



President: Mr. Jorge E. ILLUECA (Panama).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. The **PRESIDENT** (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will now hear a statement by the Honourable Tofilau Eti Alesana, Prime Minister and Minister of Finance of the Independent State of Western Samoa. I have great pleasure in welcoming him and inviting him to address the Assembly.

2. **Mr. ALESANA** (Samoa): Mr. President, my delegation extends its congratulations to you on your election to your high office. We feel sure that under your guidance the burdens of this session will seem lighter.

3. We would like to pay a tribute to Mr. Imre Hollai for the patience and skill with which he conducted the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

4. We are also grateful to the Secretary-General for his untiring devotion to his duties and his dedication to the aims and principles of the United Nations. His vision and his unflagging determination to set the Organization on the right course are an inspiration to us. Indeed, we feel that his warnings, which are pertinent and entirely appropriate, must be heeded.

5. We are very pleased to welcome our newest United Nations neighbour, Saint Christopher and Nevis, into this forum. We are always delighted to have other small island developing countries like ourselves join us here, and we look forward to working with its delegation both here and in other forums, including those of the Commonwealth.

6. We hope that it may not be too much longer before we are also able to welcome a new regional neighbour, should this be its wish; I speak of New Caledonia. We are encouraged by the French Government's intention to move the Territory to an act of self-determination and we, along with the other members of the South Pacific Forum, are anxious to see progress achieved in accordance with the wishes of the people of New Caledonia. We feel that the peaceful movement of New Caledonia towards the achievement of her people's aspirations will help maintain the peace and stability we enjoy in our region.

7. Not that far from our shores, however, in the South and South-East Asian regions, two serious threats to the stability of the entire region continue to endanger peace. In Kampuchea the Vietnamese occupation is in its fifth year, and armed conflict within that country and along its borders continues. We are deeply concerned for the people of Kampuchea, both those within the borders, who have suffered so long from various forms of persecution and domination, and those who have fled the horrors and are now refugees. We support the efforts of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] to achieve an international solution to this problem with the removal

of all foreign forces and the coming together of all parties at the negotiating table so that the wishes of the people themselves may finally be taken into account.

8. In Afghanistan, the withdrawal of foreign forces is also an essential first step on the road to a solution. Here too our chief concern is for the people of Afghanistan, many of whom have been uprooted or made homeless, adding to the world's refugee population and placing a great burden on the countries to which these poor souls have fled. We applaud the Secretary-General's continuing efforts towards a negotiated settlement and are pleased that he feels encouraged in his efforts and hopeful that progress is possible.

9. We are pleased that there are some glimmers of hope on the world's horizons at a time when there is a tendency to pessimism regarding international relations and the role of the United Nations in them. We must not give in or let our efforts waver, but embrace hope and determine to make greater efforts. This Organization, in its uniqueness, has a great responsibility to the peoples of the world. It is entrusted by them to deal with problems, however difficult they may be, in the most calm and rational manner possible. We must not therefore engage in empty rhetoric, sidestep vital issues, play games of strategy and carry out other unproductive activities which only waste our time, or perhaps that of the world itself. We have so many urgent problems facing us that practical problem-solving is the only course left to us.

10. The Secretary-General's recent trip to southern Africa has encouraged us to hope that the long-sought independence of Namibia may not be too far off. Substantial practical progress has been made regarding the independence process, and virtually all outstanding issues regarding the machinery to implement the United Nations plan have been resolved. What is now required is the political will on the part of South Africa, and this entails dropping the linkage of Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola with Namibian independence. We are anxious to see the people of Namibia have their day at the United Nations, have supervised elections and finally achieve their aspirations. We feel that efforts cannot be relaxed but must in fact be doubled until a date is set for this.

11. South Africa continues to defy the world with its *apartheid* policies. These gross injustices and this denial of human rights and dignity cannot be allowed. South Africa must be made to see that it cannot continue to deny the basic principles of human decency.

12. The Middle East tragically still demands our attention; indeed, its problems consume a good deal of the Organization's time and have done so since its inception. Here it is imperative that rationality should prevail and that all parties to this dispute should eschew bitterness and retaliation and take positive and practical steps to a comprehensive solution. United Nations guidelines are clear: Israel has a right to exist, but so do the Palestinians have rights, and a homeland must be considered one of them. The Jewish people suffered hard and long in their quest for a homeland. So who should understand better than they the longing and desperation of another people for theirs and not begrudge it to them? Equally, however,

the Palestinians must understand Israel's wish for security and accept its existence within secure borders. Both sides must compromise and not reject out of hand the plans put to them. Surely, if only with very small incremental steps, progress can be made. Israel, to show its good faith, must cease its settlements policy in the occupied territories. On the other hand, the Palestinians and their allies must guarantee Israel its existence free from threat.

13. Lebanon's tragedy still seems a long way from solution. This sadly shattered land must be enabled to get its house in order—a house that has been so terribly divided against itself that much patience and practical assistance are required from the world community to assist it in these efforts. Perhaps more importantly, the mischievous meddling that has too long fuelled the factional friction must cease. This is essential so Lebanon can make unhindered efforts at recovery and rehabilitation and at the reconciliation of its bitterly divided citizens.

14. The war between Iran and Iraq not only is adversely affecting the welfare of these two previously prosperous and productive countries but, with the massive oil pollution spilling into the sea from the untended oil wells in the battlefields, is disrupting and possibly destroying the ecology of a large part of the Gulf region. Thus this war is literally spilling over into areas which have no direct part in the conflict, and its effects are being felt not only in Iran and Iraq but by innocent countries, people and wildlife. This points up the futility of any suggestions that the effects of war can be contained. In today's world, neighbours who quarrel must realize that their resort to violence to settle their disputes causes suffering not only to their own peoples but often to others in the vicinity. None of us are alone—even the most isolated of us—and we must accept the fact that the welfare of the entire world, in all its ecological fragility and with the vulnerability of its peoples, is the responsibility of every Government.

15. In the light of that, our concern continues over the effects of nuclear testing in the Pacific. The South Pacific Forum, at its recent regional meeting, reiterated its strong opposition to nuclear testing and proposals for storing and dumping nuclear waste materials in the Pacific. Though we welcome the French Government's decision to invite scientists from the region to visit and assess the situation at the testing sites at Mururoa Atoll, we are afraid that much irreversible damage may have already been done to the environment to which we turn for most of our needs and that future generations may suffer effects of which we are not as yet even aware. The comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty therefore seems to us an essential tool for the survival of our species. We note that there have been over 1300 test detonations since 1945, and we ask the question: why should we and others with no interest in nuclear-weapon superiority suffer for this exercise in futility?

16. This points up again our inescapable interdependence and the concern one must have for the welfare of all on this Earth if we are ultimately to survive. We may once have felt safe and secure in isolation but this is no longer the case, and disarmament, even for countries with no defence forces, must be an issue of vital concern.

17. From our perspective the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, is quite pointless. We realize, however, that for any practical progress to be made in disarmament we must begin with small steps which the major Powers will accept. While the climate has not been promising for progress, we are pleased to see that some small headway has been made in the Geneva negotiations on reducing

medium-range missiles in Europe. If there is any hope of breaking through major barriers we urge the Soviet Union and the United States to do so, bearing in mind the urgency of these negotiations. We applaud the concessions, however small, that might move these and the equally important strategic arms reduction talks forward. The recent meeting, at Madrid, of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe may have been overshadowed by tensions resulting from the dreadful destruction of the Korean civilian aircraft. This heinous act, whatever its full background might be, must not be allowed to stand in the way of world peace. We hope that confidence-building measures already adopted will not be jeopardized but will be further built on in the future.

18. While the major onus for de-escalation of the arms race must be on the major Powers, we must not be blind to the acceleration in the arms buildup in so many other countries, including many third world countries which can ill afford it. We appeal to them to put the important priorities of the health and welfare of their populations before armaments. The spread of nuclear arms to many countries is a source of great concern to us, and we see the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex] as the main bulwark against this spread. We feel that setting up nuclear-free zones is also an important measure, and we strongly support setting up such a zone in the South Pacific.

19. In our quest for peace we must not forget that peace and development are inseparable. A stable economic future is essential for political stability, and with the increasing economic interdependence of the world the reality is clear. The well-being of both developed and developing countries is inextricably linked. It is interesting to note that the developing countries receive 40 per cent of all United States exports. While the industrialized countries, in the communiqué issued after their summit meeting at Williamsburg in May 1983, acknowledged that the weight of the recession had fallen heavily on developing countries, they suggested no new solutions to the third world's problems. There were commitments to stop protectionism and to work toward a greater convergence of economic performance and affirmation of the obligation of the industrialized countries to fund the International Development Association. While these goals are all admirable in themselves, they are nevertheless piecemeal measures. The global economic crisis requires, as called for by the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, a programme of concerted measures for reactivating the global economy and for accelerated and substantial growth in the developing countries. There was a consensus of all countries present—with the exception of one—that this was essential.

