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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The **PRESIDENT** (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Assembly will hear a statement this morning by His Excellency General Moussa Traoré, President of the Republic of Mali and Chairman of the Conference of Heads of State of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome him to the United Nations and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. **TRAORÉ** (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the friendly relations which link Iraq, your country, with mine make it a very special pleasure for me to convey to you my warm congratulations and to express my best wishes for your success following your election to the presidency of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

3. Your competence, based on long experience acquired in the course of a distinguished career, and your thorough knowledge of the Organization, its objectives, its activities, its methods of work, have led you quite naturally to invite the General Assembly to depart from a repetitive litany of declarations and decisions without real impact in order to devote itself completely to its primary function of safeguarding and strengthening the peace and progress of mankind.

4. This realistic approach to international problems was reflected in an original proposal made at the first meeting by your predecessor, Mr. von Wechmar, an eminently qualified diplomat and a man of outstanding human qualities. Being an able diplomat, the President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly wisely called for a meeting of the Presidents of the five preceding sessions of the General Assembly with a view to improving the methods of work of the Organization. We are grateful to him for thus having called upon the profound dynamism and wealth of wisdom of our continents.

5. In reiterating our esteem for him, we express the wish that this proposal will be promptly acted upon. There is no doubt that Africa, through the voice of one of its distinguished sons who guided the proceedings of the thirty-fourth session in masterly fashion, as we all know, will make a valuable contribution to this work of shaping a new world.

6. This is an excellent opportunity for me to convey to my friend, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and his able colleagues the tribute they well deserve for their tireless dedication to the cause of the United Nations. We have spoken with this remarkable diplomat on more than one occasion, and he knows that each time we have listened to him with great interest because of his constant concern for restraint and his keen awareness of the complexity and delicacy of the countless problems in international affairs.

7. Those who drafted the Charter of the United Nations had generous dreams of an outward-looking world in which the various nations, large and small, strong and weak, would extend their hands to one another and build a universal civilization that would shine with the brilliance of a thousand lights. One of those dreams becomes more of a reality from year to year. At this session the United Nations is receiving two new Members. The people of Vanuatu and the people of Belize are taking their places in the ranks of the free peoples of the world. The people of Mali greets and congratulates the peoples of those two new republics and assures them of our dynamic and fraternal co-operation in carrying out their national endeavours.

8. This emergence of new States has undoubtedly injected new vigour into the United Nations and success would certainly have crowned our hopes if it were not for the opposition shown by some Powers to the new spirit these young sovereign States are seeking to instil in the United Nations. Each session of the General Assembly should provide us with an opportunity to take stock of our achievements and to prepare ourselves for further successes which step by step bring us closer to our common goals.

9. Clearly the United Nations is continuing, year by year, its victorious march towards universality. However, mankind continues to live in anguish for the uncertain future. Mistrust and confrontation characterize, unfortunately, the present state of international relations. Armed conflicts have become a feature, particularly in the third world.

10. Last year we hoped for a gradual subsiding of the political and economic turmoil that had shaken the world. Unfortunately, that has not been the case, and the present session of the General Assembly has opened against an international horizon that is still dark.

11. Our common commitment to seek concerted, just and equitable solutions to grave international problems is

very seriously endangered by the emergence of contradictory policies and of hostile blocs feverishly preparing to impose their views on one another by force. Coexistence among States, instead of bringing new promise, has turned towards aggression.

12. The Powers whose many privileges have given them the principal responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security have adopted behaviour that reminds one of the night before the battle. The climate of détente which had in some measure allowed different political, economic and social systems to lay the foundations of co-operation to the benefit of all has seriously deteriorated. Ideological differences are unfortunately being settled on the battlefield.

13. The regrettable tensions thus generated have weakened our ability to find just, equitable and lasting solutions to the many fundamental problems that affect our future. The aspiration of our peoples to live in dignity and in spiritual, moral and material tranquillity is thus being increasingly jeopardized. Nevertheless, the Charter of the United Nations is a marvellous international instrument embodying ideals, concepts and principles which provide sure values for the growth of our civilization.

14. I have come here on behalf of the people of Mali to give voice to our deep commitment to those principles, to those objectives, to those aims. Indeed, it is those ideals, those concepts and those principles that have fashioned the long and rich history of our people.

15. The Republic of Mali deliberately joined the United Nations precisely because the Charter enhances human dignity. The Republic of Mali voluntarily became a Member of the international Organization because of its universal character, which is the source of its strength and determines its future.

16. It is, therefore, aberrant, unjust and senseless that men who alongside their brothers-in-arms have courageously and worthily contributed to saving freedom should be kept under the yoke of colonial domination. Although decolonization has been inscribed in glorious letters in the annals of the United Nations, the history of this recovery of dignity by the world's peoples has not yet been written in its entirety. The process of total decolonization is being blocked, particularly in certain parts of Africa, our beloved continent, thousands of whose worthy sons have fallen heroically on foreign soil in alien wars—the unsung heroes of victories that have given mankind renewed faith in its own continued existence.

17. Yes, Africa continues to feel the violence of foreign domination. Namibia, convulsed by opposing historical currents, now finds itself under the rod of the racist régime of South Africa. In point of fact, the sacred principle of self-determination—a principle recognized by the United Nations and enshrined in its Charter, a principle consistently reaffirmed by the international community—is being flouted. United Nations sovereignty over Namibia was clearly established by the International Court of Justice. Its recommendations for leading that colonial Territory peacefully to independence, and the many resolutions of the General Assembly, have met only with scorn on the part of the racist régime of Pretoria. That reactionary régime continues, with total impunity, to pursue its policy of bloody repression, territorial expan-

sion, blatant aggression and, thus, of serious infringement of international peace and security.

18. The recent deliberate invasion of the free and sovereign territory of the People's Republic of Angola is one further episode in this unacceptable policy of the South African racists. The Security Council, which on other, perhaps less urgent, occasions did not hesitate to mobilize troops to safeguard peace where the Council felt it to be threatened, on this occasion did not even deign to face the grave and inadmissible challenge being hurled at the entire international community by a régime condemned by the human conscience.

19. At the very least, the United Nations, which more than ever has the moral duty of supporting Namibia in its heroic march towards independence, should ensure the scrupulous implementation of resolution 435 (1978), adopted unanimously by the States members of the Security Council. Any attempt to water down that resolution, which remains the only valid basis for a settlement of the Namibian problem, is merely a desperate last-minute manoeuvre designed to deprive the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, of its rightful place at the global negotiating table.

20. It should be clear to all perpetrators of such manoeuvres that, since one negotiates only with those who fight, SWAPO, which has taken up arms to free its fatherland, is the only party qualified to represent the Namibian people in any negotiations. This fact has just been forcefully reaffirmed by the recent emergency special session of the Assembly. All diplomatic, political, economic and military means should be used to combat a system which has become a source of shame for mankind. We do not have the right to fail in so urgent a duty. To act otherwise would be to betray the mandate entrusted to us by our peoples to defend them against hatred and violence.

21. Yes, it is because it embodies racial hatred and violence that the *apartheid* régime continues to deprive the black majority in its long-suffering land of Africa of its elementary right to respect for human dignity. It would therefore be a labour of peace to isolate the racist régime, the régime of hatred for the black man, and to apply to it the relevant provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter. To that end, I repeat from this rostrum the urgent appeal constantly addressed to the Western Powers, which have become so prompt to monitor respect for human rights throughout the world, finally to heed the anguished and unceasing cry of Africa for them to resolve together to serve the cause of justice and all mankind by helping the international community, which has been defied, to destroy the *apartheid* régime.

22. Unfortunately, southern Africa is not the only part of our beloved continent that is feeling the effects of the last throes of colonial domination: the north-western part of Africa is suffering on its flank the after-effects of a still incomplete decolonization. I refer to Western Sahara, which is part of a geographical and human grouping to which my country, Mali, belongs. That area, which has fashioned its own identity characterized by the mutual enrichment of cultures, ways of thinking, a common view of the world, identical beliefs in the sacred nature of human

life and a painful common heritage of colonial domination, indisputably constitutes the fruitful belly of our African continent.

23. Now, at the very moment when, after many vicissitudes, one of the elements in this whole was to be the last to decide on its own future, serious tension has arisen; persistence could disturb the harmony that has always characterized the fraternal coexistence of the peoples of our region, the friends and neighbours of the people of Mali, peoples that legitimately lay claim to the same history, culture and faith.

24. That is why the people of Mali, committed to struggle for the triumph of self-determination and with a basic concern for the diplomatic stability and equilibrium of the region, chose very early on to work towards dissipating these tensions. In so doing, my country's only motive is to work for peace.

25. To that end, in order to enable our continental organization to get out of the impasse, Mali—during the fifteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], held at Khartoum in 1978—urged and succeeded in obtaining the creation of an instrument to prepare for deliberations among Heads of State on the question of Western Sahara.

