambique and other neighbouring States with the active encouragement and support of some Western Powers, so long will Angola and, indeed, every African State which is threatened feel obliged to obtain military assistance from any quarter in order to preserve its sovereignty. The termination of South Africa's presence in Namibia and of its acts of aggression

against neighbouring African States is an indispensable pre-condition for the withdrawal of foreign military presence from the affected parts of the region.

286. Only very recently, the Foreign Minister of that pariah State was alleged to have called for co-operation between his country and Nigeria in the interests of the security, peace and progress of Africa. The racist régime need only pull out its aggressive troops from Angola and other front-line States, co-operate fully with the international community to achieve independence for Namibia and replace the obnoxious *apartheid* system within its borders with genuine democratic majority rule based on universal adult suffrage. It will then find Nigeria and, indeed, all African States ever willing and ready to extend the right hand of fellowship and to welcome it wholeheartedly into the fold of the OAU.

287. The multiple crises which have continued to bedevil international relations reveal one of their worst features in the economic sphere. That the world economy has suffered an alarming deterioration since the Assembly met this time last year is a fact well known to everyone. One has even heard it said by authoritative analysts that mankind may in fact be witnessing now the worst economic recession since the Great Depression. Of course, that is the painful fact of the situation as the prospects for sustained growth and development are seriously constrained by persistent high levels of global inflation, acute payments imbalances, instability of commodity markets, growing protectionism, declining volume of official development assistance, deteriorating terms of trade and unstable exchange rates fuelled by an archaic international monetary system.

288. The cumulative effect of these phenomena has been a drastic slow-down in economic growth for all countries, particularly the developing countries, most of which have in fact registered negative growth over the last couple of years. One does not have to go far in the search for an explanation for this sorry state of affairs, because the incontestable fact is that our economies have been most particularly vulnerable to the factors enumerated above, which for the most part are of external origin and underscore the question of the structural maladjustment of the international economic system.

289. We in the developing countries cannot but feel gravely concerned about the extreme severity of the impact of the current global economic crisis on us. The food situation has been particularly critical as many developing countries have resorted to massive food importation, which in turn has aggravated their foreign exchange position with adverse effects on their development process. So also has the very high cost of manufactured and capital goods slowed down the process of industrialization in developing countries, thereby curtailing opportunities for the diversification of their economies so crucial to the attainment of self-reliant development.

290. To this must be added the consequences of the prevailing instability in the export markets for primary commodities, which has resulted in the steady decline in our export earnings and, indeed, the purchasing power of the unit cost of primary exports. As contemporary events show, even crude oil has not escaped the fate which raw materials have traditionally been subjected to, as those with their hands on the levers of economic power, namely,

the developed market economies, have once more been at the game which they are well equipped to play, thanks to the existing inequitable structure of the international economy.

291. Thus, by the most surreptitious strategic manoeuvres, as it has done and is still doing with other raw materials, the industrialized North has managed to induce an artificial glut in the world supply for crude oil. My delegation cannot but deplore any strategy which is designed to strangle oil-producing developing countries with the sinister purpose of making energy a non-issue at any resumed global negotiations. We are convinced that the prevailing adverse trends in the world economy must not be allowed to continue, as this can only spell doom for all of us.

292. Urgent solutions are therefore called for. There must be a steady flow of additional financial resources to developing countries, which also need increasing access to technology, in respect of which the developed countries still enjoy a monopoly. These and other requirements are well-accepted prerequisites for the accelerated development of developing countries. Of course, they are clearly underlined in the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, the faithful implementation of which we see as a historic responsibility from which the international community, especially the developed countries, cannot afford to shy away.

293. The moment has been reached when something has to be done about the flagging spirit of multilateral economic co-operation. The hope of peace and plenty which is held forth by our great Organization must not be denied to the vast mass of humanity simply because of the present financial constraints faced by every nation. For many, particularly in the developing countries, the role of the United Nations development system in resource transfer can hardly be underestimated. It is, therefore, important that Member States, particularly the developed countries, should continue to give their full support to the system.