20. It is therefore almost universally recognized that the development process must not be allowed to grind to a complete halt, a prospect too real in recent times, and while it is apparent, too, that a higher level of growth is required in the industrialized countries, it is also clear that these two aims are complementary. It is once again essential that the world work together. Unilateral action, as the Secretary-General points out in his report on the work of the Organization [A/38/1], without regard for its effects on others, will inevitably lead to a further weakening of the world economic situation.

21. It is a source of some sadness to us that though the developing countries have shown flexibility and a willingness to compromise in the interests of a constructive and practical approach to the global negotiations to try to meet the concerns of the developed countries, a corresponding response is not forthcoming. The two-phase

approach which would allow the most urgent matters and those more amenable to solution to be negotiated first seems a not unreasonable way to begin to bring about the changes the world economy requires.

22. Although the economic situation of the world may still be rather grim, here too at least there is some light on the horizon. There does seem to be an upturn in some countries' economies, and for quite a few the picture is not as dark as it was some months ago. We hope this may presage a genuine turn upwards in the world's economic situation and that every effort will be made to maximize any benefits for all.

23. We acknowledge, as did the Secretary-General and the President in their statements, that the true picture of the world at the moment is a very painful one, and if we review the broad human rights situation in any detail it becomes even more distressing. There is much in this area that we need to address. Indeed, it is an important duty of the Organization to work towards the restoration of the basic human rights of the many who have been deprived of them. Despite our recognition of the harsh realities, we are confident that things can and will be improved. Hope, courage and patience are needed now perhaps more than at any time in the past, and with faith in the human spirit and in God, we can bring about the results that the world has every right to expect of us.

24. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank the Prime Minister and Minister of Finance of the Independent State of Western Samoa for the important statement he has just made.

25. Mr. GOMBOSUREN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, may I first sincerely congratulate you on your election to the high post of President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly and wish you every success in this responsible work.

26. The Mongolian delegation expresses its deep gratitude to Mr. Imre Hollai for the skilful and successful manner in which he guided the work of the last session.

27. The Mongolian People's Republic welcomes Saint Christopher and Nevis to membership of the United Nations and wishes that country every success in its independent development.

28. At the present session the General Assembly is once again facing the acute cardinal issues of the present day which require positive solutions. Among them the problem of preserving and strengthening world peace and security takes top priority. The threat of nuclear holocaust is not only not receding, but the reverse trend is in fact being maintained. The arms race is escalating still further and is about to reach the point of no return. The peoples of the world are deeply alarmed at these developments. Much is expected from this world forum in easing international political tension and adopting effective measures to facilitate, above all, military détente.

29. It is imperative that a reliable barrier be erected against the slide towards the nuclear abyss. The Mongolian delegation, like many others, trusts that the work of this session will be permeated precisely with this spirit of the main requirement of this critical juncture. In this connection I should like to emphasize the urgent need for combining the efforts of all forces advocating peace, democracy and social progress in the interests of preserving life on Earth.

30. The causes of the continued aggravation of the international atmosphere lie in the aggressive policy of imperialism, which runs counter to the interests and aspirations of all peoples. At present, progressive mankind is facing a most dangerous recurrence of such a

policy. The most reactionary circles of the West, primarily the United States, bent on world domination, have set themselves the reckless goal of dealing a blow against genuine socialism and at the same time against the forces of national and social liberation as well.

31. This can be very clearly seen in the "crusade" declared by the present United States Administration and its allies against socialism, which is being pursued everywhere. First and foremost, their main thrust is to upset the existing military and strategic parity and to achieve unilateral superiority in this field for the West. To this end programmes for increasing first-strike nuclear weapons, including space warfare systems, are being intensively carried out.

32. Vast regions thousands of miles from the American coasts are declared zones of "vital interest" and are being turned into bases for military preparations by the United States.

33. Slanderous propaganda about an alleged "Soviet military threat" is being intensified and adventurous provocations against the Soviet Union, like the recent sophisticated act of espionage in which a South Korean civilian plane was involved, are being increased.

34. Hostile intrigues against socialist Cuba, Poland and the countries of Indo-China are being continued. The undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan still continues. Acts of intervention against Nicaragua, Angola and Mozambique are being overtly committed. Attempts are being made to stifle the national liberation movements in Central America, Africa and the Middle East.

35. Sinister acts aimed at splitting the ranks of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and other international organizations which advocate peace and independence and the promotion of the social progress of peoples are still being committed.

36. Washington high-handedly encroaches upon the very foundations of normal international relations. The "show of force" and "muscle-flexing" have become common. Its weapons vocabulary is filled with the language of sanctions and diktat.

37. The countries of the socialist community counter the imperialist policy of confrontation with a policy of peace and equitable co-operation. Further clear evidence of this is the statement made on 28 September this year by Y. V. Andropov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

38. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic welcomes Mr. Andropov's statement as confirmation of the Soviet Union's determination further to safeguard the peace and security of peoples and fully supports the assessments and conclusions contained therein.

39. The peaceful and constructive policy of the overwhelming majority of States of the world, primarily the non-aligned countries, is also an important factor opposing the imperialist policy of aggression and diktat. The positive results of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, represent an important contribution to the efforts of peace-loving forces to remove the threat of war and strengthen international security. The growing anti-war, anti-nuclear movement of the peoples is playing an increasingly significant role in the struggle to curb the arms race.

40. The results of the Madrid meeting of States which participated in the Helsinki Conference on Security and

Co-operation in Europe clearly indicate that there exists a potential for political will and common sense in international affairs. It is particularly noteworthy that 35 States, representing two different socio-political systems, have agreed in the present complex situation to continue the dialogue in order to make détente effective and even more viable. One of the key measures to be taken in this direction is to ensure the success of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe.

41. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] plans to start deploying in December on the territories of some countries of Western Europe a new generation of American nuclear missiles, which would completely upset the existing military and strategic balance and thus generate a new round of the nuclear arms race. This plan is fraught with a great danger to peace not only for Europe but for the whole world.

42. At the very beginning of this crucial year—on 5 January—the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, at the meeting at Prague of their Political Consultative Committee, adopted a political declaration [A/38/67 and Corr. I], in which they presented a set of most timely and extremely important proposals on the prevention of the threat of war and the strengthening of the peace and security of nations. These proposals were later reaffirmed and further developed in the statement [A/38/292] of the leaders of those States at their meeting in Moscow on 28 June.

43. Since then the Soviet Union has put forward a series of realistic and constructive proposals to curb the arms race, particularly at the ongoing Soviet-American talks at Geneva on the limitation of medium-range nuclear armaments, proposals which create a good basis for reaching mutually acceptable agreement between the parties.

44. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic attaches exceptional importance to these talks for the implementation of practical measures in the field of disarmament and considers that the basic prerequisite for their successful outcome is strict observance of the principle of equality and equal security. The "zero option", "interim solution" or similar pseudo-initiatives by the United States which disregard this basic principle serve simply to conceal the true designs of their proponents, who are trying to achieve military superiority over the socialist world. It is our hope that common sense and realism will ultimately prevail and that the Soviet-American talks will yield the desired results.

45. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic welcomes and supports the new Soviet initiatives submitted to the current session aimed at halting the arms race, in particular the nuclear arms race, achieving disarmament and strengthening trust between States.

46. The adoption by the General Assembly of the draft declaration on the condemnation of nuclear war proposed by the Soviet Union [see A/38/243] would be an act of paramount political significance, mobilizing world public opinion against those that are hatching plots to use nuclear weapons first.

47. A quantitative and qualitative freeze of nuclear weapons, as proposed by the Soviet Union, would create the most favourable conditions for taking practical measures in the field of nuclear disarmament.

48. The militarization of outer space would be the most dangerous stage of the arms race, fraught as it would be with the most unpredictable consequences for mankind. The Soviet Union's new proposal for the conclusion of

a treaty on the prohibition of the use of force in outer space and from space against the earth [see A/38/194] would provide a real opportunity to prevent such a course of events.

49. The Mongolian delegation hopes that those States which these proposals primarily concern will treat them responsibly and respond to them positively.

50. In this connection, I should like to note that the international community is fully entitled to ask why the nuclear Powers have not responded properly to the unilateral commitment by the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Why are the Western countries not responding to the initiative of the socialist States on the conclusion of a treaty, which would be open to all other countries, on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of peace and relations between the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty and the States members of NATO?

51. It is clear that a positive reaction to these peace initiatives would greatly improve the international situation.

52. The Mongolian delegation believes it is necessary to resume the interrupted disarmament talks. It is equally imperative to begin new talks where negotiations are necessary but have not yet begun. This applies, first and foremost, to the question of the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests.

53. It is also important that the Committee on Disarmament achieve tangible results as soon as possible on other issues under consideration—in particular, the banning of chemical, neutron and radiological weapons, the banning of the deployment of weapons of any kind in outer space and the strengthening of security guarantees for non-nuclear States.

