



President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. CHÁVEZ-MENA (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, Mr. President, I wish to convey to you my most sincere congratulations on your assumption of your office at this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. I also wish to express my Government's and my own pleasure at the good work done so tirelessly by the Secretary-General since the day he assumed the lofty and important responsibilities of his office. We are certain that his sound knowledge, his broad judgement, his sensitivity and his experience are and will continue to be positive factors that, together with his realistic outlook, will lead to the accomplishment of the mission entrusted to the Organization by the peoples of the world.

2. I should now like to present the general foreign policy views of the Government of National Unity, which I represent. Beginning in 1979, El Salvador took the first steps towards the establishment of appropriate and effective mechanisms to make the frequently postponed process of social, economic and political change a reality; to enable the great majority of the population to enjoy better living conditions, democracy and social justice; to bring about effective enjoyment of human rights by the exercise of self-determination; in short, to enable Salvadorian society to improve its overall way of life. Now, as then, my Government is engaged in a hard struggle to reduce the numbers of people living in or on the borderline of poverty, while also attempting to establish new structures with the sole purpose of fostering the development of the human person.

3. The entire world already clearly recognizes the scope of the structural reforms my Government has undertaken, particularly agrarian reform, which has been termed the most thorough ever undertaken in the Americas, and the nationalization of banking and foreign trade. At the same time, we are undergoing a political, democratic, participatory and pluralistic process the legitimacy of which was confirmed when, on 28 March this year, our country entered into history through the open door of elections held under the scrutiny of observers from more than 50 countries, recognized international organizations and institutions and some 500 foreign journalists. On that day, before the eyes of a world that was half indifferent and half amazed, the people of El Salvador rejected violence, totalitarianism and terrorism and opted for the

exercise of self-determination by peaceful and rational means as a solution to our many problems. The country chose the formula of pluralism and a multi-party system. The present Government thus joined the political forces that represent 92 per cent of the electorate and, acting in keeping with the aspirations of the people, adopted the basic platform of government known as the Pact of Apaneca, which emerged from the common objectives of the various political parties as expressed in the electoral campaign. Those basic objectives are peace, democratization, human rights, the consolidation of social reforms, the establishment of a climate of institutional and juridical confidence, the strengthening of international relations and economic recovery.

4. Naturally, since we are aware that good declarations are the framework of great actions, and that at the present time pragmatic steps that can achieve visible results are called for, my Government has set up three commissions: a political commission, a peace commission and a human rights commission. The Political Commission, which is made up, *inter alia*, of the forces that were proved most representative by the elections, is designed to bring a greater dynamism to the democratic process, to ensure its effective implementation and to adopt the necessary measures for the implementation of the Government's basic platform. The Peace Commission seeks the attainment of peace in a social climate that will enable all Salvadorians to live, work and fulfil themselves as human beings through national reconciliation, the abandonment of sectarian attitudes and the channelling of political interests along an institutional path. It also proposes the solutions necessary to bring about lasting harmony and social stability. The Human Rights Commission serves as an instrument for the protection, promotion and maintenance of human rights in the broadest sense and recommends appropriate measures for the effective attainment of human rights.

5. To give an example of the way in which these commissions operate, I am able to announce that the Political Commission has prepared a timetable which includes deadlines for important political events, among them the holding of presidential and municipal elections on 28 March 1984 at the latest. We hope that in these elections all political sectors will be represented, without distinction as to ideological or political views. It is clear that we are moving forward along the path leading to peace, harmony, justice and national unity.

6. We must emphasize that the overall solution to the problem in El Salvador is not to be found in El Salvador alone, since everybody knows that there is a general situation of conflict in Central America which gives rise to fresh tension and fosters old tension, making it difficult for any political project to be viable

and stable. In this connection, the existence of various political projects designed to meet and overcome the conditions resulting from underdevelopment at the social, political and economic levels gives rise to tension and conflict when there is an attempt to give one priority over the other, and in certain sectors this nurtures the illusion that the concepts are mutually exclusive. Thus, when there is interventionist behaviour, regional peace is endangered in Central America.

7. On the other hand, the situation in the region is not isolated from the serious disorders in the international monetary system, the high rates of unemployment, excessive protectionism and the many other negative symptoms, all of which the Central American subregion is encountering in its own social and political crisis.

8. Thus it is that there will be no peace in Central America if the arms race continues; there will be no peace if the traffic in arms continues; there will be no peace as long as people continue to support armed groups which seek to overthrow established Governments; there will be no peace if there is no respect for the right of peoples to self-determination; there will be no peace if people do not reject overt or covert foreign intervention; there will be no peace if there is no respect for ideological pluralism; there will be no peace if unfair social and economic structures are not eliminated; there will be no peace if democratic institutions are not strengthened and if human rights are not fully exercised. In sum, there will be no peace if people do not have faith and work for peace.

9. Through the introduction of political interests alien to Central America, which derive from confrontations on a larger scale, countries of the region tend to perpetuate our problems and to play the game of the merchants of war. If we do not begin to formulate ideas which lead to harmony based on trust, co-operation, our common origin, our common geography and our common destiny, our peoples can begin to write their own obituary—unless men of good will devote themselves with great enthusiasm to the quest for peace. As long as there is no peaceful coexistence, as long as there is no respect for the principles of the self-determination of peoples and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, as long as base foreign interests influence the behaviour of some countries in the region, stability, peace, democracy, development and social justice will be beyond our reach.

10. That is why I pledge the good will of my Government in the efforts to achieve that peace, which is the first and the essential factor in the attainment of the other conditions in which the well-being of the peoples can increase. For the same reason, it is essential that Central American countries adopt consistent policies to limit armament and military equipment; that we end all traffic in arms; that we neither accept provocation nor harass a neighbour; for we are all entitled to organize ourselves at the social, economic and political levels in the manner determined by the sovereign will of our peoples. My appeal, the appeal of my people and of my Government, is for the establishment of democracy, the full enjoyment of human rights, the rule of social justice and peace, tolerance and brotherhood among the peoples of Central America.

11. Aware of the fact that ideological pluralism must be the philosophy which inspires our Government so as to make possible the free interplay of ideas and thus the promotion of democracy, our domestic position can be reflected at the international level only by an attitude of respect for the struggles of the third world countries, which find expression in political forums such as those of the Group of 77 and the non-aligned movement. In the latter, El Salvador retains its observer status, bearing in mind the origin and the true doctrine which led to its foundation. Thus we wish to stand aloof from East-West confrontations so as to facilitate progress along our true path to development, while we strengthen our freedom, our independence and our sovereignty.

12. There is no doubt that so far in 1982 situations of conflict have arisen which have led to serious breaches of world peace. Some of those conflicts started a long time ago; others have emerged in more recent times and situations.

13. Certainly the behaviour of the super-Powers in their mutual relations as well as with regard to countries that are within their respective spheres of influence has left much to be desired when it comes to the quest for peace. Such situations lead only to greater conflict, increasing suspicion and the stepping up of the arms race.

14. Historical experience of relations between nations convinces us that no country remains indifferent to a disproportionate increase in a neighbour's arsenal, although the latter may claim threats to its territorial integrity as an excuse. Even an endless arms buildup cannot alter the absurdity of that argument. That is why, in principle, the technological and economic gap between the developed and the developing countries must be closed, especially when developing countries are poor in financial and investment resources.

15. The question arises as to whether this might be a legitimate need in terms of security, and the answer is obviously that it is not. The pretence of absolute security when dealing with a super-Power is either an absurdity in itself or a pretext for extending hegemonistic designs. The irrational arms buildup is offensive in its internal effects on the poor countries, a source of concern for the wiser and more prudent statesmen of the peoples living in the relevant region and sows the seed of discord. National situations which are exacerbated demagogically from outside and international tension provoked by the extremist policies of ideological unilateralism which denies pluralism constitute an explosive mixture which, unless action is taken, could set the region ablaze.

