



Wednesday, 13 October 1982,
at 3.25 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Jamal (Qatar),
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. MISKINE (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): This session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is being held at a time of acute international tensions and a world economic crisis of singular gravity. The entire international community is facing numerous problems which require from us as government officials a critical analysis conducive to appropriate solutions being sought in the higher interest of international peace and security as well as for the prosperity of our peoples and nations. In order to achieve those noble objectives, it is more than ever essential that the Members of the Organization scrupulously honour the obligations that they have assumed under the Charter. The whole world unanimously deplores the inability of the United Nations to resolve the major problems of our day, but what we do not denounce enough is the fact that such weakness on the part of the United Nations is the immediate consequence of the lack of political will of each of its Members to behave in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter. This is why our delegation unreservedly supports the highly intelligent recommendations made by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization [A/37/1] as regards strengthening its role and especially the action of the Security Council for maintaining international peace and security.

2. By electing Mr. Hollai President of its thirty-seventh session, the General Assembly affirmed its trust in his outstanding qualities as a diplomat and experienced statesman. In so doing it crowned his long career, which has been basically directed towards international relations. My delegation, confident in his ability to conduct the work of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly successfully, extends its warm congratulations to him and assures him of its full co-operation in his difficult but exalting responsibilities. I should like also to express the esteem and appreciation of my delegation to Mr. Kittani, his predecessor, who accomplished his noble work with courage and dignity in spite of the complexity of the tragic events that have shaken the world throughout the past year. Lastly, it is an agreeable duty for me to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General for his tireless and most commendable efforts

during the first year of his term of office in attempting to find peaceful solutions to the disputes that divide certain Member States. He may be assured of the readiness of the Government of Chad to help him in his future work for world peace and development.

3. Before briefly expressing my delegation's position on certain important items of the agenda of the present session, I should like, as the representative of a country which has been the subject of conversation internationally in recent years because of the long and tragic situation of war that it has experienced, to outline the situation now prevailing in Chad.

4. While it is true that peace in Chad was restored only at the cost of great sacrifices, it is equally true that the tragedy endured for almost 20 years by our people was not without cause. War is never a matter of fate. In order better to grasp the true dimensions of the peace and security restored by the people of Chad last 7 June, it would be useful for me to outline briefly the internal and external causes of the tragedy experienced by my country.

5. The first major people's revolt in Chad after independence dates back to 1965. It was a genuinely national revolt, directed against an oppressive system imposed from outside. Through that war for national liberation, directed by the National Liberation Front, which courageously faced the neo-colonial troops and other expeditionary bodies, there were many people of Chad who saw their loved ones fall, their villages burned and their homes plundered. Many were also forced into exile. The régime of the day, which had become anachronistic and dictatorial, supported as it was by troops from the former metropolitan country, in 1975 fell victim to its own mistake of attempting to impose itself on our people against their will. Thus its own army seized power from it. Unfortunately, the hopes raised by that *coup* were soon disappointed.

6. Instead of offering the people of Chad dialogue and reconciliation, the military junta in turn committed the same mistakes and bloodthirsty acts as the former régime. Defying the six-month cease-fire that had been unilaterally declared by the National Liberation Front, whose Armed Forces of the North are the patriotic branch, the junta maintained a policy of repression and neo-colonial war. It was only in 1978 that the military régime, undermined by its notorious inability to meet internal and external challenges, accepted, for tactical reasons, the historic compromise of the Khartoum agreement. That was the first time since the popular uprisings of 1965 that an agreement frankly set forth the different problems of Chad and proposed comprehensive and lasting solutions.

7. The implementation of the basic charter that emerged from the Khartoum agreement would have

spared our people a great deal of suffering. Unfortunately, however, that charter was interpreted in different ways, which quickly led to a governmental crisis. Despite the twofold proposal of the Armed Forces of the North, to consult lawyers of internationally recognized competence if problems of a legal nature arose, or to amend the charter if the problem was of a political nature; despite our people's desire for peace as expressed in many demonstrations—yes, despite all that, part of the neo-colonial army, mobilized along personal, tribal, religious and regional lines, took the dangerous step, on 12 February 1979, of opening fire on students whose only fault was that to call for the peaceful and immediate implementation of the basic charter. The results of that war are known to all of us: massacre of the civilian population and a breakdown of trust among the regional components of our people; above all, that war opened the door for additional interference by foreign forces.

8. Supported by our people, and without external support, the Armed Forces of the North emerged victorious from that trial. The balance of power was in our favour. None the less, Comrade Hisssein Habré stated that there were neither victors nor vanquished and that it would be possible for the people of Chad to reach an understanding among themselves—but without foreign interference. We therefore proposed to the other components the Kano-I meeting in order to widen the power base by including all people of Chad who would participate in genuine reconciliation.

9. In spite of the Kano agreements, which called on all neighbouring States not to interfere in the internal affairs of Chad, certain Powers, sensing that they were losing ground on the Chad political chessboard, hastily formed armed factions along ethnic lines and that would serve their own interests. Unfortunately, at the Kano-II meeting we failed in our patriotic attempt to remove some of our brothers from external domination; thus we were composed of 11 political-military factions when we met in Lagos in August 1979.

10. In spite of our conviction about the anti-national character of certain political-military factions, we nevertheless agreed to sign the Lagos agreement. That agreement reiterated the call to all neighbouring States not to interfere in Chad's internal affairs. An important point in that agreement was the establishment of a consensus Government, whose term of office was set as 18 months, with the task of preparing free elections and completing the work of national reconciliation. The President of that Government would therefore have no personal powers.

11. In flagrant violation of the provisions of the Lagos agreement, a neighbouring country and other foreign Powers openly intervened in our affairs. Despite our determination to avoid war and in spite of the mediation offered by eminent national and foreign personalities, certain factions, feeling strong because of their external support, unleashed the war of 21 March 1980. By attacking elements of the Armed Forces of the North, the nucleus of the integrated national army envisaged in the Lagos agreement, that coalition brought about the start of another war—one which was certainly the deadliest and the longest that our people has had to endure. After nine months of national resistance, in the face of what became a plot

to recolonize Chad, which met with a staunch resistance with the exclusive support of our people, on 15 December 1980 we undertook tactical withdrawal in order to spare our people from genocide and to deal in an appropriate manner with the occupier's overwhelming superiority in weaponry.

12. As the occupying forces established themselves on our territory, the national and international public realized their real intentions and those of the coalition. At the same time, the patriotic struggle continued with a resolve matched only by our love for our homeland and our dedication to the universal values of freedom and dignity. It was in that context that the enemy was to begin the withdrawal of its troops. We then unilaterally and immediately decreed a cease-fire, with no prior conditions. Our desire for peace led us to give unreserved support to the resolutions of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] of 11 February 1982 [see A/37/161, annex]. It was that same desire for dialogue and peace which governed the rate at which we advanced on the capital. For more than four months we intentionally delayed taking the capital, in the sole hope of softening the belligerent attitude of our brothers. It was that same desire for peace and dialogue among the Chad people that underlay the successive visits of Comrade Hisssein Habré to Gabon and Zaire, after the N'Djamena meeting.

13. Today once again, before the Assembly, we affirm our attachment to the spirit of dialogue, without bitterness or ulterior motives. We solemnly invite all our brothers, including the former officials, to reflect on the wise words of Comrade Hisssein Habré:

“Let us bury the recriminations of unwarranted, unjustifiable and sterile hatred; let us exercise restraint and still our emotions; let us arm ourselves with common sense and reason; let us work for the benefit of the homeland and the people, and let us respond to its hopes of peace and unity, rather than attempt to bind the people to our whims.”

And we invite them to return to Chad, as many have already done, for the sake of peace and reconstruction.

14. Although this outline has been lengthy, we believe it was necessary in order to provide an accurate picture of the dynamics of war in whose grip Chad so recently found itself.

15. For the first time since 1978, a single administration effectively controls the 14 sub-divisions of our country. This is also the first time since 1965 that security has prevailed throughout our national territory. We are gratified to affirm before the Assembly that peace and security have been achieved following a long patriotic struggle and that they remain our constant objective.

16. The people of Chad remain touched by the sympathy expressed towards our cause by fraternal African peoples and all people of good will. Hence, we should like to express our deep gratitude to the African heads of State for their selfless contribution and especially to the founding President of the Togolese People's Assembly, General Gnassingbe Eyadema who, at the risk of his life, went in the midst of war to N'Djamena to attempt to obtain a cease-fire. We also extend our

thanks to our great pan-African organization, the Organization of African Unity [OAU].

17. These achievements are and will remain fragile and could at any time be lost if Chad's neighbouring and other countries do not stop from interfering in our internal affairs by encouraging the people of Chad to rekindle the flames of war. We would therefore recall that States are duty bound to respect the principles inscribed in the Charter of the United Nations and that of the OAU, in particular, the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of others, respect for territorial integrity, national independence and the non-acquisition of territories by force.

18. After the restoration of peace and the beginning of national reconciliation, a Council of State was established in order to guarantee the continuity of the State and the management of the affairs of the country. A Government will be formed on the basis of consultations which are now under way. It will have as its task the completion of reconciliation among all the people of Chad, a start on the work of national reconstruction and the creation of favourable conditions for the establishment of democratic institutions.

19. Peace and security do not suffice to guarantee genuine stability in a country if they are not supported by action for socio-economic development. Chad, already disadvantaged by its situation as a land-locked country, has suffered from a dislocated economy since independence. The combined effects of drought and war have worsened its already alarming economic situation. In fact, at this very moment the country is devastated, most public and social buildings have been destroyed, our economic and highways infrastructure is in a state of complete disrepair, communications with other countries are almost non-existent, hospitals and schools lack staff and equipment, people in certain regions are dying of hunger and the massive return of refugees is posing a problem as regards their resettlement and rehabilitation; and the list goes on.

20. Chad intends to maintain friendly relations with other countries which are mutually beneficial, but without infringing upon its freedom of judgement and action. By the same token, we reaffirm our firm attachment to the principles of the immutability of frontiers bequeathed by colonization and of the settlement of disputes by peaceful means. It is in this spirit that Comrade Hissein Habré reaffirmed in his statement to the nation of 18 June that:

"Our international relations are guided by the relevant principles of the Charter of the United Nations and that of the OAU: non-interference and mutually advantageous and reciprocally friendly co-operation; positive and dynamic non-alignment which in no way excludes our taking a position on various subjects of international interest; the implacable struggle against hegemony, whatever its source and active solidarity with all neighbouring countries. We firmly state that Chad will never be a base for subversion or aggression against fraternal neighbouring countries."

21. For several years now constant conflicts have marked the relations among States Members of the Organization; recourse to the threat or use of force,

political, diplomatic, economic and military pressures are common currency. This has led the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization to state: "We are perilously near to a new international anarchy" [A/37/1, p. 1].

22. These acts of insecurity are leading to the proliferation of hotbeds of crisis the world over. This applies especially to the question of Western Sahara, the situation in southern Africa, the problem of the Middle East and conflicts in Asia.

23. The problem of Western Sahara has become an alarming one for the international community and especially for Africa. My country has continually called for a peaceful solution to this problem in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the OAU and of the United Nations, and in particular in accordance with the decisions adopted at the eighteenth session of the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government at Nairobi in June 1981.

24. In southern Africa, our major concern remains the establishment of genuine freedom. We must restore dignity to our African brothers who are suffering in Namibia and Azania, the last bastions of the most blatant form of colonialism. As regards the Namibian problem, the international community is aware today that the South African régime does not understand the language of dialogue, but rather that of force. The racist régime in Pretoria and its allies do not wish to let go of Namibia, but to continue to exploit the wealth of that Territory. That racist régime could not have adopted such an arrogant attitude or have rejected the determination of the international community had it not relied on the assistance and support of its allies.

25. We reaffirm our steadfast support for the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the authentic representative of the Namibian people, and call for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) in order to establish a cease-fire and proceed to free elections. We urge the countries which continue their economic, cultural, military and nuclear co-operation with the racist régime of South Africa to put an end to these relations and to co-operate sincerely with the United Nations so as to achieve a rapid solution to the Namibian problem.

26. In South Africa itself, the racists stick to their policy of segregation in its most demeaning form, thereby perpetuating the greatest scourge of mankind. My delegation cannot fail to reiterate its condemnation of that hateful system. It also condemns the aggression against and invasion of the People's Republic of Angola, as well as the constant violation of the territories of other front-line States by racist troops.

27. The crisis which is unsettling the Horn of Africa is not likely to foster unity and cohesion in our continent but, rather, to perpetuate permanent tension. We venture to hope that the two fraternal countries will finally come to the negotiating table to find a peaceful solution to their dispute.