54. The complex and tense situation in the Asian continent is causing serious concern to the peoples of the region. The main source of instability is the growing military presence of the United States, which is stepping up its efforts to draw Asian countries into the orbit of its militaristic policy. The doctrine of so-called limited nuclear war is being given a real Asian dimension by actions to deploy American nuclear missiles in certain parts of the continent. The situation has been further aggravated by the fact that, as a result of the continuing interference by the imperialists and their accomplices in the affairs of Asian peoples, no positive solution has been found for the existing explosive situations and acute problems.

55. This applies first and foremost to the situation in the Middle East where the United States, by encouraging Israeli aggression in every possible way, is striving to impose its imperial order. It is embarking upon a direct military adventure and involving its NATO allies. These activities are in fact leading to the partition of Lebanon, turning parts of its territory into a springboard for intervention against Syria and the progressive forces of the region. The current developments in Lebanon once again confirm the complete bankruptcy of half-way policies and separate deals in solving the existing problems and testify to the imperative need for the immediate withdrawal of the troops of the aggressors from the country.

56. Mongolia has consistently supported a comprehensive settlement for the Middle East problem. We consider that this can be facilitated by convening an international conference with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. The Mongolian People's Republic fully supports the Geneva Declaration on Palestine¹ and

the Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights¹ adopted at the recent International Conference on the Question of Palestine.

57. In South-East Asia, the imperialist and hegemonistic forces are attempting to achieve their narrow, selfish aims by inciting certain States against others. They are doing everything they can to block the efforts being made to create an atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding among the countries of that region and are continuing to interfere in their internal affairs. These same forces are preventing the People's Republic of Kampuchea from occupying its legitimate seat at the United Nations.

58. The Mongolian People's Republic regards the new constructive initiatives put forward by the three countries of Indo-China in their declaration dated 23 February 1983, published at the conclusion of their summit conference at Vientiane [A/38/98], as a timely step towards easing the tension in South-East Asia and towards the creation of the necessary conditions for changing that region into a zone of peace, stability and co-operation.

59. The Mongolian People's Republic favours a political solution to the problem around Afghanistan on the basis of the realistic proposals made by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on 14 May 1980² and 24 August 1981.³ A political settlement can be achieved only if all forms of interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, including armed interference, are completely eliminated and a reliable guarantee provided that such intervention will cease and not recur in the future. We hope that the dialogue between the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Pakistan, through the good offices of the representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, will yield positive results.

60. The Mongolian People's Republic has consistently supported the struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful and democratic reunification of their country without foreign interference. In this connection, we stress once again the need for the withdrawal of the American troops and nuclear facilities from the south of Korea.

61. The Mongolian delegation, as before, considers that the fratricidal war between Iran and Iraq, which only plays into the hands of the imperialist forces, should be ended.

62. Mongolia, together with all peace-loving States, supports the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)] and favours the speedy convening of an international conference to that end.

63. The existence of a great number of sources of tension and conflicts on the vast continent of Asia makes it incumbent upon us to enforce the principle of the non-use of force as an indisputable law in relations between the States of that continent. That is what gives special significance to our proposal put forward in 1981 on the conclusion of a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between the States of Asia and the Pacific.⁴ This initiative of the Mongolian People's Republic is in keeping with the many concrete proposals and initiatives of other States directed at the solution of problems by peaceful means, at strengthening confidence and at developing good-neighbourly relations both in Asia and in other parts of the world.

64. The improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China is of great importance for the strengthening of peace and security in Asia and throughout the world. It is in this context

that we view the continued Soviet-Chinese contacts and consultations at the political level.

65. We greatly appreciate the positive role of the peaceful and constructive foreign policy of the Republic of India in Asian and world affairs.

66. The Mongolian People's Republic strongly condemns the policy of diktat, blackmail and gross interference by the United States in the internal affairs of the States of Central America and the Caribbean and its attempts to deny the peoples of that region the right to determine their own destiny.

67. The conflict in Central America should be settled by political means. In this connection, we welcome the efforts of the countries of the Contadora Group. In our opinion, the matter would also be facilitated by discussion of this problem in the United Nations.

68. The Mongolian people firmly support the struggle of the Namibian people and their vanguard, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], for their freedom and independence. It favours the immediate implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions on Namibia and rejects all attempts to link the solution of this problem to other, unrelated issues.

69. The Mongolian People's Republic supports the efforts to bring about a peaceful and just solution to the Cyprus problem that will ensure the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

70. Mongolia fully supports the demands of the developing countries for practical measures aimed at a radical restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. We favour the early commencement of global negotiations within the framework of the United Nations on pressing economic problems, in accordance with the decision of the General Assembly.

71. The Mongolian People's Republic, true to the noble aims and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, once again declares itself in favour of enhancing the effectiveness of this authoritative international Organization as an important instrument for maintaining the peace and security of the peoples. The Mongolian delegation would like to reaffirm that it will actively cooperate, as before, with other States Members of the United Nations to promote a positive solution to the problems confronting the present session.

72. Mr. PRADHAN (Bhutan): Mr. President, I should like to begin by heartily congratulating you on your well-deserved election to the high office of the presidency of the current session of the General Assembly. You have had a close association with the United Nations, and your diplomatic abilities and knowledge of international affairs are well known. My delegation is therefore happy to see such a capable and renowned personality of Panama, a developing and non-aligned country, preside over the work of this important session. Bhutan, as one of the Vice-Presidents, will extend all necessary co-operation and assistance to you in the difficult task that lies ahead.

73. May I also take this opportunity to commend your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai, for the efficient manner in which he conducted the work of the previous session. We wish him the very best in all his future endeavours.

74. Before I proceed further, I should like to extend our warm welcome to Saint Christopher and Nevis, the 158th Member State of the Organization. We are confident that the contribution of that newly independent nation will be highly valuable to the Organization.

75. This thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly has begun on a somewhat different note from the ones we have witnessed in recent years, especially in view of

the current international situation and the gathering of several heads of State or Government. It was an underlying sense of insecurity and the accompanying feeling of helplessness as regards the fate of our world that prompted the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to propose the gathering of heads of State or Government during this session. It is our understanding that their informal meetings, presided over by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India and the Chairperson of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, were very useful. Those meetings have no doubt heightened the awareness of the very grave dangers inherent in the current world situation. This, in turn, should generate the impetus, at the highest political levels, for the search for solutions to the difficult issues before us.

76. Recently we were perturbed by the increased tensions between the two super-Powers. We deeply regret the downing of the Korean airliner, which was very unfortunate. That incident undoubtedly requires a thorough investigation. At this juncture, I should like to extend our heartfelt condolences to the families of those who perished on the flight. The international community must now take steps, with the co-operation of all concerned, to institute measures which will ensure that such incidents do not occur in future. At the same time, we urge the two super-Powers not to be detracted in their efforts to reduce their nuclear arsenals and towards improving the overall international atmosphere.

77. The ever-present danger of a nuclear war precipitated by madness, or by accident, or by misreading the flashes on a radar screen, hangs over all of us. Hence, in the context of general and complete disarmament, efforts to bring about nuclear disarmament must be pursued vigorously.

78. The peace-keeping mechanism of the United Nations—the Security Council—has faced considerable difficulties in the maintenance of international peace and security. The responsibility for strengthening the Security Council lies with all of us, and particularly the Council's permanent members. Here again, I should like to single out the two super-Powers amongst them. My delegation would like to urge those countries to take steps to make the role of the Security Council more effective. In the event of armed conflicts arising in any part of the world, the Council must be able to bring about immediate cease-fires and initiate peaceful dialogue.

79. The Security Council must also be able to ensure the implementation of its own resolutions. It cannot remain the victim of super-Power rivalry, a rivalry that has adversely affected and permeated every facet of international relations.

80. The role of the Secretary-General in preventive diplomacy, and particularly the process of avoiding armed flare-ups in international disputes, should be given high priority. At this stage, my delegation would like to commend the Secretary-General for his many open and behind-the-scenes efforts to find peaceful solutions to international problems. His report on the work of the Organization submitted to the previous session of the General Assembly⁵ has been widely hailed in respect of the role of the United Nations and especially its capacity to maintain the peace. The Secretary-General has submitted another report to this session [A/38/1] which adds to and supplements the earlier one. We should now like to see positive and concrete action initiated towards implementing the report.

81. Several speakers before me have stressed the less advertised but highly critical role that the United Nations and its specialized agencies are playing. The international community has benefited immensely from the work of

UNDP, UNICEF, WHO, FAO, ICAO and so forth. The relevance of the United Nations, despite the recent criticisms that it has faced, is greater today than ever before. The vast majority definitely support the United Nations. One can no longer imagine the state of world affairs and the conduct of international relations in the absence of this Organization. It is the only body where all countries are represented on an equal footing.