294. It would be unrealistic, of course, not to acknowledge some encouraging developments which have occurred in the last few months. Happily, the developing countries themselves, which have been hardest hit by the prevailing economic crisis, have not stood still with arms folded. On the contrary, believing in the practical wisdom and the rewards of self-help, representatives of those countries gathered in Caracas in May of this year for the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries. The Programme of Action which was adopted on that occasion [see A/36/333] has since become an invaluable instrument for enhancing the collective self-reliance of developing countries, while it also represents their contribution to international economic co-operation for development. We earnestly hope that this noble endeavour of the developing countries will continue to receive the maximum support of the international community, and in particular the United Nations system.

295. Right now attention is being turned to another important international meeting which will take place next month, the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development to be held at Cancún. It is true that this meeting will be held outside the United Nations system, but the potential contribution which it can make to strengthening international economic co-operation will

hardly be denied. In any case, my Government hopes that the impending summit meeting will be guided in its deliberations by the sobering realization that a common destiny unites us all and that the objective of the meeting, to provide the needed impetus for the global negotiations, will be achieved.

296. The international community has waited too long for the global negotiations to get under way. A further delay could be ominous because, as earlier underlined, the world economic crisis is deepening with each passing day. There must be a return to the commitment solemnly made when the Assembly adopted resolution 34/138.

297. Increasingly, our world is ruled by contradictions and ironies, and nowhere is that more true than in the issue of man's survival. Every year there are ritualistic exhortations in this forum calling for global disarmament. Instead, we are made helpless spectators of accelerated deadly rearmament on a global scale in a sort of geometrical progression. Conversely, the security supposedly guaranteed by this upsurge in armaments buildup proves more elusive in direct proportion to the increase in the armaments stockpile. It is a vicious circle which would be laughable if its consequences were not so deadly serious.

298. However, we must point not only to the great danger of stockpiling those lethal weapons but also to the growing aggressiveness of nations and the ominous new phenomenon of a ready, even eager, disposition to engage in the so-called tactical nuclear warfare. Nuclear warfare was always thought of and regarded as a last resort in the worst type of scenario, unlikely ever to happen because of the existing balance of terror, and the assured destruction capacity of a retaliatory second strike. Now, the new generation of tactical nuclear missiles, with their fiendish capacity for alleged "contained" warfare, makes the early deployment of nuclear weaponry in the event of war a much desired strategy.

299. We need not, and will not, bow in despair before the awesome might of the nuclear Powers. Rather, we must oblige them to accept and recognize the fact that part of the attributes of sovereignty which every State enjoys is the prerogative to determine the manner in which its citizens can live or die and that any abridgement of that right constitutes a violation of the most fundamental of all human rights—the right to live. When some countries decide to embark on a reckless arms buildup, it becomes the legitimate right of other States to express their concern and apprehension. That is why we feel compelled and justified to call upon those who have so obstinately sought to intimidate the rest of mankind with the greatest arms buildup the world has ever known to recognize that the earth is ours too, and that we are unwilling to permit its wanton and mindless destruction. We believe that enough is enough. The United Nations must redouble its effort to bring some sanity to the arms race, but such effort will succeed only to the extent that nations, individually and collectively, decide to turn their swords into ploughshares and release for peaceful development the vast resources at present devoted to missiles.

300. Nigeria welcomes the decision to hold the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament in 1982, in the expectation that the opportunity will be used to reassess the disarmament postures of

States, the status of implementation of the Programme of Action adopted during the first special session on disarmament in 1978 [see resolution S-10/2], the role of the pertinent United Nations organs and the importance of public opinion in disarmament efforts.

301. May I now draw attention to some of the other flashpoints of our troubled world. It is the earnest hope of my country that during this session progress will be made in the relaxation of tensions in the Middle East, through involving the long-suffering Palestinians in a peace process that will ultimately secure for them a homeland of their own, as well as assuring security to the State of Israel. We also hope that this session will see the end of the fratricidal war between Iraq and Iran, two friendly non-aligned nations that need to divert their attention to improving the lot of their people. It is also to be hoped that genuine progress will be achieved in the settlement of the Afghanistan and Kampuchean issues, through the withdrawal of all foreign forces and allowing the peoples of those countries to sort out their international problems peacefully with the help of the United Nations.

302. The Organization faces today the greatest-ever challenge throughout the history of its existence. Whether it be in the political, economic or armament field, our world is on the brink of colossal disaster. A few nations have acquired the capacity to save the world from, or plunge it into, Armageddon. Let us hope that the leaders of those nations will rise above petty, narrow, selfish interests. Let us hope that they will refrain from being the victims of the arrogance of power. Let us hope that the peace, welfare and betterment of the human race as a whole will be their prime concern as it is the concern of all of us as Members of the world Organization. Let us hope that together we will be true and faithful to our great Charter in the interest of peace, prosperity and progress of the whole of mankind.

303. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on those representatives who have asked to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

304. Mrs. NAVAS (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Reference was made here yesterday to the Constitution of Cuba and to José Martí. Our Constitution, approved by 98 per cent of the electorate of the Republic, states in its preamble:

"We, Cuban citizens, heirs and continuators of the creative toil and the traditions of combat, staunchness, heroism and sacrifice fostered by our ancestors:

"by the natives, who preferred extermination to submission;

"by the slaves who rebelled against their masters;

"by those who aroused the national consciousness and the Cuban people's hunger for their country and for freedom;

"by the patriots who in 1868 began the wars of independence against Spanish colonialism and those who in the last drive of 1895 brought them to the victory of 1898, victory usurped by the military intervention and occupation of Yankee imperialism;

"by the workers, peasants, students and intellectuals who fought for more than 50 years against imperialist domination, political corruption, the lack of rights and freedoms for the people, unemployment and exploitation by capitalists and landowners;

“by those who promoted, joined and developed the first organizations of workers and peasants, spread socialist ideas and founded the first Marxist and Marxist-Leninist movements;

“by the members of the vanguard of the generation of the centenary of the birth of Martí who, imbued with his teachings, led us to the people’s revolutionary victory of January;

“by those who, at the sacrifice of their lives, defended the Revolution and contributed to its final consolidation;

“... We declare our will that the law of laws of the Republic be governed by this profound wish of José Martí, at last achieved: ‘I wish the fundamental law of our republic to be the tribute of Cubans to the full dignity of man.’”

305. Referring to the Liberator, Simón Bolívar, José Martí said in his article “Three Heroes”, published in *The Golden Age*: “When there are many men without dignity, there are men who embody in themselves the dignity of many men.”

306. Carlos Aponte—a Venezuelan patriot who fought in Segovia with the General of Free Men, Augusto César Sandino, and who fell in Cuba in El Morrillo in 1935, at the side of Antonio Guiteras, fighting against the tyranny of Fulgencio Batista—embodied the dignity which is today lacking in the men besmirching Bolívar’s name, defending Yankee imperialism, which the Liberator of the Latin-American Union expressly excluded, and weaving a curtain of praise around the fascist Christian-Democrat junta of El Salvador’s pocket Napoleon.

307. The illustrious poet Andrés Eloy Blanco—he really was a Venezuelan democrat—put it very well when he referred to his country during his exile in Mexico, in his book *Giraluna*, as follows:

“Venezuela, more peopled in glory than on earth . . . There is something the matter with it and no one knows where, whether in the blood or in the placenta, for the good son dies outside and the base son stays for ever within . . .”

308. It is these base men, who have none of the stamp of Carlos Aponte, who are now trying to set free those who perpetrated the crime in Barbados, those who in a cowardly way murdered 74 civilian passengers in the Cuban Airlines flight which, departing from Georgetown, was flying to Havana from Bridgetown in 1976.

309. To the murderers of Monsignor Romero, the Archbishop of San Salvador; to the murderers of the American nuns and of tens of thousands of children of the people of El Salvador; to the wretch who, using another’s voice, tried to ridicule the staunch solidarity of the Cuban Revolution with the fighting people of El Salvador; we reply with the words of Roque Dalton, a revolutionary poet of El Salvador:

“The fact is that the police and the guards always saw the people from the other side and the bullets came only from over there. Let them think about it very carefully. Let them themselves decide whether it is too late to head for the people’s side and to shoot from there, shoulder to shoulder with us. Let them think about it very carefully, but in the meantime they should not look surprised and far less put on a hurt expression.

Today some bullets are already starting to land from over here, where the same people as always are to be found, only now they are coming on in line abreast and carrying ever more rifles.”

310. Mr. ADELMAN (United States of America): The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba yesterday [12th meeting] accused the United States Government of using biological warfare against the people of Cuba. The world had already heard this charge, that the United States had spread among the people of Cuba a dread epidemic—dengue fever.