26. Since the establishment of this remarkable tool, succeeding sessions of the OAU Assembly have all enabled us to make real progress towards a coherent solution to this problem. Based on reports of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of Heads of State and Government on Western Sahara, and after having clearly indicated that the principle of self-determination remains the keystone of the painful fratricidal conflict in Western Sahara, the sixteenth and seventeenth sessions of the OAU Assembly, held at Monrovia and Freetown, took further steps to improve the atmosphere in that region. The last OAU Assembly, at Nairobi, also ended on an extremely encouraging note. At present, the stage of general considerations with regard to this subject has been completed, and we have even begun to consider specific modalities for a final settlement of the problem. The Implementation Committee that succeeded the *Ad Hoc* Committee and that was given full powers at the eighteenth OAU Assembly, will pursue its mission in a dispassionate spirit and in perfect and permanent harmony with all the parties concerned, in order to arrive at proposals that will ensure respect for the sovereignty of some and for the legitimate demands of others.

27. For its part, Mali wishes to assure the General Assembly that as a member of that committee it will work solely for the cause of peace.

28. Africa remains confident that the technical assistance requested of the United Nations to finalize the decolonization of Western Sahara will be forthcoming, for it is true that here too the preservation of international peace and security is involved.

29. The urgent problems of development are constantly being eclipsed by grave crises within and among African States, crises that are also sequels of the colonial phenomenon. Such is the case with the painful crisis in Chad, which remains one of the major concerns of the OAU and particularly of the Republic of Mali, which, like

that long-suffering country, is a member of our young regional organization, the Conference of Saharan States. The fratricidal war that took place there was a dangerous threat to the territorial integrity, independence and national unity of that brother country.

30. As in the case of the conflict over Western Sahara, it is imperative that the quest for a solution to this African problem remain African. Of course, an organized Africa should be able to rely in this case also on the very valuable assistance of the international community in arriving at a final solution to the situation, based on the Lagos Agreement on National Reconciliation in Chad, of August 1979.

31. Elsewhere in Africa, border conflicts—a further heritage of colonization—often lead to senseless and devastating fratricidal wars. Convinced of the futility of war as a means of settling conflicts, especially among kindred States, Mali will tirelessly continue to make its modest contribution to the efforts of Africa to seek solutions to these African crises. In such crises, we should be able to stifle our rancours and transcend our differences in order to achieve peace, unity and concord on the basis of respect for the sacred principles of the OAU and especially on the basis of the principle of the inviolability of the borders inherited from colonization.

32. Outside Africa, through non-respect of the universal principles enshrined in the Charter—non-use of force, settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, non-interference in the internal affairs of others and the right of peoples to self-determination—hot-beds of war and tension, far from diminishing, are spreading.

33. Those principles, which constitute the basic elements of the foreign policy of Mali, are based on the profound conviction of the people of Mali that without these noble ideals, which should be the sole foundation of the international legal order, international relations would be impossible.

34. Although the diplomatic history of the past four decades should have taught us that the use of force can never provide a permanent solution to the problems of nations and that without peace there can be no civilization, the strategy of *fait accompli*, the constant and heedless use of force, the patent and frequent violations of the Charter and of relevant United Nations resolutions all, unfortunately, constitute the daily actions of certain Member States of the Organization that calmly enjoy total impunity.

35. Like the racist régime of South Africa, which, because it has been abetted and supported in its acts of international piracy, has violated with total impunity the territorial sovereignty of the People's Republic of Angola, its ally, the Zionist régime of Israel, arrogantly continues its illegal and prolonged occupation of the Arab territories it has usurped. What is more, in its conceit, Israel, defying the thousands who have placed their faith in the Eternal, have not hesitated to proclaim Jerusalem—that thrice-Holy City, which bears infinite testimony to the spiritual heritage of three revealed faiths—its so-called eternal and indivisible capital. Even worse, the Zionist State is daily pursuing its inflammable policy with regard to Lebanon, which is being destroyed by its expansionist bombardments, and has not hesitated, with the same impunity, to violate the territorial integrity of Iraq.

36. The international community is duty-bound to put an end to this unjust fact of history, to Israel's expansionist behaviour that has forced the heroic Palestinian people to have recourse to armed resistance. The Zionist State, more than any other, should remember that one cannot with impunity attempt to exterminate a people, particularly the Palestinian people, which stands as a whole behind the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], its sole and authentic representative.

37. Because it lies at the heart of the Middle East crisis, the Palestinian problem remains the first that must be dealt with. Any peace process in the Middle East must take this major element into account. It is in order to bring to life this reality that voices in all quarters are being raised in favour of the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

38. These are not only the voices of conscience. They are also the voices of reason. They can be heard at conferences, gatherings and seminars, from all those who have known the horrible consequences of the use of force. They are heard among the rising generation and in Israel itself.

39. This language—which is that of the people of Mali—is also the language of the OAU, the language of the non-aligned movement, the language of the Islamic Conference; in short, the language of all peoples which give peace its true meaning and which are fighting to safeguard it. This language is in keeping with the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian militants and is in harmony with the many initiatives concerning the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

40. The latest, highly historic initiative, taken by Emir Fahd ibn Abdul Aziz, Crown Prince and Deputy Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, after the important Third Islamic Summit Conference, held at Mecca-Taif, deserves the full attention of the current session of the General Assembly.

41. Indeed, this peace plan¹ aims concretely at finding a comprehensive solution to the problem of the Middle East in general and the Palestinian problem in particular. The peace plan's eight points are in keeping with the relevant decisions of the aforementioned Islamic Summit Conference. They are in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations and the recognized and admitted standards of international law. Designed to liberate the Arab territories occupied by Israel, to preserve the physical and intellectual patrimony of the Palestinian people and prevent the Holy City of Jerusalem from being disfigured and diverted from its original status as the common heritage of mankind, to ensure the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights to self-determination and, finally, to recognize the right of all States of the area to live in peace, this realistic and balanced plan enjoys the full support of the Government of the Republic of Mali.

42. Whichever way one turns, one can see brothers who at great price have won their independence in faith and national unity opposing and destroying each other. The guaranteeing of their independence and security eludes their grasp for, in fact, they are no longer the masters of their own independence and security. Interference in the internal affairs of other States seems to be acquiring ever-increasing legitimacy from year to year.

43. This bitter observation should lead us to redouble our efforts to end all fratricidal wars.

44. Korea, united in the struggle for the independence which it courageously won, has for too long been divided into two hostile camps. The reunification of Korea, united by its history, its geography, its civilization, its genius and the profound aspirations of its people, should be possible on the basis of the important proposals contained in the 10 points presented in October last by the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea at the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea. There are not two Koreas; there is Korea. There are not two Korean peoples; there is the Korean nation.

45. The troubling situations which seem to persist endlessly in Kampuchea and in Afghanistan are subject to the same analysis. Only a political settlement in keeping with the age-old talents of these peoples is capable of providing definitive solutions with appropriate guarantees.

46. Foreign domination is not the only factor producing crises in international relations. The world seems to have settled into a state of endemic fear. The weak outlines of the détente of past decades are gradually being blurred. Diplomatic language is becoming harsh and brutal. Patient dialogue capable of bringing peace has given way to the threat and use of force. Military superiority considered as the only way to maintain a hypothetical international balance has led to a mad race to manufacture and stockpile weapons of war that each day are being perfected to improve their capacity for mass destruction.

47. Conferences on disarmament are bogged down. The Second Disarmament Decade, solemnly proclaimed at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, has begun with sabre-rattling.

48. Meanwhile, as new generations of terrifying weapons are being developed, with every second that passes, more than \$16 million are swallowed up in armaments. Diverting a mere 1 per cent of these enormous arms expenditures, which now exceed the astronomic figure of \$1 billion per day, to the preservation of life would put an end to the nightmare of millions upon millions of people and would open opportunities to the destitute of this world to enrich our civilization through their creative talents.

49. And it is high time for this long-awaited change to take place. Indeed, the present international economic order is in no better shape than the difficult political situation. There too tension has arisen and restrictions in thinking have been introduced which have prevented the achievement of satisfactory results in the establishment of a new international economic order. Thus we find ourselves in a situation which is an insult to intelligence and common sense.

50. Every day we pride ourselves on our technical and technological prowess. We have successfully begun to master the elements of our planet, whose secrets we have unveiled. We have carried out daring beyond the atmosphere; our planet abounds in vital resources; and we produce others when the need arises. And yet it is precisely at this time that the most serious economic disorder confronts all mankind with, on the one hand, a very small

minority staggering under the weight of riches that are frequently wasted and, on the other hand, an overwhelming majority suffering absolute poverty.

