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

*Tribute to the memory of
Mr. Mohammed Anwar El Sadat,
President of the Arab Republic of Egypt*

1. The PRESIDENT: It is with deep regret that I have to inform the General Assembly of the tragic death of the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Mr. Mohammed Anwar El Sadat. On behalf of the General Assembly I should like to extend to his family and to the Government and people of the Republic of Egypt our profound condolences. In keeping with past tradition, may I invite representatives to stand and observe one minute of silence in tribute to his memory.

The members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silence.

2. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Secretary-General.

3. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have learnt with shock and deep sorrow that President Sadat has succumbed to the wounds sustained in the attack against him made earlier today. His passing means the loss of a leader of vision and forwardness. None would deny the courage of his convictions, his historic role and his dedication to his country.

4. In the past year we have witnessed an appalling record of assassinations, attempted assassinations and violence against leaders throughout the world. Today's events should serve to remind all of us that violence and hatred are not acceptable solutions to political problems and that we must make a renewed effort to bind the wounds and to resolve differences by peaceful means.

5. On this tragic occasion I wish to express my deep condolences to Acting President Sufi Abou Taleb, to Mrs. Jihan Sadat and to the people of Egypt.

6. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Spain as current President of the Security Council and Chairman of the group of Western European and other States.

7. Mr. de PINIÉS (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As President of the Security Council, I wish to say that the violent death of President Sadat, who has fallen victim to a most nefarious act, gives cause for deep concern and sorrow in the international community. This tragic attack, which comes on the heels of other similar attacks against heads of State and dignitaries of numerous countries, is one step further along the road of terrorism and violence that constitutes one of the most serious threats to world peace and coexistence.

8. As Chairman of the group of Western European and other States I must say that the place in history of President Sadat, the head of State of a country with which the member States of the group maintain close links, will be all the greater because of his having dedicated his life to its last moment to the quest for prosperity and peace for the people of Egypt and to the search for a compromise to resolve the difficult conflict in the Middle East.

9. May that great statesman rest in peace. We extend our deepest and most sincere condolences to the people and Government of Egypt and to his family.

10. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Angola, who will speak on behalf of the group of African States.

11. Mr. de FIGUEIREDO (Angola): We are gathered here today in shock and in sorrow over the unexpected death by assassination of President Anwar El Sadat of Egypt.

12. On behalf of the African group I should like to convey to the Government of Egypt, the Egyptian people and the family of the late President the deepest sympathy and profound condolences of all of us. Not only Egypt but also Africa has lost a leader and a statesman.

13. I should like to take this opportunity to express the sorrow of the Government and delegation of Angola. We share the grief of the people of Egypt. Cairo was one of the first capitals in which the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola opened an office prior to our independence and in which my Government opened an embassy after we had gained independence.

14. The people of Egypt have always supported the liberation struggles in the rest of Africa. Gamal Abdel Nasser galvanized the Arab world and much of Africa into confronting and fighting imperialism and colonialism. After his death Anwar El Sadat took over the reins of Government. President Sadat was a great and courageous man and his death is mourned not only in Africa but all over the world.

15. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Nepal, who will speak on behalf of the group of Asian States.

16. Mr. BHATT (Nepal): On behalf of the States members of the Asian group and in my capacity as Chairman of the group for this month, I should like to take this opportunity to express our deep sorrow and profound anguish at the untimely passing of President Anwar El Sadat of Egypt.

17. We are deeply shocked and saddened at the news of his death at the hands of some irresponsible and misguided assailant. We deplore and condemn such dastardly acts of violence and insanity wherever they may take place.

18. President Anwar El Sadat was a man of great courage and a champion of peace and non-alignment. His death is an irreparable loss both to his countrymen and to all of us who are committed to the cause of peace.

19. At this sad hour we convey our heartfelt condolences and sympathy to his bereaved family and to the people of Egypt.

20. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Hungary, who will speak on behalf of the group of Eastern European States.

21. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary): Allow me, as Chairman of the group of Eastern European States for the month of October to say that it was with great astonishment that we learned the news of President Sadat's death.

22. We take this opportunity to express our condolences to the bereaved family of the late President Sadat and all the other victims, to their country and to the delegation of Egypt.

23. At this juncture I wish to express our confidence that the people of the ancient land of Egypt will be able to overcome the present situation.

24. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Jamaica, who will speak on behalf of the group of Latin American States.

25. Mr. RICHARDSON (Jamaica): Speaking on behalf of the Latin American group of States in the United Nations, we, the representatives of the new world, wish to convey, through you and the delegation of Egypt, to the people of Egypt an expression of our most sincere condolences and our deep feelings of regret at the passing of President Anwar El Sadat.

26. We place on record our profound respect for the late President and head of State of the friendly country of

Egypt, a Member of the United Nations and a founding member of the non-aligned movement.

27. At this moment in the life of the Egyptian nation, we express the sincere hope that the Egyptian people will find within themselves the reserves of strength which will enable them to surmount the influences for division and preserve their national unity.

28. President Sadat was a man who was schooled in the arts of war but who had the strength of will to make peace; he was a national leader who gave his people hopes of peace, democracy and prosperity. His life has come to a sudden end, and he has joined the long list of those rare souls whose fellows would not let them live because of what they stood for. We in this hall, dedicated to the preservation of international peace, wish to remember Anwar El Sadat as a man who showed the greatness of his soul and the quality of his spirit in his gestures of hospitality to those in need—one who did not turn his back upon his friends in their hour of need.

29. To the people of Egypt, to his bereaved wife, his children and grandchildren, we convey in the name of the Latin American nations, a profound sense of the loss which we all have suffered and the hope that the man who could make peace between two great and ancient nations will be an example to all of us of the route which we should travel in the future.

30. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Israel.

31. Mr. BLUM (Israel): This is a sad day for all of civilized mankind. It is a day of shock, tragedy and bereavement. The enemies of peace have removed from the scene a great and courageous man, a proud Arab and Egyptian, an inspired leader of world calibre and a valiant champion of peace. We in Israel shall always remember President Anwar El Sadat as the first Arab leader to extend a hand of friendship and peace to us, and as the man who led his country with courage and determination on the path of peace between our two nations, after three decades of bloodshed, hatred and suffering.

32. On behalf of the Government and people of Israel, I wish to extend to the bereaved family as well as to the Government and people of the Arab Republic of Egypt our heartfelt sympathy and profound condolences on their grievous loss. The people of Israel stand with them in their time of trial and need. In this hour of grief and mourning, let us honour the memory of the great statesman who has so tragically left us by rededicating ourselves to the cause of peace in the Middle East and throughout the world and to the continuation of the peace process, as President Sadat would have wished.

33. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Singapore, who will speak on behalf of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN].

34. Mr. KOH (Singapore): On behalf of the five ASEAN countries, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand and Singapore, I would like to pay a brief tribute to the memory of President Anwar El Sadat and to convey our condolences to the bereaved family.

35. Whatever may be one's view of his policies and actions, one has to agree that Anwar El Sadat was one of the most remarkable statesmen of our age. He was valiant in war as in peace. A man does not show his courage in the pursuit of a popular cause. That requires no courage. A man shows his courage when he, like Anwar El Sadat, pursues an unpopular cause, believing that his course is right, but knowing that others, including his friends, will desert him, will abuse and condemn him.

36. Anwar El Sadat believed that his visit to Jerusalem could break the impasse between the Arabs and the Israelis and could lead to a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. He has given his life in the pursuit of that cause. Those who disagree with President Sadat would still mourn the passing of this courageous man. The best monument we can build for President Sadat is the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

37. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United Kingdom, who will speak on behalf of the 10 countries of the European Community.

38. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 10 States members of the European Community. It is with the greatest shock and horror that we have learnt of the assassination this morning of President Sadat. This awful event will have brought a profound sense of loss to all of us here in the General Assembly this afternoon. Any act of violence, however individual, diminishes the international community as a whole, and this sudden and tragic death of a great head of State is a grievous blow to those shared values which bind us all together as nations and peoples.

39. We have lost in President Sadat a great statesman and a great leader of his people. He was a man whose inspiration spread far beyond the boundaries of his own country, Egypt. His courage and humanity provided an example to us all. Above all, he was a man of peace. His desire for a peaceful and prosperous future, both for his own country and for all the peoples of the Middle East, will remain an inspiration for all of us.

40. He was also a true friend of Europe, known and admired throughout the States members of the European Community. We remember with particular vividness how he came to address the European Parliament and his wish in doing so to speak directly to our peoples and to demonstrate his friendship.

41. I should like to pay a solemn tribute to his memory here this afternoon and also to convey our deepest sympathies and condolences to his family in their grief, and, of course, to the Government and the people of Egypt. We too share, in our own way, in their terrible loss. Our sympathies go out also to the families of those others who were killed or wounded in the attack.

42. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the Sudan.

43. Mr. ABDALLA (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): We have heard with great and deep sorrow the news of

the assassination this morning of the President of Egypt, Mr. Anwar El Sadat. At this grievous moment I should like, on behalf of my delegation and of the people of the Sudan, to express our deep sympathy and condolences to the Government and people of the brother State of Egypt and to the family of the late President.

44. The Sudan, which has long been linked with Egypt by ties of proximity, religion, language and origin, shares with Egypt its great sorrow. With the passing of President Sadat, Egypt loses a leader who had dedicated himself to the service of his country and the prosperity of his people.

45. We feel sure that Egypt will pass through this crisis, and we pray to God to inspire the Egyptian people on their path to the future. We wish the soul of the deceased President peaceful rest.

46. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representatives of Oman.

47. Mr. ABOUL-NASR (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): This morning we heard with deep sorrow the news of the death of President Sadat. On behalf of the delegation of Oman, I should like to express our sincerest condolences to the sister delegation of Egypt and communicate to them our deepest sorrow and sympathy on the death of the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Mr. Anwar El Sadat, who died this morning as a result of an infamous attack on his life.

48. In our feelings, we stand today by the side of the people of Egypt, who are linked with the people of Oman by long-standing ties of friendship. The people of Oman share with the people of Egypt their sorrow and pain in this crisis. We ask the Egyptian delegation to convey our sincere feelings and our condolences to the people and Government of Egypt and to the family of the late President. May his soul rest in peace.

49. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the United States.

50. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): On behalf of the host country, I should like to read a statement which was made today by our President, Mr. Ronald Reagan, who said:

"Today the people of the United States join with the people of Egypt and all those who long for a better world in mourning the death of Anwar El Sadat.

"President Sadat was a courageous man whose vision and wisdom brought nations and people together. In a world filled with hatred, he was a man of hope. In a world trapped in the animosities of the past, he was a man of foresight—a man who sought to improve a world tormented by malice and pettiness.

"As an Egyptian patriot, he helped create the revolutionary movement that freed his nation. As a political leader, he sought to free his people from hatred and from war. As a soldier, he was unafraid to fight. But—most important—he was a humanitarian unafraid to make peace. His courage and skill reaped a harvest of life for his nation and for the world.

"Anwar Sadat was admired and loved by the people of America. His death today, an act of infamy—cowardly infamy—fills us with horror. America has lost a close friend, the world has lost a great statesman, and mankind has lost a champion of peace.

"Nancy and I feel that we have lost a close and dear friend, and we send our heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Sadat, and to his children who were here with us such a short time ago."

51. To this statement of President Reagan, I desire to add only that Anwar El Sadat was an authentic hero, a man who demonstrated that the classical virtues—reason, courage, charity, vision and honour—are as relevant to our times as to past ages. His death is a tragic loss, not only to the people of Egypt but to the whole world.

52. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Somalia.

53. Mr. KHALAF (Somalia): The tragic news of the assassination of President Sadat of Egypt has come as a great shock to my delegation. The late President Sadat was a renowned statesman, a man of great foresight, and a true friend of the Somali people.

54. The Egyptian people and the Somali people are united by long-standing historical, cultural, religious and other ties, and President Sadat's passing will be deeply felt throughout my country. This tragic loss will also be felt throughout the world, and President Sadat will be mourned by all peace-loving people.

55. On behalf of my delegation and the people and Government of the Somali Democratic Republic, I extend our sincere and heartfelt sympathy and condolences to President Sadat's bereaved family, the Egyptian people and Government, and the Egyptian delegation to the United Nations.

56. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Japan.

57. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): The Government and people of Japan were deeply saddened by the tragic death of President Anwar El Sadat earlier today. A truly great statesman and a man of wisdom, integrity and compassion, his passing is a profound loss to the Egyptian people and to all peace-loving peoples throughout the world.

58. My Government had been eagerly looking forward to greeting President Sadat in Japan next month. That we shall not have that opportunity of welcoming this much-admired leader of a State with which Japan has enjoyed increasingly friendly relations compounds our sense of loss. It is our sincere hope that the cause of peace, to which President Sadat was so steadfastly dedicated, will be continued in the region.

59. On behalf of the Government and people of Japan, I should like to extend our sincere sympathy to Mrs. Sadat and her family and to the Government and people of the Arab Republic of Egypt.

60. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the representative of Egypt.

61. Mr. MOUSSA (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is a grave and shocking event and it is indeed a great loss for Egypt and its Arab nation and the African continent to have lost a militant hero, a true and sincere son and a first-class statesman who was known in the field of war as well as in that of peace. President Sadat was a man of courage and historic vision and he also had a sense of sacrifice. It has been God's will that the leader should die on the day that is a symbol of the man himself, the tenth anniversary of the Ramadan war of 6 October when the Arab nation recovered its dignity and pride. The great people of Egypt, who have given great men to the nation such as the late leader and President, will continue along the path of a just and comprehensive peace which will safeguard the rights of the peoples of the area, within the framework of principles and ideals that have been entrenched in Egyptian policy.

62. I should like to announce here what was stated by the Vice-President of Egypt this morning in the statement in which he announced the death of the great leader to the nation:

"I announce on behalf of the spirit of the great leader and his institutions and his armed forces that we shall abide by all international obligations, conventions and agreements that Egypt has entered into. We shall not cease to advance the will for peace and we shall remember him with great pride when his great aspiration and hope is achieved—when our flags are raised in every part of Sinai and on the day when a comprehensive and just peace is brought to the entire area."

63. I should like on behalf of the Government and people of Egypt and on behalf of the family of the late President, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf to extend my gratitude to you, Mr. President, to the Secretary-General, to the representatives of the geographic regions and all those who have expressed their sorrow and condolences to us.

64. In conclusion, I have no words better than the words of God:

"In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate:

"O, thou soul, in complete rest and satisfaction, come back thou to thy Lord, well pleased and well pleasing unto Him.

"Enter thou, then, among my devotees. Yea, enter thou my Heaven."

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

65. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): This afternoon the Assembly will hear a statement by the Prime Minister and Minister for Finance and External Affairs of the Commonwealth of Dominica, Mrs. Mary E. Charles. I have great pleasure in welcoming her and inviting her to address the General Assembly.

66. Mrs. CHARLES (Dominica): Mr. President, the Commonwealth of Dominica wishes to congratulate you

upon the occasion of your election as President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. That you should have been elected to such high office is sufficient evidence of the Assembly's confidence and knowledge that you are competent to provide the standards and discipline expected for the conduct of the business of the General Assembly. We wish you well during your term of office.