82. My delegation had hoped that the stalemate on the question of Namibia would have been broken by now. We expected to see the representatives of that international Territory sitting amongst the sovereign nations of the world. However, that has not happened. The occupation of Namibia by South Africa continues. The reason given is the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. We consider the linking of the Cuban troops to Namibia's independence not only as absurd but also as baseless and unacceptable.

83. Within South Africa itself, the policy of *apartheid* persists. The appeals of humanity to end such a policy have fallen on deaf ears. However, South Africa can be assured that Namibia's independence and the abolition of *apartheid* shall remain the sacred objectives of the international community at large. We must continue to strike the wall of stubbornness until it finally gives way.

84. In the Middle East the inalienable rights of the Palestinians continue to be denied. The war between Iran and Iraq rages on. The only silver lining in the dark clouds hovering over the Middle East was the recent cease-fire in Lebanon. Nevertheless, continued international interference and intervention in Lebanon's affairs by external forces gives us much cause for alarm. Peace can be accomplished in the Middle East only when the rights of the Palestinians are fully recognized, the Iran-Iraq war is brought to a halt, all foreign forces are withdrawn from Lebanon and the rights of all States to exist within internationally recognized boundaries are accepted.

85. Bhutan has always opposed foreign interference and intervention in the affairs of sovereign States. Therefore, on grounds of principle we cannot accept the presence of foreign troops in any country without the express approval and consent of the legitimate Government. This particularly applies to South-East and South-West Asia. Whenever there is a problem regarding a recognized authority, then in such a case withdrawal of foreign forces should be followed by an interim United Nations administration to supervise the constitution of a legitimate government.

86. Allow me now to turn to some of the economic issues before us. Without a doubt the primary responsibility for the development of a nation rests with the nation itself. Developing countries, therefore, have to pursue well-evaluated policies which would effectively contribute to the improvement of the socio-economic conditions of their people. In Bhutan we are pursuing such a course to the best of our ability. It is also our understanding that many other developing countries are doing the same. However, once development policies and goals are set, the external environment largely determines the success or failure of a country's socio-economic objectives. It is in this area that the developing countries have been fervently calling for changes and the establishment of a new international economic order.

87. The changes that the developing countries have been seeking are well known. The international community has the obligation and the responsibility to consider undertaking both short-term and long-term measures to sustain the recovery in the developed countries as well as to promote an adequate pace of development in the developing ones. While deciding on the various courses of

action, all interests and views should be considered. The rules of fair play should dictate our moves. Decisions should, therefore, be taken in a forum where all nations, big or small, powerful or weak, are represented on an equal footing.

88. The deadlock in the North-South dialogue and the tendencies to undermine multilateral economic co-operation are of great concern to my delegation. The international community must get around to the convening of the long-delayed global negotiations. The call for an international conference on money and finance for development must also be urgently heeded. These are not simply empty slogans but critical needs of the hour. Growing interdependence among various groups of countries calls for the establishment of a system that is just and equitable, otherwise the developing countries will continue to languish in poverty and deprivation. Such a state of affairs, as many speakers before me have emphasized, will have adverse consequences for the developed economies as well.

89. The least developed countries are economically the most weak and vulnerable group. The world economic crisis has severely affected their growth performance. In 1980 their gross domestic product per capita increased only slightly, while in 1981 it actually declined. The very low growth in those countries has been persistent for too long a time. The average income per annum per head reached only \$226 in 1980 for the least developed countries, compared to \$982 for all developing countries. This poor growth performance is also reflected in the very low rate of investment in those countries.

90. The international community has not been entirely averse to the least developed countries. In fact the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries held in Paris in 1981 took a major step by adopting the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries.⁶ UNDP, UNCTAD and the World Bank have assisted the least developed countries to make contacts with donors. The reactions of many donors were encouraging, but I regret to say that their efforts and contributions thus far have not been significant in many cases. Their contributions must be substantially increased in order to fulfil the socio-economic objectives of the Substantial New Programme of Action. It is our hope that, in spite of the delay in implementing that programme, the concerned international organizations and donors will take all the required follow-up steps to ensure that the objectives of the Paris Conference are met.

91. A constant, adequate and assured flow of resources is essential to these poorest countries if they are to be able to create the means for achieving sustained development. Within the framework of the target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product to be provided as official development assistance to the developing countries, the Substantial New Programme of Action has stipulated that 0.15 per cent of gross national product goes to the least developed countries. The efforts of some developed countries have been commendable, as they have not only reached these targets but have even surpassed them. We hope that other countries will make every effort to increase such resource transfers.

92. Recently there has been much concern expressed at the deterioration of the resource position of some multilateral development organizations, UNDP in particular. UNDP, UNICEF, UNFPA and other such organizations have become important factors in the socio-economic development of several developing countries. The resource positions of these institutions must be adequately increased in order to support development activities,

otherwise their achievements and the significant benefits that the poorest countries derive from their programmes may deteriorate or even collapse.

93. As crucial and irreplaceable as North-South co-operation is, South-South co-operation is also vital. My delegation has observed the gradual progress being made in several spheres among the developing countries. In our own region of South Asia, seven countries, namely, Bangladesh, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and my own, have taken a historic step towards regional co-operation. There are many obstacles, both colonial and current, that are yet to be overcome. However, Bhutan is happy to see that all the countries I have just mentioned are making a genuine effort to attain success in this long-overdue venture.

94. Just recently, on 1 and 2 August this year, our Foreign Ministers met jointly for the first time at New Delhi and took a major step forward by issuing over their signatures the declaration of South Asian regional co-operation. They outlined the basic objectives, principles and institutional and financial arrangements for co-operation in economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields. The declaration further provides that such co-operation would be based on respect for the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, political independence, non-interference in internal affairs of other States and mutual benefit. The meeting of the heads of State or Government of the seven countries of South Asia is expected to be finalized at the next meeting of the Foreign Ministers.

95. These positive developments augur well for the progress of our region and give us much hope for the future.

96. Some of the issues before us may seem difficult and some even insurmountable. They will continue to remain so if rigid positions are maintained. Solutions to problems may require some compromise in order to accommodate, to an acceptable degree, the interests of all parties concerned. Given such an attitude, combined with the required political will and with the greater good of humanity in mind, we can yet hope to make our world a happier planet.

97. Mr. AL-ALAWI ABDULLA (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, I should like to begin by expressing my congratulations to you on your election as President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. We are confident that your wisdom and expertise in international affairs will ensure that the business of the session will be conducted in the best possible manner.

98. I should also like to avail myself of this opportunity to express our appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai, for his praiseworthy efforts during the past session.

99. Allow me to extend our sincere congratulations to Saint Christopher and Nevis for having gained independence and admission to membership of the United Nations.

100. We should also like to commend the Secretary-General and express our appreciation for what he has accomplished during his first year as Secretary-General. We wish him continued success in dealing with the difficult tasks and complicated problems facing us in the world today.

101. I had hoped that I would be able to draw a more pleasant picture of the international situation than I did last year. Unfortunately, the reality of the situation precludes this. I believe that this view is shared by the speakers who have preceded me. Indeed, no tangible progress has taken place in international relations and,

although it is easy enough for us to arrange endless meetings, we are still helpless in the face of the multitude of crises which we face. In fact, the agenda of this session is the best indication of the paralysis which has stricken the will of the international community, a paralysis which is preventing us from doing what we all believe constitutes wisdom, propriety and civilized approach in dealing with the issues before us.

102. The question of Palestine, which lies at the heart of the Middle East crisis, heads our agenda session after session. The problem of the Palestinian people is one of the most serious problems threatening peace and security in our region, and perhaps in the entire world.

103. The numerous United Nations resolutions on the question of Palestine reflect the will of the international community and comprise the foundation of an objective attempt to establish a just and lasting peace. A number of proposals have been made and intensive Arab and international efforts have been exerted, all with a view to settling this question. However, in defiance of the will of the international community, Israel has frustrated these efforts.

104. The establishment and expansion of Israeli settlements, the application of Israeli laws and legislation to the occupied Arab territories, the expulsion of the Arab population and the expropriation of their property, the changes in the historical and cultural character of the area and the violation of places sacred to various religions, in particular of the Holy City of Jerusalem, all constitute a flagrant disregard of the rules of international law and the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. These acts exemplify the expansionist policies of Israel.

105. We have also seen United Nations reports on the situation of the Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip which indicate that Israel is planning to deprive the Arab villages in these territories of such essential services as electricity and water in order to subdue the Arab population and as a prelude to converting those territories into new Jewish settlements. The reports also indicate that Israel is still pursuing its plans to link the economy of the occupied Arab territories to that of Israel.

106. The continuation of the Israeli settlement policy in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank prevents the return of the Palestinians to those territories. It is also designed to create a new reality according to which the Palestinians would be denied the exercise of their sovereign rights in the territories, in preparation for the eventual annexation of those lands by Israel.

107. We believe that a lasting and just solution of the Middle East question requires Israel's recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. It also requires facilitating the return of Palestinians now living abroad to their homeland in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, with a guarantee that they will not be subject to oppression or to restrictions on the free expression of their political views or the exercise of their legitimate inalienable rights.