28. As regards the situation in the Middle East, many initiatives have been undertaken by the international community, but unfortunately they have not been followed up in a promising way because of the war-like attitude of the State of Israel. Everyone is convinced that the outcome of this conflict, which has

been of concern to peoples who cherish peace and freedom for more than a quarter of a century, rests on the implementation of the resolutions of the Organization. This involves *inter alia* the evacuation by the Jewish State of all Arab and Palestinian territories which it occupies; the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable rights to self-determination and the establishment of an independent and sovereign State in its own homeland; the recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] as the sole representative of the Palestinian people; recognition of and respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of each State in the region and the right of each State to live in peace within internationally recognized borders.

29. My delegation condemns the invasion of Lebanon by Israel and the abominable massacre of Palestinian civilians in Sabra and Shatila. The international community is duty bound to apply sanctions against Israel under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

30. The conflict between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran, two neighbouring Islamic countries, has already caused considerable losses in human life and material damage. In principle we reject any recourse to violence in solving a dispute which might arise between States and this is why my delegation reiterates here its appeal to the two parties for a cease-fire and for a peaceful solution to the problem. Consequently, we support the ongoing initiative within the Organization of the Islamic Conference and other initiatives which might help to bring about peace in that region.

31. In Asia, the problems of Afghanistan and Kampuchea continue to be a source of concern to us. The continuation of the situations in those two countries and their regional and international effects emphasize the urgent need for peaceful solutions that could restore internal and regional peace. Such solutions necessarily involve the withdrawal of foreign troops, and strict respect for the independence and territorial integrity of those countries, and a settlement allowing the two peoples to determine their own fate in full sovereignty.

32. Similarly, regarding Korea, we support the principle of the peaceful reunification of the two parts of the country, without external interference, and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Korean peninsula.

33. Another political question merits comment—disarmament. The second special session of the General Assembly on that question, which opened in a spirit of euphoria, has somewhat dashed the hopes placed in it, inasmuch as its work has not led to any tangible results; however, it has enabled not only Member States, international organizations, governmental and non-governmental organizations, but also the public to become fully aware of the danger inherent in the possession of nuclear and chemical weapons and, consequently, of the absolute necessity to freeze them immediately and gradually destroy them. Enormous resources, both human and financial, would thereby be freed and could be devoted to development.

34. Fortunately, since dialogue between the major Powers has not ceased, my delegation remains convinced that wisdom will prevail over any negative

considerations that could lead the world into a nuclear holocaust, which would spare no one.

35. The world is living in a state of expectation, but the margin for optimism is a thin one, especially because other phenomena of domination and destabilization of small countries, such as the use of mercenaries, continue to develop. Indeed, in recent years there has been a renewal of acts of aggression by mercenaries and other irregular elements against countries attempting to enjoy political sovereignty and independence. Their activities are threatening international peace and security in the same way as armed conflicts between countries. The people of Chad has suffered firsthand the effects of those activities. That is why we urge the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries to conclude its work and produce a convention very soon.

36. Development questions are also of concern to the Organization and have been since its creation, and the struggle against the inequity of the international economic system is part and parcel of the struggle the international community must wage. Indeed, here we are in the middle of the Third United Nations Development Decade and still uncertain about our future. The problems which the developing countries have to face are increasing even though it is true that no efforts have been spared to find a solution—for example, the fifth session of UNCTAD, the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, the creation of UNIDO to promote the industrial development of States, and many other initiatives.

37. In spite of efforts to ensure our development and in spite of the levels of international negotiation, the gap continues to widen between the economies of the developed countries and those of the developing countries.

38. The ills of international economic relations are more structural than cyclical. They include the increased deficit in the balance of payments of the poor countries, the continual deterioration in the terms of trade, ever growing inflation, rigid and unfavourable conditions for the transfer of technology, which are compounded by obstacles and limitations imposed on access by developing countries to international financial markets.

39. We must add to those the vicissitudes of nature for some of these countries, such as Chad—landlocked, insular, prone to drought, and so on. To be sure, not everything is so negative, as shown by the adoption in April of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.¹ But there is a serious degeneration of the very spirit which should guide the new concept of international economic co-operation. That widens even further the gap between North and South—a source of political instability the world over. For that reason my delegation recalls that the gradual establishment of a new economic order requires, first, the democratization of international relations, which necessitates the overhauling and strengthening of international institutions. It would be desirable for the developed countries to practise policies compatible with the interests of the developing countries. That means the abandonment, to

whatever degree, of the current tendency based only on solution of internal problems.

40. The delegation of Chad draws the attention of the Assembly to decisions and resolutions the Organization has adopted in favour of geographically disadvantaged countries. These countries have great needs and would like both national and international financial institutions to pay particular attention to them. We believe that the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [resolution 35/56, annex] should stimulate development in the third world. To do that, it is high time that we reformed the structures of the current economic system flowing from a global and integral approach to problems of the world economy with the participation of the whole international community.

41. Certainly, the international community has not been unaware of these difficulties. It has shown its concern for our people since 1979. Thus, the General Assembly has adopted many resolutions on emergency aid and reconstruction assistance; the most recent—resolution 36/210 adopted in 1981—requests the Secretary-General to organize a pledging conference on assistance to Chad. In that connection, during my stay in New York I have had talks with the representative of the current Chairman of the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kenya, with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and with the Administrator of UNDP, to whom I have expressed the earnest desire of my country to see that conference take place before the end of this year. We are confident that the Secretary-General will organize this conference in which we hope to see the largest possible participation by lenders and international organizations. To that end, we repeat our appeal to the international community for emergency assistance to Chad and for effective participation by lenders in the conference.

42. Chad seeks only to live in peace and understanding with all countries that love peace and justice, in particular with its neighbours. It is in this spirit that we wish to refer here to a situation that has been of concern to the people of Chad since 1973, namely, the occupation of a part of our territory by a neighbouring country, which occupation we have constantly condemned. This problem has already been raised in the OAU and the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations, and we still hope to see it solved peacefully. As soon as they entered N'Djamena, the Armed Forces of the North and the Council of State got in direct and indirect contact with that neighbouring country, so as to create at the very outset détente between the two countries so that our two peoples might live in a climate of peace. In spite of our readiness for dialogue we are bound to note the silence on the other side; more serious still, there has been glaring interference.

43. That was the message that I wished to impart to the Assembly, on behalf of my delegation. As representatives must have noted, owing to the special situation prevailing in our country, we have spoken at some length to state the concerns of our people. Our people has suffered too much from war and should now be entitled to lasting peace and its development with the assistance of friendly countries

and the international community, to which we affirm that peace and security have been restored in Chad.

44. Before concluding, we should like to repeat our appeal to the international community to help us effectively in the true battle that we intend henceforth to wage, that is, the reconstruction and development of Chad.

45. Mr. NGARUKIYINTWALI (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): I have the honour of extending to Mr. Hollai, on behalf of the delegation of Rwanda the warmest congratulation, echoing those already addressed to him from this rostrum by those speakers who have preceded me. His election to the presidency of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly is a tribute. Indeed, it duly recognizes the confidence which is owing to his personal qualities, particularly his competence, to which solemn homage has thus been paid. His election, moreover, is a mark of recognition of the important role that his country plays within the international community in the promotion of the ideals and principles inscribed in the Charter. In this context, the Rwandese delegation, whose readiness and sincere co-operation are assured him, is convinced that under his presidency the work of the current session will yield the results which the international community is entitled to expect in view of the objectives justifying the existence of the United Nations. May I also pay a tribute to Mr. Hollai's predecessor, Mr. Kittani of Iraq, who deserved well of the Organization by the wisdom, devotion, talent and dynamism with which he led the debates, which were undeniably long and difficult, that took place during the thirty-sixth session, as well as those of the seventh and ninth emergency special sessions and those of the special session devoted to disarmament. I should also like to take this opportunity to reiterate the congratulations of the Government of Rwanda to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar following his election as Secretary-General. The Government and people of Rwanda again express their best wishes for his full success in his noble and difficult mission and commit themselves to supporting him and assuring him of their full co-operation, within their means, in giving concrete form to the ideals for which the United Nations remains the guarantor and trustee.

46. In accordance with established tradition, the General Assembly is gathered here to take stock of a year of activities by the United Nations, primarily for the purpose of preparing for the future in accordance with the lessons, experiences and results of the past. As happens every year, a privileged opportunity has again been given to all Member States publicly and solemnly to express their positions with regard to problems which are currently of concern to the international community, as well as their hopes for the future—hopes whose realization will depend on the mobilization and contribution of all peoples within the framework of increasingly active solidarity, above and beyond pious wishes and simple declarations of intent.

47. The concerns of the Rwandese delegation bear first of all on the international economic situation, which scarcely prompts optimism, following a structural crisis which is creating an increasingly wide gap between the industrialized countries and the developing countries. World recession, monetary up-

heavals and increasingly heavy and crushing indebtedness confront the developing countries with problems that are at times inextricable and they are threatened in the end with bankruptcy.

48. During the year which is drawing to an end, no tangible development has occurred to modify in any positive or lasting way that tragically alarming trend, which the international community has been deploring for several years. The world continues to flounder in this crisis, which reduces to naught the ambitions and hope of enabling the majority of three quarters of humanity to escape the suffering of poverty and wretchedness.

49. The disorder of the international monetary system thus aggravates the problems of the third world countries which, while on the path to development, must face, with precarious resources, difficulties which are characterized notably by the persistence of inflationary pressures, the increasingly marked deterioration in terms of trade and the reduction of resources of institutions whose mission is to ensure financing.

50. For many such countries, the deterioration of the food situation has already gone beyond the point at which they are forced to increase their dependence on imported products to such a degree that they are no longer in a position to make the adjustments necessary to break the spiral of a worsening food shortage.

51. In this context, the countries which can afford to should abandon an exceedingly comfortable and simple attitude of inward withdrawal and should devote further efforts to ensuring that their official development assistance reaches the target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product set within the framework of the Second United Nations Development Decade. In that connection, the Republic of Rwanda would like to hail the decision already taken by a certain number of industrialized countries, which intend to devote 0.15 per cent of their gross national product to assistance for the least developed countries, of which my country is unfortunately a member.

52. My country at the same time welcomes the fact that the target of 0.15 per cent has been approved in the Substantial New Programme of Action² for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries, a programme which the General Assembly endorsed in resolution 36/194. My delegation ventures to hope that donor countries, as well as all potential prime lenders, will take adequate steps forthwith so as to ensure the effective implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action. My delegation is thinking particularly of immediate steps making it possible to satisfy the most urgent needs of the least developed countries. I should like to refer, by way of example, to the provision of substantial resources to reduce shortages of foodstuffs and energy resources, immediate financial assistance in the form of the cancellation or re-scheduling of debts and support for the balance of payments, and the immediate provision of supplementary financial support, especially for identification of projects, the carrying out of feasibility studies and the detailed preparation of investment projects.

53. The hardly encouraging picture of the world economy shows that the establishment of a new international economic order based on justice and equity is an urgent and imperative need. In that regard, I need

not dwell on the disappointment caused by the impasse regarding the global negotiations. Since the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, in August 1980, two years have elapsed without delegations having succeeded in finding a compromise acceptable to all parties so as to permit the effective resumption of global negotiations.

54. Although the present situation is undoubtedly one of impasse, certain parties like to praise the therapeutic virtues of the free play of market forces, which unfortunately benefit only the powerful and the strong, inasmuch as they do not fall within the framework of a real strategy of international co-operation and disregard economic interdependence, thus threatening to exacerbate the disagreements and disparities among States.

55. The Government of Rwanda is firmly convinced that the development of the third world depends on a fundamental restructuring of international economic relations as a result of reforms designed to put an end to the present system, which tends to keep the poor majority subordinated to the wealthy minority. Interdependence is a crucial element which must constantly be borne in mind: it should inspire greater solidarity and complementarity in the organization of the economic relations between the industrialized countries, which possess the technology, and the developing countries, which possess raw materials. To disregard that reality would be to close our eyes deliberately to the facts and risk plunging the international community inextricably into a crisis.

56. Interdependence should not, however, be limited to North-South relations; it should also be an important element in South-South relations, and should be understood to apply particularly to co-operation among developing countries—co-operation which the effective implementation of the Caracas Programme of Action³ would allow to develop and strengthen yet further.