67. The Government and people of the Commonwealth of Dominica welcome the admission of Belize, our sister nation of the Commonwealth Caribbean, into the United Nations. Now that the legitimate aspirations of the people of Belize to self-determination and independence have been achieved on the basis of full territorial integrity, I wish to register the full and unequivocal support of the Government and people of Dominica for the international call for the preservation of Belize's territorial integrity and for the intensification of efforts to abate tension in that area.

68. We look forward also to the admission of the State of Antigua and Barbuda during this session. We fully support the application which we expect will be made very soon after 1 November.

69. Thirty-six years ago this month, the sovereign countries of the world established the United Nations. At that time the tragic and catastrophic events that took place between 1939 and 1945 were fresh in the minds of the major actors in the international system. The dominant consideration of Member States was, quite legitimately, peace-keeping, so that succeeding generations might be saved from the scourge of war. However, since that time some 100 new nations have joined the United Nations as sovereign independent States.

70. In the 1970s it became patently manifest that the world economic structure with its inequalities had failed to come to terms in a positive fashion with the changed political structure arising from the emergence of the colonial peoples into politically independent nations. The First United Nations Development Decade had not realized the hope that the more acute problems of the developing countries might disappear through the sharing of the economic growth that the world economy experienced during the 1950s and 1960s. During the course of the early 1970s the developing countries, dissatisfied with the meagre results of years of efforts to raise the living conditions of the vast majority of mankind through assistance programmes, were forced to adopt new tactics. We read the Charter again and asked the United Nations to look again at its *raison d'être* and to seek out the fundamental objectives of the founding fathers that the machinery must be employed for the promotion of the economic development of all peoples. It was now no longer only the scourge of war from which mankind was to be protected, but the scourge of want and poverty.

71. In 1974, at the initiative of the developing countries, therefore, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of the New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*]. In the Declaration, the States Members of the United Nations solemnly proclaimed their determination to work urgently for "the establishment of

a new international economic order based on equity, sovereign equality, interdependence, common interest and co-operation among all States, irrespective of their economic and social systems which shall correct inequalities and redress existing injustices, make it possible to eliminate the widening gap between the developed and the developing countries and ensure steadily accelerating economic and social development and peace and justice for present and future generations".

72. Essentially the proposals for the new international economic order emphasized the following: the economic development of the developing nations cannot be accomplished without fundamental basic changes in the structure of the international economic system; the prices of the commodities exported to developing countries must be stabilized at just and remunerative levels; better access to markets for manufactured goods should be assured; industry should be developed and diversified, and to that end, access to technology should be provided on favourable terms; and development assistance should be provided in increased volume and on better terms.

73. Although the resolution expressing support for the concepts of the new international economic order was adopted by an overwhelming majority at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, I would be less than candid if I did not state that the countries of the North have never fully accepted the details of the proposed reform programme and have stalled the discussions at critical junctures, giving ground only when the original proposal had been gradually negotiated into something quite different from that which the South had begun, or when they still retained firm control over the institutions and policies at issue.

74. That attitude, therefore, forces us to place on the agenda the vital question: are the developed countries really committed to the emergence of a new international economic order, and does the political will exist to make that new international economic order operate effectively within a time-frame that will satisfy the reasonable expectations of the mass of mankind? It is particularly crucial that the situation of non-oil-producing developing countries, which have within their ranks the less-developed countries of the world, be immediately recognized, with a view to ameliorating their relative positions.

75. The non-oil-producing developing countries are finding themselves in the unenviable position of having to deal with three different types of external shock at the same time. All these forms of external shock have a negative impact on their economies. Those countries face an increased oil import bill and the increasing cost of industrial goods. Developing non-oil-producing countries must also face the resultant effects of the implementation of stabilization policies in industrial countries which cause rises in nominal and real interest rates in world financial markets. Those countries must also face the effects of a slowdown of industrial activity in industrial countries resulting in a reduction in the demand for imports from the developing countries.

76. Given their small size, isolation and very narrow and limited resource base—human and material—the island developing countries are confronted with further se-

vere disadvantages and require a special package of external assistance from the international community. In addition to project financing, on as highly concessional terms as possible, they need programme assistance, also on highly concessional terms, to enable them to reorganize and strengthen their fiscal, administrative, management and development planning systems and to meet for a reasonable, though limited, period of time the additional recurrent costs resulting from the execution of those development projects which may not be financially self-liquidating.

77. Let me pause here to mention among development projects a particular project which is essential for the existence of my country—that of rehabilitation of the road network, without which further development is near impossible.

78. There is also a need for higher levels of project financing on highly concessional terms, including the transfer of resources for meeting local costs and cost overruns, and the need for even softer terms than hitherto for loan financing. In fact, the Caribbean less developed States need for financing their development projects either capital grants or soft loans on terms as close as possible to those of the International Development Association or of the European Development Fund “special loans”, or of the Inter-American Development Bank terms of soft lending to its most needy group of borrowing countries, which are classified as falling within group D.

79. I am advised that according to certain criteria the Commonwealth of Dominica does not qualify for classification as a least developed country. Among the reasons is that Dominica's gross national product on the records appears too high. There is little comfort in that situation. It only proves that some of our definitions and criteria require to be overhauled from time to time to enable us to get exact meanings. On the one hand, the United Nations is seeking to console us by telling us that we are not among the worst off of the worst off; on the other hand, I myself and all Dominicans know that in terms of our infrastructure and economy we are “least” developed. And if one adds to that the fact that over the past two years nature has not been particularly kind to us, then the social and economic picture of Dominica highlights the fact that we are in need of substantial aid.

80. We are grateful to the United Nations and the bodies in the United Nations system, including the specialized agencies, for the assistance we have had. The General Assembly in 1980 (*adopted resolution 35/102*) asking for special attention to be given to the needs of my island. United Nations officials have been looking into this to see in what way and to what extent we can be assisted. May I ask that members remember the scope of the resolution when they are approached to fulfil the wishes expressed therein. May I also ask that this effort be followed by a further resolution of the General Assembly requesting that Dominica be treated as if it were also on the records as a less-developed country.

81. I have indicated how disappointed we are that in spite of the ongoing North-South dialogue we are very distant from reaching the goal of a new international economic order. There is a small glimmer of hope, however,

in the interest shown by Canada, Mexico, the United States of America and Venezuela in what we have come to know as the Caribbean Basin initiative. In a communiqué released at the end of a meeting of the foreign ministers of those four countries, which was held at Nassau,¹ we were informed that a consultation should take place between all countries before a programme for bilateral or multilateral aid was set up. The machinery is being put in place to allow for that full consultation.

82. The Commonwealth of Dominica is hopeful that the Caribbean Basin initiative will soon begin to bear fruit for Dominica itself, as indeed for other members of the “Basin”, as a first realistic indication that some form of a new international economic order, some new approach to the fact and methodology of economic assistance and development, can in fact work. And if—no, I shall say “when”, because I must be optimistic—the Caribbean Basin initiative approach does work, Dominica's hope is that that approach, in whatever version, will spread throughout the international community and afford mankind a chance of survival and salvation.

83. It is clear, however, that the Caribbean Basin initiative is firmly based on the principles of expansion of trade, industry and investment opportunities. Important as this initiative will be, we must not forget that, as I pointed out earlier, the less developed Caribbean countries require assistance in the development and reconstruction of their infrastructure so that they will be in a position to partake of the benefits of expanded trade, industry and investment opportunities.

84. The Prime Minister of Australia put it well when, in discussing the North-South dialogue, he referred to the countries of the South as being deeply concerned about their place in the world, their dignity, status and influence.

85. It is this concern which makes the Government and people of Dominica condemn South Africa's *apartheid* policy and South Africa's denial of the right of Namibia to self-determination.

86. It is also this concern which makes us pleased that the International Women's Year was followed by the proclamation of the United Nations Decade for Women.

87. May I be forgiven if, because of my impatience for achievement, I complain that too much time is being expended on diagnosing the deficiencies in the less developed countries and not enough on the real implementation of an action plan to overcome those deficiencies. Funds are limited and they are for a limited period. Time is against us. I would therefore hesitate to approve of a change of location for the implementation of the Fund which could only result in a disruption of the Fund's activities.

88. It is also that concern which makes us condemn terrorism and which moves us to urge the General Assembly to enlarge on the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents [*resolution 3166 (XXVIII), annex*] to cover the other acts of terrorism which have become so prevalent since the Convention

was first drafted and to seek appropriate mechanisms for enforcement.

89. When I wrote those words regarding terrorism a day or so ago, I could not have visualized that today, within a few hours of my addressing this General Assembly, we would have so vividly illustrated to us the heinousness of terrorism. This is a sad day for us. President Sadat was a man of peace, as his every move—unconventional, innovative and proudly conciliating—has illustrated. He was a man whom every member of the Assembly must wish to emulate, a man whose life and resolution to find peace for his people illustrate the very ideas which created the United Nations.

90. In these sad hours our thoughts go out to the victims of the attack, to the wife, the family and the friends of President Sadat, to the Egyptian people and to the Government of Egypt. But our thoughts and sympathies must also remain with ourselves, for one of us who had been trying to live up to the ideals in which we all believe has been made to suffer. May his suffering and that of his people entrench us in the firm belief that we must continue to seek the lasting peace which is essential for the future of this world.

91. And now that, sadly, it has been officially confirmed that President Sadat is no longer with us, I wish to join with all those who have spoken before me this afternoon in extending, on behalf of the Government and the people of Dominica, sincerest sympathy to his wife, his family, his friends, the Egyptian people and the Government of Egypt. They have lost a great leader.

92. In conclusion, I should like to return to my earlier theme and quote the words of the President of the United States spoken only a few days ago at the World Bank meeting. He said "Let us put an end to the divisive rhetoric of 'us versus them', North versus South. Instead, let us decide what all of us—both developed and developing countries—can accomplish together."

93. We agree with that interpretation of the idea of the North-South dialogue, but we should like to add that where partners are unequal the relationship is not always a happy one. It is for this reason that I urge that we the less developed countries be given the necessary aid so that we can begin to build our countries to the point when we may no longer be aid-seekers, but be placed in a position where we can, together with the developed countries, achieve a better world for all.

94. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank Mrs. Mary E. Charles, Prime Minister and Minister for Finance and External Affairs of the Commonwealth of Dominica, for the important statement she has just made.

95. Mr. TIENTARABOUM (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, may I associate myself, on behalf of the Government and people of the Upper Volta, with previous speakers in expressing deepest condolences to the Egyptian people and to the bereaved family of President Sadat, whose brutal and tragic death was a profound shock to us. We hope that the memory of that great African statesman will inspire all men of good will in their struggle for peace.

96. When the Military Committee for National Recovery and Progress decided, on 25 November 1980, to assume leadership of the country, some saw in that a repetition of a *coup d'état* in that part of Africa. In so doing, they were too quick to forget—and for good reason—that the constant deterioration in the political, economic and social situation, so full of promise and hope, that had compelled the admiration of the world for our form of democracy, had become potentially dangerous for the future and well-being of our working people.

97. We are convinced that the major objectives announced by our head of State, Colonel Saye Zerbo, Chairman of the Military Committee for National Recovery and Progress, in his speech of 1 May 1981 did a lot to reassure them. Those objectives are to ensure for our country development based on the elimination of all external domination and the exploitation of man by man; development based, above all, on our own resources so that we can bring about our own well-being; a social policy based on giving highest priority to satisfying the fundamental needs of the citizens of our country, particularly the least privileged classes; the fulfilment of the human person as an individual and within the framework of the family, as well as professionally and collectively, by promoting national well-being, culture and identity; and dynamic, effective international co-operation.

98. As a spokesman for the Military Committee for National Recovery and Progress, the people of the Upper Volta and the Government, I have come to this rostrum today to make known to you our views on the urgent problems of the current international situation and to share with you the new hopes and the disappointments which have been prompted in us by this annual ritual of the sessions of the General Assembly of the Organization.

99. First, however, I should like to bid a warm welcome to Vanuatu and Belize on their admission to the Organization. I am convinced that these two new Members will make a valuable contribution to the achievement of the noble objectives of the Charter.

100. May I pay a well-deserved tribute to Mr. von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany, who presided with such firmness and good humour over the proceedings of the previous session. This is a particular pleasure for me, because his country and mine maintain links of solid and friendly co-operation.

101. It is also fitting that I should voice praise here for the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and express to him our great appreciation for the work he has been doing to fulfil the ideals of the Charter.

102. Your election, Sir, to the presidency of this thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly is, by reason of your qualities and competence, a good augury for the conduct of our proceedings. I hope you will accept the congratulations of my delegation, which assures you of its constant readiness to aid you in your difficult task.

103. We are living today in a troubled, disorderd and pitiless world. Unfortunately, that observation is not a new one, and we must live in our time. The ideals pro-

claimed in the Charter seem remote—even inaccessible. Nevertheless the peoples of the world ardently yearn to see them pursued and achieved.

104. How is it that year after year we have been coming to this rostrum to declare that the world is sick because the international community is divided, because poverty and injustice far too often still hold sway, because the exploitation of man by man knows no respite, and because, in the final analysis, what is lacking is a concerted political will for us to unite for victory?

105. How is it that year after year there seems to be no noticeable improvement in international relations?

106. How is it that today, like yesterday, we seem to be offering sacrifices to tradition, to a routine which we go through without illusions and which we will repeat without enthusiasm?

107. Enthusiasm and hope, I am afraid, are precisely what have been lacking till now, because in relations between States we do not always see any firm determination to turn our backs on the old demons of hegemonism, racism, selfishness and indifference, to embrace the notions of justice, solidarity, peace and collective security.

108. Examples of this are legion. A year ago conflicts and tensions beset independent Africa. From north to south, from east to west, tragedy succeeded tragedy and whole populations, the victims of expansionist and interventionist ambitions, swelled the flood of refugees, the majority of whom are on our continent. While today Africa is enjoying a relative lull, the seeds of explosion remain, and we must not relax our vigilance.

109. Therefore, the Upper Volta views with interest the important steps taken in the case of Western Sahara and hopes that they will lead to a just and lasting solution in keeping with the wishes of the peoples concerned. It would be a due reward for the efforts of the Organization of African Unity [OAU].

110. This is also the appropriate time for us to associate ourselves with Chad in expressing the ardent hope that that country will be helped in its efforts at reconstruction and unity, and that we will succeed in banishing forever the spectre of fratricidal struggles and divisions sustained from outside.

111. For several years now, the question of Namibia has been an item on the agenda, and yet the Organization has not managed to ensure the exercise by the Namibian people of its right to self-determination and independence.

112. From one resolution to another, from special sessions to contact groups, from the Geneva meeting, which in January 1981 ended in failure as a result of South Africa's manoeuvres and the tolerant attitude of that country's Western allies, right up to the recent well-known initiatives, ground has very clearly, patently and worryingly been lost. Now the terms of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) have been set aside by the five countries of the contact group, which are taking refuge in a vague demand for an "internationally acceptable settlement".