16. We recognize that the process of change in societies becomes irreversible both nationally and internationally and that the strategy to be followed is not to fight against the march of history but rather to adapt existing institutions to the necessary and inevitable change. But, if we have firm conviction and faith in the destiny of Central America, we can overcome our differences with a view to adopting, by mutual agreement, methods which, without sacrificing our vital interests, would allow harmonious coexistence in the region, bearing in mind that the peoples are those

who, in the final analysis, will define and determine their own destiny.

17. In this sensitive and complicated context, the Governments of Costa Rica, Honduras and El Salvador established in San José, Costa Rica, on 19 January 1982, the Central American Democratic Community, a noble integration initiative based on the common historical destiny resulting from an identity of ideals, unswerving devotion to democracy, recognition of the economic and social interdependence of our peoples and the firm will to resolve, in a co-ordinated manner and on a basis of solidarity, the social, political and economic problems which beset Central America.

18. We wish to express our disappointment at the results of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which dealt particularly with the problems of nuclear armament and the dangers this poses at the present stage of history. Peoples all over the world, although they have certainly been more vocal in certain regions than in others, have clearly expressed their commitment to peace and their rejection of any atomic confrontation, however limited.

19. Recent events in Lebanon, including the reprehensible massacre in the refugee camps, constitute a clear call to seek, by means of new political formulas, a lasting and just agreement in regard to the Palestinian problem, which continues to be at the heart of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The absence of an overall solution in the Middle East constitutes a permanent threat to world peace. We believe that President Reagan's proposal, which was made known on 1 September, is truly intended to lead to a viable and just formula. There is no doubt that, because of the influence the United States has on events relating to the Arab-Israeli conflict, the initiative of the United States President represents a step towards the solution of the problem and therefore towards the achievement of peace in the Middle East. This initiative is also in keeping with the letter and the spirit of Camp David. In the circumstances we cannot but applaud such a praiseworthy proposal, which points in the right direction.

20. I need not repeat that my country condemns the acquisition of territories by force—regardless of the method used to that end—but we also believe that the formal existence of the State of Israel must be recognized and also its right to live, free from all threats or pressures, within its own boundaries. This is a legitimate aspiration, and equally legitimate is the aspiration of the Palestinian people to establish its own State.

21. We must also refer to the question of Lebanon. After the trials that this nation has experienced, the international community must see to it that Lebanon enjoys full sovereignty, eliminating from its territory all foreign military forces regardless of the pretext that may be used for remaining there, and restoring to it, as an independent country, complete control and jurisdiction over its territory. In other words, Lebanon should be allowed to exercise all the attributes of a sovereign State, capable of rejecting foreign intervention or occupation. El Salvador, which does not and never will permit interference by foreign troops in its territory, supports any international

initiative designed to enable Lebanon, as a free and independent State, to achieve its political unity and territorial integrity.

22. The agenda of this session of the General Assembly again includes the question of Cyprus, which has been debated for many years. Thus the international community is justly concerned over reaching a definitive agreement. We have taken note with satisfaction of the continued efforts of the Secretary-General and his missions of good offices with a view to promoting talks between the two communities, a mechanism which so far has proved the best vehicle for solving the problem in a concerted manner. We must recognize in this case that UNFICYP has fully carried out its basic mission of maintaining and preserving the necessary climate of political tranquillity to enable the talks between the Turkish and Cypriot communities to be successful.

23. We also wish to express our concern over the continued war between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Iraq. This international conflict has demonstrated the impotence of the United Nations. Had we not known that the Security Council had discussed the matter and that the Secretariat had made renewed efforts to resolve the dispute by peaceful means, we would say that the entire machinery set up by the Charter to end international disputes was a dead letter. How much longer will war between those two nations continue without the international community stopping it? The conduct of those two countries has undoubtedly increased scepticism about the Organization.

24. Afghanistan continues to be a source of tension for the international community. So long as the Afghan people is unable to determine its own future, free from the flagrant intervention represented by the presence of almost 100,000 Soviet soldiers, in violation of the most basic principles of the Charter, there will be no just political solution.

25. That situation has its counterpart in the occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnamese troops, which has harmed the peace efforts in the entire region of South-East Asia. An agreement to end this abnormal state of affairs should be sought in the light of the tenets of the Charter. The withdrawal of foreign troops is a prerequisite, because the United Nations was created precisely to prevent such gross violations of international peace and security.

26. El Salvador condemns in the strongest terms racial discrimination, which has become the normal practice in the Government of South Africa. The world's conscience has condemned *apartheid*, which is the antithesis of humanism. Therefore, *apartheid* cannot be reconciled with the values of equity and harmonious coexistence. It is a link in the chain of causes of the intermittent outbursts of violence which have been manifestations of protest and rebelliousness against a clearly unjust state of affairs. That is why we shall continue to co-operate in the United Nations efforts to bring South Africa to respect the universally accepted standards of the Charter.

27. The other question affecting southern Africa is related to South Africa's behaviour in Namibia. Through the United Nations, the international community has promoted a framework for a solution by

which Namibia may attain its independence. To date South Africa has been able, through subterfuge, to undermine a political settlement, thus continuing its illegal occupation of the territory. What is more, the territory has been used to launch continuous acts of aggression. Therefore, efforts should be redoubled to remove obstacles and bring about the prompt liberation of the people of Namibia, thus eliminating another source of tension which is poisoning international, including East-West, relations.

28. At the global level, the United Nations will continue to be an appropriate instrument for dealing with crises and ending conflicts, if we collectively renew our faith in it. But its institutional machinery should not be abused by diverting it towards propaganda, for the benefit of sectarian interests, in the knowledge that such action would be aimed not at the solution of problems but, rather, at a temporary effect on public opinion.

29. Nevertheless, the threat to the United Nations as an institution is even greater when it is given competence in the domestic affairs of States, simply because these issues are linked with ideological trends. In that case, the possible influence of the Organization would be an obstacle to overcoming problems whose only solution should lie, because of its character and nature, in the hands of the people of the country, which knows its own situation better than anyone. The artificiality of giving an international character to national situations clashes with the essential principle of the self-determination of peoples. I do not need to say that in giving such situations that artificial character the interventionist interests at work violate the principle of non-intervention in the internal or external affairs of other States.

30. I turn to another matter—the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. It has been an exercise in patient negotiation in an attempt to reconcile very varied interests. For that reason alone, it is logical to say that no State could be completely satisfied. How far have legitimate expectations been expressed in the final text which has now been adopted? In our view that is the question which all States are asking themselves. On their answer will depend the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea,¹ an international instrument governing the norms and laws of the seas, including the sea-bed. The vote on 30 April this year shows that this international instrument commands wide acceptance.

31. Peace and development: these are two key words. Economic conflicts, such as the North-South confrontation affect international relations just as the hotbeds of political tension do. In that context, we all know that the question of global negotiations was re-examined by the General Assembly at its eleventh special session, just as it was at the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth sessions, without progress being made. I do not believe that we should waste time by futilely apportioning blame for the lack of progress. Rather, we must emphasize the need to break out of this impasse, which has hurt economic relations between developed and developing countries so much.

32. The great family of the Americas has so far this year given two exceptional examples of solidarity, to which I wish to refer because of the great significance

of joint, simultaneous action which presages the better days of which the Liberator Simón Bolívar dreamt. I refer, in chronological order, to the valuable and emotional—but none the less objective—backing which El Salvador's process of democratization received from the overwhelming majority of brother countries of Latin America, gathered at a meeting of the Organization of American States in Castries, Saint Lucia. Thanks largely to that support, the elections of 28 March this year were transformed from ideals into reality.