108. In the summer of last year, Israeli forces invaded the territory of the sister State of Lebanon. Now, one year later, despite the fact that Israel has failed to achieve its objectives, its armed forces are still occupying a large area of Lebanese territory under various false pretexts, in spite of the negotiations which have taken place between the Lebanese Government and Israel with a view to achieving the withdrawal of Israeli forces.

109. The critical situation in Lebanon, which is a consequence of the Israeli invasion, has compelled that

country to enter into negotiations with Israel. Lebanon has seen these negotiations as a political opportunity to achieve the withdrawal of the Israeli invading forces and all foreign forces from its territory and the consequent restoration of its national sovereignty. The Sultanate of Oman supports the choice made by Lebanon of its own free will to exercise its rights and regain sovereignty over all parts of Lebanese soil.

110. It is incumbent upon the international community to support the desire of the Lebanese Government to see the withdrawal of all foreign forces from its territory, and to be given the opportunity to rebuild what has been destroyed and restore the original character of Lebanon as the world knew it before, a peaceful land of civilization and culture.

111. The recent achievement of a cease-fire in Lebanon is a very important step towards securing peace there. The international community should help the concerned parties within Lebanon to begin a national dialogue, so that sisterly Lebanon can regain its national unity, sovereignty and independence, which is what we all wish for.

112. The Gulf region is threatened by an unprecedentedly large oil slick, which continues to grow. It is created by the daily flow of thousands of barrels of oil from the Nayruz oil field in Iran, and it poses unimaginable environmental risks and jeopardizes marine life in the Gulf region. Furthermore, the safety of navigation is threatened by the mines floating in the Gulf.

113. All political efforts to remedy the situation have been frustrated because of the fierce war raging between these two Moslem neighbours, Iran and Iraq. The dire consequences of this destructive war, which we feel is absolutely senseless, are felt by the entire region. The repeated threats to close the Strait of Hormuz and to interrupt maritime traffic in the Gulf will lead to our region becoming an arena for direct confrontation between the super-Powers.

114. The continued war between Iraq and Iran has proved a serious drain on the human and material resources of those two countries. Already, thousands of their people have been killed in this war and immense sums of money have been wasted. Moreover, the war has not merely had serious consequences for the economies of these two States but has actually set back their development severely.

115. For their own benefit the two countries should exercise wisdom and restraint in order to overcome all the obstacles preventing them from putting an end to this destructive, futile war and should use their resources for the good of their peoples instead of wasting them so recklessly.

116. Therefore, the Sultanate of Oman urges the Iranian Government to follow the example of Iraq by responding to the appeals and peaceful initiatives of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Gulf Co-operation Council designed to bring peace and security to the whole region.

117. Almost four years have passed since the Soviet Union militarily occupied Afghanistan in violation of all international norms and laws and of its legal commitments under the Charter of the United Nations. The loss of life, destruction and displacement caused by that occupation have affected the majority of the Afghan people and many of them have been made homeless, quite apart from having been deprived of all their internationally recognized rights.

118. At the time of the invasion, the international community was quick to denounce this flagrant Soviet

act in many forums. It demanded that the Soviet Union withdraw its invading forces from Afghanistan and respect the sovereignty, independence and non-aligned status of that country. Foremost among those international appeals directed to the Soviet Union concerning Afghanistan are the resolutions of this General Assembly, of which Oman had the honour of being a sponsor. The Soviets, however, have not as yet heeded these resolutions, nor have they shown any intention of finding a solution to this tragic problem. On the contrary, the number of their troops stationed in Afghanistan has increased and their operations against the valiant Afghan people have been intensified.

119. We are greatly disturbed also by reports concerning the use by the Soviets of internationally prohibited weapons against the people of Afghanistan, in violation of the Geneva Protocol of 1925⁷ and in defiance of the resolutions adopted by this Assembly which seek to impose a complete and effective ban on any use of prohibited weapons.

120. The persistence of international strife in Afghanistan constitutes a direct political threat to the security, independence and sovereignty of the States of the Indian Ocean region. That is why we support all unofficial international talks carried out under the auspices of the United Nations aimed at finding a formula that will guarantee the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the exercise by the Afghan people of their basic right to freedom, independence and the free choice of their own path towards the building of an independent, non-aligned State. At the same time, peace in Afghanistan will ensure security, stability and co-operation among neighbouring States.

121. Oman shares common aspirations and hopes with the African continent, which is seeking a solution to the explosive situation in South Africa. Oman condemns *apartheid*, the universally deplored policy being carried out by the Government of South Africa. We look forward to the day when the people of Namibia will be able to exercise fully its right to self-determination and independence. We hope that the efforts of the group of Western States which is engaged in talks on this question will, against all the odds, be brought to a successful conclusion.

122. Oman calls on the international community to make further efforts to ensure the fulfilment of the aspirations of the African peoples to independence and liberty, and to oppose all attempts by foreign Powers to intervene in their internal affairs or to drag them into their spheres of influence.

123. In this regard, we view with grave concern the critical situation in the Horn of Africa, which has come about as a result of military adventurism on the part of various foreign Powers, both large and small. We demand that these acts of intervention in the affairs of the region be stopped immediately, to prevent its falling victim to expansionist attempts by foreign Powers to dominate African States and exploit them politically, economically and militarily.

124. Kampuchea, like Afghanistan, remains under the yoke of a foreign Power, namely, the Vietnamese army supported by the Soviet Union, in spite of various General Assembly resolutions on this subject and other international appeals. Since Viet Nam chose to ignore all those appeals, as well as international laws and norms and the principles of the Charter when it decided to resort to the use of force to invade and occupy Kampuchea, the security and political situation in South-East Asia has continued to deteriorate as a result of the continuation of the occupation.

125. Oman calls for the immediate withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, thus enabling the Kampuchean people to exercise their right to self-determination and solve their internal conflicts without foreign interference.

126. In this connection, we should like to express our support for all the efforts of ASEAN on both the regional and international levels to achieve a just political solution of the question of Kampuchea which will in turn guarantee security and stability in that area, which has suffered greatly from conflicts and wars.

127. In Central America we have seen how foreign forces from outside the Americas have sought to exploit the existing social and economic problems and use them as a pretext for intervention in the internal affairs of that area in order to gain new spheres of influence.

128. The fighting that is now raging in the region meets the purposes of the intervening foreign States. Therefore, all Latin American States are urged not to fall into that trap which in the past was set for other States. They should do their utmost to preserve stability and adhere to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of nations and employ all their resources for their economic and social development, instead of conflict and war.

129. The Sultanate of Oman expresses its support for the efforts now being made by the Contadora Group, which calls for common dialogue among those States of the region which are in conflict in order to arrive at a peaceful settlement of their disputes.

130. The Sultanate of Oman views with mounting concern the escalating tension in the Indian Ocean area as a result of the rivalry between the two super-Powers. The results of such strife are particularly clear in the case of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, which poses a direct threat to the sovereignty and independence of the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean, in particular, and to international peace and security in general.

131. The deterioration of the security situation in our area is a result of non-compliance with General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI), entitled "Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace", and all other relevant resolutions.

132. Our delegation has placed great hopes in the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean; however, our hopes have diminished with each successive session because the Committee is paralysed by differences existing between two of its members. This situation has prevented the implementation of several General Assembly resolutions on the convening of the Conference on the Indian Ocean, which was originally to be held at Colombo in 1981.

133. In spite of the obstacles facing the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, we hope that all delegations will display the political resolve necessary to overcome present differences and to work together closely to implement General Assembly resolution 37/96, which calls for the convening of the Conference not later than the first half of 1984, which will be the first phase of the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

134. Our world faces the very real danger of a nuclear war which would result in complete annihilation. According to available statistics, the nuclear arsenals of the super-Powers contain enough nuclear weapons to destroy the world 10 times over. This makes it even more imperative to continue the talks between the big Powers to curb the arms race.

135. The Sultanate of Oman, like all other peace-loving countries, considers that the big Powers have an obligation to maintain international peace and security. It therefore appeals to them to continue their efforts to eliminate the threat of war, especially nuclear war. The entire international community will benefit from that. Also, we believe that all international negotiations and efforts should be directed towards the noble goal of achieving general and complete disarmament.

136. The international economy has been witnessing a severe recession of a magnitude unprecedented since the 1930s. The economic pressures spawned by this recession have led to new trade barriers and a sharp decline in the rate of economic growth and the flow of international capital. The current international crisis has had a particularly devastating effect on the developing countries, impeding their development goals and reducing their ability to service their debts. It has also substantially reduced the availability of loans made by commercial banks and industrialized nations to developing countries, thus compounding the liquidity problems already being experienced by those countries. In addition, developing countries are also severely affected by the fluctuations in exchange rates, adverse terms of trade, substantial increases in the cost of capital, inadequate demand for their exports, increasing resort to protectionist policies and unfavourable conditions for the transfer of technology. These factors have been extremely damaging to the economies of the developing countries, inhibiting their economic growth and producing huge deficits in the balance of payments and an increase in the foreign debt.