113. To the Upper Volta, an acceptable international settlement is one which leads to immediate independence, which recognizes the South-West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, which preserves and protects the territorial integrity of Namibia as an indivisible State, including Walvis Bay, as well as the Penguin Islands and the other islands off the Namibian coast.

114. In the face of the deviousness and arrogance of South Africa and the passivity, amounting at times to complicity, on the part of some Members of the Organization, the Upper Volta has no choice but to encourage SWAPO in its just struggle for liberation. There can be no peace without justice—ideals of the Organization to which my country is deeply attached.

115. However, it is with some bitterness that we note the persistent and increasing assistance given by the West in the perpetuation of the Pretoria régime's abominable policy of segregation and repression.

116. Day after day, Africa ceaselessly calls on those very countries which pride themselves on their age-old civilizations and traditions of respect for human rights to cast off their blinkers, to face the facts and prevent people from torturing and murdering others because of their colour.

Mr. Rolandis (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.

117. In spite of the repeated warnings of the international community, South Africa, pursuing its odious policy of segregation in Azania and Namibia, no longer has any hesitation in threatening the security of States which in the name of justice and in accordance with the ideals of the Charter give assistance and refuge to the movements fighting for the dignity and the liberation of man.

118. So South Africa, instead of tackling the true causes of the problems born of its policy of *apartheid* and colonial domination, has chosen rather to send its racist hordes into Angola to burn and destroy, without the international community taking immediate measures which are necessary to put an end to this barbarous aggression.

119. The constant and repeated violations of international law by the racist Pretoria régime stem from the passivity, if not the actual complicity, of certain great Powers. The determination of those Powers, accompanied by consistent action, would be a much better contribution to the search for peace and justice than their purely ritual and ineffectual protestations.

120. Peace based on justice cannot be brought about within a framework of aggression, domination, any kind of discrimination, denial of the right of peoples to self-determination, or denial of the principles of sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

121. Is the West willing and is it able to understand that Africa has already done too much talking and that racist South Africa has already done too much humiliating and torturing? Must the worst come to the worst before the supposedly civilized world realizes that it is necessary to

impose the proper solutions before it sees the martyred peoples of southern Africa succumbing totally and irremediably to hatred?

122. We therefore appeal urgently to the hearts and minds of men and nations of goodwill. There can be no negotiation with an executioner. What has to be done must be done before it is too late.

123. In its constant search for peace and justice the Upper Volta cannot remain indifferent to any positive attitude that would promote a settlement of the problems of southern Africa. That is why we welcome the declaration by France at the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in Paris, a declaration, unless we are much mistaken, that foreshadows a change in French policy regarding the Pretoria régime. Is there any need to remind representatives of the great importance of that first international conference on sanctions against South Africa? Our only wish is that the resolutions adopted there should not remain mere pious hopes and that the sanctions advocated there should not remain a dead letter but should be effectively and immediately put into effect in order to bring South Africa to its senses.

124. Sometimes painful, often explosive, the problem of the Middle East has taken a terrible toll in blood, tears, hatred and destruction. The martyred country of Lebanon, in spite of its heroic resistance, has become the plaything of forces which transcend it and are rending it asunder.

125. At the centre of that tragedy we find the denial by Israel of the rights of the Palestinian people and its representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]. Israel continues to believe that it can defy the international community by feeding the fires of controversy with unacceptable provocations and aggressions. The rending apart of Lebanon, the bombing of Tamuz and the refusal to consider the PLO as a party to a settlement of the conflict are all actions and attitudes that make the prospect of peace ever more distant. However, simple common sense should make Israel understand that it cannot always and in the face of everyone else be the only one to be always in the right. The same simple common sense should make Israel understand that its present policy is not the best one to guarantee its own interests and security.

126. Twenty years ago the non-aligned movement was born, the expression of the wish of certain States to oppose the division of the world into two antagonistic camps. This refusal stemmed from their determination to seek a true international balance based on justice, independence, equality, peace and economic and social progress.

127. Confident in this ideal, the Upper Volta wishes to reaffirm its devotion and adherence to the sacred principles of non-alignment and warns member countries against attempts to move us from the basic principles of the movement.

128. With regard to those principles, we deplore the situation created in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, where clear interference by foreign Powers in the internal affairs of those countries has given rise to and is sustaining se-

rious tension accompanied by the loss of human life and material destruction.

129. Similarly, the Upper Volta deplores and condemns what is happening in Latin America, where people are dying every day because they are claiming their right to dignity, freedom and well-being. Those men and women are dying because interests alien to their own countries have dictated it.

130. The question of Korea has always received the attention of my country, which has been working and calling for reconciliation between the two Koreas and their reunification. The Upper Volta appeals to them to find a peaceful solution in full independence, that is to say, without foreign intervention.

131. This brief survey does not encourage optimism because peace and security, which it is the task of the United Nations to bring about, seem to be objectives that are receding ever further into the future. How could it be otherwise when those very countries which under the Charter are charged with responsibility for security are themselves engaging in an unbridled arms race? We are witnessing, powerless, the revival of what should be known as the balance of terror. The sophistication of arms and their cost, paradoxically, are taking us ever further away from the necessary concerted effort to bring about true disarmament. The wasting of resources on death and destruction when they should be put to much better use is an affront to the poor and the needy of the world. There are forces at work trying to accustom us to a concept of conflict, of a division of the world between East and West, North and South, when the simple fact of the matter is that three quarters of mankind are suffering from poverty and misery.

132. The Upper Volta considers these attempts to be blows against the dignity and the survival of that part of humanity that is suffering from hunger.

133. We can never stress too much the fact that without concerted political will, without a massive input of resources and technology to accelerate a structural transformation of the poor countries and without a revision of priorities, economic recession, inflation, unemployment, a decline in purchasing power, deterioration in the terms of trade and food insecurity will continue to widen the gap between the world of conspicuous and wasteful consumption and the world of misery and poverty.

134. The praiseworthy efforts of the Arab countries in their policy of co-operation with the African nations and the meritorious endeavours of so many specialized agencies might then be insufficient to prevent this kind of confrontation. Thus, the readjustment of relations between the North and the South, those global negotiations which were expected to lead to a true new economic order, are for the time being deadlocked, which is a contradiction to the very notion of international co-operation.

135. Those difficulties, which we would describe as a deterioration in the terms of dialogue, have recently been exposed again at the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris, not because there was any lack of will to approach the true problems

facing that group of countries which are particularly underdeveloped, but because the determination to impose solutions was lacking. It was in fact a perpetuation of the spirit of Manila, namely, the refusal of the industrialized countries to come as quickly as possible to the assistance of the least developed countries by means of a massive inflow of resources and technology in order to effect their structural transformation. At this moment we are undoubtedly going through one of the gravest economic crises that the world has ever known. Undoubtedly, economic recession, inflation, unemployment, declining purchasing power, and growing energy costs are the same phenomena that we can observe everywhere, but invoking those phenomena is nothing but an attempt to conceal from us the lack of solidarity which is today having such an effect on international relations.

136. In such a context, where the obstacles and difficulties are varied and complex, the Upper Volta has naturally chosen to fight, to rehabilitate itself in all respects, and to break once and for all with the glibness and equivocation of the past in order to build and consolidate a truly progressive economy and a society by rationally and methodically exploiting its resources, both material and human. It is within that framework that the programme of the Military Committee for National Recovery and Progress finds its meaning. It is within that framework that the objectives it has laid down can be properly appreciated by our partners in the international community, who, of course, share with us this vision of a world without complacency, where self-motivated effort is the true driving force to bring about food self-sufficiency, a rapid improvement in the living conditions of the broad masses, rational development of the industrial and mining sector, and a broadening of horizons and a sincere opening to the outside world.

137. We think objectively that on the basis of those broad guidelines, our programme of action will achieve the following concrete results: in terms of food production, a substantial increase in grain tonnage, from 1.1 million at present to 2.6 million by 1990; in terms of geological prospecting and mining, an increased effort at research, diversification and exploitation of our resources, among which we include so-called strategic minerals; in terms of infrastructure, an expansion of our road, rail and air networks, which will make it possible for us fully to play our role as a crossroads in the subregion; in terms of energy, the construction of hydroelectric dams to reduce the disadvantages inherent in our considerable dependence on other countries, thus reducing the operation costs of our production and processing units; and, finally, in terms of regional solidarity and international co-operation, a more important role as a responsible partner capable of making a contribution to the building of a new world.

138. That programme is ambitious on more than one count, but we remain convinced that, conceived and worked out in terms of our determination to rely on ourselves, it can and it should, in that regard, win the encouragement and understanding that we are entitled to expect from the international community.

139. That is why we feel that enthusiasm and hope can be found in true international co-operation and no longer

is outmoded and lethal concepts of sterile hegemonistic confrontation, misguided isolationism, and camouflaged egoism and indifference.

140. For my country, which is among the least developed of the developing countries, a tangible and unequivocal manifestation of that concerted determination to make international co-operation the only path to salvation would, in our view, be the immediate revival of a true North-South dialogue. In that context, the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, to be held at Cancún, should succeed in easing respective positions and conflicts of all sorts in order to make possible a calm resumption of global negotiations; and the rapid implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries,² which was the subject of the recent United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries.

141. In spite of results which did not fully satisfy the hopes that had been raised, we remain convinced that those industrialized countries which still hesitate to increase their public aid for development will ultimately come to understand the need for international solidarity and interdependence among States. The indispensable basis for the collective security that all the nations assembled here so ardently desire.

142. If in fact the Marshall Plan, the Colombo Plan and other rescue plans of the same scale had not been rapidly put into effect to come to the assistance of certain nations sorely tried by the last world conflict, many of those nations which are today economically powerful would undoubtedly be prey to those same tragedies that are affecting the least developed countries today.

143. Thus, in the economic crisis which the world is experiencing today, a crisis aggravated by the uncertainties of tomorrow, notions of solidarity, co-operation and aid can no longer be analyzed solely in terms of generosity, charity or pity, but rather in terms of moral obligation and a common determination to survive. To put into effect, on the model of the Marshall Plan, a plan to help the least developed countries find the path to salvation should be based on such an appreciation of the situation.

144. In conclusion, I should like to repeat that in today's world, where economic difficulties are so severe that they constitute a serious threat to stability and peace, where on all sides we see the development of violence and blind terrorism, it is important that all men of goodwill more than ever before combine their efforts to bring about a triumph for the ideals of the Charter. The Upper Volta, for its part, is ready to make its own modest contribution to that collective endeavour without which humanity will inevitably court disaster.

145. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): The new President (*of the General Assembly*) is an experienced diplomat who has served with distinction both inside and outside the United Nations. That background will enable him to guide us with the right decisions in this difficult year. As an indication of his capacity for achievement, I would cite the fact that he personally participated in the talks that led to a spectacular increase in the commercial relations between

our two countries over the past five years. I therefore welcome his election and also commend the performance of his predecessor.

146. With great pleasure, I warmly salute Vanuatu and Belize on their independent status among the brotherhood of nations.

147. In many ways, 1981 has so far been a precarious year for the international community. Feelings of unease and foreboding, foreseen last year, continue to pervade the international stage. The miasma of tension has inevitably increased with the appearance of new problems; it has also been exacerbated by our collective inability to solve long-standing ones.

148. Crucial elements of international behaviour which held out some promise throughout most of the last decade have been fundamentally if not irreversibly altered.

149. Détente has withered as a result of a multiplicity of factors, not least through foreign military intervention in Afghanistan. It is now frozen by the icy blasts emerging from a new cold war mentality between the super-Powers. Confrontation seems to be preferred to negotiation. Traditional rules of conduct among nations are under question.

150. Perhaps most alarming of all, there is a growing tendency to regard atomic explosives as everyday weapons to be openly brandished and for their use considered to be as a viable option. Important issues such as human rights, welfare and development have been relegated to a subordinate position.

151. Unbelievably, the potentially cataclysmic dangers inherent in this evolving situation seem to receive scant attention in responsible Government circles preoccupied by national priorities. Even more ominously, in countries where freedom of expression is rightly considered sacrosanct, articulate spokesmen are dismissing the increasing popular outcry against projected weapons systems and against dangerous new strategic doctrines as being at best inspired by a well-orchestrated propaganda campaign organized from outside those countries or at worst as "appeasement". Those of us, individuals or nations, who singly or collectively dare protest our unwanted role as pawns in the strategic *danse macabre* between the super-Powers are routinely ridiculed as outright pacifists or dismissed as heretical voices crying in the wilderness.

152. Yet, as understanding of the dangers involved increases, these popular movements are bound to grow. For as long as they are genuine and spontaneous, they should be encouraged throughout the world, and the United Nations needs to play a far more assertive role in providing accurate and easily readable information on these questions of such vital importance to human survival.

153. Last year I mentioned the growing fear that mankind would suffer a nuclear exchange in the time-span of the current generation. Recent developments have shown that this fear is no deviant flight of public fancy. The bilateral arms control process has been largely replaced by candidly bellicose statements. Today we face a situation where far-reaching foreign policy decisions for the

future are being moulded by reference to military hardware.

154. The present psychosis of insecurity and tension will dangerously restrict the real options available in the future. Experience has shown that no sooner is a weapons system devised than its deployment is rationalized. The prospect of rendering arms control even more illusory than it has been in the past is therefore very real.

155. In his report on the work of the Organization [A/36/1], the Secretary-General has comprehensively and accurately drawn the parameters of the major problems on which we have expended so much energy, unfortunately to little avail. The report must serve as our blueprint for action. The Secretary-General again merits our appreciation for his unstinting efforts, and his promptings should not fall on deaf ears. I shall refrain from dwelling on every point of his analysis, but there are some areas which really call for comment, albeit brief.

156. Apart from the revolting folly and danger of the spiralling nuclear arms race, it should be evident by now that the massive injection of sophisticated weaponry into so many highly sensitive areas of the world provides no stability, but instead heightens tension and jeopardizes political solutions.

157. The most striking example of the futility and cost of this approach is provided by the Middle East. Today's tragic event grimly underlines this point. Fed by lavish supplies of sophisticated weaponry, actions on the spot have succeeded only in fueling the fires of resentment and alienation, even when major conflict has been contained.

158. Impervious to world-wide criticism, Israel has relentlessly pressed ahead with long-term and ever-increasing land-seizure operations in the occupied territories. One controversial plan envisages the settlement of 300,000 Israelis there by the turn of the century. The status of Jerusalem is grossly violated.

159. These tactics will afford neither peace nor repose for Israel and its neighbours. The process of colonization contemptuously flaunts a series of unanimous resolutions of the Security Council. Without doubt, Israel's draconian repression will perpetuate the present cycle of unrest.

160. And Lebanon, once an island of democracy and tranquillity in the region, has been caught in the web of violence. It has been bombed relentlessly and its territory violated with little regard for the lives of civilians. The Iraqi nuclear reactor, subject to IAEA safeguards, has been subjected to an Israeli attack in a new and ominous development with world-wide implications.