51. The economic relationship between rich countries and developing countries, instead of being one of healthy and fruitful co-operation, is sliding towards that of subjugation. The many conferences devoted to reversing this unfortunate trend continue to accumulate ritualistic reports in place of practical solutions, in the absence of political will on the part of the technically-advanced countries. The question is whether we are capable of making rational use of the vital resources of the world economy, whether we have decided to be partners in progress together and, finally, whether we wish to provide common answers to our common destiny.

52. The current crisis which is shaking the foundations of our whole planet is a general crisis, and it is an illusion to think that any oases of prosperity can be built in the midst of so much misery.

53. It is precisely to meet this whole range of political and economic concerns that the third world has refused to embark upon the sterile courses of confrontation and selfishness. That is why the non-aligned movement, of which Mali is a member, was created, and we are celebrating its twentieth anniversary with redoubled determination to see our ideals triumph.

54. This movement does not seek the impossible; its aim is to rally goodwill and it seeks a pooling of efforts to establish a just world. It is working for a decrease in international tension and the participation of all States, with no exceptions, in the management of international affairs. It aspires to establish confidence so that weapon stockpiles may give way to grain silos, so that hospitals and schools may increase in number in order to improve the quality of life and, lastly, so that man may be at peace with himself.

55. The proposals submitted by the non-aligned countries during the global negotiations for the establishment of the new international economic order derive from this. These negotiations have gone beyond the stage of definitions and analyses. They have made it possible to identify five fields: those of raw materials, energy, trade, development, and monetary and financial questions. The negotiations nevertheless remain deadlocked at this point, just as do the negotiations on the law of the sea.

56. But we are not the masters of time, and our peoples are impatient and anxious about their future. We therefore call for a manifestation of that political will without which, postponing deadlines, we are merely making the difficulties more complex and restricting, and casting our populations into turmoil and revolt.

57. Mali hopes that ways and means will be found for the effective launching of genuine global negotiations before the end of the present session. These global negotiations, advocated originally, let us not forget this, by the non-aligned movement, should exclude no State Member of the Organization. It is essential that their universal character be preserved. For that purpose the United Nations is the most appropriate framework.

58. This important question of negotiations must be examined in a spirit of dynamic interdependence in which every State, first mastering its own development, will participate in the integration of the world economy on a balanced and just basis. Thus it is that the new international economic order has fundamentally a national dimension.

59. Mali is aware of the present shortcomings of its economy, which have been aggravated by the fact that it is land-locked, by the severe consequences of the hostile and capricious climatic conditions it has suffered for 10 or so years and, of course, by the known effects imposed on it by the serious crisis in the world economy.

60. That is why the people of Mali has mobilized itself in order to build an independent and planned national economy, relying on its own talents, on its enormous natural potential and on subregional, regional and international co-operation. This option of the Democratic Union of the Malian People is in keeping with Mali's effort to promote endogenous development. It is a national economy, because it is turned inward towards the satisfaction of our own needs and is no longer an outward-looking economy. We wish to conduct our development by means of basic day-by-day actions in which all participate, so as to achieve self-sufficiency at the local level. This action, decided on by the rural populations and carried out by and for themselves within the framework of *Tons*, or village associations, provides the support for basic integrated development. It is an independent economy, because it is designed to master our resources so that they may be used for the improvement of the quality of life of all Malians, either by processing the resources on site or through as equitable as possible a system of international exchange. It is a planned economy, because it is based on the five-year plans which define the stages of our national effort and regulate our actions in terms of our fundamental objectives. Moreover, Mali has set itself a substantial programme of action for accelerated development for the period from 1981 to 1990 within the context of the Third United Nations Development Decade, which is the principal instrument of the new international economic order.

61. An independent and planned national economy in Mali is therefore the internal dimension of the new international economic order. That is why our economy is oriented towards the world, conscious as we in Mali are of the need for progressive integration of our economies, so uniform is our ethic and so closely does the principle of individual and collective self-sufficiency advocated by the non-aligned movement and the OAU fit our national personality.

62. It is therefore not surprising that my country, Mali, should be a founding and dynamic member of all the groupings in West Africa. One example is the organization for the improvement of the Senegal River, of which Mauritania, Senegal and Mali are members. Its key works are the Diama and Manantali dams, which will make it possible to control the waters of the Senegal River and produce electricity, irrigate extensive fertile tracts of land and open up a navigable waterway from the sea to the hinterland of Mali.

63. We cite also as an original joint undertaking, with political and social implications as important as its economic effects, the Authority for the Integrated Development of the Liptako-Gourma.

64. This is designed to promote comprehensive development of a region common to the three member countries—Upper Volta, Mali and Niger. This area will thus be at the same time a focusing point, a meeting-ground for economic and social development and a healthy attempt to go beyond the artificial question of frontiers through co-operation.

65. In the same spirit of unity and of maintaining a common front to face nature's challenge, Mali, Cape Verde, Gambia, Upper Volta, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Chad established in September 1973 the Permanent Inter-State Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel [CILSS] to help the victims of that natural calamity and to take action to protect our nations permanently from climatic disasters and the advancing desert and to exploit our immense potential.

66. As I address the Assembly in my capacity as President of the Republic of Mali I am equally conscious of the great responsibility that has been entrusted to me as current President of the Conference of Heads of State of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel.

67. First of all, I should like to say that although drought is not a new phenomenon its dimension in the eight member States of CILSS is quite different from what it is elsewhere and what it was formerly. Today the countries of the Sahel are at the edge of a serious disequilibrium, which has caused one of the eminent personalities of our time to state that if we are not careful two or three of them might well be stricken from the map of the world before the end of the century. The expression "polygon of famine", which has frequently been used to describe the countries of the Sahel, is evidence of the tragic character for our peoples of the daily struggle for survival in an environment threatened by the advancing desert.

68. It is because we have confidence in the creative talents of our peoples, and because we believe that the present situation is not irreversible if appropriate measures are taken in time, that our countries have created this marvellous instrument of co-operation, CILSS. Anticipating somewhat the Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa,² we have already decided to entrust as a major task to the Committee, the instrument of our solidarity, the elaboration of specific strategies and the implementation of clearly-defined policies designed both to limit the effects of the drought and to promote the development of the region.

69. The first results of this work have led us to lay down for our countries the strategic objectives that you are aware of, namely, self-sufficiency in food, the restoration of the ecological balance and water control to meet the requirements of the population, livestock and crops.

70. We should like to express our profound gratitude to all States, groups of States and other generous donors who have responded to our appeal for international solidarity with the people of the Sahel, and I am pleased here to recall the eminent role of the Sahel club in alerting world opinion, the constant efforts of the United Nations

system in this general mobilization and, finally, the effective and unprecedented contribution of the Islamic Conference. The last-named, indeed, decided to set up the Committee of Islamic Solidarity With the People of the Sahel [see A/36/138, annex I, resolution 7/3-P(IS)]. That Committee, in less than six months, was able to collect the sum of \$210 million as the first contribution for the launching of our programme to bring our economy under control.

71. It is in terms of our strategic objectives that we have defined a common programme for the rehabilitation and development of the Sahel up to the year 2000. In order to carry out this programme, we are firmly relying upon increasing support from the international community, by means of which the Sahel, with its potential water and soil resources, could become not only the breadbasket of Africa but also a great world food reservoir.

72. This action of regional co-operation towards collective self-sufficiency fits in perfectly with the African strategy defined by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at Lagos in April 1980. This Lagos Plan of Action was duly taken into account by the General Assembly when it adopted, at its thirty-fifth session, the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [resolution 35/56]. This is a significant contribution by Africa to the implementation of the new international order, for a more equitable international division of labour, for a more balanced management of the world economy and for a more responsible participation by all members of the international community in the progress of mankind.

73. One observation must be made. Many countries, particularly those of the third world, are today on the verge of being stifled. It must be recalled that virtually all of the members of CILSS are among the least developed countries of the third world, 21 of whose 31 members are African.

74. The means to be placed at their disposal so that they can participate in the general progress was recently examined in Paris at the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries. These means, which are aimed at achieving, among other things, an equilibrium in the balance of payments, the writing-off of their debts, the supply of financial and technical means in order to render their economies more dynamic, have been included in the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries.³

75. Our purpose has been to offer to the community of nations specific and viable examples of co-operation. We consider ourselves to be one of the links in the immense network which we must knit together as a defence against underdevelopment. Our goals, our efforts, must be understood as being complementary to the commitment which we have undertaken together to fight for the harmonious expansion of all of our economies.

76. These efforts are designed to achieve the establishment of a new just, equitable and constructive international order. Quite simply, the purpose is to enable man to assume fully his sacred rights to existence. In particu-

lar, it involves guaranteeing freedom for all, creating a climate of confidence among our nations and further strengthening international peace and security so that war and poverty become no more than hideous memories.