57. In this connection, Rwanda is working unceasingly and with all its strength to promote and strengthen its co-operation with other developing countries in general and neighbouring countries in particular. With the latter Rwanda is endeavouring to develop relations of friendship and co-operation on the bilateral level and also within the framework of the subregional communities. The Rwandese delegation is convinced that such co-operation, which is fully in keeping with the objectives set forth in the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa⁴ constitutes, with regard to the countries concerned, an important contribution to the achievement of international economic relations which serve the interests of all the parties. We are also convinced that we must foster exchanges which could enable the third world countries to confront the difficulties inherent in the imbalance of the present system, which is reflected in persistent disorder and profound structural problems.

58. It is high time all States understood that all hope of peace and security will be vain as long as the world is ruled by a system which maintains three quarters of mankind in the worst conditions of

poverty, malnutrition, hunger and even abject, pathetic and revolting squalor.

59. The conclusions of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea have shown the sceptics that the Organization constitutes an ideal framework for constructive dialogue on problems and questions of world interest. Rwanda welcomed the adoption last April by a great majority of countries of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. It is not necessary to recall here the entire background of that Conference; its origins are well known to all delegations at this session of the General Assembly. My delegation would simply like to pay a well-deserved tribute to all the delegations that took an active part in the work of that important Conference, at which there were lengthy negotiations before arriving, after more than 10 years, at the drafting and adoption of an effective international instrument on the law of the sea.

60. As a representative of a developing country which is, furthermore, deprived of direct access to the sea, I should like to take this opportunity to express, on behalf of the Government and people of Rwanda, our sincere satisfaction with the provisions of the Convention concerning the right of access to and from the sea and also the exercise of the rights provided for in the Convention, especially those pertaining to the freedom of the high seas, the common heritage of mankind and the enjoyment of freedom of transit through the territory of transit States by all means of transportation. The land-locked countries would certainly have liked to see other provisions included in the Convention, but they refrained from insisting on that point so as not to jeopardize or block the consensus which was sought by all parties.

61. We hope that the Convention will enter into force as soon as possible and that it will serve as a model for the management and sharing of the wealth of our planet for the benefit of all mankind in general and of the poorest in particular. With this in mind, my delegation hopes that the delegations that so far have not, for various reasons, been able to support the Convention on the Law of the Sea will reconsider their position and join the majority, so that the objectives which in this sphere are common to all Member States may be achieved.

62. With the same optimism, we hope to see substantial and noteworthy progress made in the sphere of international trade, which for several years has been the object of important negotiations within UNCTAD. The gradual fall in the prices of raw materials and the inexorable increase in the prices of finished products make the economic situation of the developing countries increasingly catastrophic, for the deficits and the gaps to be filled compel them to contract more and more crushing debts and thus to become insolvent, which jeopardizes their future not only socially and economically but also politically.

63. I shall not engage in the futile exercise of enumerating all the problems confronting the developing countries in general and the least developed and the land-locked countries in particular. I will simply draw the attention of the Assembly once more to the fact that all the defects of the world economy are at present affecting even more seriously this category

of countries with weak and vulnerable economies. Therefore I reiterate that the time has come for solidarity and co-operation based on sharing, justice, equity and complementarity, in the framework of the democratization of international relations, which is an urgent necessity.

64. The role of the United Nations is to contribute to this and thereby to achieve its primary objective, that of promoting and ensuring the maintenance of peace, security and justice, while working for individual and collective well-being and progress, for the benefit of all the peoples of the world.

65. We are bound to note and to deplore the fact that the world does not seem to be prepared to learn from history and to give concrete form to the noble ideals to which all the Member States freely and solemnly subscribed.

66. Since the policy of détente, which would allow different socio-economic and political systems to lay the groundwork for fruitful co-operation, is increasingly losing ground to confrontation and tension, we face a future fraught with anguish and uncertainty. The arms race in nuclear, bacteriological and classical weapons is accelerating at an alarming pace to the detriment of investment that might help save people in developing countries from dire poverty.

67. Some references to problems of our times and a rapid overview show that overt conflicts and areas of tension which bring to bear grave threats to international peace and security are very much with us. Some are due to anachronistic colonialism or to the hateful and cynical policy of *apartheid*. All are linked to flagrant violations of the Charter and norms established by international law.

68. In Africa, above and beyond socio-economic problems, one of the major concerns remains the situation prevailing in the southern part of that continent and the sufferings, sacrifices and tragedies imposed on the Namibian people and on black South Africans struggling for recognition of their most basic rights.

69. As regards Namibia, which is still illegally occupied and administered by the minority racist Pretoria régime, the many actions undertaken by the United Nations to lead that Territory to independence—a matter for which the United Nations bears responsibility—have thus far come up against the intransigence, hesitation and dilatory manoeuvres of South Africa, which arrogantly defies the international community. How can we fail to deplore the procrastination and the attempts to torpedo the United Nations plan for Namibia, when every day the Namibian people thirst for independence, for which it will continue to pay a heavy price, through the sufferings of freedom fighters who go as far as making the supreme sacrifice to emancipate their homeland?

70. The Government of Rwanda, which has had the privilege and signal honour of taking part in the delegation sent by the OAU to the Western countries members of the contact group on Namibia, bitterly regrets that this year is likely to end without the date on which the Namibian people is to achieve self-determination and independence being firmly set. In this connection my delegation would like to reaffirm the conviction of the Government of Rwanda that

the United Nations plan for Namibia remains the only realistic framework for any initiative pertaining to the future of the Namibian people. That is why the five Western countries that make up the contact group cannot bow out without betraying the hopes and desires that the overwhelming majority of the international community have for Namibia. That is why those countries should be encouraged to show greater determination, willingness and commitment to compel South Africa to agree to strict implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

71. The right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence should not, under any circumstance or any pretext, be sacrificed to the selfish interests of certain States Members of the United Nations, States which, deaf to the repeated appeals of the international community, happily continue their collaboration with the Pretoria régime in economic, military and other matters.

72. The accession of Namibia to independence is an inevitable process which goes along with the tide of history. It is thus absolutely necessary for the Namibian people to be able without further delay to exercise its right to decide on its future for itself in complete independence and to choose for itself, free of any external interference, the political régime and socio-economic system that would be in keeping with its legitimate aspirations.

73. In recalling this position the Rwandese delegation once again hails the nationalist and anti-colonialist struggle being waged by that valiant people of heroes and martyrs under the aegis of SWAPO, its sole legitimate representative, to which Rwanda solemnly reiterates its unflinching support.

74. The return to the policy of gunboat diplomacy and the wanton and exclusive quest for spheres of influence, which sacrifice principles sacred to the entire international community as well as the elementary rights of peoples, will in no way affect the justice of the cause of the Namibian people. It will at the most delay matters; it will not at all undermine the heroism of that people.

75. I should also like to express the Rwandese Government's solidarity with the front-line States of southern Africa and more specifically the People's Republic of Angola and Mozambique, which are constantly victims of the bloody, barbarous aggressions and acts of sabotage in which the racist minority régime of South Africa takes pleasure.

76. In South Africa itself the proponents of *apartheid*—the iniquitous, hateful and inhuman policy they have established as a system of Government, thus enshrining racism and racial segregation as State policy—are attempting to maintain domination without regard for morality and right. So it is—and this is only one of many examples—that they install the majority of the population in so-called independent bantustans and have recourse to ignoble practices such as assassination, kidnapping, torture and imprisonment against nationalists.

77. This régime, which has been abhorred by the great majority of Member States, furthermore stubbornly defies the international community by terrorizing all of southern Africa through armed invasions,

assassinations, massacres, infiltration, political destabilization and acts of economic sabotage against neighbouring States. Quite obviously such practices amount to a desperate strategy in the face of the sacred cause of the liberation of peoples defence of which is daily mobilizing greater strength and determination within South Africa itself. That tangible progress compels the South African Fascists to launch escalated guerrilla warfare and frequently to resort to the use of bands of mercenaries.

78. In this context, in this International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa it is important that the diplomatic world redouble its efforts to isolate completely the minority racist régime in South Africa, politically, economically and militarily.

79. The situation in Chad is also a matter of concern to the African continent. The fratricidal conflict which has ravished that country has seemed for some months now to have died down to some extent, but what is temporary threatens to last, jeopardizing the settlement of the crisis, unless all the protagonists abandon once and for all their bitterness and resolutely commit themselves in a spirit of national reconciliation to the quest for a peaceful solution which will safeguard the higher interests of their country and, especially, preserve its territorial integrity. Such a development is an important prerequisite for the reconstruction and development of that country, torn by internecine strife. That reconstruction and development will be the task of all its vital forces, and Member States will not spare their support in this long-term endeavour, thereby showing the value they attach to the maintenance of peace and security, which the people of Chad so badly need.

80. Still in Africa, the question of Western Sahara is also a topical one and a major concern for our continent. For my country, the essential aspect of this issue is the need to apply the universal principle of the right of peoples to self-determination. It is in that spirit that, since 1976, it has recognized the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic.

81. Reference to the principles which inspire and underlie international ethics and politics requires that the African countries, which have always shown their support for peoples struggling for recognition of their right to self-determination, bury their disputes on Western Sahara in order to preserve their vital unity in the OAU, without denying the principles they have freely subscribed to or sacrificing either the interests or the rights of the Sahraoui people.

82. Other fratricidal conflicts which play their part in the proliferation of areas of tension continue in Africa, where they seriously threaten peace, security and stability in the regions and areas concerned and could encourage outside interference.

83. With full respect for the sovereignty of other States, the position of Rwanda with regard to these conflicts and tensions, which constitute grave obstacles to development, is to put its trust in the wisdom of the parties involved and hope that the spirit of conciliation will prevail over hatred and that recourse to compromise solutions will help to preserve peace, security and stability in Africa, with strict respect for

the principles of the charter of the OAU and that of the United Nations.

84. For more than 30 years, tension and murderous confusion have persisted in the Middle East, against the background of the intolerable martyrdom constantly imposed on the Palestinian people. Today more than ever this troubled region is characterized by the intransigence and barbarity of the State of Israel, which scorns the decisions of the international community and resorts to the policy of an ostrich, burying its head and refusing to recognize the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. In the orgy of fire and blood of which Lebanon has recently been the scene, this year has been marked by an unprecedented increase in acts of violence, launched by Israel on the pretext of reprisals against the PLO and of self-defence against the other States in the region.

85. At the same time, the repression in the occupied Arab territories has never been so brutal and savage. Armed with its arrogance, which has been denounced and condemned many times by the Assembly, Israel arrogates to itself the right to annex the Syrian Golan Heights in flagrant violation of the Charter and of the established principles of international law. Its invasion of Lebanon, its provocation and harassment of all kinds in the occupied territories and the establishment of new settlements are all elements which clearly illustrate Israel's contempt for international morality and ethics as affirmed in many resolutions of the United Nations, to which that ungrateful State owes its birth.

86. The many repercussions of the situation in the Middle East demonstrate the absolute and imperative need for a comprehensive solution. In this context, Rwanda remains convinced that any just and lasting solution in this region must necessarily involve the restoration to the Palestinian people of its fundamental and legitimate rights, especially its right to self-determination, the right to its own homeland to establish there, under the aegis of the PLO, its sole legitimate representative, the governmental structures of its choice. As long as this key problem is not satisfactorily solved, as long as the State of Israel refuses to return the Arab territories it has been occupying by force since 1967, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, as long as it persists in rejecting full participation by the PLO in the initiatives designed to promote the peace process in the Middle East, it will be an illusion to expect positive and constructive developments in this region so vital to international peace and security.

87. The diaspora imposed on the valiant Palestinian people will not give the slightest legitimacy to acts designed to stifle its legitimate aspirations, any more than the policy of terror and *fait accompli* of the Israeli Government will deflect the international community from its duty to promote, everywhere and in all circumstances, peace and justice, which are the foundations of the Charter.

88. Above and beyond the Israeli-Arab conflict, the state of war which persists between Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran, despite the many attempts at mediation, also continues to be a cause of deep concern in that already explosive region and for the

whole of the international community. That war, in which the victims can be counted in thousands, is seriously disrupting the economies of the two parties to the conflict, for which it involves a considerable loss of business. The Rwandese delegation pays a tribute to all people of good will who have spared no effort to seek a settlement of this fratricidal conflict. Rwanda hopes that these two non-aligned countries which, furthermore, have the same Islamic faith, will not remain deaf to the urgent appeals of the international community urging them to find once again the way to concord and co-operation, instead of following the easy way which leads to hatred and destruction, and so that they may seek the honour of promoting peace, understanding and co-operation.