33. The other demonstration of hemispheric solidarity was on behalf of the sister Republic of Argentina, arising out of the stubborn persistence of an obsolete colonialism. I am referring to the Malvinas Islands. My Government supports Argentina's aspirations to achieve full exercise of its sovereignty over the islands, on the basis not only of hemispheric solidarity and of law, but also on the basis of the principles contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). In keeping with these principles, El Salvador has supported, still supports and will continue to support the process of decolonization everywhere in the world. In reaffirming its commitment to peace, El Salvador urges the parties involved to seek the means available through international law to put an end to the dispute, in particular by recourse to negotiation.

34. Today we celebrate the discovery of America. Irrespective of polemics, legends or the myths of "popular history" concerning who was the first navigator to sight American coasts and where he came from, what is certain is that Columbus and Spain represent a symbol: the symbol of the faith and the valour of a man, the symbol of the faith and the valour of a kingdom.

35. Like the peoples of bygone days, the peoples of today are witness to incredible feats, which are not unworthy of the great epics recorded and transmitted by history.

36. However, to our shame, the peoples today, just as those of bygone days, continue to witness remnants of colonialism that defy the trend of history, provocations, hegemonism, aggression and exploitation. While it is true that mankind has made prodigious technological advances in its organization, procedures, aspirations and psychology, there yet remains something akin to that mankind which once lived in caves.

37. It is imperative for us to bring technological development into line with social development, and vice versa. It is imperative for us to break away from that absurd contradiction of a human race that has not changed much since the Stone Age, with a technology that takes the elements of war into outer space. It is imperative for us, for mankind, to recognize the false steps that are taking us to the edge of the abyss. It is imperative for us all to remember that the victories of peace are nobler and more desirable than the victories of war.

38. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): Sir, I should like to begin my statement by extending to you our sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of this session. This is a fitting tribute to your country and to you personally. We are gratified to note that, at this crucial time when the United Nations is being put to severe tests by ever-escalating

tension and conflicts, as well as increasing economic problems, the membership of the Organization has entrusted a conscientious and able statesman with the task of steering us through this difficult course. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Kitani, who presided over the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly with efficiency, dignity and wisdom. We have noted with appreciation the commendable efforts continually expended by the Secretary-General in reasserting the authority of the Organization and putting it to the service of nations in time of conflict. In extending a formal welcome and hearty congratulations to him on his election to the post, I pledge my country's fullest co-operation with him in the years to come.

39. Since the last session, the international community, particularly the Organization, has been confronted with trying times and challenging issues. The world watched in horror at the carnage in Lebanon. We stood helpless as the conflict in the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) degenerated into armed confrontation and took its toll. There is almost a subtle sense of resignation as *apartheid* continues to devise the most brutal means of subjugating the people in South Africa. The Namibian people continue to be condemned to racist South Africa's illegal occupation and colonialism. And an end to the sad Iranian-Iraqi war continues to elude us.

40. We are at present witnessing one of the most disturbing periods in the post-war era. The delicate balance so painstakingly fashioned over the many years through the process of international dialogue and détente is giving way to tension and confrontation. The procedures for the settlement of disputes which were so laboriously created have almost lost their influence over the trend of international relations. Today tension prevails in all areas of the world. Confrontation and outright resort to force have become common means of settling disputes. The fundamental question is whether peace and security can be maintained in an environment where there is genuine concern that recourse to lawlessness will go unpunished by the international community or, at worst, be received with acquiescence by Members of the Organization.

41. The politics of force, so reminiscent of the cold-war era, seem to be creeping back, thus poisoning the international political atmosphere. As a consequence, the global consensus that had evolved regarding various problems in the world, stands to be brushed aside by this resurgence of cold-war politics. In various parts of the world, perennial problems have continued to be resistant to solutions and new crisis situations have emerged.

42. Peace is a deliberate process. To achieve peace, we must embark on a clear, deliberate and determined road in the search for solutions to the existing conflicts and look into viable means of averting those that are simmering. But we cannot do so unless our resolve is definite and our determination unflinching. We cannot do so unless we remain faithful to the ideals of the Charter and are willing to give it a chance to work. For Member States will be defeating the very purpose of their signatures to the Charter if, on the one hand, they extol its ideals and, on the other, pursue policies aimed at undermining it.

43. *Apartheid* constitutes constant aggression against the people of South Africa and a serious threat to international peace and security. It is a fact that *apartheid* is not invincible. But the struggle for its elimination is frustrated by the direct or indirect support the *apartheid* régime receives from some Members of the Organization. These Members, none the less, increase their co-operation with and support for that régime. We need not recount the number of times the international community has been prevented from taking action by the use of the veto. We need not remind the Assembly that the issue of comprehensive sanctions against that régime remains frozen, solely because of the unwillingness of some permanent members of the Security Council to consider it seriously. We need not spell out all the areas of economic and political, as well as military, co-operation.

44. Regrettably, these obstacles placed on the path of the freedom struggle in South Africa have the effect of reinforcing the *apartheid* régime and making it even more insensitive to reason and more defiant of world opinion. The overall effect is to block the peaceful means towards the elimination of the scourge of *apartheid*. When peaceful avenues are thus blocked, the freedom fighters are left with no other option but to resort to armed resistance. The message which comes out loud and clear from the land of *apartheid* is that the people of that unhappy land are prepared to make supreme sacrifices for their freedom and for their dignity. In concert with the rest of Africa, we reaffirm our support for and solidarity with the South African people and we reiterate our conviction that the international community can make an important contribution to that struggle if it shoulders its proper responsibility and institutes appropriate measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.

45. Today, almost two decades after this body terminated the Mandate of South Africa and assumed direct responsibility for the Territory, the people of Namibia continue to be deprived of their most basic human rights. It is indeed a sad commentary on the efficacy of the United Nations that Namibia should continue to be subjected to racism, colonialism and human suffering. The continued illegal occupation of that international Territory by South Africa is a flagrant violation of international law and constitutes an affront to world conscience and to the fundamental dignity of mankind.

46. The *apartheid* régime has a unique record of flouting international opinion. Inside Namibia it has unleashed a reign of terror against the people of the international Territory and particularly against the leadership and the heroic combatants of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. The régime has also been busy propping up internal surrogates in an attempt to facilitate the imposition of a neo-colonial solution to the problem.

47. On the other hand, South Africa has been engaged in a systematic campaign of destabilization of the neighbouring African States. Using the international Territory of Namibia as a launching pad, it has repeatedly committed blatant acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and, in the process, has inflicted damage and destruction to life and property. Women and children and other innocent civilians have been its constant victims and for more

than one year now it has occupied parts of southern Angola, notwithstanding the international outcry and condemnation. Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe have also been subjected to aggression while the *apartheid* régime has continued its pressures on Botswana and subversion against the Kingdom of Lesotho. As part of its conspiracy against these African States, South Africa has been training, financing and equipping mercenaries to cause instability in some of them. All these acts constitute a clear threat to the security and stability of the region, with dangerous implications for international peace and security. They can be ignored only at our collective peril.

48. Negotiations on the question of Namibia have become a saga of disappointment and frustration. Whenever there were prospects for a light at the end of the tunnel, those prospects were shattered by the introduction of new and unreasonable demands in the negotiating process. While we have been engaged in the negotiations aimed at securing a peaceful settlement to the Namibian question, we have maintained that: first, Security Council resolution 435 (1978) remains the basis for achieving independence for Namibia and thus there is a need to have it implemented without delay; secondly, the Western contact group, at whose diplomatic initiative the plan for the independence of Namibia was originally conceived and which possesses considerable leverage over South Africa, has a duty to see to it that the plan is implemented; and thirdly, the central role of the Organization in working for the independence of the Territory must be underlined.

49. Over the last few months the front-line States, SWAPO and Nigeria have been engaged in constructive consultations with the Western contact group regarding the implementation of resolution 435 (1978). We regret that, although some progress has been made, some issues remain outstanding. But the main obstacle remains the intransigence of the South African régime and this defiance by the South African authorities is regrettably assisted by the introduction into the negotiating process of an extraneous issue.