77. The colonial system, even in its death throes, is still disturbing international order. Famine is crushing increasing millions of human beings in its fearful tentacles. Racism is still showing its virulence.

78. Together with you, we wish to restore the confidence of our people in their creative abilities. Together with you, we wish to preserve international peace and security. For we have committed ourselves by common accord to remain faithful to the purposes and principles of the Charter. We have committed ourselves by common accord to "promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

79. The Republic of Mali will keep its promises.

80. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Mali and Chairman of the Conference of Heads of State of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel for the important statement he has just made.

81. Mr. ROJAS GALDAMES (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am especially pleased to convey to you, Mr. President, the warmest congratulations of the Government of Chile on your election as President of this thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Your election constitutes a tribute to your brilliant diplomatic experience and recognized personal merits.

82. I wish at the same time to express to your predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany, our appreciation for the able and calm manner in which he presided over the last session, demonstrating his outstanding professional skill.

83. We also wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his devoted and tireless efforts in the difficult task of advancing the work of the Organization in attaining its goal of peace.

84. We extend a warm welcome to the Republic of Vanuatu, a nation in the Pacific Ocean and to which we therefore feel close ties of solidarity. We are also pleased to see Belize join the United Nations. Our ties with that State are even closer, because of its geographical location and our common interests. We feel certain that these new Members will enrich the Organization and contribute to its vitality and renewed strength.

85. Thirty-six years ago, in San Francisco, my country joined in the great task of laying the foundations of the Organization, designed to preserve international peace and security, the prerequisites for a just and lasting world order. Chile could not remain indifferent to the aspirations of an entire generation and its right to grow and develop in a climate of peace and mutual trust.

86. The widespread crisis in which the world was engulfed at that time compelled the peoples to reaffirm their

faith in the individual and prompted them to commit themselves to creating the necessary conditions for full human development. Hence, the Charter of the United Nations begins by reaffirming, among other things, the faith of the peoples in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the promotion of social progress and better standards of life "in larger freedom".

87. Cognizant of this responsibility, the Government of Chile is exerting its efforts to achieve true order at home through the development of all the various spheres of national life.

88. Towards that same end, Chile is striving to achieve the highest level of friendly relations with other nations, based on respect for the principles of sovereign rights of States and self-determination of peoples.

89. In 1981, Chile has been going through a highly significant stage in its history. Full of optimism and with renewed hope, we Chileans are today working towards the consolidation in our country of an authentically free society and of a modern infrastructure capable of ensuring effective social peace and a stable and sustained economic development.

90. As I stated at the thirty-fifth session [*17th meeting*] from this rostrum, the Chilean people sovereignly and freely approved, on 11 September 1980, a new political constitution, a juridical instrument designed to permit the reinforcement of the foundations of a solid democracy, capable of surviving the threat stemming from totalitarian doctrines which seek to gain power by every means possible and which consequently lead to the destruction of the democratic system.

91. The new fundamental charter of Chile entered into force on 11 March 1981, the date of the assumption of an eight-year term of office by the President of the Republic, General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte.

92. Thus, a new stage in the history of Chile has begun, demonstrating to the world my country's institutional progress. The Government has thus kept its promise to the people to establish a new political, economic and social institutional order which, along with eradicating the danger of a totalitarian menace, will allow the country to advance into the future in order and progress.

93. The intrinsic dignity of man, his essential equality and his autonomy *vis-à-vis* the power of the State constitute permanent principles of my Government. The political, social and economic consequences of these principles have not only enabled the restoration of peaceful and harmonious life in Chile but have also the reinforcement of freedom and a spectacular economic revival.

94. The task has not been easy, nor has it been free of sacrifices and hardship, inasmuch as the deep crisis which Chile suffered could only be overcome thanks to the greatest efforts on the part of its people and Government.

95. In the socio-economic field, the present policy has been directed essentially towards the achievement of three broad objectives: the attainment, within a free economic

programme, of a high and sustained level of economic growth; the strengthening of individual freedom in all its social aspects; and finally, the eradication of extreme poverty and the sub-human conditions which afflicted almost a fourth of the Chilean population.

96. With regard to economic growth, it should be pointed out that Chile's gross national product increased at an average annual rate of 7.2 per cent between 1976 and 1980. This figure exceeds the percentage recorded for any other five-year period in the history of our country.

97. This growth has encouraged the creative initiative of the private sector, which is an essential factor in development, with the State playing a subsidiary role, as it should by its very nature. This is demonstrated by the fact that while in the early 1970s private investment represented only 25.3 per cent of total investment, in 1980 it accounted for 67.3 per cent.

98. During the last five years the balance of payments has constantly been positive, thus allowing for the reserves in our monetary system to be increased from \$400 million in 1973 to \$4.7 billion in 1980.

99. Our non-traditional exports increased during that same period by 800 per cent, thus substantially contributing to a reduction in our historical dependence on sales of copper abroad.

100. Finally, discipline in public expenditure and the monetary policy adopted have enabled Chile to reduce its annual rate of inflation from 1,000 per cent in 1973 to approximately 12 per cent, the figure anticipated for this year.

101. As I have stated, one of my Government's principal objectives is to defeat extreme poverty and misery. To summarize in figures social expenditure, that is, the allotment of Government resources to health, nutrition, housing and education, almost 50 per cent of the total public expenditure in the last few years has been applied to such programmes. In 1981 public expenditure amounted to 53.6 per cent and had contributed, *inter alia*, to a significant reduction in the infant mortality rate.

102. Finally, we have stepped up efforts to create new employment and this has resulted in a remarkable reduction of the unemployment rate, which in early 1976 had reached 19.8 per cent and has today been reduced to 8.4 per cent of the active population, despite the fact that the latter has far exceeded previous levels in Chile.

103. In carrying out this task, some of the results of which we have pointed out, it was necessary to make an internal adjustment in order to transfer to the free price system the orientation of decisions on investment, thus neutralizing the historical role of the State in making such decisions. This adjustment was met with difficulties and strong pressure from various quarters, both domestic and foreign, designed to disrupt its application. However, the great majority of the people supports my Government's economic programme, as is evidenced by the approval by over 67 per cent of the people of the new political constitution which, among its provisions, consecrates the principles of freedom, justice, progress and national se-

curity which have inspired current social and economic policies.

104. Our country is convinced that the application of policies of internal adjustment is always difficult, regardless of whatever government régime is in power. However, our experience reveals that if such policies are conducted coherently and without hesitation, positive results, along with the people's support, can always be expected.

105. I have briefly analyzed some results of the social and economic process in our country because the adjustments made have enabled us to expand our development and to maintain a sustained increase in our contribution to much-needed international co-operation.

106. Indeed, Chile's foreign trade with an increasing number of countries with different economic systems today accounts for 43.7 per cent of its gross national product, which has turned our country into an attractive market for the international community, since the latter's imports from Chile will amount to \$7 billion in 1981, an increase of 400 per cent in the last eight years.

107. My Government believes that favourable conditions prevail in our country to contribute to promoting the economy of other States by ensuring employment and outlets for their respective domestic products. This reveals our increasing contribution to the necessary and desirable interdependence which should exist among economies at the international level and which is unfortunately being threatened by the resurgence of protectionism that can be seen in many countries. We believe that this protectionism can only aggravate the domestic problems of the countries which practice it, because they yield to pressure groups that have ceased to be competitive and thus impede one of the most equitable ways of transferring resources to developing countries, namely, international trade.

108. In accordance with the provisions of our political constitution and in compliance with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, the Government of Chile has continued to exert its efforts to achieve the highest level of friendly relations with other nations, based on respect for the principles of equality, sovereignty, independence and non-intervention in internal affairs.

109. In conformity with our historic vocation, priority is assigned in this regard to the special ties which link us with the American continent. Thus, the objectives pursued were not only aimed at strengthening our bilateral relations with neighbouring countries and other nations of the region, but Chile has also pursued a continental consensus to unify our position with respect to the important matter of security and co-operation in the hemisphere, today threatened by the destabilizing force of Soviet-Cuban expansion.

110. In the neighbouring area, the Government has continued to exert its efforts towards reaching a solution to our differences with Argentina in the south. Following a number of meetings in the course of which the parties submitted their respective positions to a mediator, the Sovereign Pontiff called a meeting in Rome on 12 De-

ember 1980 with the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Chile and Argentina and at a solemn ceremony submitted a proposal which he himself deemed to be just, equitable and honourable. While the terms of the proposal made by the Sovereign Pontiff did not fully satisfy Chile's aspirations, my Government decided to accept it, in view of the involvement of the highest moral authority on earth, and it so informed the Holy Father on 25 December 1980.