161. The short-sighted attempt to leave out the leaders of the Palestinian people in the search for a lasting peace is undemocratic, unjust and unrealistic. The recognized rights of the Palestinian people cannot be ignored in this day and age. They are a separate people with a legitimate right to their own homeland, like any other existing State in the family of nations. For far too long the PLO has been excluded from the negotiating process. As the authentic representative of the people of Palestine, it must

be actively involved in the determination of its own destiny.

162. The situation in Korea is another example. The popular movement for reunification is stifled. Foreign troops remain on Korea's soil, their weapons constantly modernized, and there are fears of nuclear complications. Tension remains high, and political initiatives are consequently inhibited.

163. Similarly, the consequences of the illegal, foreign, armed intervention in sensitive areas such as Cyprus, Kampuchea and Afghanistan continue to complicate and retard the prospects of indigenous, democratic progress, free from outside interference.

164. Meanwhile, the victims of *apartheid* languish under an obscene system, short-changed by the caprices of big-business and power-politics. The disinherited of this earth die in hunger, malnutrition and illiteracy. For every ounce of life-sustaining food that those people crave, an unresponsive world recklessly squanders thousands of tons of death-dealing weaponry.

165. As if old problems were not enough, unfortunately new areas of big-Power confrontation are emerging. The dramatic build-up of super-Power naval forces in the Indian Ocean over the past few years is causing growing concern among the 36 countries in the region. The Indian Ocean is being rapidly transformed into a vast military naval playground. Those ambitious deployments do not augur well for the zone-of-peace objectives in that and other promising areas.

166. The economic and social consequences of the arms race obviously harm irreparably prospects for implementation of a new international economic order based on justice, equity and co-operation. As an island developing country, Malta is all too aware of the myriad difficulties facing the developing world.

167. At this crucial point we express the hope that the silence on the North-South dialogue will at least, and at last, be broken. Recent authoritative studies have proved invaluable and as yet unsurpassed signposts to further action. Those signposts have so far been virtually ignored in the quarters to which they were principally directed. Notwithstanding their shortcomings, however, those reports must remain the basis in the search for just political and economic change.

168. Those are some of the most intractable political problems, inherited from the past, in which the major Powers are involved with diametrically opposed policies. But results are disheartening, even in comparatively new fields of human endeavour. The negotiations on the Convention of the Law of the Sea are still deferred, and the expected results fall far short of Malta's original expectations. The proposed convention has sanctioned an unabashed oceanward expansion by coastal States, severely eroding the area originally conceived as the common heritage of mankind, thus deferring benefits to developing and land-locked countries for many years.

169. Despite this erosion, however, we recognize that the negotiations represent a broad consensus amongst na-

tions and, while pointing out its evident shortcomings, we still hope that the convention will be agreed to by all countries without exception next year. We also trust that there will be no national legislation which will in effect dilute the convention and its universal objectives.

170. The question of remnants of war was included in the agenda of the Assembly [see item 69 j], and has been for several years now. We are encouraged by the fact that the international community overwhelmingly recognizes that countries have the responsibility of removing at their own expense, remnants which they planted, and also that States responsible should make available maps and other relevant information concerning the location and type of remnants of war they left behind.

171. We now feel that this matter, which is assuming critical importance for many developing countries, should be taken up more forcefully as a priority item, perhaps through the convening of an international conference at an early date, so that matters can be analysed in depth.

172. Many countries throughout the world are suffering severe economic consequences from the extensive use of explosives during and after the last war, and it is only fair that those responsible should help in removing the adverse consequences of their actions in countries which were the helpless victims of war waged on, or over, their national territory by outside Powers.

173. My own country is one of them. It was the most heavily bombed area during the last world war. In addition, against the advice of the elected Maltese representatives, and with knowledge and foresight of the dangerous and long-lasting consequences, the British Government for several years used the island of Filfla, off the coast of Malta, as a training-ground for aerial bombing. As a result of these combined factors, the sea-bed surrounding Malta, particularly that of our harbours, and the surface area of Filfla are littered with hundreds of thousands of unexploded bombs, in addition to the wrecks of several surface ships that were victims of the vicious bombardment. In fact, only last week a citizen of Malta fell victim, in the prime of his life, to one of those bombs.

174. These hazardous remnants of war are seriously impeding our efforts at economic development, particularly as regards deepening our harbours in order to attract the shipping of the future. Patient bilateral contacts with the British Government to secure help and redress in locating and removing the dangerous war materiel they left behind have proved unavailing. As a result, Britain, even after its departure from Malta, is in effect impeding us from utilizing our territory to its maximum potential. We have raised this matter before the Council of Europe, and a fact-finding mission has recently visited Malta to determine for itself the gravity of the situation and to report thereon.

175. We shall follow up matters in the Council of Europe, but we also intend to give more details in the Second Committee when the report of the Governing Council of UNEP is discussed, and we trust that there will be a positive response and effective action to deal with serious problems of this nature.

176. In the social field, questions covering Shakespeare's seven ages of man—from childhood, youth and adulthood to old age—are being discussed in the United Nations. In that regard at least we can discern encouraging signs of positive interest.

177. The International Year of Disabled Persons is drawing to a close. The interest generated by activities around the world in favour of the less fortunate members of human society will undoubtedly remain. We look forward to a fitting climax to these activities when the Assembly takes up the item in plenary meeting later on in the session.

178. The cause of the elderly and the aged is one which my country has been championing for a number of years. The World Assembly on Aging is now envisaged for 1982, and the Advisory Committee to prepare for that event has already held a preliminary meeting this year. More work has to be done, and I expect the Assembly will give the Advisory Committee the necessary time and means to complete its work for the World Assembly.

179. The problems of the elderly are intimately associated with social and economic development for many nations. The foresight of the United Nations with regard to this question is timely, for by the turn of the century the problem of the elderly and the aged could assume serious dimensions for many developing countries. Action taken now will therefore alleviate economic and social disruption in the future. The World Assembly on Aging should therefore highlight needs and plan for the future.

180. It is not only world organizations that founder on the rocks of East-West confrontation: regional meetings are not faring much better. We previously expressed the hope that the Madrid review session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe would prove to be action-oriented. We recognize that if détente is ever to be revived, it should not reappear merely as a useful slogan, devoid of practical application.

181. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe provides many opportunities for actual implementation of stated objectives. So far, we have witnessed at Madrid a prolonged exercise in sterile debate, dominated by deadlock. Malta deeply regrets the absence of any genuine movement, even on political initiatives which clearly implement provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which was signed at Helsinki in 1975, subscribed to by all participants.

182. It is certainly not an easy task to identify the cause of the limited performance by the Organization and others on old and new political issues appearing on the agenda. More so than at any other time in history, many of the issues before us are characterized by their interrelatedness. Failure to act constructively in one area creates a spill-over effect which hampers progress in other areas. This linkage gives rise to great potential dangers. But at the same time it presents us with a fertile source of opportunity for progress, if we are all prepared to assume our share of responsibility.

183. One overriding and extremely dangerous element stands out clearly in any review of the contemporary in-

ternational situation. The uncompromising polarization in attitudes between the super-Powers has resulted in entrenchment being the order of the day and has now completely paralysed the Organization and the negotiating process. The air is thick with passionate accusations that one or the other of the super-Powers is accountable for all our international troubles. In many critical spheres, obsession with doctrine or ideology is rapidly overtaking rational policy-making. Long-standing problems cry out for redress, but, in this regrettable atmosphere, the voice of sanity, reason and justice is in danger of going unheard.

184. In a shrinking world, the spheres of interest of the major Powers continue to extend and practically encircle the globe, and even to penetrate outer space. It is therefore understandable that the major Powers attract so much attention and, at times, justified criticism. For military and economic power and influence carry with them the onus of responsibility; to indulge in cavalier behaviour or doctrinal myopia is to play with fire. The spread of their exacerbating instability elsewhere must be guarded against.

185. I believe that the countries of the third world unequivocally reject the harsh dualism of the two super-Powers in considering the future of a planet which belongs to all mankind. In the absence of leadership by the super-Powers, in the absence of any semblance of co-operation, this dualism has become a pernicious doctrine whose apparent end-result is to scar the landscape with more nuclear weapons, ostensibly to prevent Armageddon, but equally to be prepared to start it. The super-Powers must turn away from their present volatile antagonism, and they need help in order to do so.

186. In these circumstances, the 20-year-old non-aligned movement has to assume a more dynamic and independent role. If the movement acts wisely in concert, it can discourage the super-Powers from dangerous involvement in local issues and ensure that they do not use other areas of the world as sites for furthering their interests or for militarily complicating their disputes. The non-aligned countries can provide the matrix for the settlement of many problematic issues, if they can put their own house in order first. Because, if we are to be honest and objective in our world review, we have to admit that even within the non-aligned movement itself there are States which do not always meet their responsibilities in full.

187. At the thirty-fifth session, I gave the Assembly all the relevant details on the dispute between the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the Republic of Malta [see 28th meeting]. At that time I underlined Libya's unfriendly action in sending warships to stop the Italian rig, sub-contracted by an American oil company from drilling in a concession lawfully awarded by the Government of Malta. Today, 12 months later, I feel I owe all members an honest account of what has happened since then. Malta still has had no redress. Malta today, as it was a year ago, is threatened with military action should it dare to exercise its lawful right and search for oil on its continental shelf. One Mediterranean country after another—with Libya foremost among them—has explored offshore oil deposits. Only Malta has been denied an equal opportunity.

188. In this, as in all other disputes, Malta has acted honourably. Within five days of reaching an agreement

with Libya, it unconditionally ratified that agreement. Since then, true to its principles, it has desisted from seeking the protection of a strong and friendly country, with old scores to settle, to help it assert its rights. Instead, after four years of patient bilateral negotiations, we asked for the protection of the Security Council.

189. In return, and in stark contrast, Libya has continued to deploy every procedural and other artifice to delay the submission of the dispute to the International Court of Justice. It is doing this to delay the start of the drilling operations, with the intention of depriving Malta of the benefits of resources which are urgently needed for its economic development.

190. Libya professes friendship to the people of Malta when addressing the Assembly and the Security Council. As is evident from the report of the Secretary-General on the mission of his special representative to Malta and to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya,³ the latter country firmly undertook to submit the 1976 agreement to the People's Congress for ratification. It also promised the Council that by no later than mid-December 1980 it would not only have ratified but also referred to the International Court of Justice the special agreement it had signed with Malta four and a half years earlier.

191. Unfortunately, the record shows that the past 12 months have been characterized by the consistent Libyan resolve to adopt delaying tactics in order not to submit the dispute to the International Court of Justice. The date of mid-December 1980 was not honoured. More important, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya failed to ratify the 1976 agreement. To this very day it insists that a new condition be imposed unilaterally on Malta.

192. Not even the efforts of the Secretary-General, with whom we have fully co-operated in trying to resolve the dispute, have so far produced results. We cannot wait much longer, because our economic independence is being jeopardized.

193. In the face of this procrastination, the Security Council has failed so far to take any effective action. It has not even called on Libya to desist from any further threat of violence against Malta or insisted that the legal dispute between Malta and Libya be in fact referred to the International Court of Justice without any further delay. Therefore, I appeal once again to all here present to see that justice is done to Malta, a small defenceless country which can only avoid alternative solutions if it can obtain redress through the Organization. Malta's complaint was made more than a year ago, after we had exhausted all our bilateral efforts. All the evidence has been submitted, and there is no valid reason for the Security Council to delay.

194. It is a matter of great regret for us that Libya seems unable to appreciate the harm that its intransigence on this question is causing to the otherwise friendly relations between the two countries. Again we ask them not to trample so shoddily on the needs of their small neighbour.

195. In contrast to the confrontational approaches and bellicose posturing of many, Malta has resolutely upheld its policy of freedom from military attachments. Recent

events have demonstrated that this determination is not a mere theoretical approach to foreign policy: for us, stated objectives have been translated into real policy measures, even though our anticipated economic development has been retarded by the unfriendly attitude of the United Kingdom and Libya.

196. In April this year, the House of Representatives of the Republic of Malta approved a motion ratifying a neutrality agreement with Italy. The agreement formally declared our resolve to break with past history and to adopt a new status: to become a beacon of peace in the Mediterranean. We have made it clear that we will refrain from joining any military alliance and from maintaining any foreign military bases. The cornerstone of our foreign policy is neutrality based on the principles of non-alignment. That implies a position of equidistance from the super-Powers. The declaration made jointly with Italy—to which we publicly express our thanks for its understanding and practical co-operation—has been registered at the United Nations.

197. At home, we have thereby accomplished in a short span of time what we set out to do. Our energies will now be directed towards an easing of tension and the promotion of peace, particularly in the Mediterranean region. Many of our Mediterranean neighbours have already indicated their support for such a policy. To them alone belongs the initiative.

198. The historical and cultural bonds among the nations of the Mediterranean and their interdependence in many spheres point to the benefits that would accrue from planned co-operation through appropriate mechanisms. The longer we delay a concerted effort to ensure the independence and security of the region, the more difficult that effort will become.

199. In following that path, Malta does not overlook the dark omens which cloud the international horizon. At the same time, we recognize the essential sterility of untrammelled militarism. In the last analysis, it is a costly, dangerous and insidiously harmful one-way street. We have turned our backs forever on that approach. Our intention is to strive everywhere to strengthen peace and security, to foster respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and to gain wider international recognition of our new status.

200. The problems confronting the United Nations have been the subject of much debate and analysis. This year, of course, is no exception. However, at the end of the day, when the talking is finished and the problems identified, we must decide how to respond to the challenges facing the Organization. We have to make our institution effective if we really wish to avert becoming resigned to a trend towards disaster.

201. As we can see, our expectations appear to be steadily shrinking in the face of mounting peril. For instance, in the area of disarmament, we derive comfort from the fact that the two most powerful nations are being urged to return to the negotiating table. I submit that they should never, in fact, have left it in the first place. The stakes are too high for us, and even more for the super-

Powers themselves, for the vacuum resulting from the breakdown of negotiations between them ever to have been countenanced:

202. Our expectations are sobered even further by the recollection that these contacts between the super-Powers have been a constant feature for many years; so have the negotiations on disarmament. The results speak for themselves: they simply have not delivered the expected goods.

203. It is therefore against the enormity of the challenge that faces us and the dangerous situation that clearly confronts us that we must examine what we can do in order to improve performance. A number of suggestions have been made. A better use has been suggested for the sums of money spent on diplomatic receptions. Our attention was drawn to the valuable time lost through the late starting of meetings, to our outdated procedures and to the undoubted need to cut down on excess documentation.

204. These suggestions are, of course, very valuable and should have been acted upon long ago, but we must also ask ourselves honestly whether they strike deeply enough at the heart of the malady which threatens to engulf us. Plastering over the cracks in the present system is not enough. I suspect that we must take a bolder approach if we are realistically to confront the real problems facing us today. It will not be easy and it will be a long process, but a start should be made without delay, for the Organization desperately needs a new injection of hope. We must go further and objectively consider whether the present institutional machinery of the United Nations is in fact the best system we can devise.