50. It is thus a matter of deep regret that a non-issue should be made to pose as a difficulty. The attempt to link the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola poses a serious danger of derailing the entire exercise. The fact that this concept of linkage is now euphemistically called parallelism does not in any way change the substance of that policy. We have made it clear that this issue is against the letter and the spirit of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and constitutes interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State. This position was reiterated by the heads of State and Government of the front-line States and by the President of SWAPO in their communiqué issued at their summit in Lusaka on 4 September this year. When we consider the painstaking efforts that have been made by all concerned with a view to achieving a negotiated solution to this seemingly intractable problem, it would be very sad indeed if these efforts were eventually to crumble because of an insistence on injecting into the negotiations an issue which is totally alien to resolution 435 (1978). We are, in this connection, gratified by the clear statement made by the Foreign Minister of France, Mr. Claude Cheys-

son; in his press conference in Dar-es-Salaam yesterday, he made it very clear that France rejects the issue of linkage.

51. Freedom and independence for peoples and countries are principles we hold sacrosanct. It is in consonance with this policy that we have supported and shall continue to support the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence. It is a right which is engrained in the Charter of the United Nations and that of the Organization of African Unity [OAU]. Thus while we search for a solution to the problem of Western Sahara, my country will continue to be guided by its commitment to these principles.

52. Another tragic example of the powerlessness of the international community is the situation in Lebanon. The ongoing tragedy, with its implications for the sovereignty and integrity of a nation and the elementary human rights of the Lebanese and Palestinian people, is threatening to lead the entire region down the path of total conflagration. The Israeli occupation of Lebanon, the brutal war Israel has perpetrated against the Palestinians, the siege of Beirut and the dreadful massacres at Sabra and Shatila are a clear demonstration of the dangerously deteriorating situation in the area. Israel has invaded and continues to occupy the territory of a sovereign Member of the Organization. It bears responsibility for the murder of innocent Palestinian women and children. Perhaps one cannot adequately express in words the suffering, the torment and the humiliation which the surviving people are being subjected to under Israeli occupation.

53. We pay homage to the Lebanese and the Palestinian people for their heroism and steadfastness. We honour their monumental sacrifices, made in the cause of preserving their dignity and in the fight for what is right and just. We also pay a tribute to the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], which in a time of such profound crisis has demonstrated outstanding courage and statesmanship.

54. Tanzania reiterates its firm belief that the restoration of peace and security will come about not through policies of military adventurism on the part of Israel, but through the promotion of the fundamental attributes of peace. A genuine and lasting peace hinges upon the enjoyment by the Palestinian people of their inalienable right to self-determination, including the right to establish an independent state of their own. The acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible, and hence Israel must withdraw from all the occupied territories. In consonance with that principle it must equally be underlined that respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States in the area is a necessary condition for the attainment of a genuine, viable and lasting solution to the problem.

Mr. Beye (Mali), Vice-President, took the Chair.

55. The war between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran continues to be a matter of great concern to my country. We regret the fact that the two non-aligned neighbours are still engulfed in a seemingly unending war which has already claimed heavy casualties and has led to appalling devastation of property. My country has actively supported, and will continue to support, the mediations efforts of the

United Nations, the non-aligned movement and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, as well as those of individual countries which have sought to find a speedy, peaceful and lasting resolution of the conflict. In that connection, we note with appreciation the considerable efforts expended by the current Chairman of the non-aligned movement. Thus, we once more renew our appeal to the parties to the conflict through negotiations to bring about an end to the current conflict.

56. Last year we expressed optimism over the situation in Cyprus. The momentum which has been injected into the intercommunal talks with the submission of comprehensive proposals encompassing both the territorial and constitutional aspects of the problem seems, unfortunately, to have lapsed. The persistence of this problem continues to plunge that tormented country into deeper division. My delegation will continue to support the efforts to promote dialogue and to search for a political framework within which the problem can be settled. We remain hopeful that the parties to the conflict will demonstrate a genuine willingness to co-operate fully with the representatives of the Secretary-General in evolving a mutually acceptable framework for bringing the tragedy to an end through the restoration of that country's unity and territorial integrity, as well as through the preservation of its sovereignty, independence and non-alignment.

57. Tanzania supports the noble efforts of the Korean people towards the peaceful reunification of their country. At the same time we firmly believe that the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the area would be a significant step towards ushering in a dialogue between the two parts of Korea, aimed at eventually bringing about peaceful reunification.

58. Both in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, there must be concerted efforts on our part to settle the outstanding problems on the basis of respect for the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-intervention in the internal affairs of those States. To do this, however, there must be a willingness on the part of everyone to evolve a political framework within which these problems can be solved. For our part, we shall continue to support initiatives which are aimed at finding a political path to their final settlement.

59. We view with deep disappointment the sterility of the many disarmament negotiations which have so far taken place. The second special session on disarmament was particularly disappointing. It reflected the trend away from a serious pursuit of disarmament. The arms race, far from being curbed, has been given a new and powerful impetus. The politics of force are threatening to destroy the fragile fabric of détente as preparations for war continue without let. Weapons are being perfected and new and more sophisticated ones roll from the assembly lines. Military budgets are at a record high. Notions of limited nuclear war and of so-called enhanced security through nuclear superiority seem to be working to undermine the basic climate of searching for peace through disarmament which has all this time been the cornerstone of all the negotiations. In sum, the spectre of a holocaust haunts the world as the international situa-

tion creates the possibility of an international conflagration.

60. The politics of power have dangerously made countries prisoners of their own perceived sense of insecurity, which has in turn fuelled the race for more armaments. A new and courageous approach is needed to get out of this vicious circle. In that exercise, priority should be given to nuclear disarmament, for nuclear weapons pose the most immediate threat to the very survival of mankind.

61. The Indian Ocean is close to our continent of Africa, and the Assembly, more than 10 years ago, adopted the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)] to rid that area of military rivalry. But events are going in the exact opposite direction. The Indian Ocean is being further militarized by rival Powers. Contrary to the desire of the littoral and hinterland States for peace and security in the area, new foreign military bases are being established and nuclear warships and other weaponry are being introduced into the area. The ever-increasing foreign military presence and the rivalry of the great Powers put the peace of the countries in the Indian Ocean region further in jeopardy. We have also witnessed the regrettable obstruction by certain Powers of the holding of the Conference on the Indian Ocean. That situation calls for action. We therefore believe that, now more than ever, the Conference on the Indian Ocean is necessary.

62. To an impoverished people, peace and security means more food, shelter and security from the scourge of economic underdevelopment. Because the arms race fritters away so much of the scarce resources and manpower while the majority of the people of the world live in abject poverty and misery, my delegation sees those two elements as inextricably linked: linked, on the one hand, by the coexistence between lavish expenditure on armaments and the need for economic development; and, on the other hand, by the insecurity created by those armaments and that caused by economic hopelessness.

63. In considering this close interrelationship between disarmament and development, therefore, the need to ensure that disarmament makes viable contributions to the social and economic development of the developing countries, and particularly to the establishment of the new international economic order, is an imperative one.

64. All States Members of the United Nations do recognize the gravity of the deepening world economic crisis. Short-term measures adopted by certain developed countries in attempts to stimulate global economic recovery have failed to bring about the desired results. The crucial need to adopt a more realistic approach in order to eliminate the structural disequilibrium which characterizes the existing inequitable international economic system is becoming self-evident.

65. Although the impact of the deteriorating world economic situation is increasingly being felt by the developed countries, it is the developing countries which continue to bear the brunt of this crisis because of the vulnerability of their poor economies to the unfavourable external conditions. These conditions, which are themselves structural in character,

are made even worse by the unilateral adjustment measures adopted by some developed countries without due regard to their negative impact on the economies of the developing countries. Thus, for example, the protectionist measures against the raw materials and manufactured goods exported by the developing countries have led to a continued deterioration in the terms of trade of the developing countries. Many developing countries are having severe balance-of-payments problems. Yet the international monetary and financial institutions created to deal with such problems have proved insensitive to the development needs of the third world.