111. My country, by accepting the terms of the Pontiff's proposal once again demonstrated its trust in the Sovereign Pontiff's efforts towards peace and justice. This attitude also implied Chile's unwavering respect for the international commitments it has undertaken and its attachment to the principles of the peaceful settlement of disputes, deeply convinced, as we are, that such principles constitute the essential grounds for harmonious and peaceful coexistence among States.

112. As a result of successful negotiations with the Government of Peru, our relations with that sister republic have been restored at the highest level, with the appointment of ambassadors at Lima and Santiago.

113. The traditional friendship between Brazil and Chile was given renewed impetus on the occasion of the visit to our country by the President of Brazil, Mr. João Baptista Figueiredo, towards the end of 1980, during which the heads of State of both Governments signed an important joint declaration and agreements on co-operation and other matters of mutual interest.

114. We should also emphasize the excellent relations with Colombia, as shown by high-level official visits and the signing of co-operation agreements between our two countries.

115. Our ties with Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela have also developed harmoniously as is demonstrated by our friendly relations with those sister countries.

116. Following the conflict which broke out early this year between the Republics of Ecuador and Peru, we were asked to join with Argentina, Brazil and the United States of America—as friendly countries and as guarantors of the Peruvian-Ecuadorian Protocol of Peace, Friendship and Frontiers, signed at Rio de Janeiro on 29 January 1942—to seek a just and speedy solution to the question. The action of the four countries referred to—who acted at every stage by consensus—made possible negotiations between the parties, which earned the recognition of the Presidents of Ecuador and Peru. We are proud to have contributed to restoring harmony between two brother countries with which we have traditional ties of friendship.

117. Another significant landmark is the favourable development of our relations with the United States of America, as evidenced by the exchange of visits to our country and the United States by distinguished representatives of the Government, the armed forces, business and other sectors, which has revealed an ample convergence of views regarding bilateral, regional and international co-operation.

118. We must point out our permanent interest in the situation in Central America and the Caribbean. Chile is

opposed to foreign intervention in the internal affairs of those countries. We condemn subversion and terrorism as a means of penetration, and Chile cannot but regret, together with the great majority of the countries of our continent, the Franco-Mexican declaration on El Salvador.⁴ Chile reiterates its belief that it is for the Salvadorean people alone to decide on their destiny in accordance with their full right to self-determination.

119. Our links with Western Europe have always been significant for Chilean foreign policy. Among the most favourable events of recent months have been the solution of the abnormal situation affecting our relations with Italy and the remarkable increase in commercial exchange with the great majority of countries in that region. As an example, it should be emphasized that trade with the Federal Republic of Germany reached a figure of \$1 billion in 1980.

120. We have promoted active diplomatic action in the Far East, with the countries of the Association of South East Asian Nations [ASEAN] and with those of the Pacific in general, and we have strengthened our ties with the People's Republic of China. Strong evidence of this is provided by the fruitful visit to Chile in April of this year by the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of China, Mr. Zhang Wenjin, and the signing of an important agreement last June. As a result of that same action, there has been a substantial increase in the value of trade with Japan, which this year will exceed \$1.3 billion.

121. We have also strengthened commercial and political ties with the countries of South-East Asia, and we have opened an embassy in Thailand, in addition to the embassies previously established in the Philippines, Singapore and Indonesia.

122. As regards our policy of opening up towards the Pacific, we would point to the establishment of diplomatic relations with the island States of Kiribati and Nauru, as well as the growing participation by Chile in various forums dealing with matters of regional interest. In this connection, it is worth mentioning the offer made by our country, at a meeting of the Planning Committee of the South Pacific Commission, of an overall technical assistance programme in the area.

123. As regards our relations with the countries of the Middle East, besides the high level of our relations with many of them, we should point out as a significant event the establishment of new resident missions in Tunisia, Oman, the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia.

124. Our ties with the African nations have been intensified more and more by the exchange of visits, by the establishment of mixed commissions, and by signing numerous agreements on technical, cultural and scientific assistance, as recently occurred with Zaire and Equatorial Guinea.

125. In our relations with Africa we have not neglected co-operation on the tragic problem of refugees, not only by means of a small material contribution through UNHCR, but also by a proposal for technical assistance.

126. My Government cannot omit the expression of its deep concern over the explosive international situation

now affecting mankind. We have witnessed a confusion of values, in many instances contempt for human beings, deception of entire populations and disregard of various fundamental principles. And of late we have seen an increase in tension, which constitutes an undoubted threat to peace. This is the only way in which we can evaluate the military invasions, the outbreak of new conflicts, the use of subversion as a means of political and ideological penetration, the use of force in international relations, and the continuing increase in terrorism.

127. On the pretext of ensuring peaceful coexistence the Soviet Union has sent its troops into Afghanistan and has used one of its satellites in South-East Asia, causing the oppression of an entire nation and one of the most tragic exoduses in history. It has used another of its allies first to penetrate, then to confuse and finally to act in Central America by means of subversion and terrorism. It has resorted to every means to create and encourage antagonisms in an effort to benefit its own cause. In addition, it has spread confusion and uncertainty by means of dialectics which destroy established values.

128. Those of us who are convinced of the need for respect for the human person and for human dignity, who firmly believe in freedom of the individual and of nations, in independence, equality and self-determination for all peoples, must raise our voices and unite our efforts in order to prevent confusion and weakness allowing the indefinite and unjust progress of such imperialistic action. We believe that the time has come for all of us who identify with the authentic purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations to defend them frankly and openly, with the firmness that stems from conviction, by denouncing their violation wherever it occurs and by requesting and supporting application of the sanctions against transgressors which the Organization itself provides for.

129. Therefore, we must openly denounce the case of Afghanistan, a country which was invaded by military force almost two years ago. Approximately 2,500,000 of its nationals have had to seek refuge in Pakistan, through that country's generosity and the contribution of the special fund for refugees from Afghanistan, which my country has supported.

130. Another typical example of the use of force in international relations is the case of Kampuchea. Over 200,000 Vietnamese soldiers have attacked that country and are continually threatening its immediate neighbours. Chile condemns this outright aggression and fully supports the initiative of the ASEAN countries aimed at restoring peace and goodwill in South-East Asia after so many years of suffering.

131. The tragedy in that part of the world is also evidenced by the millions of refugees who, in fragile boats, continue their search in other lands for the freedom of which they have been deprived. The United Nations should continue to give its full support to efforts to alleviate the terrible suffering of the Indo-Chinese refugees.

132. Unfortunately, the use of force or the threat of use of force is not limited only to the aforementioned cases; it

is also evident in Poland, with characteristics which remind us of other tragic interventions on the old continent. It is also found in the Middle East, in Africa and even in Latin America, where it is revealed in interventions and threats, especially in some Central American countries, such as El Salvador.

133. My country notes this situation with special concern in regard to the Middle East, not only because it affects world peace but also because we feel very close to the peoples that live in that tormented region. Many of the children of those countries have become Chilean citizens, and we feel with them whenever peace is disrupted in those countries, with the terrible sequel of bloodshed and poverty.

134. In particular, we have followed with deep concern the tragedy of the peoples of Lebanon, torn by bloody struggles which have devastated a once-prosperous nation. We hope that peace and calm will soon be restored in Lebanon and we support the peace-making efforts of the United Nations, which have helped to mitigate the escalation of hostilities.

135. Once again, we wish to reiterate that Chile believes that a realistic solution to the problem of the Middle East should be based on the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories, on the acknowledgement of the right of all the States in that region—including Israel, of course—to live within secure and internationally recognized frontiers and on the full exercise of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and especially those of the Security Council.

136. With regard to Namibia, the Government of Chile believes that the efforts of the international community, and especially of the United Nations, should continue in order to find a negotiated solution to this colonial issue. In this regard, Chile, as a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, supports resolution 435 (1978) and others adopted by the Security Council.

137. Likewise, we reaffirm our denunciation of the policy of *apartheid*, because it constitutes a violation not only of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations but also of the very foundations of respect for human rights, regardless of creed, race or nationality.

138. Chile, as a peace-loving country, encourages and favours any initiatives which make possible the peaceful settlement of disputes. Therefore, with regard to Cyprus, we endorse the suggestion that has been put forward that the question be dealt with as events and negotiations develop.

139. Similarly, we believe that the good offices of the Secretary-General to reach a solution on the issue of the unification of Korea through dialogue between the North and the South will contribute to the general stability of that region.

140. We have referred to the commitment of all of us who belong to the Organization not only to respect the human person as such but also to promote the establishment of conditions in which justice and respect for the obligations assumed by States may be preserved.

141. Two items on the agenda refer specifically to these matters: terrorism, which constitutes one of the most cowardly and cruel attacks against human beings, and disarmament. Unless disarmament is negotiated in good faith the conditions of justice and peace which we are committed to establish will be difficult to achieve.