89. In central Asia, the Afghan crisis persists and clearly shows the precariousness and fragile nature of East-West détente. The events which have occurred in Afghanistan have in fact provoked a deep division in the policy of détente, a division which has increased following the Polish crisis, exacerbating suspicions which have become only too commonplace when they involve a struggle for influence on the international scene.

90. Rwanda believes in the need to establish and develop a calmer climate which may allow all nations to make further development efforts. Rwanda feels at the same time that attempts to promote détente cannot exclude the third world in general, and Africa in particular, without running the risk of being ineffective.

91. In Indo-China, Kampuchea is still torn asunder by a continuing fratricidal struggle, with outside interference, for the control of power.

92. The Rwandese Government believes that respect for the sovereignty of States, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes should allow for an end to such conflicts, which are obstacles to the security and peace needed by the international community, for they go hand in hand with the arms race.

93. As regards divided nations, Rwanda supports the right of peoples directly concerned in this problem to seek ways and means to rediscover their unity. They should exercise this right peacefully, free from any interference or outside pressure.

94. It is with this in view that the Rwandese Republic remains firmly convinced that the Korean nation cannot achieve its reunification unless all foreign troops withdraw from that area.

95. The Rwandese Government also considers that current relations between the two German States are a reflection of the spirit of détente which underlies their relations. The co-operation established between those two States should attenuate at least to some degree the effects of division and gradually create a political climate which will not exclude the idea of a free and peaceful reunification of the German nation.

96. Our concern in the face of an increase of areas of tension and the persistence of conflicts should not lead us to forget that the greatest danger to international peace and security is the unbridled arms race

which causes the threat of an unprecedented holocaust to loom large over the world.

97. The second special session on disarmament, which was of such great interest to the General Assembly, showed sufficiently that the provisions of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [resolution S-10/2] were not applied in a satisfactory manner.

98. The dawning of an era of peace, progress and justice for all peoples is still impeded by the constant increase and spectacular improvement of massive means of destruction. Research programmes and military development in this regard are disquieting, for immense financial, material and human resources are being increasingly mobilized to refine the techniques of the extermination of the human race, thereby increasing the risk of conflict and conflagration.

99. The Rwandese Government solemnly reiterates its appeal that this formidable scientific and technological potential, as well as the financial means and human resources which allow for its development, be further exploited for peaceful purposes, especially to reduce the gap separating the wealthy from the still developing countries.

100. Will the international community be able to face the great challenge of our century, that is, the close relationship between disarmament and development? This is the outlook which all States Members of the United Nations—especially the developed countries in general and the great Powers in particular—should adopt in seeking elements of a solution to the problems of our times, without any ulterior motive or evasion, but armed first and foremost with the firm determination and genuine will to promote concord, solidarity and co-operation among all peoples.

101. This is the message of hope which I wish to transmit from this rostrum on behalf of the Government and people of Rwanda, in the conviction that the work of this thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly will lead to results specifically in keeping with the expectations of the United Nations, the Organization which is responsible to the whole international community for results which will consolidate and enhance its prestige.

102. Mr. KAFANDO (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): The thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly is taking place at a particularly crucial time in international life, characterized basically by a series of grave crises: political crises that endanger international peace and security, social crises stemming from unchecked population growth, economic crises unprecedented since the establishment of the Bretton Woods system, crises in international structures and institutions.

103. Hence we see before us the United Nations, with its imposing structures and prestige, facing the greatest difficulty in ensuring that international law and morality are respected. We see the Organization displaying its impotence in the tragedy taking place in the Middle East. Never before, in the discharge of its responsibilities, has the United Nations been so convinced of the futility of its decisions—witness its resolutions being trampled underfoot by certain

Member States whose duty it is because of their capacity to negotiate, to set the course of justice and reason.

104. This preliminary assessment of the world situation was necessary in order to highlight the immensity of the task of presiding over the Assembly since, through our deliberations and decisions, it may be possible to restore confidence in the United Nations and in all those that never lost faith in its calling. In extending our most sincere congratulations to Mr. Hollai on his election, our delegation would like to offer him our best wishes for the success of our work. He may be assured that my country, which as a Vice-President is working with him, is anxious to give him all possible support and assistance. I also address my best wishes to the Secretary-General for success during his term of office. The way he has discharged his responsibilities during this first year, so rich in events, is striking proof of his skill and ability to direct the Organization. Moreover, his report on the work of the Organization contains lucid comments and guidelines which have the full support of the Upper Volta.

105. Last year, looking back on the situation in the world, at the 28th meeting of the thirty-sixth session, I spoke of a momentum and of hopes which should not be dashed. Today once again these are our wishes, although the ills that envelop and afflict our world make despair a constant companion.

106. In the Middle East, first, in spite of four special sessions of the General Assembly, several Security Council meetings, a special meeting of the non-aligned countries and many appeals by the international community, Israel placed greater faith in war than in dialogue. All the efforts made to reach a just and lasting settlement of the Palestinian question crashed against the wall of death and bellicose arrogance erected by Israel—Israel which, having become a constant aggressor, proclaims and defends its own rights while trampling on those of others.

107. The tragic events in Lebanon are proof enough that 37 years after San Francisco a State is able to invade another with impunity under the pretext of being a liberator. After events in Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Lebanon, who would dare to speak of international morality? For those of us not having double standards, those acts of aggression are all equally reprehensible.

108. Thus, we see the Hebrew State, not content with occupying Arab lands, now interfering in Lebanese affairs. In this respect we condemn the principle of *fait accompli*. This is why my country fully supports the Security Council resolution which demands the establishment and maintenance of a multinational force whose primary mission would be to guarantee the security of Palestinians and to consolidate the integrity and independence of Lebanon. The massacres of Shatila and Sabra can in no way wipe out the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Israel, above all, should know this. Israel should know that as regards the struggle for the right to life and freedom more often than not everything follows the well-known biological phenomenon of organic regeneration. In other words, the Palestinians who died for freedom and justice will rise again from their ashes.

In these conditions, where does victory reside? Regardless of the final solution found and regardless of the means used, the tragedy in the Middle East cannot be resolved by force of arms. Only frank and sincere negotiations between the parties can lead to an equitable settlement of the dispute. That settlement must be based on the relevant decisions of the United Nations, with mutual recognition of the right to existence of both the Palestinian people and the Israeli people as an indispensable prerequisite. In this context, the Arab peace plan which resulted from the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference at Fez [see A/37/696] is an initiative in the right direction.

109. Israel must understand this wisdom, this sacrifice, and respond by giving up all the territories occupied by force and beginning a dialogue with the Palestinian people, through its legitimate representative, the PLO. A policy of domination or revenge on either side would be a dead-end policy, catastrophic for the region, which needs peace so much in order to regain unity and pool its vast resources to promote its economic and social development.

110. The region is also the arena of another conflict, which has for two years now pitted Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Iran against each other on geo-strategic and political-ideological grounds. The Upper Volta is increasingly concerned by the magnitude of that confrontation, which, if not soon honourably resolved may lead to foreign intervention, thus endangering international security. We appeal to those two non-aligned States to conform to the ideals of the non-aligned movement, which are based on peaceful coexistence, and put an end to a fratricidal war which wounds and weakens us all.

111. Africa and Asia are also hotbeds of tension, and here again we cannot but be pessimistic. With the complicity of certain Powers, the racist régime of Pretoria stalks and murders the freedom fighters who struggle to recover their dignity as free men. In spite of these vicissitudes, the African National Congress [ANC] and SWAPO are continuing their just and heroic struggle for a completely free South Africa and an independent and sovereign Namibia.

112. The blind hostility of *apartheid* to the objectives of Africa lead to repeated incursions against the front-line States, inflicting human suffering and material damage upon them and arousing only verbal condemnation from the Powers which oppose any sanctions against the South African régime. None the less those sanctions are necessary to compel the South African authorities to be more reasonable. Those sanctions are essential to put an end to the odious segregationist system which still, at the end of this twentieth century, dares to institutionalize as a system of government the theory of racial superiority dear to the Fascist régimes. In the name of justice and dignity, we wish to reiterate our support for the front-line States, whose determination and perseverance do honour to all Africa. In the name of justice and freedom, we ask the members of the contact group to apply all their skill in persuasion and negotiation to make the Pretoria régime understand that the independence of Namibia is inevitable and necessary.

113. As regards the events in Chad, every African country had its own opinion, and positions were often

contradictory and even conflicting. What is comforting is that we were able to exercise self-control and turn to the OAU, which had its first experience of maintaining peace in a country prey to civil war. Despite the difficulties it faced, the OAU accomplished useful work in Chad. In these circumstances, who would venture to question the usefulness and importance of that organization? It follows that the disagreements that now exist within the OAU because of the question of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic will not inevitably lead to its disappearance. On the contrary, the enthusiasm and faith that presided over the organization's birth must not wane and give way to disputes and excommunication.

114. On the question of Western Sahara, my country's position is very clear: it is based on our desire to work sincerely for the unity of Africa and on our wish to respect the norms of law, without which that unity would be only artificial. We in the Upper Volta are accustomed to independent thought and action, because the Upper Volta does not belong to any outside school; it has its own school. This underlies our vision of African unity; it also underlies our position on the question of Western Sahara, whose solution must involve an awareness of the following realities.

115. The question of Western Sahara is an exclusively African question; hence there is no need to refer it to the League of Arab States. A just and lasting settlement of the question must be based, above all, on the original principles of our organization; it is essential that the nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU be held, as planned, at Tripoli.

116. Above and beyond misunderstandings and sensitivities, what is important is cohesion and unity. In the life of any institution at some time or other there are difficulties that must be overcome. Let us, therefore, rally to safeguard our own unity. This is a categorical need, because an Africa bedevilled from within cannot allow itself to be destabilized or distracted by hegemonic designs.

117. Similarly, as regards Asia, we deplore the clear interference of foreign Powers in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. In the case of those countries, just as wherever else it is violated—in Africa, in Latin America—we wish to see respect for the principle of non-interference.

118. The question of Korea has always been a matter of concern to my country, which calls for and works towards reconciliation between the two Koreas and their reunification. The Upper Volta urges them to settle the Korean question by peaceful means, through negotiations, without foreign interference.

119. Now the force which brings together the countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa, the non-aligned movement must preserve the integrity of its basic principle, non-alignment. Increasingly lost sight of, non-alignment is increasingly necessary, vital and consistent with our fundamental interests. Without strict respect for the principles of our movement and in the hands of hegemonic Powers, we become pawns in a game that they play and control to satisfy their own strategic interests. Our ideals transcend that sad destiny, and our actions must no longer doom us

to it. Our task is to contribute balance and justice to the international community. We must also work fervently for a world based on true collective security.

120. In this context we can only be disappointed and frustrated that the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, in which all countries had placed such great hopes, ended in failure. The main cause was the bad faith of the nuclear States, which kept raising objections and reservations in an attempt to make disarmament their own preserve. Even if their arsenals warrant such pretension, it still remains true that peace is everybody's business.

121. In spite of those disappointing results, we consider it necessary, within the framework of the World Disarmament Campaign, to continue to mobilize world public opinion in favour of peace.

122. The future of the world economy arouses deep concern in my country. The present crisis, because of its multifaceted nature, spares no country, whether of North or South, industrialized or developing. Inflation and unemployment have sounded the alarm everywhere. The elements of a crisis similar to that of the 1930s are again present and, as if this were enough to overcome it, certain economic Powers have taken protectionist measures, which have had the immediate effect of producing disorder in international economic trade. In the long term it is to be feared that those same measures may lead to social and political upheaval, with unforeseeable results.

123. Another feature of the present situation which is equally disturbing to my country is the obvious slowing down of the humanist movement towards international co-operation which had led to the creation of a number of bodies within the United Nations system designed to foster the development of the least-favoured countries.

124. As proof of that I would cite the enormous difficulties now faced by UNDP, whose capacity to intervene in the sphere of international development has fallen in 1982 below what it was 10 years ago. For the countries that benefit from that assistance this situation will most certainly lead to the elimination of many projects whose economic and social impact is clear.

125. The concern that I have just shared with the Assembly is not confined, unfortunately, to UNDP: it extends also, I am afraid, to such specialized agencies and bodies as UNICEF, FAO, WHO, UNEP, and others. It is as though in recent years the interest that led to the creation of such bodies has waned; it is as though the suffering, poverty and penury of millions of human beings prey to hunger, thirst and the most diverse and cruel ills no longer awakened the conscience of men of good will.