137. The developing countries had hoped that during the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, the developed countries would have demonstrated greater sensitivity to the problems facing them. The failure of the Conference was a great disappointment to the developing countries and a set-back to their hopes of finding suitable solutions to the aforementioned problems.

138. We believe that the developing countries must not give in to despair and that all countries, especially the industrialized ones, should, in a spirit of responsibility and farsightedness, examine the modalities for narrowing the gap between them and reconciling their differences of opinion.

139. Oman, as a developing country, is particularly interested in global economic negotiations and once again calls upon the developed countries to aid the developing ones in improving their rate of economic growth and in reducing the burden of their indebtedness. Oman would also like to request the developed countries to take a more flexible and candid approach to all such negotiations.

140. We feel that the international community must, more than ever before, exert every effort to achieve the goals and objectives of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*], in order to resolve the current economic crisis.

141. In conclusion, I should like to welcome the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [*A/38/1*], a report which is clear in form and candid in substance. The Secretary-General is presenting us for the second time with a realistic picture of the crises that the world is currently facing. He did not limit himself to diagnosis of the crises from which the Organization is suffering, but went further to suggest a number of remedies aimed at restoring confidence in the credibility of the Organization. He has tried to present an objective image of the existing state of international relations,

including the indifference of some States to the principles embodied in the Charter and to the possible role the United Nations could play as the main multilateral organization responsible for the preservation of international peace and security.

142. The gravity of the international situation requires us to pay due attention to the content of the report. We hope that an open exchange of opinions will ensue during this session, concerning the ways and means of strengthening the Organization and that such an exchange will be founded on the decision taken by the General Assembly on the subject at its last session [*see resolution 37/114*].

143. Mr. AL-OBEIDI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Sir, I wish at the outset to congratulate you on your election as President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. My delegation is satisfied at having you direct the proceedings, in view of your acknowledged wisdom, experience and ability, which justify your assumption of your responsibilities and also because you represent a country with which my country maintains the best of relations.

144. I cannot fail at this moment to express my appreciation and congratulations to your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai, the head of the delegation of the friendly republic of Hungary, on the outstanding manner and the unmatched skill with which he guided the Assembly's work during the thirty-seventh session.

145. I should also like to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General for his efforts to promote the role of the United Nations and to enhance its efficiency.

146. My delegation also has the pleasure of congratulating Saint Christopher and Nevis on attaining independence and welcomes its admission to membership of the United Nations.

Mr. Karran (Guyana), Vice-President, took the Chair.

147. The thirty-eighth session is meeting against a background of critical international developments, characterized by a worsening atmosphere of confrontation, the exacerbation of several world political, economic and social crises and strenuous efforts by colonial and imperialist Powers to return to the old spheres of influence and to gain hegemony over new ones. Moreover, there has been an increasing sense of insecurity among nations of the world because of the policies adopted by the colonial Powers. These are based on gunboat diplomacy and the resulting creation of hotbeds of tension and international disputes. There is also the intensification of colonial military buildups with a view to using them in the service of colonialist States, thus destabilizing many regions in the world, and in acts of aggression perpetrated against independent countries in order to intimidate their peoples and prevent them from utilizing their resources in development and progress.

148. An assessment of events since the thirty-seventh session will undoubtedly explain why all international efforts and attempts to reach solutions for many of the current international issues have resulted in nothing but frustration. We have witnessed the persistence of old hotbeds of conflict and a steady rise in the level of tension, the proliferation of armed conflicts and the ascending influence of power concepts cherished by colonial forces. We have also witnessed a colonialist imperialist assault, led by the United States, against the sovereignty and independence of nations. The policy of muscle-flexing, fostered by American imperialism, particularly under the present Administration, has become more firmly established and its scope has been broadened to include the various regions of the globe. It is aimed at the security and sovereignty of States and peoples that

reject submission to pressure and intimidation as practised by American imperialism in order to achieve its ambitions centred on domination and hegemony in the world and on plundering its wealth. An example of the sufferings resulting from the terrorism of American policy is found in Central America, where the friendly people of Nicaragua and their revolutionary leadership are being exposed to threats and aggression from the United States.

149. The Governments and peoples of Grenada and Cuba also face a similarly hostile policy from the United States. In addition, the United States Administration has set itself up as a guardian of the rights and the political, economic and social options of this region and, through armed force and immoral conspiracies, seeks to prevent the people of El Salvador from eradicating despotic and fascist rule and establishing a free democratic régime. It is also by means of terrorism and force that the United States Administration enables client régimes to seize power, irrespective of opposition from their peoples. The ruling régimes of Chile, El Salvador and Guatemala are clear instances of this.

150. My country, the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, has for its part suffered from American threats and intimidation in the form of direct aggression, economic pressure, acts of provocation and threats by the Sixth Fleet off the Libyan coast and near the Gulf of Sidra, repeated infringement of Libyan air space by military aircraft, spying by AWACS aircraft and military manoeuvres near our frontiers. Such acts are regarded not only as a violation of the territorial sovereignty of Libya and a threat to the security of the Libyan people, but also as a threat to the security of the States of the Mediterranean and Africa and a violation of the international principles and laws which prohibit the use of force in international relations. My country has declared it will prevent any foreign Power from violating its territorial air space and waters in the Gulf of Sidra, and explicit orders have been given to our naval and air forces to shoot down any target breaching the sanctity of our territorial waters and skies.

151. This adventurist policy of the United States Administration against the Libyan people and other nations has been condemned by all countries in many international forums and has led to complications in the international situation and the exacerbation of tensions endangering international peace and security.

152. The tactics of confrontation, the threats of aggression and the economic pressure applied by American imperialism and its colonialist and racist allies will not succeed in intimidating the peoples and will not stifle their legitimate aspirations to freedom, independence, the right to self-determination and a secure, peaceful existence.

153. The international community and the United Nations in particular bear a direct responsibility for curbing the United States Administration and denouncing the power-hungry policies it follows in terrorizing nations. My country, the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, calls upon all countries, particularly those under the yoke of the terrorism of the United States policies, such as Nicaragua and Iran, to take every possible practical step to expose the record of American terrorism and to suggest the appropriate means to counter it. To this end, we propose the following.

154. First, public symposiums and trials should be held to shed light on the terrorism of American policies, which contradict its frequently proclaimed desire to protect the free world. Thus it is pursuing a similar course to that which led to its involvement in the Viet Nam war.

155. Secondly, the American public should be addressed directly to reveal the reality of United States political terrorism and its hostile attitude to peoples and their choices.

156. Thirdly, efforts should be made within the framework of the United Nations to take measures strong enough to counter the hostile policies fostered by the United States Administration and also to deal with the tension and instability that result from those policies in many countries of the world.

157. My country, as a world centre for combating imperialism, zionism and racism, is prepared to consult with the countries that suffer from American recklessness for the purpose of forming a common policy for countering the aggression and power politics.

158. As a result of overt imperialistic interventions, the situation in the Arab world is explosive, endangering the region and threatening its international peace and security. Today we are witnessing flagrant intervention by American troops in Lebanon, while United States military manoeuvres abound in several Arab countries. This endangers the security and safety not only of those countries but of neighbouring countries as well. This intervention serves the goal of fostering American domination and hegemony and expanding its spheres of influence. Meanwhile, the Zionist entity in occupied Palestine persists in defying the international community and all international laws and norms. In addition to occupying Palestine, it continues to annex more territory in order to make a reality of the Zionist dream of establishing a Zionist State stretching from the Nile to the Euphrates.

159. Continued Israeli aggression in Arab territories and the unceasing racist practices, ranging from mass slaughter, torture and unlawful seizure of property to disregarding the resolutions of the Security Council, the General Assembly and regional and international organizations, make it imperative for the international community to reconsider its stance towards the Zionist entity and to embark upon effective measures to ensure the reimposition of legitimacy and the laws that have been ignored. Once again, we emphasize the necessity of adopting the following measures.

160. First, the Zionist entity must be expelled from the General Assembly because of the Zionist defiance of its resolutions and pursuant to the resolution adopted during the Assembly's ninth emergency special session, and in view of the fact that it is not a peace-loving Member and has not fulfilled the obligations to which it is committed by the Charter.

161. Secondly, an economic, military and political boycott must be imposed on this entity, which has surpassed all limits in flouting international resolutions and has never observed any of the norms of international conduct or respected any human rights.

162. Thirdly, the military and financial assistance being extended to the Zionist entity, particularly by the United States, and which is being used in the invasion of other countries, in murdering the innocent and in carrying out massacres such as occurred in Lebanon must be stopped.