142. We attach special importance to the problem of terrorism, the escalation of which constitutes a very serious threat to the internal peace of States and a flagrant breach of the most elementary human rights. We have, therefore, lent our firm support to all those internationally agreed upon measures which seek effectively to counteract this despicable and criminal method of political struggle.

143. While the paramount obligation to put an end to this phenomenon rests with Governments, we believe that there is an international responsibility on all States to prohibit the promotion or encouragement in their territories of terrorist activities in other regions, and to punish those who commit or back up such criminal acts.

144. Another matter which is unquestionably topical is the subject of disarmament, which is dealt with by the General Assembly year after year. While we admit that some progress has been achieved to halt the arms race, we regret that results have been few so far. Our traditionally peace-loving country has always proclaimed, both on a regional and on a world-wide level, its firm adherence to the principles of total disarmament, which is the heartfelt aspiration of the international community.

145. The Government of Chile believes that the internal effort required from the developing countries should be complemented by international co-operation. Therefore Chile is confident that in the near future the path will be traced towards the launching of the global negotiations, as they are called, which perhaps at this time constitute the only initiative towards the attainment of an adjustment in international economic relations.

146. If those negotiations are really expected to represent a vigorous contribution to co-operation efforts, it is indispensable that they be launched in the framework of the Organization so as to receive the full backing of the whole international community. At the same time, it appears indispensable for the different groups engaged in this work to make a serious analysis in an effort to unify viewpoints regarding such problems as the programme of work or those of an institutional nature which have so far paralysed talks. This task requires not only a high degree of political will on the part of the developed countries, thus giving effect to their frequent statements in this regard, but also the necessary high principles, clarity of concepts and clear language on the part of the countries constituting the Group of 77, which should agree to a larger degree of realism in their demands.

147. Meanwhile the efforts towards South-South co-operation have been revived; they were initiated by the developing countries themselves. This constitutes a highly favourable factor, which found its most concrete expression in the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held recently at Caracas, where a complete programme for horizontal co-operation was drawn up. This task is strongly supported by Chile.

148. In the area of scientific co-operation, we are witnesses of the progress being achieved year by year for the benefit of all mankind.

149. As far as outer space is concerned, the extremely rapid development of technology in that sector compels us to establish with great urgency legal principles to govern all activity. This task is being performed by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, of which Chile is a member. However, further impetus should be given to this task in order to prevent space technology from being applied before the legal norms which should regulate its use, and clearly define responsibilities, are laid down. We hope that a study on the military use of outer space will now be initiated, either in that Committee itself or in the Committee on Disarmament, depending on the decision of the General Assembly. We believe that this is an urgent task which brooks no further delay.

150. One of the major negotiations carried out under the auspices of the Organization is undoubtedly the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, both because of its great contribution to the progressive development of international law, as contemplated in the Charter, in regulating the use of more than two thirds of the planet, and because of its remarkable contribution to the work of international forums in general by perfecting an operative method of consensus among almost 160 participating States. It is a matter of satisfaction to the world, and especially to Chile, a law-abiding maritime country, that next year the immense efforts that have been exerted will culminate in the adoption of a single convention of a universal nature enjoying the consensus of the international community. To that end, we call upon all States to step up their negotiating efforts and upon all the parties involved to so demonstrate the necessary flexibility with regard to the great objectives pursued, without altering the essence of the draft convention.

151. A moment ago I mentioned the profound concern of the Government of Chile over the international situation at present facing mankind. It was also clearly stated that unfortunately the Organization had not responded fully to the efforts of those who created it in the hope of saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war. As the Secretary-General warned us not long ago, we are closer than ever before to the danger of world confrontation [*see A/36/1, sect. XIII*].

152. We believe that the time has come—as in 1945—for Member States of the United Nations to renew their profession of faith in the authentic values of man and society. Only firm convictions and fortitude in the struggle to achieve a just international order can lead to the attainment of the supreme objective, peace. The Charter itself reveals to us that peace and security cannot be achieved unless there is effective international co-operation in solving economic, social, scientific and cultural problems.

153. Chile realizes that States, both individually and collectively, should now back up with deeds their professions of profound and sincere willingness to use the United Nations as an instrument for authentic and active co-operation.

154. In their magnitude and scope, the problems facing mankind today are largely international in nature. There-

fore, their solution depends on the concerted efforts of all, large and small, to fulfil the noble task of creating a better world for our children and for generations to come.

155. From this lofty rostrum Chile ratifies its decision to continue its unflinching struggle for the noble principles and ideals which gave birth to the United Nations in 1945.

156. * Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): Mr. President, the delegation of Pakistan extends to you its warmest congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Your elevation to this high office is a tribute to your rich experience and deep understanding of international affairs and to your outstanding contribution to the work of the United Nations. We are confident that with your qualities of leadership and your dedication to the ideals of the Organization, you will be able to guide the deliberations of this session with distinction and success. It is a matter of special pleasure for us that you are from a country with which Pakistan enjoys traditional bonds of close friendship.

157. I should like to express our deep appreciation for the outstanding leadership provided by your predecessor, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany, to the previous session of the General Assembly.

158. May I take this opportunity to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General for his unremitting efforts over the years to defuse critical situations constituting threats to peace. We wish him even greater successes in his endeavours, on behalf of the international community, for the consolidation of peace and the welfare and progress of mankind.

159. The United Nations is richer today by the birth of two nations. Pakistan greets the independence of Vanuatu and Belize and warmly welcomes their arrival in our growing community. We look forward to a relationship of mutual friendship and co-operation with the Governments and peoples of these new Member States.

160. As the Secretary-General has pointed out in his annual report, fresh strains in international relations over the past year have aggravated the problems with which the world is confronted [*ibid.*, sect. I]. The heightened tension in East-West relations, as reflected in the new arms race involving a whole range of new nuclear weapons and the expansion of conventional armaments, and the lack of a dialogue between the super-Powers has further complicated the problems which smaller countries face in various parts of the world. Their situation has been compounded by the involvement of regional States in strategic relationships with the super-Powers. The small States, therefore, have a vital stake in détente and in mutual accommodation between the two greatest Powers, provided that this accommodation is not reached at the cost of their own independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

161. As we look around us, we observe a multiplicity of situations, any one of which could, in the present state of super-Power confrontation, spark a wider conflict. While the United Nations grapples with many serious problems

which are still unsolved, new sources of conflict have emerged to claim our urgent attention.

162. The most serious threat to world peace continues to be posed by the conflict in the Middle East. The crux of the problem in the region remains the continued denial of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent State in Palestine. Indeed, the situation has gravely deteriorated over the past year. Not only does Israel remain as intransigent as ever in respect of Palestinian rights: it has intensified its aggression in Lebanon. Not only does Israel continue to occupy Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, in defiance of United Nations resolutions and world opinion: it has expanded its aggression to Iraq.

163. The devastation inflicted on Lebanon by Israeli air raids and incitement to religious war among its people is a matter of the most anguished concern to Pakistan. I should like to pay a warm tribute to the Foreign Ministers of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Syria and to the Secretary-General of the Arab League for their extraordinary efforts to promote peace and reconciliation among the Lebanese factions and to preserve the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

164. Israel must not be allowed to continue its lawless conduct with impunity. It is high time that the international community went beyond condemnation of Israel's behaviour and took effective measures to restrain its future conduct.

165. A just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem cannot be negotiated without the full participation, on a basis of equality, of the PLO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. It is a matter of regret that the European Community has not yet followed up its Venice declaration of 13 June 1980⁵ with a concrete plan of action. The 8-point plan recently advanced by Crown Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia¹ is fully consistent, we believe, with the relevant United Nations resolutions and deserves serious attention. We believe that this plan can serve as a basis for a comprehensive approach to a just and lasting Middle East peace settlement to be negotiated at an international conference.

166. Pakistan, both as a member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned movement, has always supported international efforts to bring peace and tranquillity to the Middle East on the basis of complete Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, full respect for the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and the establishment of an independent Palestinian State.

167. Even as the Middle East cauldron continues to boil, the situation in neighbouring Afghanistan brings a new and more immediate threat to the security of our region and to world peace. Pakistan's geographical location does not permit it to escape the consequences of the internal conflict in Afghanistan. The situation in that tormented country is not of Pakistan's making.

168. We reject categorically the baseless and wholly propagandist accusation that Pakistan is responsible for the widespread national resistance in Afghanistan. That

people's struggle is entirely indigenous in character and represents the traditional response of the Afghan people to any challenge to their sovereignty and independence. The so-called situation "around" Afghanistan is a fall-out from the turmoil within that country and will be resolved when conditions there return to normal. Today's painful realities in Afghanistan cannot be obscured by hurling abuse at Pakistan.

169. We heard from this rostrum a few days ago that the toiling people of Afghanistan have never lived better than since the April revolution and have begun to reap the fruits of a new, just and equitable social system. May we not then ask why one fifth of the total population of Afghanistan has fled the country and why those who remain inside are so implacably opposed to it?