66. Interdependence among nations can be of mutual benefit to all countries only if we also recognize the imperative need to act collectively in our search for appropriate solutions to the global economic problems. But the international community is not lacking in its recognition of the need for collective action on those problems. Through numerous resolutions and declarations, the Assembly has repeatedly appealed to all Members of the Organization to engage in meaningful negotiations with a view to implementing the goals and objectives of the new international economic order. General Assembly resolution 34/138, on the launching of global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development, still offers the best framework for the comprehensive, coherent and integrated treatment of the interrelated issues in the field of raw materials, energy, trade, development, money and finance.

67. Even at the risk of appearing repetitive, it should be stressed that what has been lacking is the necessary political will, particularly on the part of certain developed countries, to translate the desires of the international community into concrete action. And it is disappointing to note that some developed countries still insist on certain conditions which continue to delay the launching of these much-desired global negotiations. We wish, therefore, to express our sincere hope that all Member States represented here will rededicate their efforts at this current session to facilitating the launching of the global negotiations without further delay. Towards this objective my delegation pledges its full co-operation. We firmly believe that it is only through dialogue and negotiation that nations can find commonly acceptable solutions to their common problems, for the benefit of all the peoples of the world.

68. There has been hardly any field in recent history where so many interests have been involved, where such interests have been so much at variance with one another and where reconciliation has been so complex a pursuit as the law to govern the oceans and seas of the world. If, therefore, there is one contemporary example of what the world community of nations can achieve through collective endeavours when such efforts are coupled with political will and a determination to succeed, it is the just-concluded United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.¹

69. Nobody has been, or could be, fully satisfied with it. It is, after all, the product of give-and-take. Indeed, many of us believe that more justice could have been done. That notwithstanding, we are confident that the Convention constitutes an adequate

basis for the promotion of justice in the use of the oceans and a commendable step in the establishment of the new international economic order. We join those who have called for its signature and ratification and therefore entry into force as soon as possible. So historic an achievement is too momentous to waste, and the consequences of a default would inevitably be too grave for all of us.

70. It is evident that none of the problems facing humanity are completely beyond solution. The issue is not whether a solution is possible or not. Rather, it is how much longer these problems can wait to be solved—whether time is still on our side. Some problems constitute merely a threat to the well-being of man; some prolong suffering; and others are leading us to self-destruction. Our choices are not very many. But the decisions are ours, and the power to exercise our will is also ours. But time is not indefinitely on our side.

71. Mr. YOKA MANGONO (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, I wish to convey my warm congratulations to Mr. Kollai of Hungary on his election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. His country's attachment to peace, together with his statesman-like and diplomatic qualities, as well as his perfect mastery of the major problems of international concern, gives us the certainty that the work of this session will be conducted with competence and efficiency. The delegation of Zaire assures him of its whole-hearted co-operation. I also express our appreciation to his predecessor, Mr. Kittani, for the competence, devotion, tact and efficiency with which he conducted the proceedings of the thirty-sixth session, at a particularly difficult time in international affairs. I should like, in addition, to extend once again to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar the sincere congratulations of the President, the Executive Council and the people of the Republic of Zaire on his election to the post of Secretary-General, to assure him of our whole-hearted co-operation and to express our best wishes for success in the discharge of his mandate, in the ultimate interests of peace, security and development in the world.

72. The delegation of Zaire wishes to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General for his report on the work of the Organization [A/37/1], in which his lucid and striking analysis confirms the merits, competence and experience of a man eminently aware of our common concern for international peace and security, progress and development through the confident co-operation of nations and peoples. This report is an invitation to all of us to renew our commitment to the letter and spirit of the Charter and to reaffirm our commitment to the maintenance of international peace and security, the promotion of co-operation for development, the easing or reducing of tension in the world, the adoption of measures to increase confidence in international relations, recourse to the collective security machinery provided for in the Charter; in a word, the principles of international law governing friendly relations and co-operation among States.

73. The Republic of Zaire, whose policy has always been guided by the goals and principles of the Charter, attaches the utmost significance to the role of the Organization. Our struggle for the recognition of

our right to security, a prerequisite of development, and of our right to development and to a share in world prosperity, and our right to our own identity, stems from a peaceful vision of international relations; the same vision which one can glimpse in the words of the Charter and which falls well within the framework of the general struggle of the peoples of the third world for greater justice and equity in international relations.

74. We have never committed aggression against anyone, nor have we threatened to, and it is our firm intention, as firm as it ever was, to pursue a policy of peace, good-neighbourliness, co-operation and openness to all nations of the world, on the basis of mutual advantage, and with respect for our sovereignty, our dignity and our right to a separate identity.

75. All our efforts in Zaire are focused on the building of a democratic, peaceful, modern and prosperous Zairian society, open to the enriching contributions of the outside world, but at the same time profoundly rooted in and respectful of our own authentic values.

76. On behalf of the President and Government of the Republic of Zaire, I wish to state that we threaten no one, politically, ideologically, economically, or militarily, and we expect that our partners in the world heed this commitment on our part. The peace-loving nature of our country, open to friendship and international co-operation, derives not only from its colonial history, which was marked by suffering and degradation of every kind, but also by the incessant struggle in different ways for national liberation. It also derives from our history after independence, one of division and secession resulting from two evils—tribalization and servile adoption of imported ideologies—but also one of a courageous struggle waged by the popular movement of the revolution, our party of the rally of the masses, headed by its founder, Mobutu Sese Seko, to regain its cultural identity.

77. We base our struggle for cultural liberation on a policy of a return to our authentic values. It can be defined as a critical and vigilant approach in which, without disregard for the contributions of other cultures, we draw, above all, from our own rich cultural heritage whatever is likely to permit us to affirm our own identity and personality and to achieve our overall objectives in the building of our country, and thus contributing to world civilization. We want to live in peace and friendship with other States. We do so as a country situated in the heart of the African continent, which shares more than 10,000 kilometres of borders with nine other countries, each with its own history, and using as a means of expression the French, English, Portuguese and Arabic languages.

78. This policy of peace, friendship and co-operation followed by Zaire has been demonstrated in each particular case by policies of good-neighbourliness, attachment to Africa, and respect for the policy of non-alignment and the principles of the Charter governing relations among various countries.

79. Speaking of peace, what can we see about us today? At the present time, failure to respect commitments, in terms of peace, decolonization, international co-operation, the interdependence of States, human solidarity, the rights of peoples and individ-

uals, and general and complete disarmament under effective international control, are today the major sources of tension, conflict, war and mistrust in international relations, of economic and moral crises and of a failure to attain the objectives unanimously proclaimed in the Charter.

80. If the 1970s ended on a note of bitterness, the prospects for the 1980s hardly seem more promising. Political, economic and social matters of major concern, which were the focus of the international community's attention, at the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly and elsewhere, have remained, in some cases, without satisfactory solutions, and in other cases deadlocked.

81. There is every reason to believe that the international situation will continue to be marked in the immediate future by increasing tension, distrust in relations between States, an escalation of the arms race, interference in the internal affairs of other States, recourse to violence, and difficulties in international co-operation for development, thus jeopardizing peace and, hence, the very survival of mankind.

82. The crisis, at once political, economic and social, which is at present unsettling the world, has severely handicapped the United Nations in attaining its objectives. This inability of the United Nations, resulting from the failure of States to respect commitments freely entered into, has had the effect of adding to the complexity of the problems of the world today, and has aroused a general feeling of insecurity.

83. Article 2 of the Charter lays down the principles of *jus cogens*, which has binding force and binds all States in the international community. Unfortunately, however, a number of States, in abusing their power, quite often shirk their obligation not to have recourse to force, not to interfere in the internal affairs of other States, and peacefully to settle their disputes, thus undermining the authority of the Organization of which they are Members. Some go so far as to institutionalize methods of violence, the sole goal of which is to ensure that they continue to benefit from unjust and arbitrary situations.