126. It is therefore not surprising that this worldwide economic recession, whether we call it inflation, an energy crisis or deterioration in the terms of trade, which paralyses the growth of the most prosperous, powerful economies should be destroying the development efforts of the third-world countries, and, more specifically, the least developed among them. In Africa, and more particularly in the Sahelian coun-

tries, these ills, together with natural disasters and their consequences tend to become a veritable psychosis.

127. By the end of this session of the General Assembly we expect to see an increase in the number of African countries classified as among the least developed, which will bring to 52 per cent the proportion of States on our continent in that category. These figures speak for themselves; they are proof that in spite of the struggle of the African countries since their independence and in spite of the Lagos Plan of Action⁴ and the efforts of the international community to help our continent emerge from its chronic underdevelopment, the results have not met the expectations of our peoples. Indeed, the results have even been negative in certain respects.

128. It is often said that comparisons are odious. Without trying to draw analogies between the present situation of the developing countries and that of post-war Europe, my country, the Upper Volta, is convinced that only massive assistance to those countries along the lines of the Marshall Plan could help them to solve their economic problems. Obviously, the success of such a plan depends on the political will of all States, particularly the major Powers. In our view, the latter should reverse the arms race and devote the resources thus released to the peaceful purposes of economic and social development.

129. It is within this framework that the Upper Volta attaches particular importance to resumption of the North-South dialogue and renewal of global negotiations on economic development. We therefore appeal to the rich countries, and to their political will, in particular, to recognize that the interests of mankind and the very survival of the human race transcend self-interest, demand the prompt resumption of those negotiations and must be the basis of their philosophy.

130. The Upper Volta, a land-locked country and one which is geographically disadvantaged and classified among the least-developed countries, welcomed with great satisfaction the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea¹ on 30 April 1982. The decisive adoption of that instrument constitutes, in our view, a striking victory of an international community in search of its identity, an important step towards a more just and lasting balance in inter-State economic relations. Is that not an example, if example be needed, of the value of dialogue?

131. I should like on behalf of my country to take this opportunity to appeal to the States that for different reasons were unable to adopt the Convention on the Law of the Sea to review their position. On a Convention of such importance, consensus would make it possible for us to mark one more milestone on the path towards peace and détente.

132. Before concluding, I should like to restate my country's full confidence and faith in the United Nations and in its noble mission, which is that of bringing about an era of peace and progress for the well-being of mankind. The Upper Volta has attentively followed all the efforts made in that direction during the past year, whether it be the World Assembly on Aging, a matter which is increasingly of

concern to the international community, or the Second United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space which took place in August at Vienna. We believe that all these activities share a clear vision of objectives to be attained in order to make our world more fraternal and more humane.

133. It is urgent that the United Nations, through the proposals for renewal suggested by the Secretary-General, regain its place and its role in accordance with the principles of the Charter. It is essential that all the nations of our world give the United Nations every support to enable it to accomplish its mission in our troubled world, that of safeguarding peace and justice.

134. Above and beyond the difficulties of all types that today disturb international life, above and beyond national selfishness, tension and conflicts which govern inter-State relations, one truth remains: never before since the emergence of life on earth has mankind been more threatened, more haunted. Never has peace been more precarious, never has our world been more anguished, more disturbed; disturbed at the present, disturbed for the future. In these conditions, our only chance of survival is to mobilize all our energies in the service of greater justice, greater equity on earth.

135. Mr. BEYE (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): A year ago, during the thirty-sixth session, President Moussa Traoré, head of State of Mali, affirmed from this rostrum that "The aspiration of our peoples to live in dignity and in spiritual, moral and material tranquillity is thus being increasingly jeopardized" [23rd meeting, para. 13].

136. Alas, the past year confirms that statement which should be a source of fruitful meditation and deep reflection for us. In fact, 1982 will above all confirm the prevalence of relationships of force in international relations. The international community has been shaken by political, economic and military crises which threaten the very foundations of human civilization.

137. The past year, more than any other, seems to have been a year of disillusion. Solutions to fundamental questions basic to the balance of the world which were at one time within our reach crumbled because of the resurgence of warlike activism and last-minute intransigence.

138. That is why the eyes of the world, a world which legitimately expects from us just and lasting solutions for its stability, its security, its economic, social and cultural progress, are fixed particularly upon the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

139. Because we know that Mr. Hollai is an experienced diplomat with a long and full career; because he has dedicated part of that career to defending, in this very Organization, the fundamental objectives of the Charter, the Republic of Mali, a friend of his country, the People's Republic of Hungary, places great hopes in his well-deserved election which will, we are convinced, contribute to enriching our common action in maintaining peace, respect for the sovereign

equality of States and the peaceful coexistence of all nations.

140. Of course, I cannot conceal the legitimate pride that my delegation takes in the wide-ranging and positive action accomplished so skilfully by Mr. Hollai's outstanding predecessor, Mr. Kittani, that worthy son of the third world, of Iraq, a country which is a friend of my own, who acquitted himself so ably in the face of the many upheavals in international relations.

141. I should like also to reiterate to the new Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, the best wishes of the Government of the Republic of Mali, which reaffirms its full readiness to co-operate most sincerely with him. One of the long line of individuals who devote their talents and their political courage to the cause of peace, he bears with him the faith and hopes of the third-world countries which are resolutely committed to preventing the bipolarization of the world. He has already reflected in stirring terms in his report on the work of the Organization and in his speeches the meaning of his fight for justice and equity and also for the strengthening of the system of collective security of the United Nations, an irreplaceable instrument for world peace.

142. The United Nations is neither called upon nor able to provide magical solutions to international problems. But we had become accustomed year after year, in spite of certain negative factors, to winning victories over ourselves which reflected our deep dedication to the ideals, goals and principles of the Charter and to have our awareness of our international responsibilities heightened day by day.

143. In the course of the past decades, the United Nations has given particular meaning to its ascent towards universality. New forces have strengthened its action and given new dynamism to its structures. The virtues of wisdom and realism have often dispersed the clouds which, streaked with lightning heralding lethal thunderbolts, darkened the international horizon. Where agreement was sometimes lacking, hope at least was allowed. That is why the United Nations can quite rightly be pleased at having made its appreciable contribution to the national liberation struggles. It can take pride in having prepared international development strategy decades for low-income countries. It can also be proud at having created hopes for the establishment of a new international economic order. Well may it be proud also at having contributed to a sharper perception of the danger represented by the arms race, especially the danger of atomic weapons, and at having placed the individual at the centre of its concerns by stressing the magnificence and protection of his basic rights.

144. Thus, in spite of pitfalls, in spite of certain sharp setbacks, in spite of uncertainties that have often characterized the international situation, at each of the previous sessions the Assembly has attempted to pay its share for the safeguard and maintenance of peace. The feeling has prevailed that where we lacked immediate solutions to international problems, dialogue did enable us to discharge our international responsibilities with respect for our fundamental interests.

145. But this is where our hopes stop short. Indeed, as the Secretary-General himself recalls in his bril-

liant report "The past year has seen an alarming succession of international crises as well as stalemates on a number of ... international issues" [A/37/I, p. 1]. Hence the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly has opened in the atmosphere of a terrible, distressing vacuum.

146. It is therefore easy to understand why the recent twelfth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, in which many distinguished personalities participated, concluded without even reflecting the hopes that had been placed in it. And, worse still, while it was meeting Beirut was crumbling under Israeli bombs and new so-called conventional weapons were appearing on the battlefield, which thus served as a testing ground.

147. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea has been adopted, but with its chances of implementation blocked. The North-South dialogue on the coming into being of the new international economic order has foundered on national egoism.

148. The racist, illegal Pretoria régime has strengthened its alliances, heightened its repression against South African patriots and violated, with increasing brutality and even more bloodshed, the sovereignty and integrity of neighbouring States. Some Member States persist, in their delirium of power, in their attempts to break the will of peoples for independence. The United Nations will not at this session be enriched by the admission of one of the nations still under domination—although we had every reason to hope that that would be so.

149. Thus the challenges that we have committed ourselves to meeting are in fact taking on frightful dimensions.

150. The thirty-seventh session of the Assembly is being held at a time when the Palestinian people is experiencing the most tragic situation in its existence. The Zionist war machine has been unleashed against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples with unequalled furor. The siege of Beirut, the invasion of that city, the systematic destruction of Palestinian refugee camps, hospitals and schools and, lastly and above all, the Sabra and Shatila massacres lend the war in Lebanon the character of genocide, a crime against mankind. That outright aggression against Lebanon is a premeditated act of war against the sovereignty and integrity of a State Member of the Organization. The horrors that have been perpetrated bring back terrible memories. But the peoples that do not have short memories have spoken up everywhere in the world, including in Israel itself, against this repetition of the massacre of an entire people.

151. What took place in Lebanon disturbs and frightens us, because there is no greater incitement to crime than the apathy of those who, under the dangerous illusion that only the neighbour's house is burning, accept the inadmissible role of hearing and seeing no evil. In international relations, indifference is the most serious complicity, because it makes it possible for evil to progress and worsen.

152. The Zionist aggression in Lebanon is the consequence of the unpunished acts of Israel which therefore continues to defy the international community every day—as though the odious aggression

of June 1981 against the Iraqi people were not enough and as though the arrogant annexation of the Syrian Golan Heights were a minor event. Today it is the Lebanese and Palestinian civilians who are the innocent victims of the blind violence characteristic of the policy of the Zionist State.

153. The Security Council should have, for the cause of peace, drawn from Chapter VII of the Charter its inspiration and justification for action to induce the Government of Israel to respect the elementary rules of international law. It is high time to come to our senses, because *zionism* just like *apartheid*—and both are by their very essence generators of tension—will expose mankind to a new conflagration. Let us therefore act together to guarantee the collective security of all the nations of the world.

154. There is no other solution for the Middle East crisis, and especially the Palestinian question, than that set forth at this very rostrum a year ago, at the 23rd meeting of the thirty-sixth session, by the head of State of Mali, who, even at that time, welcomed what was still called the Fahd plan and advocated, first, withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories and, secondly, recognition and guarantee of the exercise of the national rights of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO, its sole authentic representative.

155. Those proposals were reaffirmed once again by the non-aligned movement during its recent Extraordinary Ministerial Meetings. They are being increasingly accepted, even by Israel's friends, including the most fervent ones. They are the backbone of the recent plan, of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, at Fez, which the Government of Mali supports.

156. Israel's brutal rejection of those proposals is not at all surprising. This systematically rigid attitude is part of the Zionist logic based on defiance and arrogance. The leaders of the PLO, with their usual grandeur, have solemnly declared that they adhere to those realistic proposals. Israel, on the other hand, rejects any solution which might stop the massacre in the Middle East and enable all the peoples of that region to live in peace, honour and dignity. However, we must remember this: the Palestinian fighters have left Beirut but their destiny is not buried there. They left Beirut with the strong determination to impose their national identity.

157. The repercussions of the situation in Palestine have on four occasions almost led mankind to perdition. In the face of the persistence of that danger and the imminent outbreak of even more serious conflicts, the relevant General Assembly resolutions on the convening in 1983 of an international conference on Palestine demand attention as very valuable proposals in the accomplishment of our compelling duty to restore peace to the Middle East and finally enable the Palestinian people to enjoy its inalienable right to freedom.

158. That right to freedom is part of the whole series of rights that the Charter acknowledges for all peoples and that have been codified, particularly in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. But, like Israel, South Africa does not understand these principles, which have international scope, for the *apartheid* system which it has made into a system of ad-

ministration, denies man his very existence. This unacceptable system is disturbing the harmony of international relations.

159. In its resolution 36/172 B the General Assembly proclaimed the year 1982 the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. Since then, the recommendations made to that end by many political, economic and social governmental and non-governmental organizations have taken on new meaning, on this twentieth anniversary of the arbitrary imprisonment of Nelson Mandela, whose vision of freedom is the same as that of those great men who by their courage and actions gave meaning to life.

160. The banning of the *apartheid* régime from United Nations activities is only poor consolation for those who are truly committed to defending the basic rights of man and peace. Chapter VII of the Charter has a wealth of resources for isolating and destroying that hateful system of *apartheid*. It is that system which is preventing a just and peaceful solution to the problem of Namibia.

161. The United Nations by legitimately assuming trusteeship over that Territory committed itself to helping the Namibian people to complete the reconquest of its homeland. The steps taken in accordance with that commitment have been essentially of two types: the first was the recognition of SWAPO as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, because it is the only organization which has paid in blood the price of the dignity of its homeland; the second led to the adoption by the United Nations of recommendations and decisions pertaining to the Namibian issue, including Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), adopted unanimously, which contain a plan to settle the crisis.

Mr. Richardson (Jamaica), Vice-President, took the Chair.