170. Nearly 2.5 million Afghans have sought refuge in Pakistan, preferring to face a life of great hardship away from their ravaged hearths and homes. Indeed, the exodus continues unabated. The care and sustenance of this vast mass of displaced humanity is an awesome responsibility and an enormous burden. Pakistan bears half of the total expenditure required; we are grateful for the assistance we have received in this regard from UNHCR, the World Food Programme, from other humanitarian organizations and from a number of friendly countries. While this assistance enables us to ensure the minimum welfare of the refugees, a great deal still needs to be done. The international community has a clear obligation to remain concerned with the humanitarian dimension of the Afghanistan crisis so that the consequences of this grave human tragedy can be mitigated.

171. It is a travesty of facts to attribute to Pakistan any motive other than a purely humanitarian one in fulfilling its international obligations towards these refugees or to allege that Pakistan has allowed its territory to be used as a conduit for the flow of arms to the *mujahideen*. Pakistan's frontier with Afghanistan stretches over more than 1,400 miles of territory which features some of the most rugged and inaccessible terrain in the world. This area is inhabited by fiercely-independent tribes who straddle the international frontier and have moved across it freely over the centuries. It is beyond Pakistan's ability to seal this frontier.

172. The key to the solution of the crisis in Afghanistan lies in the implementation of the principles laid down in the resolution of the eleventh session of the Islamic Conference, which has been fully reflected in General Assembly resolution 35/37, of 20 November 1980. These resolutions call for a political settlement based on the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan; respect for its sovereignty, national independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned character; the right of the Afghan people to choose their own economic, political and social system free from outside intervention or coercion, and the right of the Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour. These principles were endorsed by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held at New Delhi in February of this year.

173. The United Nations provides the only practical mechanism for a dialogue among the parties directly con-

cerned directed to a resolution of the crisis in Afghanistan. It is with this objective in view that we are prepared to set aside procedural problems and engage in an exchange of views on substantive issues through the Secretary-General or his representative, and at the same time prepare the ground for trilateral talks between the representatives of the Governments of Pakistan and Iran and those of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, as soon as circumstances permit. We have already conveyed to the Secretary-General our position that such an exchange of views may begin immediately.

174. It is our earnest hope that the talks which we visualize through the intermediary of the Secretary-General will set in motion an irreversible process of dialogue for peace. If all the parties participating in this process are sincere in their search for a peaceful settlement, we may look forward to an early resolution of the internal conflict in Afghanistan and its external repercussions.

175. Our quest for an early political settlement of the Afghanistan crisis has an extra dimension in the context of our relations with the Soviet Union. The crisis in Afghanistan, with its attendant complications, is an encumbrance on this relationship which we would wish to see removed as early as possible.

176. We are prepared to co-operate to the limit of our capacity in the implementation of any international guarantees linked to the complete withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan according to an established timetable. These guarantees would naturally ensure respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all the States in the region on the basis of strict observance of the principles of non-intervention and non-interference.

177. There is a parallel situation in Kampuchea, where external military intervention has also taken place in violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations. As in the case of Afghanistan, so in that of Kampuchea: Pakistan fully supports the call for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea and the exercise by the people of Kampuchea of their right to determine their own destiny.

178. Pakistan participated in the International Conference on Kampuchea held in New York in July of this year, which yielded positive results. We are hopeful that the efforts to establish a national coalition government will pave the way for a negotiated political solution in Kampuchea.

179. The people of Pakistan are deeply anguished by the prolonged conflict between the brother States of Iran and Iraq. This tragic war has caused extensive suffering and bloodshed and inflicted colossal damage on the economies of the two countries. It has further exacerbated the climate of insecurity in an already troubled region. Pakistan has made every effort, at the highest level, individually and together with other Islamic Heads of State, to restore peace between Iran and Iraq on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the charter of the Islamic Conference. President Zia-ul-Haq, accompanied by the Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference, Mr. Habib Chatty, undertook a peace mission to Teheran and Baghdad in September last year.

He continued this mission, together with other Heads of State and Government members of the Islamic peace committee, in two subsequent visits to the two capitals during the course of this year.

180. We hope that those and other mediation efforts, including that undertaken by the United Nations, through Mr. Olof Palme, will succeed in bringing to an end this fratricidal war, which has placed in jeopardy the security of the entire Gulf region. As an immediate neighbour of Iran and traditional friend of both Iran and Iraq, Pakistan has a special interest in a speedy resolution of this conflict on the basis of the principles of international law and justice and respect for the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of both countries.

181. The Third Islamic Summit Conference, held at Mecca-Taif in January this year, focused its attention on the key problems of the region, more especially on Jerusalem, Palestine and Afghanistan. In the Mecca declaration, the Islamic Conference proclaimed that the preservation of the security of the Gulf is the exclusive concern of the countries of that region. Pakistan is committed to this declaration. We welcome the establishment of the Gulf Co-operation Council to promote economic and other forms of co-operation among its member States.

182. In common with the other littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean, Pakistan remains seriously concerned over the growing build-up of great-Power military presence in the Indian Ocean and the deterioration in the climate of peace and security in the area. We fully support the call for an early convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean, which should pave the way for the realization of the concept of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, ensuring genuine security and respect for the sovereignty, national independence and territorial integrity of the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean. We also support the call of non-aligned Foreign Ministers, made in the meeting held at Delhi last February, for the start of a process of reduction of super-Power military presence in the Indian Ocean area.

183. Just as we share a 1,400-mile-long international frontier with Afghanistan, we have a common 1,200-mile-long border with India. We fully recognize the imperative of developing and maintaining good-neighbourly relations with both those countries. A bitter chapter of our relations with India closed with the Simla Agreement of July 1972.⁶ We have sincerely tried ever since to implement that Agreement in letter and spirit.

184. The Simla Agreement also provides a framework for the peaceful settlement of all disputes and differences between the two countries. Most of them have been resolved since the Agreement was signed. The only outstanding dispute pertains to Jammu and Kashmir, which, we believe, should be resolved in the spirit of the Simla Agreement and in the light of the relevant United Nations resolutions.

185. The historic forces working in our region today demand that Pakistan and India should respond to the new realities by a sincere effort to forge a new relationship of mutual trust and confidence on a lasting basis. It is with that objective in view that we have declared our readiness on several occasions in the recent past to join with India in building a durable structure of peace between our two

countries. Our proposals have ranged from a mutually-acceptable ratio of forces and levels of armaments to the conclusion of a non-aggression pact.

186. Pakistan is only one fourth the size of India and has almost one tenth its population. The disparity in resources and in industrial and technological development is equally striking. Pakistan cannot therefore pose a threat to India under any circumstances. We are not in competition with India in an arms race; we remain totally preoccupied with the security concerns which are peculiarly our own. Given the extent of our frontiers and the security threat to which we are exposed on account of the developments in the region, we have no choice but to maintain a minimum defence capability necessitated by the size and the geo-strategic situation of Pakistan. It is wholly incorrect to characterize our sovereign right to strengthen our security as subordination of our interests to the strategic designs of any super-Power.

187. The people of Pakistan may be forgiven if they feel concerned at our neighbour's propensity to misinterpret our objectives and to speak of clouds of war. For our part, we feel that circumstances are building up in our region which offer us the opportunity of the century to achieve lasting peace between our two countries.

188. A beginning has already been made to provide for bilateral consultations between Pakistan and India on matters of common interest on a continuing basis and also for co-operation in a multilateral framework with India and other countries of the South-Asian region in certain agreed fields.

189. A politically motivated propaganda campaign is being persistently carried on against Pakistan's peaceful nuclear programme. It is being given out that "suspicious" activities have come to light at Pakistan's nuclear power reactor near Karachi. It is patently false to say that anomalies and irregularities have been detected at the site. This reactor is under the safeguards system of IAEA and has been subject to regular inspection by the Agency ever since it went critical, the latest inspection being in August last. It is the height of irresponsibility to speculate that spent nuclear fuel can be diverted clandestinely from the reactor for non-peaceful purposes. There has not been a single instance of violation of safeguards by Pakistan during the past 45 inspections carried out by the Agency so far, and on each occasion the IAEA team certified that the situation in regard to the observance of the safeguards by Pakistan was entirely satisfactory. The Director General of the Agency is also on record as having expressed his appreciation for the co-operation extended by Pakistan to his inspectors in carrying out inspections and fuel verifications of the nuclear power plant in accordance with the existing agreement with the Agency.