84. Since the creation of the United Nations 37 years ago, the question of disarmament has been the subject of numerous rounds of negotiations. Resolutions pile up, treaties are concluded and negotiating bodies, both within and outside the framework of the United Nations, proliferate. Unfortunately, and this must be said, none of this has served to halt or turn back the arms race. Quite the contrary, the arms race proceeds apace.

85. In spite of the international instruments prohibiting nuclear-weapon testing, we are daily shocked to learn of new developments and improvements in weapons whose destructive capacity boggles the imagination. Under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex], many States have undertaken not to produce or to possess such weapons. Nevertheless, the major Powers continue the nuclear arms race in the name of a so-called balance of power and the dangerous theory of deterrence, each day accumulating ever-greater quantities of nuclear weapons and refusing

to give negative guarantees to the non-nuclear-weapon States.

86. Thanks to the facilities granted it by certain Powers in contravention of Security Council resolution 421 (1977), imposing an embargo on arms shipments to South Africa, and in disregard of the OAU Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa,² South Africa's possession of the atomic bomb, places all African States, and its neighbouring African States in particular, in a situation of total insecurity.

87. If the nuclear arms race is quite rightly a matter of concern to the international community, the question of conventional weapons must also be the subject of our concern, because they are the weapons that are at present being employed wherever hotbeds of tension exist in the world. The Republic of Zaire welcomed the adoption by the United Nations on 10 October 1980 of the Convention on the Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects, and three Protocols thereto.³

88. However, to be more fruitful, subsequent negotiations should examine the most crucial aspects of the problem posed by conventional weapons, namely, their overproduction, their sophistication and their transport towards areas of tension. Responsibility for this state of affairs lies solely with the manufacturers, who are more concerned about the profits they earn from the arms industry than about the danger the dissemination of weapons poses to international peace and security.

89. The Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2*], devoted to disarmament, aptly laid stress on the need to approach the gamut of disarmament problems from the standpoint of development, because the arms race swallows up considerable resources that could be used to solve urgent economic and social problems. Indeed, in 1981 alone, arms expenditures amounted to \$600 billion at a time when UNICEF, to mention only that organization, was drawing attention to the tragic plight of children throughout the world. Only 1 per cent of that figure would have been enough to alleviate their suffering.

90. The reduction of military budgets is something that falls within the context of the goal of halting and reversing the arms race in order to free the resources necessary for economic development, in particular that of the developing countries. Resolutions adopted by the United Nations to that effect have not been implemented because the international community's interest has not been sufficiently aroused. This impotence of the international community has once again been illustrated by the failure of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which was able only to produce a programme for the World Disarmament Campaign.

91. As the President of Zaire recalled at the recent conference of heads of State of France and Africa held in Kinshasa, the tragic events in Lebanon have highlighted the complexity of the crisis in the Middle East, where the situation remains extremely disturbing.

92. The search for a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict is on a difficult road. The importance the international community attaches to a rapid settlement of the Middle East crisis emerges clearly from the various peace initiatives or proposals put forward over the past few years. It would appear that the international community has genuinely become aware of the true gravity of the situation that exists in this part of the world that is particularly sensitive, regarding the maintenance of international peace and security.

93. In General Assembly resolution 181 (II), the United Nations assumed the historic responsibility for guaranteeing the existence in Palestine of a Jewish State, an Arab State and a special international régime for the Holy City of Jerusalem. The Security Council, and the five permanent members of the Council in particular, should envisage the adoption of special measures to guarantee the security, stability and integrity of all States in the region in order to usher in an era of peace, stability and harmony in that part of the world. The Palestinian people have the same rights as do the people of Israel, namely, the right to form an independent State, to a homeland of their own and to live in peace within secure and recognized frontiers free from acts of force.

94. We are convinced that the settlement of the Middle East conflict requires, at the minimum, respect for and implementation of the following principles: first, recognition of the right of each State of the region to live in peace within secure and recognized frontiers; secondly, respect for the territorial integrity, political independence and sovereignty of each State; thirdly, mutual recognition among States in the region; fourthly, respect for the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by force; fifthly, recognition of the fact that the question of Palestine lies at the heart of the Middle East problem and, sixthly, recognition of and respect for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to create an independent State under the leadership of the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

95. All these elements can be found in General Assembly resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III) and in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Taken together, those four resolutions contain all the elements necessary for a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem, for they are mutually complementary and provide for a global approach to the various aspects of this thorny problem. It is in that context, in particular, that we welcome the French-Egyptian initiative in the Security Council⁴ and the conclusions reached by the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference at Fez [*see A/37/696*]. The international community and the United Nations can today find in all those initiatives based on good faith the elements necessary for resolving the conflict.

96. Zaire, a member of the Security Council, has associated itself with all the resolutions adopted by the Council since the outbreak of the Lebanese affair and it will continue to give its support to the effective implementation of those resolutions in the recognized interests of Lebanon. Zaire, whose policy is based on the goals and principles of the Charter and which attaches great importance to the role of the Organiza-

tion, associated itself with the condemnation of the criminal massacre of Palestinian civilians in the Shatila and Sabra camps and demands that the rights of the civilian population be respected, without any discrimination, while at the same time it censures all acts of violence against civilian populations. We believe that those responsible for these massacres cannot remain unpunished. As was quite rightly stated by the President of the Republic of Zaire in his masterly statement on 8 October 1982, no *raison d'état*, no morality, no pretext of any kind can possibly justify the massacre of innocent civilians.

97. With regard to the problem of Namibia, the position of Zaire has recently been recalled most clearly by the President of the Republic in the aforementioned statement, and we venture to repeat its main points in the Assembly.

98. In terms of the proposed settlement of the Namibian question approved by Security Council resolution 435 (1978), Namibia was to become independent in 1978. But, five years after the approval of that proposal, the transfer of power to the people of Namibia with the assistance of the United Nations has still not been carried out and South Africa is maintaining its illegal occupation and administration of this Territory, in defiance of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and international public opinion.

99. While SWAPO has repeatedly given proof of its constant readiness to co-operate in the implementation of the United Nations settlement plan, South Africa's attitude has been characterized by frequent recourse to delaying tactics and other manoeuvres designed to impede the implementation of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) and to postpone for as long as possible the inevitable independence of Namibia.

100. We must all realize that the continuance of the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, together with the denial of the inalienable rights and fundamental freedoms of the Namibian people, the extension of the policy of *apartheid* to this Territory and the transformation of Namibian territory into a springboard for attacks and aggression against neighbouring independent African States, in particular Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Botswana, constitute a grave threat to peace and security in this region.

101. Furthermore, the injection into the Namibian matter of extraneous factors which can serve only to distort this problem, which is in essence colonial, contains within itself the germs of a grave threat to international peace and security, while at the same time removing the protagonists even further from the climate of tranquillity and confidence so necessary for a negotiated settlement of the Namibian question.

102. Africa as a whole desires authentic and rapid independence for Namibia. Although we are convinced of the need to take into account certain practical considerations, we believe that resolution 435 (1978) remains the only basis for a negotiated settlement of the Namibian question that will bring about authentic independence, on conditions acceptable to the Namibian people and hence to the international community.

103. We have been following with keen interest the consultations among the five members of the Western contact group and all parties concerned, and we have noted with satisfaction the constructive approach of SWAPO and the front-line States to the most recent proposals of the contact group. South Africa must adopt a similar approach in its consideration of these proposals and respond to them without delay.

104. I should like to take this opportunity to repeat our firm condemnation of the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa and its repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring States, and we appeal for an increase in material and financial assistance to SWAPO in its just struggle for national liberation. Aware of its responsibilities towards Africa, Zaire will do everything within its power and its means, together with other members of the OAU and the United Nations, to help Namibia to become independent in 1983.