205. Within the Organization too many problems remain unresolved because of institutional impotence. All too often the Security Council fails to live up to its potential as a major contributor to the promotion of international peace and security by successfully defusing dangerous situations before they get out of hand. It has become an arena for the pursuit of national rivalries. Its functional credibility and our expectations of it are at an all-time low.

206. The world public finds it difficult to understand a Security Council unable to meet while armed conflict is raging in some part of the world, or a Security Council immobilized from making constructive suggestions before a developing situation deteriorates. A different approach is needed and we should consider seriously whether the Council should not be in constant session, not only to respond to emergencies, but preferably to forestall them and also to follow up the implementation of its own decisions.

207. An alert Security Council, possibly with an even higher level of representation, would gain more prestige in dealing with the issues confronting it. Each Member State serving on the Council could upgrade its representation to a minister for United Nations Security Council affairs, thus providing deliberations on world peace and security with an essential element of continuity and expertise at a higher level of influence.

208. A panel of experts, composed of distinguished world statesmen and former ministers, well versed in international affairs, could be asked urgently to consider means of strengthening the machinery and functional efficiency of the United Nations and to make recommendations for effective changes.

209. It has been said that where there is no vision, the people perish. I would submit that the United Nations has at its disposal an ample supply of vision. What we lack are the channels through which that insight and imagination can be constructively applied for the benefit of all mankind.

210. We stand today at a critical juncture. A mere annual recitation of our articles of faith, and repeated appeals for the emergence of political will, now clearly no longer suffice. Failure to confront and to deal commensurately with the challenges facing us carries with it a heavy penalty, one which we can ill afford to pay.

211. We have proposed prescriptions for peace and progress, but they have never been utilized. Year after year, we pass hundreds of resolutions which are suffocated by inaction. There is much we can do unilaterally and at the regional level. But there is also much that we can do here. So far, our institution is not dead. But it requires a new lease of life, an upsurge of hope. Let us therefore dedicate ourselves to that urgent task without further delay.

212. Mr. TANNIS (Saint Vincent and the Grenadines): I wish to convey to the President the congratulations of my delegation on his appointment to this high international office. I am sure that his appointment has brought satisfaction to his countrymen. I am further sure that he will discharge the duties and responsibilities of his office in such a manner as to warrant the confidence, respect and admiration of all in the Assembly.

213. I wish also to express my congratulations to the outgoing President for what, I am informed, is the very able manner in which he conducted the affairs of the Assembly during his term in office. I look forward to his continued valued contribution on behalf of his country to the work and to the vitality of the Assembly.

214. As the youngest Member country, up until very recently, may I now take the opportunity to congratulate Vanuatu and Belize on their attainment of independence and admission to this world body. I shall speak further on Belize at a later stage.

215. No one who assumes the burdens of office does so without the hope of leaving some positive achievement at the end of his tenure. It is therefore my hope that during the course of this year many of the serious issues confronting this world body may come to a negotiated settlement. The ideas which were the precursors of the United Nations and its predecessor the League of Nations were intended to resolve international disputes and harmonize national differences by peaceful means and not by force of arms.

216. Twice the world has seen major wars fought on land, sea and air. Twice the world has recoiled from the

horrors of those wars. Yet today we still refuse to learn from those experiences. In the past, after each major holocaust of death, suffering and destruction, mankind has stopped at the edge of the abyss it had created and surveyed it. Through such surveys and after such reflections, leading thinkers found the will to resolve that it should not happen again. The tragedy of wars is that the people who suffer or might suffer most are never the ones who make the decisions, and those decisions are often the results of ambition, dreams of the future, national pride and perceived interests.

217. It is the taking of such decisions which now causes the work of the President and the work of the Assembly to be so much more complex and challenging. Because of these decisions there are growing and continuing conflicts in several areas of the world. Man seems to have ceased his quest for peace. Nations seem to forget that in wars all are losers. The ever-costly, crushing burdens of military preparedness, the increased costs of expenditure in a conflict, the loss of life and property, the squandering of resources of all kinds—these are the high price that is paid.

218. It is becoming increasingly evident that some world leaders are preoccupied with the resolution of issues on the battlefield and outside the realm of diplomacy. Time is running out and we must ask ourselves how we can best cause the Assembly to serve its original purpose—that of preserving the well-being of all mankind. How can it best contribute to the diplomatic process by bringing nations in a dispute to the conference table, whether before they are combatants or after? The question is: do all members of the Assembly have the will to make this possible?

219. I am aware that this world body has had notable success in calming tempers and separating the combatants in many parts of the world. I am aware that the intentions and actions of the Assembly have often been frustrated by the Security Council. Perhaps it is as well that this world body be reminded that a house divided in its purpose and intent cannot long stand, will not survive.

220. Unless and until this world body receives the fullest co-operation and support of all Members, particularly the permanent members of the Security Council, we all may despair about being merely involved in an international talking club capable of identifying suitable subjects in need of urgent international attention, then debating those subjects and adopting resolutions and decisions knowing full well that that adoption represents the totality of its efforts.

221. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines cannot accept that this must be the ultimate destiny of this world body. We believe in the principles it was intended to serve. We believe that those principles represent admirable human ideals, which are attainable. We believe that no Member has the right deliberately to frustrate the attainment of those ideals.

222. I am aware that issues can at times be very complex and may be in need of careful analysis and debate so that a just decision can be reached. However, can anyone truly explain why Namibia should not become indepen-

dent? Can anyone on any basis of principle say why foreign troops should be occupying Afghanistan and Kampuchea, in spite of broadly based opposition to their presence by a vast majority of the population? Can anyone say that the holding of free and fair elections is not the most appropriate manner to determine the will of the majority? Is it not time immediately to bring to an end those unjust conflicts of repression and the bloodshed and suffering of peoples whose only fault lies in their desire to be left in peace to determine their own future, whose only fault lies in their refusal to accept that a minority, without the endorsement of the majority, should govern them, either with or without foreign troops, to accept that might is right and that they must therefore be cowed into submission and so have no hope of enjoying that freedom that many of us know and have often taken for granted?

223. It would appear that just as the work of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is coming to an end, another invidious and subtle type of colonialism is rearing its brutal head.

224. These are some of the serious issues which I hope this world body may be able to resolve during the President's term in office.

225. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines further hopes that the present dispute between Iraq and Iran can be resolved at the negotiating table. To be ready and willing to negotiate should not be interpreted by either side as a sign of weakness, but rather as a realistic assessment that through the continuation of conflict national energies are diverted from their true purpose, which is to build the economies of the two countries and improve the standard of living of their two peoples. This is equally true of the situation in Central America, where the parties to the conflict should end the cycle of violence, renounce the resolution of differences by force of arms, discuss issues and decide on the type of constitution which their country should have, and implement the provisions of the constitution with free and fair elections, democratically supervised under the aegis of the United Nations. Life is the greatest gift bestowed upon mankind. Man, therefore, should not through indifference make himself his own exterminator.

226. It is for that reason that Saint Vincent and the Grenadines supports the call not only for arms control but also for arms reduction. It is unrealistic for any country to assume that people who are fearful of it and its intentions will indefinitely permit undue superiority in the means of waging war once they have the resources and the capability to redress that imbalance. It is one thing to wish to have parity, it is another to have superiority, for that superiority may, not unreasonably, be perceived by others as a direct threat to their own security. It is the existence of that superiority which creates the arms race that no one wants and that the world could do without.

227. It is a sad thing when the siege mentality creates the illusion that peace can only be achieved by preparation for war, that the more massive the striking force, the greater the deterrent and the better the guarantee of peace.

The question is whose peace, what peace? A peace that creates as much fear as war is no peace. It is the lethal nature of the weapons available that will create the fear. The corollary would be the phased elimination of all weapons of mass destruction. The reduction of conventional forces, with inspection, would also create a better climate for peace. Such a peace, assured by reduced comparable strength, would not create the fear among others that obtains today.

228. In a world of thermonuclear weapons no one is safe. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines therefore supports the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. We do so because we support the argument that the greater the capability of the manufacture of fissionable material the greater the likelihood that there will be an ever-widening spread of the stockpiling of weapons and the greater the risk of miscalculation, which may draw others unwillingly into a global conflict. We are concerned because the existence of nuclear weapons everywhere poses a direct threat to everyone everywhere. Just as the aeroplane's speed has shrunk the world, the destructive force of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, with their delivery systems, has shrunk land area and distance. It is for this reason that Saint Vincent and the Grenadines has committed as well as a concerned interest in the settlement of disputes through the art of diplomacy.

229. But besides our preoccupation with peace in the world, we are even more committed to the improvement of the standard of living of our people—not only the people of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines but all peoples of small States with highly vulnerable economies, often dependent upon a single crop and in most cases without any mineral resources. In such a struggle for survival it is not unreasonable to expect that small States will hope that those who are able to assist will do so.

230. Today, bananas are the single most important crop of the Windward Islands and in Saint Vincent and the Grenadines represent over 60 per cent of our exports. At present the existence of that crop is threatened by legal proceedings now before the British High Court against the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries by an interested party who seeks to ensure that no protection is given to Windward Islands bananas on the United Kingdom market and that importers be free to purchase bananas from dollar sources. It is also threatened for other reasons. The fall of sterling against the United States dollar has caused a drop in the price to the farmers. Increased production has resulted in inadequate shipping space, which has created financial problems for the Banana Association that commercial banks may not be able to bear indefinitely. If that legal action were to be successful, its adverse consequences would be far greater than the effects of hurricanes David and Allen upon our several economies. We are aware that the Government of the United Kingdom is mindful of this present danger and we hope that every effort will be made to safeguard the interests of Windward Islands bananas.

231. The volume of our combined weekly exports is small compared with that of other producers, but our dependence on it for our economic well-being is far greater.

The demise of the industry would be an economic calamity. In addition to protection for our bananas, we need access to the markets of developed economies for certain specified crops at an agreed and guaranteed price and volume.

232. The real and constant preoccupation of the small States of the Eastern Caribbean is the fight against the forces of nature and the constant battle for economic survival. It is true that many countries have given financial assistance to enable my country, as well as others in the Eastern Caribbean, to overcome some of the difficulties which nature or our own small size have made it impossible for us to overcome on our own. However, the problems of poverty are many-faceted. Because of our grinding poverty, where expenditure should often be less, it has to be more. The question is: how is this? Last year I made this observation and I do so again: What is usually a priority for remedying the plight of small and poor States can be, and is, identified by those on the spot who are better able to see the problems which are constraints upon development.

233. Yet, in spite of identification, these problems remain perennial, notwithstanding the obvious importance to the process of national development if they are resolved. In a world of high inflationary trends, project costs are forever rising, while far too much money is being spent on the conduct of repetitious studies, often calculated to serve their own ends, on subjects that are obviously imperative if the economies of small States are to escape the cycle of poverty, desperation and dependence. We live in a world where everyone—even the oil-producing countries—speaks about conserving energy and oil, about exploiting alternative sources than oil, about identifying and tapping renewable sources of energy. If I may say so, this is indeed commendable. This is a laudable objective, for there is no prudent reason to squander a valuable and finite resource, for which there will always be a need, when there is an alternative which is continuously being renewed and, far better still, is cheaper. The uses to which oil could be put are many and, notwithstanding conservation, are increasing in many parts of the world. It is therefore obvious that so valuable a fuel should be conserved for the future needs of mankind and, where possible and financially practicable, other sources of energy should be exploited.

234. I should like now to indicate how poverty places a heavy burden on poor States and how the poor become poorer because there is no surplus wealth to generate development of their country. In Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, electricity is generated by diesel and hydropower. In 1980, 10,020,000 kilowatt-hours of electricity were generated from hydropower, at a cost of 336,000 East Caribbean dollars. In the same year, 15,734,000 kilowatt-hours of diesel-powered electricity were generated at a cost of 4,106,000 East Caribbean dollars. It cost 3,770,000 East Caribbean dollars per annum more to generate 5,714,000 kilowatts of power from diesel fuel. It is this type of arithmetic which we cannot correct on our own and which crushes us into helplessness, making the poor poorer. Someone has to carry this very big differential in generating costs, and it is the consumer who does so.

235. The projection of the differential for 1984 is even more staggering; it will be 9,663,000 East Caribbean dollars. The capital cost of hydroelectric installations is higher than diesel costs to generate the equivalent amount of energy, but in five years, through savings on hydroelectric generation, the capital cost differential will be recovered without taking into consideration the normal benefit from profits. There exists water availability to exploit our hydro potential further. For years we have been endeavouring to secure financing for the project. For years the costs have been rising. In June this year we received assurances of finance for the construction stage of the project. The project is now delayed at the design stage because costs have increased by several hundred thousand dollars.

236. It is these special problems of poverty and underdevelopment in small States such as Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to which urgent and special attention must be given—special assistance in the area of economic development and disaster relief. I am aware that in the Assembly there are those who can assist us to find solutions to these problems.

237. There are other areas in our development plan which must be addressed if we are to rise above our present circumstances, notwithstanding the progress already made—areas of improvement in our air and sea communications. These are imperatives if our tourist and industrial potential is to be fully realized. I know these are economic matters which are more appropriately discussed elsewhere, but I believe they should also be mentioned here.

238. It is for that reason that Saint Vincent and the Grenadines would welcome any initiative seeking to promote the economic well-being of the region by the injection of foreign capital, whether in the public or private sectors. However, there must be an interplay of investment in both sectors, even if greater emphasis is put on one of them. It is the proper functioning of both which will demonstrate the complementary nature of each. The private sector would function better if there is proper education, training, agricultural inputs and infrastructure.

239. The gap between the North and the South, the rich and the poor, is ever widening. I perceive that there is now awareness of that fact. I am aware too that to varying degrees all countries are beset by economic ills. The strong, however, are better able than the weak to absorb shocks and take corrective measures, and they should lend a helping hand. But as the weak become stronger, that strength will promote the greater economic vitality of the strong.

240. The rich and the poor are both in a partnership of development; hence I look forward with hope and expectation to the early realization of the new initiative for the benefit of the Caribbean Basin countries. A worthy idea is worthy of prompt execution.

241. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines has been proud to be associated with the admission of Belize to the Organization, not only because we have evolved out of the same colonial experiences, tradition and mores but also because we have close historical human ties. Because

of that spirit of freedom which exists within the hearts of all mankind, men who fought for their homeland, and lost after the death of their Chief "Chatoyer", were deported with their women and children to Roatan and British Honduras, now Belize. Some descendants of those lovers of their country and of freedom, the "Black Caribs" of Saint Vincent, are today citizens of an independent Belize, though a cloud still hangs over its freedom. At the thirty-fifth session in my address to the Assembly [5th meeting] I urged that this world body use its not inconsiderable influence to ensure that Belize proceed to independence without delay. That this has been possible during this session is an occasion for satisfaction to Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. The Assembly and the United Kingdom must now be complimented on the decisive action taken.