190. Pakistan has also accepted additional safeguards with reference to its nuclear power reactor at the behest of the Agency and will continue to extend its fullest co-operation in the future. Since the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States in 1968, Pakistan has consistently demonstrated its dedication to the goal of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, beginning with the proposal presented to that Conference⁷ for strengthening Security Council resolution 255 (1968) by transforming certain security assurances into positive guarantees to non-nuclear-

weapon States against the threat of use of nuclear weapons. Since that time we have been in quest of negative guarantees from the nuclear-weapon Powers not to threaten the use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States.

191. The international community is aware that Pakistan has taken several initiatives to keep its area free of nuclear weapons. In the United Nations Pakistan has been making consistent efforts for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia. As a first step towards that objective, Pakistan has proposed the adoption of a joint declaration for non-acquisition of nuclear weapons by the regional States. Pakistan has also offered India inspection of the nuclear facilities of the two countries on a reciprocal basis. I am happy to say that in a joint communiqué issued at the conclusion of the Indian Foreign Minister's visit to Pakistan last June the two countries reaffirmed that their respective nuclear programmes were entirely for peaceful purposes.

192. It is a matter of deep concern that adherence to IAEA safeguards and even to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons has not been sufficient to secure the legitimate right of States to have access to nuclear technology for their development. A case in point is the Israeli attack on the Iraqi nuclear installations which, in the words of the Director General of IAEA, was an attack on the Agency's safeguards system itself. The Israeli act signifies a new dimension in its aggressive policy in the Middle East which is being outrageously cited for emulation elsewhere.

193. I turn now to general disarmament. The growing tension in East-West relations presents the fearsome prospect of a new escalation in the nuclear arms race, which in the words of the Secretary-General is the greatest potential danger threatening mankind. We therefore welcome the recent agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union to enter into a dialogue on the reduction of their theatre nuclear forces in Europe. We hope that that will be a first step towards the early resumption of negotiations on major reductions of strategic arms and the start of an irreversible trend towards nuclear disarmament and the strengthening of international peace and security. The self-restraint shown by the two super-Powers in abiding by the limitations imposed by SALT I and SALT II is a source of great satisfaction to us.

194. The major nuclear Powers are already spending over \$450 billion a year on their armed forces and armaments. That expenditure is about to take a quantum jump by the acquisition of yet more sophisticated nuclear-weapon systems and new weapons of mass destruction. This continued escalation of the arms race directly and fundamentally jeopardizes the vital security interests of all States and enhances the risks of a nuclear war, which would endanger the very survival of mankind.

195. The adverse international political climate has stultified progress in the disarmament negotiations in Geneva. Even in respect of the highest priority item, namely the conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty, no advance has been made for the last several years. The prime negotiators seem determined to reserve for the nuclear-weapon States the prerogative of conducting nuclear explosions.

196. The Committee on Disarmament has not been allowed to open negotiations on any of the broad range of issues relating to nuclear disarmament. Even where negotiating mechanisms have been established, such as on radiological and chemical weapons, the major nuclear Powers have shown a singular lack of sensitivity to the concerns and proposals of the non-aligned and neutral countries. On the comprehensive programme for disarmament, fundamental differences in approach between them and the non-aligned member States have dimmed the prospects of consensus.

197. Right from the inception of disarmament discussions in the United Nations the highest priority has been assigned to measures of nuclear disarmament. The General Assembly has adopted several resolutions on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. No serious efforts have been directed towards achieving that end. Less ambitious proposals, such as non-first use of nuclear weapons, have been put forward from time to time, but rejected as militating against strategic military doctrines. The Vienna talks, which have remained stagnant for the past several years, need to be pursued with new vigour to bring about agreement on the levels of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, if prospects of an accord on the non-first use of nuclear weapons in Europe are to emerge.

198. The situation in southern Africa remains a serious threat to regional and international peace. The persistence of the inhuman system of *apartheid* enforced by the racist régime in South Africa is a continuing challenge to the international conscience and a potential threat to peace. Pakistan fully supports the struggle of the African National Congress to dismantle that abhorrent system and restore the dignity and human rights of the entire people of South Africa.

199. Emboldened by the acquisition of a formidable military machine with the help of certain developed nations, the racist régime in South Africa has repeatedly committed with impunity acts of unprovoked aggression against its neighbours. It continues its illegal occupation of Namibia and uses Namibian territory as a springboard for persistent armed attacks on Angola. Pretoria has also intensified its repression of SWAPO, which is leading the liberation struggle. Pakistan joins the world community once again in condemning the racist régime in the strongest terms for its most recent aggression against Angola and for its flagrant violation of Angola's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

200. The effort mounted by the international community to bring independence to Namibia has reached a decisive stage. The recently concluded eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly underlined the international consensus behind Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and the need for the immediate implementation of the agreed independence plan.

201. We have noted the statement of 24 September by the five Western countries which comprise the contact group on Namibia. Their intention to begin discussions on "constitutional principles . . . likely to secure the confidence of all concerned" may well defeat the objective of implementing Security Council resolution 435

(1978) in 1982, if the discussions seek to revise or dilute the independence plan.

202. The inordinate delay in the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia is intolerable. There should be no hesitation in setting a definite date for the independence of Namibia. Should it fail to meet the deadline the United Nations must proceed forthwith to the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime.⁷

203. In this context, I should like to pay a tribute to the role of the OAU for its efforts on behalf of the national liberation movements and in the solution of disputes among African States, including those of Chad and Western Sahara. The efforts of the seven nation committee to bring about a cease-fire followed by a referendum in Western Sahara deserve high appreciation.

204. Pakistan shares the deep concern, expressed so eloquently by previous speakers, at the alarming deterioration of the economic situation, particularly of the developing countries. Their economic stagnation and declining growth, their large external deficits and mounting debt burdens, their losses from adverse terms of trade and growing protectionism, rising prices and falling real incomes for the hundreds of millions living in absolute poverty in the developing countries need no reiteration on my part. Suffice it to say that the growing ills of the world economy are deep rooted and need fundamental structural changes.

205. The imperatives of interdependence have failed to receive adequate recognition even though it is an acknowledged fact that developing countries are the greatest source of trade expansion in the world and their economic well-being is essential for the health of the world economy.

206. The global negotiations, to which the entire international community is committed, have yet to be launched. Expectations from the Ottawa summit meeting have remained unfulfilled. Not only has international development co-operation received a serious setback, but today the very basis of multilateral co-operation has indeed been put in doubt. International economic negotiations have lost momentum and, where limited agreements have been reached, these have remained largely unimplemented.

207. Pakistan hopes that the Nairobi Programme of Action for the Development and Utilization of New and Renewable Sources of Energy, adopted by the Nairobi Conference, and the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries, adopted by the Paris Conference will be implemented effectively and expeditiously. We especially welcome the agreement reached in Paris to double development aid by 1985 to the 31 least developed countries with a population of 280 million.

208. The international consensus of the need for world food security, that has existed since the World Food Conference of 1974, has yet to be translated into reality.

209. Despite the Agreement Establishing a Common Fund for Commodities⁸—a modest fund—the negotiations

on arrangements for individual commodities are moving at a painfully slow pace.

210. The work in the areas of trade, technology, industrialization and monetary reform has been equally disappointing. The adoption of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade was an important step which provided a comprehensive framework for international development co-operation. But if the present negative trends continue, it is difficult to envisage how the goals and objectives of the Strategy can be realized.

211. Our hopes now centre on the forthcoming Cancún summit meeting to impart impetus to international development co-operation and facilitate early launching of the global negotiations. However, Pakistan reiterates the view, consistently held by the Group of 77, that global economic problems can best be advanced within the universal framework of the United Nations.

212. On the other hand, the developing countries, following the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Caracas, demonstrated a new impulse towards collective self-reliance. We are convinced that the Programme of Action adopted by that Conference [see A/36/333] will yield balanced and lasting benefits, consolidating the solidarity of the developing countries and enhancing their negotiating position with industrialized countries. They, however, do not regard economic co-operation among developing countries as a substitute for North-South understanding. An integrated and comprehensive solution of global economic problems cannot be achieved without the participation of all the countries concerned. In this context we associate ourselves unreservedly with the call made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France for the adoption of bold new policies of co-operation between the developed and developing countries [9th meeting].

213. In conclusion, I should like to reaffirm our determination to uphold the rights and duties of States under the Charter of our Organization, our commitment to the principles of non-alignment, and our dedication to the realization of the objectives of the Islamic Conference. We firmly believe that only by honouring these obligations can we make a lasting contribution to world peace and the future well-being of mankind.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

NOTES

¹ Expounded in a radio interview broadcast on Riyadh Domestic Service on 7 August 1981. For a transcription of the interview, see Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report*, FBIS-MEA-81-153, of 10 August 1981, vol. V, No. 153, p. C 3.

² See A/S-11/14, annex I.

³ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981*, document S/14659, annex.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/14009.

⁶ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 858, No. 12308, p. 72.

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session*, agenda item 96, document A/7277, annex VII.

⁸ United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.II.D.8.