105. To talk of Namibia is in a sense also to refer to the distressing situation in which the black peoples of South Africa have been kept for decades. To these victims of atrocious humiliation, who are suffering, in the middle of the twentieth century, under the shameful yoke of the criminal policy of *apartheid*, we say that Zaire, in unison with all the States of the world that cherish peace, justice, freedom and equality, reaffirms its solidarity in their just struggle for national liberation and the recovery of their rights.

106. The situation prevailing in South Africa has all the characteristics of a typical colonial situation, aggravated by the elevation of racism and racial discrimination to the government policy known as *apartheid*, an outrageous policy which the United Nations and the whole civilized world have condemned as a crime against humanity. It follows from this condemnation that every State, every member of the international community, is duty-bound to help to ensure the abolition and eradication of *apartheid* and to refrain from any action that might directly or indirectly give comfort to South Africa in its pursuit of this policy and its denial of the inalienable rights and fundamental freedoms of the black population of South Africa.

107. It is our dearest hope to see emerge in South Africa a genuinely democratic society governed by the majority and guaranteeing the rights of all the minorities without distinction as to race, colour, sex or religion.

108. The situation which has arisen in the extremely sensitive area of the Gulf with the persistence of the conflict between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Iraq, two brother countries members of the non-aligned movement, is particularly disturbing. We can only deplore the fact that the efforts which have been made so far within the United Nations and the non-aligned movement, as well as the Organization of the Islamic Conference, to bring about the peaceful settlement of this conflict have not proved successful.

109. We should like to appeal once again most urgently to the parties to overcome their differences and co-operate in good faith in a search for a negotiated solution in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

110. The situation in South-West and South-East Asia is another matter of profound concern for the whole international community. Indeed, at its thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth sessions the General Assembly adopted resolutions which in particular condemned the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea and Afghanistan and demand the withdrawal of all foreign forces of occupation from those countries. Unfortunately, those resolutions have not been complied with. Difficulties persist with regard to the implementation of those resolutions and the hopes that their adoption had aroused seem to have been dashed by the hardening of the positions of the parties concerned.

111. In Kampuchea the military conflict continues. The human, material and food situation of the Khmer people both within the country and on its frontiers has not improved.

112. In Afghanistan the foreign intervention and occupation is continuing. That situation is fraught with danger to international peace and security.

113. Only strict respect for the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, particularly General Assembly resolutions 34/22, 35/6 and 36/5 on Kampuchea and resolutions 35/37 and 36/34 on Afghanistan can bring about peace in these areas. We therefore appeal urgently once again to the foreign occupation forces to evacuate these countries and leave their peoples to determine their own destinies in freedom.

114. In the Korean peninsula there has been constant tension for 37 years now as a result of the division of the country by the victors in the Second World War. We believe that it is for the Korean people alone to settle the problem by peaceful means through dialogue between the North and the South, in a climate free from any external pressure or interference, in accordance with the principles of the Charter. In the interests of peace and détente, the United Nations should take new initiatives to create favourable conditions for the resumption of negotiations between the two Koreas.

115. Faithful to its policy of non-alignment, Zaire has recognized the two Koreas and maintains with both excellent relations of friendship and co-operation. We believe that the admission to the United Nations of South Korea and North Korea, without prejudice to subsequent reunification, could, as in the case of the two Germanies, contribute to an easing of tension in that part of the world.

116. With regard to the question of Cyprus, the resumption of intercommunal talks appears to us to be the best method of bringing about a just and lasting settlement of the crisis afflicting that country. We believe that the United Nations, through the Secretary-General, should continue its efforts to help the two communities to find a negotiated solution to their differences and create the necessary conditions for the restoration of peace.

117. In the economic field, the international community is facing a serious crisis, a symptom of a profound breakdown in the structures of the present international economic and monetary order. Indeed the present international economic order is widening

the gap between North and South and seems incapable of dealing with the problems facing both the developing countries and the developed countries themselves. There are tendencies towards protectionism and impediments of all kinds to international trade. Similarly, the machinery of co-operation is being distorted by prolonging relations of domination and exploitation. In this regard, the situation contains the seeds of a grave threat to international peace and security, particularly because the industrialized countries are continuing to refuse to make the structural changes called for by the vast majority of the States of the world.

118. The various economic summit meetings of the countries of the North in which the countries of the South had placed so much hope have not lived up to their expectations; the multilateral trade negotiations continue to mark time, while the global negotiations remain deadlocked.

119. In the realm of trade, the developed countries continue to be both judges and parties by unilaterally setting prices for primary commodities, to the detriment of the third world countries, for which the increasingly serious decline in the terms of trade, the high rate of inflation, unemployment and the increase in the burden of foreign debt lend dramatic dimensions to the crisis.

120. The negotiations under way in UNCTAD, in the framework of the Integrated Programme for commodities, have made no progress. Of the 18 products on the Nairobi indicative list only coffee, cocoa, tin, natural rubber and sugar have been the subject of agreement. The Common Fund for Commodities which should in particular contribute to the financing of measures for commodity development so as to improve market structures and strengthen competitiveness and the long-term prospects for these products, has not yet been put into effect.

121. We hope that the wealthy countries will demonstrate a greater measure of political will so that the sixth session of UNCTAD, which will be held in June 1983 in Belgrade, can produce better results than the fifth session.

122. In the industrial field, the objectives pursued since the Second General Conference of UNIDO in Lima in 1975 are far from having been attained. We hope that everything possible will be done to ensure the success of the Fourth General Conference of UNIDO, which will be held in Kenya, and we appeal once again for a spirit of sincere co-operation on the part of the industrialized countries.

123. The Vienna Programme of Action on Science and Technology for Development, adopted in August 1979,⁵ has so far not even begun to be implemented and no agreement has been reached on its financing. The same applies to an international code of conduct for the transfer of technology negotiated within the framework of UNCTAD. I should like to stress the role and the importance which the third world countries attribute to this question of the transfer of technology as a catalyst for development, whether it be within the framework of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [resolution 35/56, annex] or in the more

general framework of the establishment of a new international economic order.

124. It is appropriate here to make an urgent appeal to all Member States to embrace a new ethic of international solidarity, without which no progress is possible. At a time of interdependence, we believe it essential that international development aid, technical and financial assistance and all other forms of international co-operation be derived from this new ethic and be based upon the principles of complementarity and mutual advantage. Indeed to be effective the organizing of development aid and technical and financial assistance must take into account the mutual interests of the parties as well as the specific realities and the dignity of the recipients.

125. If there is one thing on the credit side of the balance sheet for this year, it is undoubtedly the adoption on 30 April of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. We must, however, deplore the fact that it was adopted by a vote and not by consensus and that some States have not felt that they could undertake to sign it. This Convention represents a victory for reason and it is an important step towards bringing about the new international economic order.

126. The results achieved after such difficult negotiations have certainly not satisfied all delegations—my own included—but nevertheless they constitute a basis which will allow for some improvement in the course of the work of the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea.

127. There remain a certain number of problems, particularly for the developing countries that are land producers of the same mineral resources as those found in the sea-bed and ocean floor, and the Republic of Zaire has already, from this very rostrum, drawn the attention of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea to the harm that may be done to land producers, including ourselves, as a result of uncontrolled exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and any disruption of the structure of international markets which may follow.

128. That is the international environment in which economic relations between States are evolving at present. All projection studies indicate that this international environment will continue to be marked by an increase in protectionism on the part of the industrialized countries, their adherence to an outmoded and anachronistic international economic order and the erosion of multilateral co-operation, leaving the way clear for politically and ideologically inspired bilateralism.

129. In the view of my delegation, the time has come for the international community to take specific measures to ensure the launching of global negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations, which is the only appropriate framework for a global, coherent and integrated approach, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 34/138 and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*].