242. It was not too much to have hoped, after some apparent success resulting from protracted tripartite negotiations earlier this year, that Guatemala might have joined the United Kingdom in sponsoring the admission of Belize as a fitting tribute to the settlement of this territorial dispute of an historical nature which started at a time when men carved empires out of aboriginal territories, based either on conquest, cession or settlement. Today Belize proclaims its independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, which recognizes the inalienable right of all colonial peoples to be free to plan their own destiny. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines supports that right. The United Nations, in keeping with the Charter, should guarantee that right.

243. There is another festering colonial legacy which concerns the border dispute between Guyana and Venezuela—a dispute which seeks to emasculate Guyana very seriously. It is a matter of grave concern for any Government to be confronted with a claim, whether invalid or valid, on so large an area of territory.

244. It is a dispute that must be resolved: it cannot be merely swept under the mat of international opinion for us thereafter to pretend that it does not exist; for it does exist. We cannot, here in the Assembly, play ostrich and bury our heads in the sand, while leaving other parts exposed to the fury of the storm. This dispute has already affected the developmental efforts of Guyana, which that poor country cannot afford; whereas the dispute, so far as we are aware, does not affect the developmental efforts of Venezuela. I believe it is the duty of the Assembly to try to resolve this dispute, to bring the parties to the conference table in order to reach a final solution consistent with reality. Parties on opposite sides of a chasm cannot meet unless they build a bridge. Guyana is entitled to an internationally settled future it can build on.

245. I am saddened that the Convention on the Law of the Sea has not been concluded. It is the hope of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines that all obstacles to its signing will be overcome and the Convention made final within the President's term of office. It is important for small States such as Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to know their entitlements to jurisdiction and the resources of the sea, and to know that through the force of a treaty they carry the stamp of approval of this world body—a body whose responsibility it is, ultimately, to safeguard and protect the interests of all States, but in particular

small States which do not have the strength, resources and influence to protect their own interests.

246. I wish to speak now in some detail on the Namibian issue and to repeat parts of my statement circulated in the Assembly early in September during the emergency special session on Namibia:

“The people of this world cannot be part free and part slaves, and if this world body does not consistently exert itself to ensure that rights which people take for granted in many parts of the globe become the inalienable rights of all mankind it will ultimately become as useless as its predecessor, the League of Nations.

“ . . .

“A debate on Namibia is not only a debate on the very serious issue of the right of a colonial people to self-determination, to build their own institutions, to set their own standards, to educate themselves, to establish their own developmental priorities or determine their own friends, but also a debate on the future of this institution itself. For South Africa’s challenge to the authority of this institution—for challenge its is—strikes at the very foundation of this institution. For the strength of this institution is dependent on respect for its authority and its ability to persuade [States to comply] with its decisions. The Assembly belongs to us. We are the Assembly. What the United Nations is is what we are. We are each several parts of this whole and we are, through this Assembly, what we represent in the sum total of our efforts.

“ . . .

“There is a need for peace in Namibia. There is need for an end to this vicious circle of suffering and death. South Africa holds the real answer to the question of peace. What is needed is South Africa’s appreciation that it will inevitably have to relinquish administrative control over Namibia. It is in a confrontation which it cannot win, only prolong, and, in the process [prolong] the agony of the majority of a people and the birth-pains of the nation.

“ . . .

“ . . . The question is: where do we go from here? What options do we have left? How must we find a solution to the present impasse? What further action should we take to make the blinkered South African Government change its present confrontational course and return to the path of understanding, prudence, negotiation and a peaceful settlement of this conflict?

“For what exists between South Africa and this Assembly is not a dispute, for a dispute suggests that there is some debatable right which exists. The most that South Africa has ever had was administrative control in trust for the inhabitants. It must know it has no other right. What it has is a conflict of interests and a duty. Those interests are racial, economic and strategic. The duty it believes it owes is to its own racial minority in South Africa, but its duty, rather, is to the people

of Namibia, for whom the Territory is held in trust. This is all an academic exercise of which we are and, I am sure, South Africa is aware, but South Africa chooses to ignore [this].

“ . . .

“Member Governments with influence should launch a diplomatic offensive to convince South Africa that it is in its own long-term economic and security interests to resolve the Namibian question by an election, and that if [it] failed to heed the request [it] would be alone and isolated.

“Should this approach fail, a committee should be appointed by this Assembly to consider further options to be exercised.”⁴

247. How can we in this world body also bring peace and unity between divided countries so that brothers can learn to dwell together in harmony? I am aware that to achieve such results may be difficult where there is suspicion and fear, where there are ideological differences, where there is religious bigotry, where reason often is blind and takes to flight. But where reason does not exist, hatred and tension will fill the vacuum. The objective must, however, be to bring the sides together by peaceful means. Confidence must first be established through dialogue. Areas of common interest must be found and used.

248. There are many such problem areas of the world which are the cause of heightened international tension: for example, the two Koreas and Cyprus. Cannot both Koreas be admitted to membership of the United Nations without prejudice to the principle of reunification, in the light of a precedent already established? I am sure that members of the Security Council could see the wisdom of such a course of action. If we can eliminate the cause we may be able to effect the cure. Can we not persist and continue the serious efforts to find solutions to these problems by peaceful means? The challenge and responsibility are ours.

249. I am not, nor is my country, naive enough to believe that achieving peace for all mankind is easy. But we believe that if there is a real desire and will for peace on the part of all, with the passage of time, the world may become a saner and happier one in which to live.

250. At this stage I should like to join in the tributes and respects paid to the memory of the late Anwar El Sadat. We live in the Caribbean, very far away from the area in which he lived, worked and died. But those of us who have followed developments in that part of the world could not help but admire the boldness and dynamism of the man himself in trying to break through and overcome a situation which seemed to him static. He was a man who was bold enough to go into an area and to beard the lion in his own den, at the risk, perhaps, of his own safety. In our view, that man was genuinely in search of peace: he was prepared to risk his own safety and his own country’s identity in the cause of peace. I, like others, hope that the dialogue which he established can be pursued and that all people, wherever they live, will realize that world problems are best resolved through the art of

diplomacy and at the conference table, for the suffering and the sacrifice that must otherwise be endured are too heavy a price to pay.

251. In conclusion, it is therefore my hope that in the President's term of office a momentum will be generated that will permit many of the serious issues which now perplex and threaten the world to be resolved, and that he will get the fullest support of all in this world body so that the silent hopes and expectations of all mankind may be realized. Let us all, in the Assembly, light a candle of hope which will never be extinguished.

252. Mr. OGOUMA (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the People's Republic of Benin, which we have the honour of heading, wishes to address to Mr. Kittani its warm congratulations and to express its complete satisfaction at his election to the office of President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly: His election is a confirmation of his exceptional qualities as an experienced diplomat and is a tribute to his country, Iraq, for its role in international affairs. My delegation, which is particularly happy to emphasize here the high quality of the relations of active solidarity that exist between his country, the Republic of Iraq, and our own, the People's Republic of Benin, remains convinced that under his enlightened guidance our discussions will be conducted in lucid serenity, which alone can make it possible for us to examine objectively the numerous and grave problems with which our world is faced.

253. My delegation also wishes to express its appreciation for the manner in which his predecessor, Mr. von Wechmar of the Federal Republic of Germany, conducted the work of the thirty-fifth session and that of the eighth emergency special session, devoted to Namibia.

254. May I also repeat our heartfelt gratitude for the remarkable work accomplished by the Secretary-General. The numerous activities that he was engaged in during the past year, with his well-known dedication and tenacity, helped to further the aim of implementing the principal objectives pursued by the United Nations.

255. My delegation wishes to express its gratification at the admission of the Republic of Vanuatu and of Belize to the United Nations. We extend a warm welcome to the eminent representatives of those two new States and assure them of our solidarity, fraternity and frank co-operation.

256. The thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly offers once again at this annual review of both history and the problems of the world an exceptional opportunity to the States Members of the Organization collectively to discuss solutions and the action to be taken in order to meet some of the great hopes of peoples concerning peace, justice, prosperity and cultural fulfilment.

257. Yet, since the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, in spite of our resolutions, consultations and recommendations, the political and economic landscape of the world has in fact not changed very much as regards the fulfilment of our legitimate requirements of truth, freedom, peace and progress for all.

258. We are afraid that we have to state the contrary to be true. Indeed, the persistence of colonial occupation in

South Africa and Namibia, the arrogance of the racist Pretoria régime in the face of the international community's pursuit of a fitting solution to the Namibian problem, the acts of provocation and aggression by South Africa against the front-line countries, the military occupation of southern Angola by South African troops, the military occupation by Morocco of Western Sahara, the pursuit of the policy of extermination and genocide by the Zionist régime of Israel in Palestine and southern Lebanon, the tensions in Asia, the subversive manoeuvres in Central America and the Caribbean, and the attempts at destabilizing progressive régimes are so many problems in the world which have been left pending. They are problems created, maintained and stirred up by hostile forces alien to the liberation of peoples which international imperialism and its allies are using in order better to stifle the voice and free will of the peoples of our planet.

259. Faced with this grave situation, the Secretary-General is quite right in stating the following in his report on the work of the Organization:

"How does the United Nations measure up to these great challenges of our time? I have to say that, for all our efforts and our undoubted sincerity, the Organization has not yet managed to cut through the political habits and attitudes of earlier and less hurried centuries and to come to grips decisively with these new factors of our existence. We talk about and express our anxieties and our good intentions, but we have yet to act upon the clear indications of what we are really up against." [*See A/36/1, sect. III.*]

The delegation of the People's Republic of Benin therefore voices its deep concern in the face of all those important problems that have been left without solution, while the international situation as a whole is preoccupying because it is fraught with threats for struggling peoples and for the prosperity of all.

260. If vetoes and blocking of the decision-making process are continued, if barriers to the application of major political and economic decisions already adopted continue to be raised, if the liberation of nations is delayed, if the independence of Namibia, self-determination for Western Sahara and for the oppressed peoples of South Africa are compromised, can the United Nations consider that it has honoured the pledge it made more than a third of a century ago to rid our planet for ever of the scourges of war, injustice and famine and to build a world of peace, justice and prosperity for all?

261. If we have reasons for our deep concern and grounds for pessimism, we do not have the right to despair, because, in addition to the Organization, the peoples of all the continents have the same deep-rooted aspirations are daily fighting for freedom, justice, progress for all and international peace and security.

262. Conscious of this vital reality and hope, the delegation of the People's Republic of Benin will once again this year permit itself to define its positions on certain problems on the agenda.

263. Since the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on the independence of Namibia, Africa has

known nothing but frustration and disappointment. How can one understand South Africa's stubbornness in opposing with all the means at its disposal the will of the international community to liberate Namibia? How can one explain the unspeakable treachery with which the neo-Nazis in power in Pretoria are making a mockery of decisions taken by the United Nations? How can one interpret the repeated dilatory manoeuvres of that régime?

264. The only answer to all those questions resides in the Machiavellian designs of international imperialism to protect the racist régime of South Africa by blocking the adoption of energetic measures such as the mandatory comprehensive sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. Thus, the triple veto of 30 April 1981 in the Security Council by the Western Powers that are permanent members of the Council,⁵ the United States veto in the Council on 31 August 1981⁶ opposing the condemnation of Pretoria, which committed a savage act of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and invaded part of its national territory, the machinations of certain Western Powers to block the just and appropriate decisions adopted at the emergency special session on Namibia, are an objective and open show of support for the minority, fascist and racist Pretoria régime.

265. The people of Benin as a whole, its Party, the Benin People's Revolutionary Party, as well as the National Executive Council, in pursuance of decisions of the OAU, resolutions of the non-aligned movement and resolutions of the United Nations concerning the independence of Namibia, will continue to support by all possible means the legitimate struggle of the heroic Namibian people under the direction of its vanguard movement, SWAPO, its sole authentic representative.

266. My delegation calls for the effective implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and reaffirms forcefully that only comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter will effectively help to unblock the current situation in Namibia, a situation which threatens peace and security in Africa and throughout the world.

267. My delegation wishes to pay a deserved tribute to the gallant peoples of Zambia, of Mozambique and especially of Angola for the enormous sacrifices that they are constantly making in order to halt the repeated aggression of Pretoria, which is using Namibian territory as a base for its subversive and destabilizing operations.

268. The delegation of the People's Republic of Benin supports Security Council resolutions 428 (1978), 447 (1979), 454 (1979) and 475 (1980) relating to the numerous armed acts of aggression, incursions and military occupation of Angolan territory by South Africa, as well as the violation of Angolan air space by the racist forces stationed in the military bases South Africa has established on Namibian territory, and calls for everything to be done to ensure that Angola obtains from South Africa "payment of full and adequate compensation for the damage to life and property resulting from these acts of aggression", as stipulated in Security Council resolution 475 (1980).

269. My delegation expresses the unconditional support and solidarity of the people of Benin for the heroic An-

golan people and demands that South Africa withdraw its occupying troops from Angolan territory.

270. In South Africa itself the struggle is becoming increasingly radicalized through increased awareness on the part of the oppressed black people. The terrorist Pretoria régime is leaving our brothers no other choice than a state of permanent war, resistance to slavery and rejection of bestial humiliation. The bastion of fascism and racism is arming itself and equipping itself with the most advanced military and nuclear technology. More and more it is asserting its role as faithful and indispensable ally in leading Western circles and military staff headquarters. Is not South Africa with its *apartheid* régime the keystone of dreams of hegemony and colonial reconquest of the African continent? Is it not a concrete expression of that "broad strategic vision which places regional problems in a more global context", which is so dear to international imperialism?

271. That is what complicates and aggravates the problem of the Pretoria régime. It must also increase our vigilance and give to our brothers in South Africa new reasons for organizing themselves and mobilizing by all the means available in the struggle against fascism and racism. On that honourable path the African National Congress and our brothers fighting in South Africa will find us to be as determined and as much in solidarity with them as ever.

272. In respect of Western Sahara, which is, as everyone knows, another colonial and expansionist scandal, the United Nations has already had occasion to adopt important pertinent resolutions expressing the right of that people to self-determination and independence. The question of Western Sahara remains therefore a question of decolonization, as the mission of inquiry of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples defined it in 1975.⁷

273. The People's Republic of Benin, which has always supported and will support to the end the struggle of the Sahraoui people under the direction of the POLISARIO⁸ Front, its sole authentic representative, against Moroccan colonialism and expansionism and for national independence, is gratified at the decision adopted at the eighteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, which created an Implementation Committee regarding the cease fire and the referendum on self-determination [see A/36/534, annex II, resolution AHG/RES.103 (XVIII)]. The People's Republic of Benin supports that Committee in its extremely difficult and delicate efforts to ensure that the decisions adopted at Nairobi, in August 1981, will be put into effect. But it is also our duty to demand that all the conditions are met and that all guarantees are provided to the Sahraoui people in its struggle, confronting as it does all kinds of interference and attempts to turn back the clock on the part of the expansionist Moroccan forces. That is why we feel a cease-fire must be brought about as soon as possible on the basis of a negotiated agreement between the parties to the conflict, namely, the POLISARIO Front and Morocco, under the supervision of the OAU Implementation Committee. The Moroccan armed forces must withdraw from the occupied Sahraoui territory.