162. The methods for implementing that plan were the subject of long and patient negotiations between Pretoria and, respectively, the United Nations and five Western Powers. An exceptional opportunity was thus presented to us to abide by our commitments in regard to the maintenance of international peace and security.

163. But Pretoria remained frozen in its total lack of understanding for the requirements of peace. Each time that a glimmer of hope appeared on the horizon for Namibia's accession to independence, the racist régime of South Africa snuffed it out through successive recantations—some involving fantastic allegations in regard to the partiality of the Organization, others putting the emphasis on the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. The duty incumbent upon us is to commit ourselves resolutely to correct implementation of the relevant resolutions on Namibia. The implementation of those resolutions which pertain solely to the independence of that Territory cannot have any impact on or link with commitments entered into by States bordering on South Africa, in the exercise of their sovereignty, to ensure the security of their peoples in the face of precisely the warlike incursions of South Africa.

164. Mali's people and leaders vigorously oppose that grotesque machination, which is only a fallacious

amalgam aimed at delaying the process of independence for Namibia. For Mali, the presence of Cuban forces comes within the exclusive sovereignty of Angola and cannot be an element for negotiation between South Africa and those who are fighting—that is, the heroic SWAPO combatants.

165. The position adopted by the United Nations, to lead Namibia to independence, is based on the purposes and principles of the Charter. If it has provoked the wrath of South Africa, as was to be expected, it is even more valid.

166. It is up to the Namibian people and to them alone to seek and apply the appropriate political formulas to guide them in carrying out their national duty. Any attempt to subject its independence to other purposes will only lead to the preservation of foreign interests.

167. The Government of the Republic of Mali hopes that between now and the end of the current session of the General Assembly, an independent Namibia, with its territorial integrity intact, will take its rightful place in the United Nations. That independence will only be deserved, in view of the great sacrifices made by the courageous Namibian people in the defence of the ideals of the United Nations.

168. It is on behalf of those ideals of justice, equity and peace that the Government of the Republic of Mali has committed itself to the quest for a peaceful solution to the problem of the future of the Sahraoui people. We have on several occasions set forth and analysed here the various steps taken by Africa and the many initiatives taken by the head of State of Mali to bring about a satisfactory solution to this painful—because it is fratricidal—conflict. The question of Western Sahara, which bears the imprint of incomplete decolonization, cannot be solved without free expression by the Sahraoui people—that is to say, the exercise of true and inevitable self-determination. Africa, in its traditional wisdom, had already at the fifteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, at Khartoum, recognized that to be the only solution. But it was only at the eighteenth session, at Nairobi, that unanimous agreement was reached by the parties to the conflict to the organization of a general and free referendum on self-determination.

169. One could have thought, therefore, that the real dangers inherent in that conflict had been eliminated because the path of wisdom and realism had finally been taken by the protagonists, thanks to the vigilance and firmness of Africa. But to think that was not to understand sufficiently the demons of history. If the latest African meeting, the nineteenth session of the OAU Assembly, held at Tripoli, bore the stamp of the Sahraoui equation, it is comforting to note that once again Africa showed proof there of its traditional wisdom.

170. My country, Mali, which is honoured to have constantly benefited from the confidence of Africa in all its attempts patiently to search for a solution to that delicate problem, will continue its efforts to ensure that our continent, as in the heroic epochs of resistance and struggles for independence, will in unity complete the elimination of the after-effects and last vestiges of the colonial system. That noble

mission must be the concern of all African States, for let us not forget that the OAU remains above all the symbol of anti-colonial resistance. The current crisis in our continental organization will be mastered. Eternal Africa will be able to draw from its age-old values the resources necessary to allow our unified organization to pursue its constant march towards happiness, progress and solidarity among African peoples.

171. To live in peace means to establish and strengthen links of co-operation and tolerance of political and economic choices. That means non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and the strengthening of relations of good-neighbourliness. The policy of good-neighbourliness recognized by the United Nations is indubitably one of the most dynamic factors for the exploitation of the enormous potential which continued progress in science and technology makes available to nations.

172. The crossroad for several civilizations which enriched each other, the cradle of a people which linked its destiny to that of others, Mali has made good-neighbourliness one of the pillars of its foreign policy. The language that it desires to speak to its neighbours is that of sincerity, tolerance and respect for the basic principles which govern the existence of States. Mali is always open to dialogue, to constructive discussions which unite people around common basic interests.

173. That policy of positive good-neighbourliness also implies active solidarity among fraternal peoples faced with temporary difficulties. That is why our country constantly pursues its efforts within the African family to safeguard the national unity and territorial integrity of Chad. Those objectives can only be achieved without any outside interference in the internal affairs of an independent and sovereign State, whose current crisis is no reason for placing it under any trusteeship.

174. It is also on the strength of the principles I have just mentioned that we appeal to our brothers on the Horn of Africa and in Kampuchea, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and Cyprus honourably to end conflicts which can only expose them further to the appetites of the forces of domination and make the fruits of the struggle for emancipation increasingly bitter as well as dangerously weaken the front that the third world has decided to form for the restoration of its human and natural resources.

175. From Korea there does not come any glimmer of hope that would permit us to believe in the just redress of one of the errors of the last world war, which established arbitrary borders—an artificial line within a single country, all of whose people aspires profoundly to the unification of their common homeland. We hope that fraternal dialogue and fruitful co-operation will triumph so that the great Korean family will come together on the basis of the 10-point reunification plan, which is an infinite source of inspiration.

176. As can be seen, an analysis of the international situation reminds one of the situation during the great fear of the year 1000. Today conflicts born of liberation struggles are taking on formidable dimensions. Brothers are tearing each other apart. The policy of diktat is resurfacing. The desire to impose solu-

tions to international disputes through threats and the use of force is again common currency.

177. Conceived and drawn up on the ruins of a monstrous war, the Charter of the United Nations was designed to open the world onto an era of reconciliation of hearts and minds. But, unfortunately, the spirit of competition continues. Nuclear experiments continue although, according to all estimates, the existing stockpile of nuclear weapons is more than capable of destroying our planet several times over.

178. There is no agreement on the spiralling arms race, because the arguments advanced in the negotiations to restrain it are attached to concepts which tend to transform effect into cause. The initial concept can be reduced to the old adage, "If you want peace, prepare for war". However, people have never stopped preparing for war and have never stopped being in a state of war. Armament is seen to be a stabilizing element in international relations, whereas, on the contrary, the maintenance of such stability is conceivable only without the threat of the use of armed force. The second concept is that no disarmament is possible without the prior establishment of a climate of international confidence. Here again, the terms of the discussions on disarmament are inverted. Confidence is dissipated; it emerges through a prism whose pieces must be put together on the basis of a common agreement. Here the stumbling-block which has impeded negotiations on disarmament is again the balance of forces. Once again rhetoric has prevailed over the real will to negotiate. In an atmosphere of negotiation in which confidence does not reign or in which the stockpiling and improvement of weapons appear to be the only guarantees against widespread conflict, the basis on which the balance of strength rests is only a figment of the imagination.

179. The arms race leads inevitably to war. Only the kind of political will that has made possible the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea and the International Development Strategy for the First and the Second United Nations Development Decade can lead to results in the negotiations on disarmament.

180. The manifestation of this political will was, unfortunately, lacking during the launching of the global negotiations at the thirty-sixth session. Nevertheless, here again, the goal pursued was very close. The need for the establishment of a new international economic order was seen by all to be a demand of our times. A number of obstacles along the way were eliminated after long and patient negotiations. The consensus which enabled progress to be achieved was not maintained into the final phase of the negotiations, although these pertained only to questions of procedure.

181. Here again, in the final phase of the negotiations, the North-South dialogue lost its *raison d'être*. A group of States, thinking only of the status of their national economies, blocked the dialogue that had been begun with a view to finding concerted solutions to common problems. These problems may be rerouted, they may be subordinated to temporary concerns, but their scope and their universality can only become more compelling. They are common problems because

they pertain to the interdependence of States, and they require common solutions, without which the world economic situation will only deteriorate further.

182. An analysis of the world economic situation shows on the one hand a more marked deterioration of trade relations and on the other hand a trend towards absorbing the crisis through selfish and isolated national policies. That is the way in which I have summarized the bitter observations in the *World Economic Survey, 1981-1982*:

“Economic expansion decelerated markedly throughout the world... The deceleration was particularly intense in the developing countries, most of which experienced a significant fall in per capita incomes.”⁵

183. The growth rates of the developing countries have been falling dangerously since 1978. The terms of trade have deteriorated further; export earnings have not been sufficient to ensure debt servicing, while at the same time official development assistance has become more scarce and been tied to more and more conditions. For the first time since the welcome establishment of UNDP—and we wish to praise its efforts and its merits—UNDP has had its resources reduced. The Ottawa, Cancún and Versailles economic summit meetings, as well as the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, gave rise to many hopes, which were very quickly dashed. Global negotiations, the immediate launching of which is seen every day to be an undeniable necessity, although promised, do not seem to be on the horizon.

184. However, the industrialized countries are beginning in their turn to be affected to their very foundations by something from which they thought they were shielded, that is, an upheaval in the anachronistic world economic system. In fact we are on the eve of an implosion of the international monetary system. An increasingly large number of developing countries can no longer pay the North the interest on their numerous debts, which have reached the outrageous sum of \$500 billion. Even though they transfer every year to the North the tidy sum of \$50 billion to service the debts and even though the South receives annually from the North only \$25 billion in the form of official development assistance, the banks of the North are still threatened with collapse. This is in no way surprising. This disturbing observation only underscores once again the degree to which the world economy is interdependent.

185. We must above all be convinced that it is upon an improvement of the living conditions of the three quarters of the population of our world which continues to live in extreme distress that the world balance and the maintenance of international security depend. For millions of people whose average income is less than \$1 a day, it takes little thought to comprehend and realize the fact that every day about 4 million times that income goes into the production of devices that could deprive them of the meagre benefits they hope to derive for their subsistence. How can we explain to them, when every day they wonder what their chances are of obtaining a small crust of bread, that the cost of a jet fighter is equivalent to that of 15,000 tons of wheat and that the cost

of a bomber is equivalent to that of 30 schools or 15 hospitals? How is it possible for them to understand—and here we are referring to the statistics of the World Bank—that 800 million of them are condemned to illiteracy while sums that defy the imagination are swallowed up in the unbridled arms race?

186. For us, the peoples of the Sahelian region, where a relentless drought prevails, where millions of people see their very survival endangered, this dangerous evolution of the world's civilization is stupefying. The international community has, of course, decided to mobilize to restore life to the Sahel. We are therefore pleased once again to thank the many States and groups of States and governmental and non-governmental international organizations that have helped us to carry out some of our projects. However, it remains true that the desert continues to advance. The drought that prevails in the Sahelian regions can no longer be attributed to temporary meteorological phenomena. It prevails as a profound and more and more widespread evil, for the combating of which, however, technical and human resources exist.

187. A careful look at the phenomenon of drought, because of its persistence and its magnitude, shows a disturbing evolution in the ecology of our world. Yet the time is past when lightning caused man to dash for cover. The struggle to keep our environment healthy and sound so that man can flourish by applying all his creative skills, has never been closer to being won. Unfortunately, thousands of experts, and even the most competent among them, devote their intelligence to improving the war machine that is destined to destroy mankind.

188. The rehabilitation of the world economy so as to give it new life and vigour is thus among the primary challenges we shall have to meet in the course of this decade if we are to preserve peace.

189. The Republic of Mali, because it is determined to participate actively in the collective effort to rehabilitate the world economy, has chosen a course of development that is in keeping with the ethic of its people and with the demands of the modern international community. The building of an independent and planned national economy, in our view, is the appropriate response to the concerns of our people. Having made this choice, we are endeavouring to adapt our economic policies to meet the deepest aspirations of our population.

190. Like our neighbours, we believe that the patient construction of regional groups and subgroups such as the Organization for the Development of the Senegal River, the West African Economic Community, the Conference of Saharan States and the Economic Community of the States of Western Africa is the only way significantly and decisively to contribute to the realization of the Lagos Plan,⁴ which resulted from the important second special session of the OAU Assembly in April 1980 devoted to a thorough consideration of economic questions of concern to the African continent. The guidelines contained in that plan, which is now an historic one, are for Africans the only way to survive in the face of the serious economic crisis.

191. At the thirty-sixth session, in this very Hall, President Moussa Traoré spoke these words:

“Together with you, we wish to restore the confidence of our people in their creative abilities. Together with you, we wish to preserve international peace and security.” [23rd meeting, para. 78.]