130. In parallel with these actions, the developing countries should continue and strengthen their efforts to promote fruitful and mutually advantageous co-operation. We cannot repeat too often that that should be considered a fundamental requirement for the establishment of the new international economic order. It must make it possible for us to constitute a force, not against the North, but to strengthen our own position as equal and full partners in international economic relations.

131. It is in this context that we call upon the international community to support the Caracas Programme of Action⁶ and the Lagos Plan of Action,⁷ the purpose of which is to put into effect a strategy of collective autonomy.

132. Another question which continues to concern the international community is that of hunger in the world. My delegation believes that to build a world system of effective food security, rather than confine ourselves to emergency assistance, the international community should over the long term focus its efforts on increasing agricultural production.

133. I turn now to the questions of the draft World Charter for Nature, which is before us for adoption at this session, and Zaire's particular problems in transport, transit and access to international markets.

134. It will be recalled that in its resolution 35/7 on the draft World Charter for Nature, the General Assembly invited Member States to conduct their activities in recognition of the supreme importance of protecting natural systems, maintaining the balance and quality of nature, in the interests of present and future generations. Last year, at the thirty-sixth session, the Secretary-General presented to the General Assembly the revised draft World Charter,⁸ which took account of all the observations made by the vast majority of Member States. Following the adoption of the Nairobi Declaration [*see A/37/25, part one, annex II*], which recognized the fragility of the environment, I should like to express the sincere hope that the final version of the draft World Charter will be adopted by consensus.

135. With regard to Zaire's problems in the matter of transport, transit and access to international markets, I remind the Assembly that because of its geographical situation Zaire was placed in the category of semi-land-locked countries by UNCTAD resolution 110 (V), adopted at Maniia in 1979.⁹ That resolution called for studies to be carried out with a view to helping countries in that category overcome their difficulties. Following that, the General Assembly adopted resolutions 34/193, 35/59 and 36/139 in 1979, 1980 and 1981, and the Economic and Social Council adopted its resolution 1981/68 in July 1981. The Republic of Zaire hopes that at the current session the Assembly will consider concrete measures to accelerate the implementation of those resolutions, on the basis of the Secretary-General's report.

136. That is the substance of what Zaire wishes to say at this session, which, as I have already said, is being held at a particularly difficult time in the evolution of international relations. At the political level, the arms race and the many areas of tension in the world threaten international peace and security. In the field of economics, the developed countries, the bene-

ficiaries of an anachronistic international economic order, continue to resist the legitimate claims of two thirds of mankind, while recession, inflation, rising unemployment, the constant deterioration in the terms of trade, imbalances in the balance of payments and external debts are exacerbating the economic difficulties of the third world.

137. In spite of these negative findings and the gloomy prospects, the Republic of Zaire reaffirms its unshakable faith in the ideals of the United Nations and proclaims its devotion to the principles and purposes of the Charter, for, as President Mobutu Sese Seko said from this very rostrum at the twenty-eighth session of the Assembly, on 4 October 1973:

“... thanks to [the United Nations] and through it, we shall be able to do more to promote co-operation among the inhabitants of our planet in the economic, cultural, scientific and technical fields, for the building of a better, fairer and more just world, in absolute respect for the authenticity of everyone.” [2140th meeting, para. 206].

138. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Iraq, who has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply. I remind him that in accordance with decision 34/401, such statements are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their places.

139. Mr. ZAHAWIE (Iraq): This morning the Assembly heard the representative of Iran state that Iran rejects all forms of domination, that it respects other countries' sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, and that it believes in non-interference in the internal affairs of others, on the basis of reciprocity. The fact is, however, that the present Iranian régime's foreign policy is based on the concept of the export of the so-called Islamic Revolution, which is a blatant violation of all those principles, of the Charter and of international law and practice.

140. Over a decade ago, as a first step towards fulfilling Iran's imperialist dreams, the Shah occupied by force of arms three strategically situated Arab islands in the Arabian Gulf, islands which rightfully belonged to the United Arab Emirates. Today Iranian forces continue to occupy those islands. Iran's withdrawal from the islands would have provided an indication that the new régime in Iran did indeed want to coexist amicably and peacefully with its Arab neighbours.

141. Iraq had sincerely hoped that the change of régime in Iran would usher in a new era of good-neighbourly relations in the region. Iraq extended its hand to Iran and invited the new leaders in Tehran to make such a gesture. The answer was a categorical refusal to withdraw from the occupied Arab islands and a continued refusal to implement the provisions of the treaties concerning the international boundaries between our two countries. Iran not only refused to withdraw from territories which legally and historically belonged to Iraq, but also proceeded to shell Iraqi towns and villages from those occupied Iraqi territories. That shelling started on 4 September 1980.

142. In spite of numerous notes and protests, Iran continued its aggression against Iraq. Finally, in self-

defence, Iraq retaliated on 22 September. These facts are meticulously documented and have been circulated by Iraq, and the case has been presented in the Security Council, as we all know. Iraq's response was certainly not a surprise attack, as the Iranian representative alleged this morning.

143. Iran continues to allege that Iraq was the aggressor, responsible for the war. Iraq informed President Sékou Touré of Guinea, Chairman of the Islamic Peace Mission, as long ago as 22 April this year of its readiness to accept the proposal to establish a commission of inquiry to investigate which side initiated the hostilities. Is Iran willing to reciprocate and accept the establishment of such a commission of inquiry?

144. Iraq further proposed that the United Nations, the non-aligned countries or the Organization of the Islamic Conference should undertake arbitration in the dispute and stated that Iraq would accept the results of this arbitration. Is Iran ready and willing to accept the establishment of such a committee of arbitration and to accept its decisions?

145. Moreover, we heard this morning that Iran was engaged in the struggle against zionism. Now, how can that be true when Iran buys armaments and spare parts from the Zionists, as confirmed by Sharon himself? During the Thirteenth Islamic Conference held last August in Niamey, the overwhelming majority of speakers appealed to Iraq and Iran to cease hostilities in order for them to be able to confront the Zionist aggressor. Iraq readily expressed its acceptance of the appeal; Iran refuses to this day, even after the horrors of Beirut, to accept this appeal made by the Islamic countries to the two warring parties.

146. On the other hand, the Zionist leaders have openly expressed their satisfaction at Iraq's preoccupation with the war on its eastern front. Where, then, is Iran's willingness to strengthen the Islamic front against the Zionist aggressor?

147. Furthermore, the Iranian speaker announced that there was no truth to the propaganda put out by the imperialist news agencies and that there was no danger that the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran posed no threat or danger to the countries in the Persian Gulf region. He went on to say:

“We stand for close and friendly relations based on mutual respect, with all the countries of the region.” [27th meeting, para. 173.]

I should like now to refer to at least one of the announcements made by Khomeini himself. On 27 May Reuters reported that “Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini warned Arab countries to adopt radical policies in the Middle East or else face the wrath of Iran's victorious armies...”. He went on to say: “If they do not return to the fold of Islam today, tomorrow will be too late... the final decision after victory will be made by our fighters and the politicians have no power to hold them back.” That was published in the *Athens News* on 28 May 1982.

148. Furthermore, the Iranian representative stated this morning that the Islamic Republic of Iran itself was responsible for the security of the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz. This is very reminiscent of the allegations and claims made by the Shah's régime in Iran. Obviously, the present régime continues

to act in the same manner and follow the same policies; it fancies itself as the policeman of the region.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. XVII, document A/CONF.62/122.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 105, document A/5975.

³ See A/CONF.95/15 and Corr.2, annex I.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1982*, document S/15317.

⁵ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, Vienna, 20-31 August 1979* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.I.21 and corrigenda), chap. VII.

⁶ Adopted by the High-Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries. See A/36/333 and Corr.1.

⁷ Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa. See A/S-11/14, annex I.

⁸ A/36/539, annex I.

⁹ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session, vol. I, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14), part one, sect. A.