274. It is in that context that, in accordance with the resolution of the OAU Assembly and the decisions of the Implementation Committee, it would be desirable for the United Nations to provide the necessary assistance to ensure that the martyred Sahraoui people, at last free and independent, may undertake the task of reconstructing its country, which has been devastated by so many years of war.

275. The questions we have just reviewed are not the only ones that are of concern to our continent. We denounce and condemn foreign interference in African affairs, destabilizing armed aggression, the use of mercenaries to ignite or fan the flames of conflict between African States. In that connection, the adoption of an international convention against the use of mercenaries would provide a valuable legal weapon to combat this scourge of our times. Benin will continue to work in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries for the full attainment of that objective, because we have lived through the painful experience of a criminal mercenary adventure in Benin on 16 January 1977.

276. As regards the Middle East, we cannot help expressing our profound concern at the turn events are taking in that part of the world. For in southern Lebanon and in the occupied Arab territories, Israeli zionism continues to terrorize the population and to consolidate with further settlements the unlawful annexation of territories conquered by armed aggression.

277. Facts show that the signing of the separate Camp David accords has contributed to the aggravation of the crisis. The holy alliance between international imperialism and zionism favours aggression, and the escalation of violence witnessed in that region is additional proof of that.

278. In the face of Israel's arrogance and its policy of war and terror—of which the aggression against the Tamuz nuclear plant in Iraq is the most striking illustration—has not the time come to seek appropriate means commensurate with the serious dangers that Zionist policy poses to the world?

279. That is why our delegation affirms that the time has come to compel Israel to respect the numerous resolutions and decisions of the United Nations on the right to self-determination and independence of the Palestinian people, its right to return to its homeland and its right to create an independent and sovereign State.

280. Israel must withdraw its troops from the occupied Arab territories. We reaffirm the support of the people of Benin for the struggle of the Arab peoples and the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the struggling Palestinian people.

281. The situation prevailing in Cyprus, a question still before the Assembly, is also a matter of concern for my country. We believe this is the right place for us to reaffirm our militant support for the courageous Cypriot people and the Government of the Republic of Cyprus in their struggle to safeguard their national independence and territorial integrity and to achieve national unity.

282. In Asia, where the intrigues of international imperialism continue to disrupt and bring bloodshed to the south-eastern region, the heroic people of Kampuchea, which has for so long suffered the consequences of colonialism, neo-colonialism and crimes of every sort, needs peace and freedom to take its destiny into its own hands. In its courageous struggle to safeguard its dearly bought independence and to achieve its national reconstruction, the people of Kampuchea will always have the militant support of the people of Benin. We reaffirm yet again the firm support of the Government of the People's Republic of Benin for the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea in all its efforts to consolidate and further develop its revolutionary process.

283. We condemn the unacceptable interference by international imperialism and its allies in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, which, by unleashing an all-encompassing revolution, has shaken the foundation of an age-old, powerful, oppressive feudalism and exploitation. We support the struggle of the people of democratic Afghanistan for consolidation of its revolutionary achievements.

284. The heroic people of Korea, in the difficult circumstances imposed on it by international imperialism, wages an unremitting struggle on both sides of the 38th parallel for the reunification of the Korean homeland. In the south in particular, despite the re-emergence of barbarous repression, the determination of the people continues to challenge successive dictatorial régimes.

285. We support the positive proposals and initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a frank and direct dialogue between the North and the South to attain the peaceful reunification of Korea. We condemn imperialist manoeuvres relating to the "two Koreas" policy. We demand the withdrawal of foreign forces from the southern part of Korea so that the armistice agreement may be replaced by a peace agreement.

286. We also wish to reaffirm here the support of the People's Republic of Benin for the just struggle of the people of East Timor and its national liberation movement, FRETILIN.⁹

287. Central America and the Caribbean Sea are for my delegation another area of concern in view of the direct and brutal interventions of international imperialism and the subversive actions against the revolutionary experiment in many of the countries of the region.

288. We support the struggles of the people of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Grenada and other Latin American countries for freedom and true emancipation. In Cuba the heroic resistance of an admirable people has effectively outwitted until now the open aggression, military threats and ceaseless conspiracies against the people's revolution, which is taking deep root and being firmly consolidated. The people of Puerto Rico must become the real master of its own destiny and enjoy true and full independence.

289. The People's Republic of Benin reaffirms its support for all measures and decisions aimed at making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. The proposals of the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar aimed at

the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean also have our full active support, for that southern ocean, now dangerously threatened by forces and instruments of war which are the pride of modern arsenals, must become once more a great sea of peace and peaceful co-operation.

290. The arms race represents a potential danger for mankind. It diverts towards military objectives that are destructive and have no economic value enormous funds, resources and energy that could be devoted to the achievement of economic and social objectives.

291. Despite the unceasingly repeated appeals of the General Assembly for disarmament, there has been no progress in that respect. The time has come for the participants in the arms race, of which the least that can be said is that it is inhuman, to understand the Organization, and take it and its purposes and principles, contained in the first lines of the Charter, with proper seriousness.

292. The People's Republic of Benin supports the proposal of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics concerning the request for the resumption of negotiations with the United States of America, and appeals to all the Powers engaged in the arms race to give proof of understanding and goodwill so that progress may be made along the path to disarmament.

293. When, in this same Hall one year ago the global negotiations reached the deadlock of which we are all aware, paralysed by the pitiless and intransigent increase in the egotism of certain wealthy countries, the poorest and the least developed countries of the third world, of which we are one, ceaselessly requested that an end be put to the unjust and scandalous international economic disorder.

294. Since then, another important conference has been held, at Nairobi—the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy—a fundamental and decisive question. Soon, at Cancún, the tortuous and difficult North-South dialogue will endeavour to break away from diplomatic rhetoric and will, at least we hope, support the demands for a new international economic order.

295. The statistics of absolute poverty and the already very exact precise diagnosis of the serious ills besetting the world economy are there to testify on our behalf—we, the “dámned”, the “collective proletarians” of the world. That is why we are legitimately impatient and refuse to remain silent and capitulate.

296. Let those who govern the international economy, who regulate and determine the rate of exchange, who exploit our countries and drain them of primary commodities at prices fixed by them alone, at long last understand that, if disorder and injustice persist, their selfish obstinacy will result in serious social explosions. Throughout our speeches, we repeat this warning with a strength and passion which reflect the extent of our development needs.

297. Does not the quarrel about the quantitative objectives of development and the allocation of a percentage of the gross national product of the rich countries to devel-

opment assistance sometimes seem but an academic exercise, at which some international experts and consultants excel, when we look in distress at the waste or at the enormous budgets devoted to the production and modernization of weapons in the industrialized countries? From time to time, of course, we are told that they understand our problems and our tragic and intolerable situation.

298. But it will not suffice for alms to be produced, palliatives to be multiplied or quick soporifics to be administered. The new international economic order must be conceived and organized in order to put an end definitively to injustice, to eliminate exploitation and to do away with the pitiless and rapacious reign of the transnational corporations.

299. It is, incidentally, with respect to this question of the establishment of a more just and equitable new international economic order that the President of the People's Republic of Benin, Mr. Mathieu Kerekou, on 24 September last, at the 113th regular session of the meeting in Paris of the Executive Council of UNESCO, stated:

“Our wish is to see all regional, continental and international organizations, and in particular the OAU, the non-aligned movement and the United Nations, defend that noble mission, call fewer spectacular conferences which have no future, adopt fewer formal resolutions and seek instead to obtain concrete results in the light of the fact that the scourges ensuing from underdevelopment, such as famine, disease and ignorance, continue to claim millions of victims, whose number continues to grow every day.”

It is only in this perspective that a truly just and humanitarian new international economic order can be established.

300. The new international economic order will not suffice to liberate our peoples entirely and ensure their complete development unless a new information order is also established. Furthermore, the national cultures of our countries, which have been for so long denied and denigrated, could not contribute towards the free development of our peoples either unless a new international cultural order were to be established on our very varied and rich planet.

301. It is in this context that the People's Republic of Benin had the honour to host, on 18 and 19 September last, a meeting of the ministers for culture of 34 member and associated States of the Agency for Cultural and Technical Co-operation, coming from Africa, America, Asia, the Caribbean, Europe and the Pacific. The Cotonou Declaration, adopted at the close of that meeting, states that the world “will not have peace or stability unless international relations are based on bonds of equality and respect for the sovereignty of States, friendship among peoples and brotherhood among men”. That same Declaration affirms “the fundamental importance of culture as the essential dimension of economic and social development”. The Declaration concludes that “it is essential to recognize, respect and affirm the cultural identity of peoples and to work resolutely towards the establishment of a better balance in cultural exchange”.

302. This is the important economic, social, cultural and, in the last analysis, human task that the Organization has the means to carry out in peace and mutual understanding, providing that the will and the determination to see justice prevail in international relations guides us all, and that we all do our best to put into effect the fundamental principles of the Charter.

303. In conclusion, permit the delegation of the People's Republic of Benin to express its sincere gratitude to the Secretariat which, in the framework of the implementation of General Assembly resolution 35/88, on economic assistance to Benin, sent to Cotonou from 4 to 12 May 1981 an interagency mission under the direction of Mr. Farah, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Questions.

304. The delegation of the People's Republic of Benin has no doubt that the programme adopted there will command the attention of the present session of the Assembly and of the international community.

305. Ready for the revolution; the struggle continues!

306. The PRESIDENT: Three representatives have expressed the wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

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

308. Mr. NIKAEIN (Iran): I am certain that representatives are not interested in the exchange of trivialities and repeated accusations and counter-accusations between the Iranian and Iraqi delegations. Therefore, what we shall try to do is to present a brief but objective analysis of the causes of the current crisis between the Iraqi Baathist régime and Islamic Revolutionary Iran.

309. As a matter of fact, as soon as we mention the Islamic revolution of Iran we have already touched upon the main cause of the problem. Before the revolution, the picture of relations between Iran and Iraq was crystal-clear. The criminal, the deposed Shah of Iran, whose present address, like other traitors and friends who have since joined him, is hell, and his Iraqi counterpart got together at Algiers in the year 1975 of the Christian calendar, signed a very amiable treaty, were photographed kissing each other on the cheek and holding each other in a big Russian bear-hug and, as two practising Moslems, toasted each other's health with cups of Scotch whisky.

310. As a result of that treaty, the criminal Shah betrayed the cause of the oppressed Kurdish people, who were fighting Iraq, and the Iraqi régime, in turn, stopped all radio stations run by our anti-Shah brothers and sisters in Iraq. And up to the Islamic revolution, relations between those two comrades-in-arms could not have been better. Of course, the Iraqi Baathists never dreamt of challenging the military might of their beloved American and Zionist-backed Shah.

311. But everything suddenly changed with the advent of the Islamic revolution in Iran. With their American and

Zionist friends wiped off the political scene, and with the cries and shouts of "God is great!" of some 40 million people easily audible in nearby Baghdad and deafening their Baathist ears, the oppressive, Iraqi police-State began to have a political upset stomach. They began to do everything in their devilish power against the bloody revolution of a long-repressed Moslem nation.

312. We shall not enumerate those aggressive operations, as you have already heard about them in greater detail in our Foreign Minister's statement at the 26th meeting. But I only repeat that apart from all sorts of adverse publicity and instigations, they carried out some 425 raids into Iranian territory, which were duly reported to international bodies.

313. But what is of most significance to the Assembly is the timing of those raids, and the final all-out invasion of Iran. We have already said that the Iraqi Baathists did not dare to attack their Zionist friend, the deposed Shah of Iran. What has changed now? The world knows that most Iranian soldiers and officers deserted their barracks at the call from Paris of our dear leader of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini. Some murdering generals of the American-Zionist-run army of the Shah faced revolutionary firing squads. Many more criminal generals fled the country, most of them given refuge by Iraqi Baathists, whose tender hearts did not permit them to witness the execution even of mass murderers—which is an incredible psychological phenomenon in a brutal police régime that has, over the last 13 years, systematically tortured and murdered several thousands of its innocent political opponents, of Arab, Kurdish and Persian origin. As the world is already quite familiar with the black and inhuman record of the Baathists of Iraq, I shall not elaborate further.

314. As a matter of fact, as far as I remember, it was the Baathists who contributed to the lexical expansion of the English language by the introduction of the word "bloodBaath". I therefore suggest that instead of referring to them as Baathists, we might in future aptly refer to them as "BloodBaathists" in our political literature.

315. Thus, when Islamic Iran had no organized army with which to defend itself, when our country was sunk in post-revolutionary chaos and anarchy, when the secret agents of Western imperialism had managed to pose as revolutionaries—some of them creeping into important government positions—when many parts of Iranian territory were not yet under the complete control of the central Government, and when we were facing, as we say in the Middle East, 1,001 internal problems: under such circumstances—and I should add that at that time American military analysts reported that our air force was barely operational—the traitors to Islam and to the revolutionary peoples of the world invaded Iran with 12 of their best-equipped armoured divisions, and in a *blitzkrieg* occupied the undefended, but most sophisticated, concrete defence lines that the ex-Shah had built.

316. That is why in the initial stages of the war that was imposed upon them our people, who had just paid with their blood to overthrow the Shah's régime, suffered great human losses, in the form of the martyrdom of simple

soldiers and Revolutionary Guards—the sons and daughters of our peasants and workers, of Turkish, Kurdish, Baluchi, Persian and even of Christian Armenian and Assyrian origin—who all rushed to the borders to defend their bloodstained people's Islamic revolution.

317. That is why, as long as the occupying forces hold an inch of the territory of the Islamic Republic, we cannot and shall not agree to any aggressor's peace talks or cease-fires, which would only entrench the invaders in our land and give them the opportunity to reorganize. We know that the aggressor, finding that it is in a quandary of its own making, has through various intermediaries repeatedly asked for peace talks and is constantly publicizing its efforts throughout the world as an aggressive, but peace-loving, régime.

318. Since the Iranian Islamic masses do not allow us to enter into such negotiations, and in order that the Iraqi's honest efforts for peace do not go unrewarded, we suggest to whomever it may concern that the Iraqi régime be nominated—as in similar cases in the past—for a Nobel Peace Prize.

319. As far as a cease-fire is concerned, we have learnt our lessons well from notorious cease-fires in Palestine, in Sinai, in Syria, in Korea, in Viet Nam and in other places.

320. In conclusion I wish only to mention three points briefly. First, at the 26th meeting, the Iraqi representative quoted Imam Khomeini as having said that we should restore "the glory of Iran through the establishment of an Islamic empire". He claimed to be quoting the Kuwaiti newspaper *Al-Seyasah* which was in turn quoting a secret pamphlet issued by a secret society in Iran. I am sure that members know that everything our Imam says is immediately published in all official newspapers in Iran and broadcast on radio and television. There is no need for any secrecy about the Imam's statements. I assure the Assembly that the secret pamphlet quoted by the Iraqi representative is so secret that it cannot be found anywhere but in the highly-efficient Persian section of the United States CIA. As a matter of fact, Imam Khomeini has, throughout his active political and religious life, lectured on Islam, the fight against zionism and the unfortunate lot of our Palestinian brothers and sisters. For this, he is often accused by many Western-oriented traitors and pseudo-Iranian nationalists of being unpatriotic.

321. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Iraq, who wishes to speak on a point of order.

322. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq): According to my stopwatch, the representative of Iran has used up his 10 minutes.

323. The PRESIDENT: I was about to interrupt the representative of Iran, because he has indeed just finished his 10 minutes. I would ask the representative of Iran kindly to conclude his statement.

324. Mr. NIKAEIN (Iran): Secondly, the representative of Iraq said that the Iranian régime had executed its supporters—meaning, of course, murderers and bomb-plant-

ers—in the holy month of Ramadan. For his information I should like to read him a passage from the Koran on Ramadan and similar months, *sourat 2*, verse 194—

325. The PRESIDENT: I must stop the speaker and ask him to bring his statement to a conclusion, because his time is up.

326. Mr. NIKAEIN (Iran): What the representative of Iraq said was against the Koran.

327. Mr. IBRAHIM (Ethiopia): I should like to begin by extending my delegation's sincere sympathy and profound condolences on the tragic death of President Anwar El Sadat to his family and to the people and Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt.

328. The Ethiopian delegation listened attentively to the statement of the permanent representative of the United States at the 24th meeting, held on 2 October. It was my delegation's hope that the permanent representative would have addressed herself to at least some of the problems raised by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country in his statement at the 22nd meeting. But the candid expression of concern by my Foreign Minister regarding the precarious international situation and the role played in it by the United States was instead countered by slander and calumny.

329. There is, of course, nothing new in what the permanent representative of the United States had to say. It was a mere repetition of the propaganda campaign conducted by the imperialist media against Ethiopia and its revolution. The only thing new, perhaps, was the emotion with which her words were delivered. Truth hurts, and the emotional outburst of the representative of the United States is perhaps understandable.

330. What my Foreign Minister attempted to do in his statement to the Assembly was to draw attention to the callous adventurism, and the dangerous alliance that was being forged with the forces of oppression and injustice by the new United States Administration.

331. Is it a lie to state that the United States has recently prevented the Security Council from censuring racist and terrorist South Africa for its blatant acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola? Is it also a lie to state that in so doing, Washington has come down on the side of a handful of Fascists in opposition to the legitimate aspirations of millions of Africans? Is it, furthermore, an error to state that in doing so, the present United States Administration has proved itself to be the enemy of justice and freedom in Africa?

332. Indeed, as a major supporter of the racists of Pretoria, the United States cannot escape responsibility for the continuing injustice being perpetrated against millions of black people in southern Africa. Let there be no mistaking this fact: the United States Administration equally deserves the condemnation of the entire world for its attempts to destabilize independent States of the region, particularly Angola, in order to expand the frontiers of racism and imperialist domination.

333. However, credit must be given to the United States Administration for having at least been candid enough not

to pay even lip service to the causes of freedom and justice. A clear proof of this, if proof were at all necessary, is the strategic alliance forged between Pretoria and Washington.

334. The role of the United States in the Middle East is equally deplorable. By supplying some States of the region with huge amounts of military hardware and boundless political support, Washington cannot escape responsibility for the instability of the region, as well as the plight of the Palestinian people. What my Foreign Minister said in this connection, too, is nothing but a true reflection of the state of affairs and of the actual role being played by the United States in the Middle East. In any event, the United States representative had cautiously and deliberately avoided addressing herself to any of these irrefutable facts. We therefore take it for granted that the United States has grudgingly accepted these charges.

335. What the United States representative attempted to do instead was to cast aspersions on Ethiopia and its popular revolution. The Ethiopian revolution is a turning-point in the history of the Ethiopian people. The spontaneity with which it erupted in 1974 and the difficult path it traversed until it emerged victorious in 1978 are well known. This was a period of struggle, hardship and supreme sacrifice. It was this particular period that the United States permanent representative understandably chose to dwell upon in reply to the statement by my Foreign Minister. She cited in this connection a host of figures manufactured by forces hostile to progressive development in general and to the Ethiopian revolution in particular. Indeed, the United States representative has even shed crocodile tears over alleged violations of human rights in Ethiopia, notwithstanding her Government's open support for the oppressors of millions in South Africa.

336. This hypocritical concern becomes even more transparent when viewed against the United States role in Ethiopia prior to 1974, as well as its continuing and open hostility towards the popular revolution since its very beginning. The record of the United States performance in Ethiopia, as, indeed, elsewhere, has not been one of upholding human rights, but, rather, one of brutal suppression of human rights through close alignment with the ruling feudal aristocracy that thrived on the oppression and exploitation of the Ethiopian people. There is no denying the fact that if the feudal régime in Ethiopia stayed in power for the time it did, it is in no small measure due to the active support and sustenance it received from successive United States Administrations. The United States cannot, therefore, escape responsibility for the tragic death from famine of over 200,000 persons whose plight had been deliberately kept hidden from the rest of the world by the defunct régime, with the connivance of the United States Government.

337. The response of the United States to the popular revolution of 1974 was to recruit, organize, train and arm counter-revolutionary elements whose task was to employ terror for the single purpose of subverting and ultimately reversing that revolution. Furthermore, an array of reactionary forces, spearheaded by an expansionist régime, was encouraged and financed by the United States to launch a war of aggression against the motherland. These

are facts which the representative of the United States cannot deny without her conscience pricking. Here again, the United States cannot escape responsibility for the death and destruction resulting from the war of aggression and counter-revolution imposed on the Ethiopian people.

338. Yet these are the years about which the United States representative chose to speak in reply to the statement of my Foreign Minister. The remarks of the permanent representative of the United States are not only gratuitous, but also constitute open interference in the internal affairs of Ethiopia. My delegation therefore categorically rejects the slanderous remarks of the United States representative.

339. It is not the practice of the Ethiopian delegation to counter slander with slander. Nor is it now my intention to delve into the state of human rights in the United States today, nor to speak of the period of the American revolution some 200 years ago. In any event, the gains of the Ethiopian revolution, of which I cannot say much owing to the constraints of time, are indeed tremendous. I can only invite all the members of the United States delegation, including its permanent representative, to come to Ethiopia and see for themselves the unrelenting efforts the Ethiopian people are making to eradicate their age-old enemies of disease, poverty and ignorance, as well as the gains they have so far in establishing a society free from exploitation, injustice and oppression.

340. In conclusion, I wish to state once again Ethiopia's sincere concern at the escalation of international tension resulting from the imperialist policy of domination and exploitation pursued so vigorously and single-mindedly by the new Administration in Washington. Our concern, I repeat, is the future—the restoration of the rights and dignity of the black African in his land, as well as the survival of mankind on planet Earth.

341. Mr. QUATEEN (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The delegation of Libya joins the representative of Malta in expressing dissatisfaction over the delay in completing the procedures for the exchange of ratification instruments of the agreement reached between the two countries concerning the continental shelf.

342. Nonetheless, it appears that the nature of this question and its technical complications constitute the specific reason for this delay. As members well know, the question of the continental shelf and its demarcation between the countries concerned continues to be a delicate and complicated issue. It is still the subject of intensive negotiations and has been for many years, and is being considered by the largest specialized international conference, that is, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.

343. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has signed an agreement with Malta concerning referral of the dispute over the continental shelf to the International Court of Justice. It has ratified this agreement and it has already prepared the instruments of ratification and twice despatched its delegation to Malta with a view to exchanging the instruments of ratification. At present we are seeking either bilaterally with Malta or through the good offices of the United Nations to overcome the technical obstacles which

continue to impede completion of the procedure for exchanging the instruments of ratification in order to render the agreement effective.

344. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is anxious to resolve this dispute with Malta over the continental shelf. We also desire to complete the procedure for referring the dispute to the International Court of Justice as soon as possible. That determination is reinforced by our desire to maintain and preserve good-neighbourly relations with Malta, with both its people and its Government.

345. Mr. AL-QAYSI (Iraq): In view of the alleged objective analysis of the facts by the representative of Iran, let us put him to the test. The test requires that he should attempt to answer all the following questions politely.

346. First, if Islamic Iran does not seek to create turbulence anywhere in the world, how can the Iranian rulers explain their declared policy to export the so-called Islamic revolution, which they tried to do, without any success, to Iraq?

347. Secondly, do the teachings of Islam support the instigation of religious sectarian strife by means of sabotage and terrorism in a neighbouring Islamic country, as was done in Iraq by the Iranian agent party "al-Da'waa", with the declared aim of bringing down its Government?

348. Thirdly, what is the Irano-Islamic explanation of the following facts which took place during the period from February to September 1980: 249 cases of incursion in Iraqi air space by the Iranian air force; 251 cases of firing on and artillery bombardment of border posts, civilian centres, economic installations, civilian aircraft and merchant shipping in Shatt al Arab; 293 Iraqi diplomatic notes substantiating the aforementioned cases to which no reply was received; the concentrated bombardment by 175 mm. artillery daily and for long periods at a time, from 4 to 17 September, of towns, villages, oil installations, merchant ships in Shatt al Arab and shipping lanes, as well as aerial bombardment of some of those targets, notably towns; Iraqi diplomatic notes delivered to the Iranian Embassy in Baghdad on 7, 8 and 11 September 1980, calling upon Iran to abide by its treaty obligations towards Iraq in compliance with international law, to which no reply was received; the escalation of the military operations by the Iranian military forces against the totality of Iraq's territory throughout the period from 18 to 22 September, bringing the situation to that of total war; the issuance by the Joint Command of the Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran of eight military communiqués during the period from 18 to 21 September, in the first of which it was stated that the Iranian forces had destroyed oil installations inside Iraq, in the third of which an admission was made that the Iranian air force had been brought into the operations, and in the seventh of which general mobilization in Iran was declared.

349. Fourthly, how would the last question be answered in the light of the Charter of the United Nations, the definition of aggression and the rules of general international law?

350. Fifthly, on what basis of Islamic teaching could the Iranian rulers explain their military collaboration with Is-

rael in their aggression against Iraq, while they were trying to project themselves as fervent supporters of the Palestinian cause?

351. Sixthly, if Islam is the guiding light of Iranian foreign policy, on what Islamic grounds could the Iranian régime explain its refusal to withdraw from the three Arab islands in the Arabian Gulf, which were occupied by the Shah as a result of armed aggression and which belong to Islamic Arab nations?

352. Seventhly, what contribution, if any, has Khomeini's Iran made to the cause of non-alignment, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, or the oppressed peoples of the United Nations?

353. Eighthly, on what Islamic grounds could the Iranian régime and its so-called revolutionary leader substantiate their contention that theirs is a "divine doctrine"? In what manner was the said divinity bestowed upon Khomeini?

354. Ninthly, what contribution, if any, has the so-called Islamic Revolution of Iran made to peace, security, human rights, economic prosperity, the rights of minorities, the status of women, tolerance, or law and order?

355. Tenthly, on what Islamic grounds could the Iranian clergy's lust for power and bloodshed be explained? If that is complete revolutionization of the value system dominating Iranian society, is that also a part of the so-called "divine doctrine" of Khomeini?

356. Mr. ZAKI (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is not strange that the representative of a criminal régime, founded on bloodshed and disguised as a holy religion, should desecrate this time of sadness. Respectful of true Islamic traditions, we shall not debase ourselves by referring to those remarks at this historic moment.

357. The PRESIDENT: There is a request by the representative of Iran for a second right of reply. I should like to remind him that the second statement in exercise of the right of reply is limited to five minutes.

358. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Iran): Members have heard the Iraqi claims in the form of questions. I have here something very new and very interesting for representatives. It might be amazing also for the Iraqi authorities, with their valuable documents. They cannot deny or question its reliability. I have a book here which is entitled *Al Ahwaz*. There is a very interesting map inside the book. The book was published in Nisan of 1980. The map shows how the Iraqi authorities had already separated, of course in their minds only at that time, a particular part of our country. If members had this map in front of them and knew Arabic they could see the names changed and the geographical facts distorted. Of course the Iraqis are not liars! What we have heard from them is necessarily true, is it not? What is interesting about this map is that a part of our homeland has been given, out of charity or generosity, by the Iraqi régime to a newly-established Government. The title reads *Al Imarat al Arabiya el-Sahil al-Shari* (The East Coast of the Arab Emirates). It was so very generous of them. At the end of this

book there is a bibliography containing some other very important sources of exactly the same nature.

359. I wish that we had—and we could have—a minimum of honour to avoid the telling of such lies in this very important international body. The conscience of the whole world is listening to us. This book was not written by an individual in Iraq. It was written by the authorities of the Iraqi Government and published by the Ministry of Information and Culture, so to speak, of our very peaceful, peace-loving and peace-making neighbour! Representatives may of course order a copy by writing to the Iraqi authorities.

360. Now I believe that the international conscience can confidently judge who is responsible for the murder, the martyrdom, of thousands of devout Moslems and many thousands of Iraqi subjects, leaving aside the material losses inflicted upon both countries by the Iraqi authorities.

361. The Islamic Republic of Iran knows these lies for what they are, and I hope the rest of the nations of the world will learn more about this Baathist régime in Iraq.

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda and organization of work (continued):*

(a) Report of the General Committee

SECOND REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/36/250/ADD.1)

362. The PRESIDENT: I should like now to invite the Assembly's attention to the second report of the General Committee. In paragraph 1 (a) and (b), the General Committee recommends the inclusion in the agenda of an additional item entitled "Prevention of nuclear catastrophe: declaration of the General Assembly" and its allocation to the First Committee. May I consider that the General Assembly approves that recommendation?

It was so decided (see decision 36/402).

363. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 2 (a) and (b), the General Committee recommends the addition to agenda item 18 of subitem (k), entitled "Appointment of an alternate member of the United Nations Staff Pension Committee", and its allocation to the Fifth Committee. I take

* Resumed from the 4th meeting.

it that the General Assembly also approves that recommendation.

It was so decided (see decision 36/402).

364. The PRESIDENT: The Chairmen of the First Committee and of the Fifth Committee will be informed of the decisions just taken.

365. We turn now to paragraph 3 of the General Committee's report. On the basis of the recommendations of the Committee on Conferences, the General Committee recommends that the General Assembly should authorize the following subsidiary organs to hold meetings during the thirty-sixth session of the Assembly: *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean; Advisory Committee on the Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa; Advisory Committee on the United Nations Programme of Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law; Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa; Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People; Special Committee against *Apartheid*; United Nations Council for Namibia; Working Group on the Financing of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. May I consider that the General Assembly approves that recommendation of the General Committee?

It was so decided (decision 36/403).

The meeting rose at 8 p.m.

NOTES

¹See *U.S. Department of State Bulletin*, vol. 81, No. 2054 (September 1981), pp. 63-70.

²*Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part I, sect. A.

³See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1980*, document S/14256, para. 5.

⁴See A/ES-8/11, annex.

⁵See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year*, 2277th meeting.

⁶*Ibid.*, 2300th meeting.

⁷See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 23*, chap. XIII, para. 11.

⁸Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

⁹Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.