163. Last year we cautioned the world that the so-called peace initiatives—which are in fact aimed at capitulation—would not succeed if they did not ensure recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Today, we reiterate that these rights are clear; they are acknowledged by the international community in every forum. They are unequivocally defined as the restoration to the Palestinian people of its homeland and the exercise of the right to self-determination and to establish an independent State on the soil of Palestine, where Moslems

and Christians can coexist under the leadership of the PLO.

164. The situation in Lebanon has deteriorated recently as a result of increased flagrant American intervention and the fact that the United States and French troops are siding with one of the warring factions. We find that the multinational force dispatched under the pretext of maintaining peace has itself threatened peace and security, having turned the Lebanese conflict from a sectarian and local conflict into an international one, wherein the multinational force, while posing as a defender, seeks to set one Lebanese group against another in an imperialist crusade.

165. Those observing the role of the multinational force, especially the role of the Americans, are wondering why the fire of United States warships and artillery has been directed only against the Druse and the Shiites. Is that pure coincidence or is it because they are Moslems? We are also wondering why, if it is the task of the United States troops to halt the fighting and silence the guns, they have not directed a single shot at the Phalangist troops. Is that pure coincidence or because they are Christians? Such acts of bigotry are reminiscent of scenes from the medieval Crusades and prompt us to warn that their continuation would throw the world into further conflicts and formations of blocs, thereby heightening the current tension and pushing the world closer toward confrontation.

166. The objectives of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon were evident from the very beginning, and so also were the American assistance and support for this onslaught. This is because the United States has always sought to find in the Arab region solutions which suited itself, after the pattern of the Camp David agreements. Thus, when no other Arab country would participate in those agreements, the United States Administration induced Israel to invade Lebanon, considering that to be the weakest link in the Arab resistance chain. The obvious goal of the Israeli invasion was to force Lebanon to sign a peace treaty and create a ruling régime willing to acquiesce, co-operate with Israel, expel Palestinians from Lebanon, strip the Lebanese national force of its arms and eventually besiege Syria to impose on it political solutions incompatible with its fundamental convictions.

167. The opposition of Syria and the Lebanese national forces to the Israeli treaty has abrogated it in terms of applicability, and the United States therefore seeks to impose it by force through its troops, military aircraft and warships.

168. Peace will not prevail in Lebanon through United States shelling and bombardment from the air and the sea, nor through threatening the Lebanese people by deploying the biggest war vessels off the Lebanese shores. We are requested to seek the withdrawal of United States troops and the other multinational contingents in Lebanon, in order to confine the conflict to its local and internal nature and enable the disputing Lebanese parties to embark on a dialogue and achieve national reconciliation.

169. The situation in Africa presents another example of the politics of intimidation and threat of the United States Administration and some other colonialist Powers in suppressing the will of small nations.

170. In Africa and along the southern borders of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the fraternal people of Chad, under the leadership of the Transitional National Union Government formed pursuant to the Lagos Accord of 18 August 1979,⁸ are still striving to quell the mutiny and restore the usurped authority to its legitimate Government comprising all Chadian factions. The people of

Chad almost realized their aims and the civil war would have ended during the last two months had it not been for the hysterical intervention of the colonialist powers which sent thousands of their soldiers and hundreds of mercenaries into Chad, supported by warplanes and a variety of weapons to protect the rebel, Hissein Habré, after he ran out of both troops and popular backing.

171. The French and American intervention in Chad under the pretext of maintaining peace has only produced further deterioration in the situation there and the internationalization of the civil war. This was due to the fact that the American intervention was not meant for peace. That intervention in Chad corresponds with the United States' declared policy of creating new hotbeds of tension as well as gaining new spheres of influence, even at the expense of its allies, not to mention its disregard for the will of the Chadian people themselves.

172. For the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Chad is a neighbouring country and the security of the two countries is interlinked. This African nation cannot be divided ethnically and geographically into north and south as some envisage.

173. In ethnic, geographic and religious terms, Chad is a multiracial and multireligious country where "Al-Qor'aan" tribes dwell in the north, Arab tribes in the east and a variety of African and Arab tribes in the centre, in addition to Negro tribes in the south. The Islamic faith is embraced by the majority, and each area has its own inherited leadership. Mr. Hissein Habré never had any political or social standing among those groups, a fact that caused his rebellion against reconciliation agreements in Lagos and his recourse to outside powers to eradicate legitimacy in the country.

174. No solution in Chad is feasible unless it is predicated on peace and corresponds to Chad's ethnic, tribal and religious map. In the light of this assessment of the Chadian reality, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is willing to contribute constructively to the peace efforts sponsored by the OAU and its current Chairman, President Mengistu Haile Mariam.

175. In Namibia, the racist minority régime of South Africa continues to cling to its illegitimate administration of the Territory, to suppress the blacks and plunder the riches of the Territory in collaboration with the transnational corporations of the Western countries. All this happens in clear defiance of all relevant resolutions, particularly those adopted by the United Nations and several international bodies. The racist régime, with the assistance of Western countries, keeps on manoeuvring to block Namibia's independence and to undermine Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Linking Namibian independence to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola is simply another indication of the collusion of the United States and some Western countries with the racist régime to prevent the United Nations from achieving true independence for Namibia and reflects an attempt to grant the Territory a self-styled independence consistent with Western designs. Libya considers this an instance of interference in the internal affairs of Angola.

176. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya asserts its unconditional support for SWAPO as the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people in its struggle to attain independence and the right to self-determination. We urge the Security Council to take effective measures in order to enforce its resolutions and achieve Namibian independence, if necessary by imposing comprehensive economic sanctions on the racist régime to force the termination of its unlawful administration of Namibia and to make it possible for the Namibian people freely to decide on its future.

177. In southern Africa, the minority racist régime of Pretoria continues to adhere to its *apartheid* policy which is considered by this Organization to be a crime against mankind. This régime has intensified its campaign of executions, crackdowns and arrests against national leaders and has adopted a new strategy of aggression against neighbouring African countries. In addition to its continued occupation of Namibia and part of Angolan territory, the racist régime lately has been involved in setting up gangs of saboteurs and equipping them with arms and various means to conduct subversive and destabilizing operations inside those countries, particularly Angola, Mozambique and Lesotho. It is obvious that all these acts of terrorism are being carried out with the political, economic and military backing of colonialist countries, especially the United States.

178. The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya declares its solidarity with and support for Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho and all other front-line States in their steadfast resistance to the racist régime in South Africa. It also reaffirms its backing of liberation movements in South Africa struggling to bring about a majority rule and to eradicate the abhorrent *apartheid* régime.

179. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya played its role to the full in the Western Sahara until it was liberated from Spanish colonialism which had plagued it for hundreds of years. It endeavoured with the African countries within the framework of the OAU to address this issue with a view to enabling the Saharan people to exercise its right to self-determination in conformity with the resolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth sessions of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held in 1981 and 1983. These efforts contributed to the creation of the positive atmosphere necessary for a durable and just settlement of this problem, for eliminating causes of tension in the region and keeping it free from international disputes.

180. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya devotes special attention to the question of security in the Mediterranean, which has become one of the most dangerous centres of tension threatening international peace and security. This situation is a result of the increasing presence of naval fleets and the expansion of the network of foreign military bases—especially the fleet and bases of the United States—and the signing of the strategic co-operation agreement between the Zionist entity and the United States. Those are the main factors of instability in the Mediterranean region posing a direct threat to the security and sovereignty of the countries of the region. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya wishes to see the Mediterranean a lake of peace and co-operation, free of foreign armadas, bases and hotbeds of tension.

181. The failure to solve the question of Cyprus has had a negative impact on the security of the Mediterranean region and has compounded the already intricate problems afflicting the region.

182. My country hopes the Turkish and Greek communities will find a just solution to this issue through direct negotiation between them, a solution that can ensure the independence, neutrality and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

183. On the basis of its profound conviction that the question of international peace is an indivisible whole, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya supports the just demands of the countries of the Indian Ocean region that their region be made a zone of peace, free of foreign bases and fleets.

184. My country also supports the legitimate aspirations of the Korean people to the peaceful reunification of their

land and calls for the creation of the appropriate conditions to that end, such as non-intervention in internal affairs and the withdrawal of American troops from the southern part of Korean territory.

185. Disarmament and the strengthening of international security are among the important questions facing the world today. Yet, despite long years of negotiations within the framework of the United Nations and other international forums, no perceptible progress has been achieved in the disarmament talks, and none of the disarmament measures set out in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2*]*—the first special session devoted to disarmament—has been implemented. This failure is the result of the lack of political will among the big Powers, which continue their arms race, especially at the nuclear level, and substantially increase their military expenditure on the manufacturing of sophisticated and highly destructive weapons and on the deployment of new types of such weapons in various regions of the world. As a result, an explosive international situation has arisen, increasing dependence on power, military pressure and intervention against independent countries as well as the sense of insecurity among all nations, particularly the developing ones.*

186. The negative impact of the arms race goes beyond threats to international peace and security; it has economic and social effects. We find that while the world is spending more than \$600 billion annually on armaments, hundreds of millions of human beings in the world are suffering from disease, illiteracy and unemployment. In this respect, the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya notes with satisfaction the Soviet Union's initiatives in favour of denuclearization and the dismantling of the medium-range missiles in Europe, for those initiatives seek to save mankind from the scourge of war and to rescue the world from destruction.