We have come here once again to reaffirm our readiness to build, together with all the States of the international community, another world, a new world commensurate with our creative genius so that universal civilization can flourish.

192. This readiness on the part of the Republic of Mali to work for peace, justice and equity is constant. That is so because our aspirations and hopes are shared by the rest of the international community. Those hopes will exist as long as peoples are compelled to resort to weapons to defend their *raison d'être* and their dignity. They will exist as long as racism and its most odious manifestation, *apartheid*, continue as a system of government.

193. A world that trembles in fear of nuclear peril is not a free world, and it is even less a world of peace. People who are ill for lack of care, who are sick of being hungry will, without warning, upset the present precarious order, precarious because it is obsolete.

194. The past year has been fraught with threats. That is why we are here in this Hall with the other members of the Assembly to clear the ground for the establishment of a more stable system of collective security.

195. We should not be shouldering our responsibilities and we should betray the confidence of our peoples if in our actions we failed to provide concrete, pragmatic, realistic and lasting solutions for the sole *raison d'être* of man: that of living in peace with himself and with his fellow man, free of fear of future misery and conflicts, in ever larger freedom.

196. Mr. JABANG (Gambia): I should like on behalf of the Government of the Gambia and my entire delegation to express warm congratulations to Mr. Hollai on his accession to the high office of President of the General Assembly at this session. His broad diplomatic experience and his distinguished professional record admirably equip him to preside over the affairs of the Assembly, and my delegation has every confidence in his ability to guide the deliberations of the thirty-seventh session to a successful and effective conclusion. May I take this opportunity to pay a tribute to his distinguished predecessor, Mr. Kittani of the fraternal Republic of Iraq, who with untiring dedication and commitment discharged the responsibilities conferred upon him at the thirty-sixth session. I wish also to congratulate the fifth Secretary-General, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, on his elevation to his important position and to welcome him to the first regular session of the General Assembly that he has attended in his new capacity. In the successive crises that have beset the world community in recent months the Secretary-General has been indefatigable in his efforts to promote the cause of peace, to which the United Nations is dedicated.

197. This formal dedication notwithstanding, and in spite of the sacred principles to which all signatories to the Charter of the United Nations have pledged their solemn commitment, the evolution of the international political situation in the past year suggests

that the cause of peace has not been uppermost in our collective mind. Instead, tensions have smouldered and proliferated, and on too many occasions erupted into armed conflict. The thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly is therefore commencing its important work at a time of acute and widespread crisis ominously reminiscent of that dark era which preceded the global cataclysm of 1939 to 1945, from whose ashes the Organization emerged.

198. The state of crisis confronting the international community is epitomized by the grave situation which has continued to prevail in southern Africa in stubborn defiance of international public opinion. Through the policy of *apartheid*, which has been rightly condemned as a crime against humanity, South Africa has succeeded in institutionalizing racial discrimination on a scale unique in history. Under that odious system some 20 million non-whites are routinely and systematically denied even the most fundamental of human freedoms.

199. In recent years the South African authorities have attempted to convince the international community that, in spite of the overwhelming evidence to the contrary, they are both willing and able to introduce gradual though meaningful reform. However, as has been demonstrated by the fanfare of publicity surrounding the establishment of a Presidential Advisory Council, on which the black population is not even represented, change is not in the nature of the beast.

200. The absence of any constitutional provision for peaceful change has compelled the oppressed black population to resort to armed struggle. At this point I wish to reaffirm my Government's unwavering solidarity with the African population of that tortured land in its legitimate struggle to gain those rights we consider to be inalienable. In this connection my delegation wishes to pay a particular tribute to and to express its unequivocal support for the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress in their just and heroic struggle for freedom, justice and human dignity.

201. The international community and the United Nations in particular face another grave challenge in Namibia, the Territory originally entrusted to South Africa under a League of Nations Mandate in 1919. Disregarding the formal revocation of this Mandate in 1966, the Pretoria régime has by unilateral decision extended its jurisdiction and administration over the Territory, whose vast mineral resources it continues, with the collaboration of foreign economic interests, to exploit for its own use. At the same time it has transformed Namibia into a forward base for repeated acts of aggression against independent African States in the region.

202. In spite of the clear consensus within the international community, the competent organ of the United Nations, the Security Council, has been unable to apply the appropriate measures spelled out in Chapter VII of the Charter. Predictably, such indulgence, far from encouraging South Africa to comply with international norms, has instead prompted further breaches of international peace and security. As a result, the independent nations of the region, from neighbouring Angola to the far-flung Seychelles

islands, have become permanent targets of the racist régime and are subjected daily to subversion, infiltration and open invasion by South Africa.

203. In March 1978 the Namibian people, in a commendable demonstration of statesmanship and compromise, endorsed through their sole and authentic representative, SWAPO, the settlement plan formulated by the Western contact group. The plan was subsequently accepted by South Africa and adopted by the Security Council under its resolution 435 (1978). Since that time, however, no progress has been made towards the independence of Namibia. Instead, South Africa has invented one pretext after another to delay its withdrawal from this illegally occupied Territory. The latest of these manoeuvres is the current attempt to link the independence of Namibia to certain extraneous factors.

204. South Africa's continued intransigence is a direct affront to the authority of the United Nations and further undermines the credibility of the Organization. Any modification of the existing framework of negotiation would gravely compromise the authority of the Security Council. In this regard the position of the Government of the Gambia remains that resolution 435 (1978) constitutes the sole and immutable basis for the independence of Namibia.

205. The situation in southern Africa is matched only by the grave situation in the Middle East, which has now escalated to critical proportions with dire implications for international peace and security. Here, too, the United Nations faces an important and historic challenge. Although the will of the international community has been clearly articulated in the successive resolutions of the Assembly, recognizing and reaffirming the inalienable rights of the sons and daughters of Palestine to self-determination and independent statehood, no progress has been made towards the achievement of these basic freedoms.

206. In the occupied territories, the Palestinian population remains subjected to a campaign of systematic repression, under which the most peaceful protests are met with brute force. This campaign, which has spared neither school-children nor the elderly, attained epidemic proportions in March of this year.

207. In June of this year the international community witnessed with indignation and revulsion the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the latest episode in the seemingly endless saga of Israeli aggression. My Government reiterates its condemnation of this criminal invasion, which not only violates the most fundamental principles of the Charter and international law, but will remain for years a blot on the conscience of the civilized world.

208. Ignoring the successive resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly calling for Israel's withdrawal to the internationally recognized borders of Lebanon, the invading army continued its relentless advance through Lebanon. The bloody Israeli advance culminated in the ten-week siege of the capital, Beirut, during which the civilian population was subjected to a veritable holocaust.

209. I wish at this juncture to express the total solidarity of the Government and people of the Gambia with the courageous struggle of the Palestinian people,

under the heroic leadership of its sole and authentic representative, the PLO.

210. Still reeling from the surrealistic horror of this murderous siege, the world community has reacted with outrage and disbelief to the recent Sabra and Shatila massacres, in which more than 1,500 Palestinian civilians, mainly women and children, were murdered in cold blood. The Gambia strongly and unequivocally condemns these genocidal atrocities and urges a full investigation into the organization and execution of this crime against humanity, in accordance with General Assembly resolution ES-7/8, adopted at the seventh emergency special session, devoted to the question of Palestine.

211. Despite the global consensus on the futility of armed force to resolve disputes, the shadow of war continues to darken the horizon on every continent. The second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, in which legitimately high hopes were placed, proved a major disappointment. Although successive government leaders and plenipotentiaries expressed unanimous awareness of and concern for the grave dangers which the accelerating arms race and the ever-increasing threat of a nuclear apocalypse pose for the future of mankind, the Assembly was unable, after five weeks of deliberation, to agree upon a comprehensive programme of disarmament.

212. The ramifications of this diplomatic failure extend far beyond the confines of this hallowed building. They are symptomatic of a more global malaise. This phenomenon is characterized most notably by the absence of the necessary political will to renounce the use of force in international disputes in favour of peaceful negotiation. Indeed, with disturbing frequency the established framework and procedure for the peaceful settlement of disputes have been bypassed, while nations have resorted to brute force to achieve political objectives.

213. The dispute over the Falkland Islands, which culminated in a full-scale war with catastrophic consequences for both parties to the conflict, is a classic example of this syndrome. Pursuant to the provisions of the Charter on self-determination and the non-use of force in the settlement of disputes, the position of the Gambia regarding this dispute is that the status of the Falkland Islands should be peacefully determined on the basis of the freely expressed wishes of the inhabitants of the territory.

214. In the Persian Gulf, meanwhile, the fratricidal conflict between two Islamic States has raged for too long, inflicting considerable loss of lives and immeasurable damage to property, not to mention the staggering financial costs of the war itself, now estimated to have exceeded \$30 billion.

215. As a member of the Mediation Committee established by the Organization of the Islamic Conference, my Government has since 1980 participated actively in a number of initiatives aimed at achieving a settlement of this most regrettable dispute. Unfortunately, these assiduous efforts have not yet borne fruit. The Security Council has meanwhile issued repeated calls for a cessation of hostilities, in favour of negotiations. It is the earnest hope of my delegation that the conflicting parties may respond positively

to the most recent of these appeals, launched only last week under resolution 522 (1982).

216. In the same region, the illegal occupation of Afghanistan by some 100,000 foreign troops has persisted, in violation of the cardinal principles of self-determination and non-intervention, and in defiance of the clear will of the international community in general and the Moslem world in particular.

217. Loyal to their tradition of militant resistance to foreign domination, which stretches back in history to the era of the Persian Empire, the Afghan people have engaged in the heroic defence of their homeland from the new invader. The hostilities have, however, precipitated the mass exodus of some 2 million Afghans who have sought refuge in neighbouring Pakistan, placing an intolerable strain upon the economy of that country.

218. The Gambia has been following and wishes to commend the efforts of the Secretary-General's Personal Representative for Afghanistan, Mr. Diego Cordovez, aimed at a political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan. In this connection, my Government cautiously welcomes the "package of understandings" which is reported to have emerged from his most recent consultations with the interested parties.

219. In South-East Asia, the protracted occupation of Kampuchea by 200,000 foreign troops continues to deprive the Khmer people of its inalienable right to self-determination. The presence and operations of this army of occupation have forced an estimated 250,000 Khmers to flee into neighbouring Thailand. In addition, the ongoing hostilities between nationalist forces and the army of occupation have repeatedly spilled across the Thai-Kampuchea frontier. In view of the considerable tension which this has created on the border, the continued incursions into Thailand by foreign troops stationed in Kampuchea clearly pose a grave threat to regional peace and security.

220. My Government wishes meanwhile to register its support for the establishment on 22 June 1982 of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the presidency of Prince Norodom Sihanouk. It is our considered view that this crystallization of the various Khmer nationalist tendencies will make an important contribution towards the re-establishment of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

221. This is the sinister course along which the international political situation has evolved over the past year. During this sombre period of acute and protracted crisis which has shaken the community of nations to its foundations, the Gambia has striven consistently to promote peace, understanding and co-operation between States, both at the regional and international levels.

222. Soon after the Gambia became independent in 1965, in recognition of the geo-ethnic and cultural ties that bind our two countries and peoples, the Gambia and Senegal signed a Treaty of Association within whose framework a Senegalo-Gambian Secretariat was established to promote economic and socio-cultural co-operation between the two countries.

The agreement establishing the SeneGambia Confederation, signed by the Presidents of the two countries on 17 December 1981, evolved from the close and mutually beneficial co-operation which has always characterized relations between the Gambia and Senegal, since the Gambia attained nationhood. The instruments by which the respective Parliaments of the two sister States have ratified this Agreement have already been deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and some of the protocols for the implementation of the Agreement have been signed and ratified. It is our fervent hope that this significant step in the bilateral co-operation between the Gambia and Senegal will serve as a shining example for other African nations to emulate in our drive towards a united Africa.

223. In the face of the unjust conditions in which the present international economic system operates, the adoption of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade did not only usher in a new era of hope for developing countries; it represents, in my delegation's view, an important milestone in the relations between developed and developing countries as it incorporates, in terms of structural and institutional changes, the concept of interdependence between North and South. However, the alarming rate at which the world economy continues to deteriorate, the widening wealth-gap between developed and developing countries and the little progress that has so far been achieved in the establishment of the new international economic order, constitute ample testimony to the fact that our partners in the North have still to summon the political will fundamental to the implementation and success of the Strategy.