311. This charge is a base lie—totally without foundation—made all the more outrageous by the fact that the United States Government has co-operated with the Pan American Health Organization [PAHO] in helping to stem this latest outbreak of dengue fever in Cuba. Let me explain.

312. On 17 July, the United States Department of Commerce received a licence application from PAHO to export to Cuba 300 tons of abate, a United States-made granular pesticide which kills the mosquitoes that spread dengue fever. The application was approved that same day.

313. The point is clear: the United States not only has not used and will not use biological warfare against the people of Cuba, but, in co-operation with our colleagues in PAHO, it has actually helped the people of Cuba fight this disease. The United States cares about the long-suffering people of Cuba.

314. Fidel Castro knows this. Castro also knows the real origin of this disease. For, prior to Castro’s decision to blame the United States for the dengue fever epidemic, Cuban health officials actually told officials of PAHO, American diplomats in Havana, and tropical health specialists both in the United States and in other countries, that the dengue fever had been introduced into Cuba by Cuban troops returning from Africa.

315. Exposure to exotic diseases such as dengue fever is not, of course, the only price being paid by the people of Cuba for the military adventurism of their Government. The separation of families, the deaths of husbands and of sons in distant lands—these are other costs of Fidel Castro’s global imperialist policies.

316. Yesterday’s charges were hardly the first of this kind that the Castro Government has made against the United States. Castro has also charged, for example, that the United States was responsible for Cuba’s sugar cane rust. In fact, that plant disease was caused by Cuba’s decision to plant a variety of sugar cane that is not resistant to the disease.

317. It is no small matter to a people when its own Government allows its chief crop to fail. But rather than confront his own failures, Castro thrashes about desperately looking for scapegoats.

318. No one is fooled by these tactics. Cuba’s stunning economic failures can simply no longer be hidden behind a screen of revolutionary rhetoric and posturing. Hard facts simply contradict such rhetoric. World Bank statistics show that Cuba’s per capita gross national product

has declined by 0.2 per cent each and every year since 1960, despite the enormous subsidy that Cuba receives annually from Moscow. In 1959 Cuba had the third highest per capita income in the hemisphere. Today it has one of the lowest. More than 20 years after the revolution, everything is rationed, even sugar. One is hard put to find such a consistent record of economic failure anywhere in the world today.

319. We hear it said that the Cuban régime denies its people liberty, but that at least it has given them bread. But now we see that it cannot even give them sugar. As the outbreak of dengue fever shows, neither can it protect the health of the Cuban people against the high costs of imperialistic adventures. Small wonder that when the gates of the Peruvian Embassy in Havana were opened last April thousands of Cubans rushed inside to seek escape from Castor's so-called paradise.

320. Finally, while the United States has not turned and will not turn tobacco rust, sugar mould or any other plague against the people of Cuba, there is a place in the world today where, according to our preliminary but strong evidence, the vile "yellow rain" does fall from the sky, causing those on whom it falls—almost at random—to grow dizzy, to choke, to vomit their own blood, to fall into shock, and to die a painful death. These illnesses visited upon the suffering people of South-East Asia and the noble people of Afghanistan are an appropriate subject for this body's concern. We in the General Assembly should not allow our attention to be diverted from such real human sufferings by such Cuban tactics as we witnessed yesterday.

321. The United States does not desire to exchange charges and countercharges. The Secretary of State's

speech on Monday [5th meeting] demonstrated that we much prefer to get on with the positive business of constructing a better world, particularly in the developing nations. We will not, however, sit by silently while others attack our country—and, indeed, the integrity of this body—with vicious lies and with malicious fabrications.

The meeting rose at 7.35 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.24), chap I, sect. A.

² *Ibid.*, chap. III, para. 60.

³ See *Report of the World Food Conference* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.II.A.3), chap. II, resolution 1, para. 1.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, 2273rd meeting*.

⁵ See A/CONF.95/15 and Corr.2.

⁶ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries* (United Nations publication, No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

⁷ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Session, Supplement No. 11, vol. II, annex 19*.

⁸ See Moshe Menuhin, *The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time*, Beirut, The Institute for Palestine Studies, 1969, p. 115.

⁹ See Michael Bar-Zohar, *Ben-Gurion, The Armed Prophet*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968, p. 103.

¹⁰ *North-South: A program for survival*, report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1980), p. 23.

¹¹ See *Records of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Twenty-first Session, vol. 1, Resolutions, resolution 4/21*.