224. With regard to trade and development, notwithstanding the progress achieved in this area within the framework of UNCTAD, including the Agreement Establishing the Common Fund for Commodities⁶ which is still not fully operational, and the adoption of rules to regulate restrictive business practices, developing countries continue to contend with the serious effects of spiralling world-wide inflation, inequitable terms of trade and phenomenal recession, as well as escalating protectionist measures in industrialized countries directed mainly against the finished products exported by developing countries. We have, therefore, been persistent in our call for the adoption by developed countries of more liberal trade policies and the dismantling of artificial trade barriers, so as to allow goods exported by developing countries greater access to the markets of developed countries. The sixth session of UNCTAD once again provides the international community with another opportunity for effective action permanently to stem these imbalances and we fervently hope that no effort will be spared towards the attainment of this objective.

225. The urgent need to restructure the international monetary system so as to increase its responsiveness to the needs and development problems of developing countries not only poses a formidable challenge to the North-South dialogue but also constitutes one of the main stumbling-blocks to the launching of the global negotiations. The prevailing international monetary system established at Bretton Woods after the Second World War and prior to the "wind

of change" catered exclusively to the interests of the industrialized countries without taking due cognizance of the needs of developing countries, the majority of which had not yet become independent. It is no wonder, therefore, that the developing countries continue to demand, albeit unsuccessfully, that the international monetary institutions be democratized and redesigned with a view to promoting the economic and social progress of developing countries in the interests of both North and South.

226. Indeed, in a number of positive ways, the International Meeting on Co-operation and Development, held at Cancún in 1981 could not have been more timely. The developing countries, and the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt, which proposed it, had hoped that agreement would be reached at the Cancún meeting on the launching of the global round, thereby breaking the North-South stalemate and demonstrating the international community's commitment to the resolution of the multifarious problems impeding the economic development of developing countries. Regrettably, the disappointing conclusions of the Cancún meeting dealt another shattering blow to the aspirations of developing countries, as some developed countries represented at the meeting were simply unprepared to endorse the proposals which constitute the central theme of the global negotiations—the restructuring of the international monetary system, raw materials, and United Nations targets for official development assistance.

227. It is now an established fact that industrialization is a *sine qua non* for the accelerated development of developing countries. Regrettably, however, the attainment of the objective of 25 per cent of world industrial output by the turn of the century set for developing countries in the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrial Development and Co-operation⁷ is far from being realized, since the share of the developing countries in world industrial production is only 12 per cent. It is equally disappointing that only \$15 million has so far been pledged to the United Nations Industrial Development Fund as compared to the desired level of \$50 million. The low level of contribution to the Fund makes it virtually impossible for UNIDO to expand its programmes and activities to a level that would enhance the industrialization efforts of developing countries. The Industrial Development Board, at its sixteenth session [see A/37/16] again underlined the slow rate of industrial growth in the third world, especially in Africa, and recommended among other things the strengthening of UNIDO's activities, in particular in areas relating to the transfer of industrial technologies, and in the exchange of experience gained in the establishment of industrial infrastructures, to energy-related industrial technology and industrial development, and to management training. In this connection, the proposal by UNIDO to establish an international bank for industrial development is certainly a welcome initiative. Provided that, following its establishment, the bank is accorded the needed support in terms of capital and resource availability on an assured basis, it should contribute significantly to promoting industrial growth in the third world.

228. Largely because of the lack of enthusiasm and political will on the part of developed countries, developments in the field of science and technology have been equally disappointing in terms of the slow implementation of the Vienna Programme of Action on Science and Technology for Development.⁸ Contributions to the United Nations Interim Fund for Science and Technology for Development amounted to only \$50 million instead of the target of \$250 million envisaged in the Programme of Action adopted at Vienna. One cannot overemphasize the importance of the operational plan for the implementation of the Vienna Programme and of the comprehensive recommendations contained in the report of the *Ad Hoc* Intergovernmental Group on the United Nations Financing System for Science and Technology for Development. The Intergovernmental Committee on Science and Technology for Development should therefore exert every effort to finalize negotiations on these recommendations and on the International Code of Conduct on the Transfer of Technology.

229. The energy problem continues to constitute a major factor in the present world economic crisis. The phenomenal increase in oil prices over the past eight years makes it urgently necessary to adopt a comprehensive world energy policy and to promote the expansion and diversification of conventional and non-conventional energy sources. It was with this in view and with the intention of seeking measures to deal with the persistent oil crisis and the attendant serious problems it poses to international economic development that the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy was convened at Nairobi in August 1981.

230. The Conference adopted the Nairobi Programme of Action for the Development and Utilization of New and Renewable Sources of Energy⁹ designed to ensure a sustained supply of energy from both conventional and non-conventional sources, including small-scale rural projects, the development of indigenous energy sources and research into new and renewable energy technologies. The World Bank has already estimated that on an annual basis oil-importing developing countries would need a minimum of \$50 billion to develop their domestic energy resources. In this connection, the Government of the Gambia welcomes the proposed World Bank energy affiliate to finance energy development in developing countries and trusts that the proposal will materialize in the very near future. We attach equal importance to the work of the intergovernmental Committee on the Development and Utilization of New and Renewable Sources of Energy, established to mobilize the volume of resources needed for the implementation of the Nairobi Programme of Action and look forward to the successful accomplishment of its important task.

231. The problem of hunger and malnutrition today constitutes the most serious and fundamental problem that developing countries are confronted with. The food situation in the majority of developing countries has become absolutely intolerable, particularly in Africa, where, because of severe and prolonged drought conditions in the Sahel, the situation has reached alarming proportions. This situation has been further exacerbated by the international community's failure to reach either the minimum target of 10 million

tons of grain per year established under the Food Aid Convention of 1980 or the minimum target of 500,000 tons of grain to stock the International Emergency Food Reserve. The need for a substantial increase in contributions to the World Food Programme has never been more urgent, and the international community should, as a matter of urgency, exert every effort, not only towards meeting the targets envisaged in the Food Aid Convention and for the International Emergency Food Reserve, but also towards implementing the FAO Five-Point Plan of Action on World Food Security.¹⁰ Equally important is the replenishment of the resources of the International Fund for Agricultural Development to enable the Fund to maintain and even expand its efforts to promote increased food production and strengthen the agricultural infrastructure of developing countries.

232. The decision of the International Monetary Fund to establish a food window to assist low-income countries in correcting the imbalance of their balance of payments resulting from cereal imports is certainly a step in the right direction. Notwithstanding that, concerted efforts should also be made towards recycling the substantial food surpluses in the developed countries.

233. The declining level of concessional resources available for multilateral operational activities is a source of serious concern to the Gambian Government. In the case of UNDP, for example, the financial commitments made so far have fallen far short of the minimum average annual growth of 14 per cent in voluntary contributions envisaged for the third programming cycle, 1982 to 1986. The Administrator of UNDP revealed a few days ago in a statement at the 4th meeting of the Second Committee that for the first year of the cycle, the Programme will not even have sufficient resources to enable it to deliver up to 60 per cent of the indicative planning figures envisaged in decision 80/30 of the UNDP Governing Council. Indeed, the entire United Nations development system is lumbered with the same bleak prospects of resource availability and, unless there is a dramatic about turn, the devastating effects of the waning resource prospects on the operational activities of the United Nations development system will hardly bear contemplation. It is particularly disturbing that following the adoption of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries in Paris last year,² the good will and enthusiasm so amply demonstrated in Paris is yet to be matched by firm commitments in terms of resources for the early implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action.

234. Today, we are living in a world in which some of the most basic needs for survival are virtually non-existent for the majority of mankind as chronic poverty and squalor become increasingly prevalent. For those of us from the least developed countries, which constitute the world's poorest sector, the situation has become absolutely unbearable. It is hardly necessary to remind the international community that the problems of poverty constitute the greatest threat to international peace and security. Let us, therefore, through unity of action, guarantee our collective survival by giving practical expression to our solemn pledge to the Organization to mould a more assured

and acceptable future for mankind. In our pursuit of this crucial objective, I pledge the total support and co-operation of the Government and people of the Gambia.

235. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on representatives who have asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

236. Mr. BENHIMA (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): The question of Western Sahara has been mentioned by several delegations. Most of them stressed the importance of the consensus that emerged last year in Nairobi on the initiative of His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco. The royal initiative was welcomed with great satisfaction, because it opened the ideal way to a settlement of the question.

237. The majority of delegations also deplored the fact that certain African countries that had subscribed to the resolutions adopted at the eighteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of States and Government of the OAU and to decision 36/406, adopted by consensus by the General Assembly, should nevertheless, by various manoeuvres, have impeded the process which had been begun to put an end to the conflict.

238. The international community is well informed about the act of force attempted in Addis Ababa, and I need not revert to it. My delegation wishes to recall, however, that that act of force did not achieve its objective and that the admission of a so-called Sahraoui Republic which there was an attempt to impose on the OAU, was overwhelmingly rejected. The Wise Men of Africa could not sanction such a grotesque masquerade, the most obvious result of which is the paralysis currently gripping the OAU.

239. In this context, we are surprised, to say the least, that countries such as Madagascar, Zimbabwe and Mozambique, which were the most fervent architects of the crisis which has shaken the pan-African organization, should come here and make insincere statements, calling for the rehabilitation of the OAU and defending the cause of a Republic born of lies and deception.

240. For its part, Morocco has clearly and officially set forth its position and reaffirmed its willingness to honour its commitments within the framework of the resolutions adopted at Nairobi once the legality of the OAU has been restored, since the organization has been flouted by those very people that claim to be its exclusive champions.

241. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): On 1 October the Minister for External Relations of Argentina treated the Assembly to a distorted account of the eighteenth and nineteenth century history of the Falkland Islands. His statement contained several other tendentious or misleading assertions. It is not my delegation's purpose to respond in detail now; the proper time for that will be next month, when the debate which Argentina and other Latin American countries have asked for takes place in the Assembly. At present I will restrict myself to correcting one or two distortions of fact.

242. The Minister for External Relations sought to make out that the United Kingdom had never voluntarily observed the Charter principle of self-determination. That assertion will amuse, if not amaze, many

delegations of sovereign countries which were once British colonies.

243. The British Empire exists no more. Instead, there is the Commonwealth. This consists of independent countries which have exercised self-determination. If Argentina were to change its attitude towards the principle and exercise of self-determination, we might not have any dispute over the Falklands (Malvinas).

244. The Argentine Minister has sought to obscure both the position of my Government and that of his own in regard to self-determination by trying to draw analogies between 150 years of continuous peaceful settlement in the Falkland Islands and Israeli settlements in the occupied territories. The facts are against him. The present population of the Falkland Islands are descendants of people who established the first and only settled population of the islands. The majority of them are descendants of people who settled there before 1850.

245. The Israeli settlements, on the other hand, are of recent date and have been established in face of the nearly universal condemnation of the United Nations on territory over which Israel neither claims nor exercises sovereignty and which already had a settled population.

246. My Government supports self-determination for the Palestinians. So too does the Argentine Government. Why, then, does it claim that there should be a special exception, solely in the case of the Falkland Islands, to the universal and fundamental principle of self-determination?

247. The description given by the Argentine Minister of the events of last April is a travesty of the facts. I need not rehearse these facts because they are all in recent memory. But it is not true that there was any British action which justified the Argentine invasion of the islands in total disregard not only of the Security Council, but also of the principle of the non-use of force. I believe all delegations will find it difficult to square with the truth the Minister's statement that:

“The recognition by Argentina of the authority of the Security Council in this dispute was made

quite clear in many statements by my Government in favour of an effective and full implementation of Council resolution 502 (1982).” [14th meeting, para. 261.]

248. I leave it to the General Assembly itself to judge which of the two Governments has striven by every means to observe its obligations under Article 73 of the Charter and which of them chose by illegal recourse to arms a mere six months ago forcibly to suppress the right to self-determination of the people of a Non-Self-Governing Territory and to subject them to alien domination.

249. It is strange that while the Minister for External Relations of Argentina attacked colonialism, his Government should try to create a new colony by force of arms.

250. Mr. BEAUGE (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation reserves its right to reply on another occasion to the statement we have just heard from the representative of the United Kingdom.

The meeting rose at 6.45 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 *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1-14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

³ Adopted by the High-Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries. See A/36/333 and Corr.1.

⁴ See A/S-11/14, annex I.

⁵ *World Economic Survey, 1981-1982* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.II.C.1), p. 1.

⁶ United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.II.D.8 and Corr.1.

⁷ See A/10112, chap. IV.

⁸ *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.

⁹ *Report of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, Nairobi, 10-21 August 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.24), chap. I, sect. A.

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 19*, part one, para. 27 (d), and part two, para. 65.