187. One of the causes of the deterioration in the international situation is the erosion of the effectiveness of the United Nations and its inability to discharge its responsibilities. We can even say that its will has been paralysed because of the domination of the veto power in the main organ responsible for the maintenance of peace and security, the Security Council. The abuse of this veto power by some of the permanent members has turned the Council into a forum serving the security of those States at the expense of the security of other nations. Moreover, the availability of the veto power is in contradiction with the simplest rules of democracy, since the will of the entire membership of the Security Council is totally subservient to that of the five permanent members of that body.

188. Keenly interested in buttressing the role of the Organization and promoting its efficiency, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has for the past five years been proposing that the veto power be abrogated or amended or that the General Assembly be given greater power. Those proposals, however, have been rejected by most of the big Powers, which have applied pressure on small countries to prevent the adoption of any measures that could lead to achieving equal sovereignty for all Member States.

189. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya will continue to press this matter as long as the veto power continues to be used against the struggle of the peoples and as an instrument for consecrating despotism and monopoly and for overriding the opinion of the majority. Abrogating the veto power or amending it so as to enable all the States members of the Security Council to exercise it would strengthen the United Nations and restore the developing nations' confidence in it.

190. While I am speaking of promoting the role of the United Nations, I cannot fail to point out that the Organization's very existence is threatened by the harassment that the delegations of its Member States are facing, in outright violation of the Agreement between the United Nations and the United States of America regarding the Headquarters of the United Nations.⁹ These violations prevent some countries from participating effectively in the activities of the Organization. The host country must shoulder its responsibilities fully in this regard and must abide by the provisions of the Headquarters Agreement; otherwise, one day the Member States will be forced to request the transfer of the Headquarters of the United Nations to another place.

191. Another question of direct concern to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is the problem of the mines and explosives planted on Libyan territory during the Second World War. We have been suffering ever since the deadly economic, social and environmental consequences of this. Hundreds of innocent people have become victims of these mines, not to speak of the thousands disabled by them. But, in addition, we face other problems in implementing development plans, such as delays in completing projects and a consequent rise in their costs.

192. The question of mines and other remnants of war and the colonial Powers' liability and obligation to compensate the countries affected adds a new principle in international affairs, under which colonialism and the introduction of weapons of destruction must be regarded as an act of aggression and a crime subject to punishment. The liability must be borne by the country perpetrating the crime and the material price for the colonialism and the suppression of the will of the peoples must be paid.

193. My country urges the United Nations to take effective measures to determine the damages we have sustained and to assess the compensation, in accordance with the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly.

194. The world economic situation has deteriorated further, and the efforts to give momentum to the North-South dialogue have failed because of the dominating influence that the spirit of egotism and self-interest has had on the attitudes of industrialized States, particularly the United States.

195. Economic co-operation among developing countries has become more important in the economic conditions of the world in general and the developing countries in particular, and in the light of the negative attitudes of the developed countries towards their co-operation with the developing countries. This co-operation has become significant in both strategic and economic terms, and the developing countries have to seek to promote economic co-operation, especially now that a solid basis for it has been established at the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Caracas from 13 to 19 May 1981, and at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Governments of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983.

196. Mr. NIASSE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): In electing Mr. Jorge Illueca President of the thirty-eighth session, the General Assembly has paid a tribute to his country, Panama, and to him as a skilful diplomat. My country, Senegal, would like to congratulate him warmly. We are sure that he will conduct the session's business efficiently and competently, with objectivity and dedication. My delegation takes this opportunity of assuring him of its co-operation throughout this session in his delicate task.

197. My country congratulates Saint Christopher and Nevis on its admission to the Organization.

198. I should also like to congratulate Mr. Illueca's predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai, President of the thirty-seventh session, most sincerely once again on the wise and able way he guided our work from September 1982. I wish to thank him at the same time for having been so kind as to come to Geneva to take part in the final stage of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, over which it was my country's great honour to preside from 29 August to 7 September 1983.

199. Finally, my delegation would like to reiterate its congratulations again to the Secretary-General for the efforts he consistently makes on the five continents, continually devoting himself to the cause of peace and to the defence of the universal values of solidarity and friendship among the nations. These thanks are also extended to our colleagues and to all the staff of the Secretariat, including the interpretation service, with whose dynamism and dedication we are all familiar and which we very much appreciate.

200. In a world where only too often self-interest takes precedence over generosity, violence over dialogue, the effectiveness of an organization such as the United Nations must not be assessed or measured in mathematical terms. Today the international community faces many serious conflicts throughout the world. To put an end to them we lack neither a proper legal basis, as constituted by the procedures for settling international disputes and the resolutions and appeals of the Organization for peace and understanding, nor the reiterated sincere and unequivocal expressions of willingness to rally peoples to the ideals which unite them.

201. However, we must note that national, regional and ideological self-interest, cultural complexes, short-term concerns linked to incomplete or fragmentary events unfortunately continue to divide the world.

202. Given such a situation, which must in no way discourage us, the United Nations is still and must remain the indispensable framework for privileged meetings, of which the annual session of the General Assembly is a living symbol. The United Nations, with its universal character, must continue to offer small countries the only adequate forum for making the world aware of their often ignored legitimate concerns. The establishment within the United Nations system of many specialized agencies must enable large and small countries, in a great upsurge of solidarity and mutual confidence, to open every area of international co-operation to the attainment of the important objectives embodied in the Charter of the United Nations since 1946.

203. The action of the United Nations has already enabled mankind to build, on the ashes of the Second World War, the basic tenets of a new society, a society which is still imperfect but of which we must never despair. Industrial and developing nations alike, we must build, despite the many obstacles on the path, a future of progress, a future of justice.

204. For all these reasons, the United Nations deserves our support, and the ideal it symbolizes today calls for our clear and consistent commitment.

205. My country, Senegal, and its leader, President Abdou Diouf, sincerely reaffirm here and now, through me, their faith in the Organization and their steadfast adherence to its objectives.

206. Within this framework, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, that great gathering of the nations of the third world, in order to stress their support for the many efforts of the United Nations, proposed, at

the seventh summit conference, held at New Delhi in March 1983, that the year 1985 be declared United Nations Year [see A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, para. 190].

207. Our concern, given the present state of the world, does not derive only from the existence of crises, because in a world that is changing—and the world has never before changed as fast as it is today—crises are inevitable. Besides, they are not always the sign of a new evil; they may denote the acute stage of a long-standing evil which we were not able to remedy in time. Our concern can be explained rather by our inability to resolve crises or find appropriate solutions to the fundamental problems of peace and development.

208. Our concern is all the more justifiable in that—as was pointed out during the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization by President Abdou Diouf, then Prime Minister of Senegal, speaking from this rostrum on 19 October 1970 during the twenty-fifth session:

“this inability to solve these problems is not of an intellectual nature but rather of a moral nature.”—And these problems remain.—“What is lacking is the true will to solve these problems . . . a true political determination based on the moral courage to take the true decisions that our intelligence is perfectly capable of conceiving.” [1872nd meeting, para. 124.]

209. In fact, the framework for and even the ways and means of finding appropriate practical solutions to many problems have been set forth in the Charter and even in the resolutions which we adopt each year. But in political practice self-interest takes precedence over generosity and ultimately little effort is made to prevent or combat the many violations of human rights or the rights of people.

210. In this light, the problems of the world remain disquietingly acute, particularly those of peace and development.

211. At the political level, the Middle East and southern Africa constitute cases which are clearly disquieting.

212. In the Middle East, Israel is taking refuge behind an attitude of rejection with regard to everything that we consider to be likely to promote peace in the region. The resolutions of the Assembly, the Fez plan of the Arabs, the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people, the existence of the PLO—which, however, has been recognized by 117 States—all these, to Israel, seem to be merely a succession of secondary problems. According to Israel, the whole world is wrong and only Israel is right. Israel's response to the decisions of the Security Council regarding the non-acquisition of territories by force and withdrawal from territories occupied in this way has been the annexation of East Jerusalem, the annexation of the Golan Heights, the annexation of the West Bank, the bloody occupation of a large portion of Lebanese territory.

213. In such circumstances, to invoke the great principles of the United Nations regarding the Government of Israel, as we do every year, might appear to be a waste of time. However, doubt as to the usefulness of condemnation, which often has no effect, should not lead us to admit the inadmissible. The blithe way in which Israel rejects the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine and its Arab neighbours is as surprising to the whole world as it is revolting.

214. With regard to the problems of peace, how can we fail to recall that the use of force, whatever its immediate result, cannot in the long term guarantee either peace or security? The truth is that the only way to peace is that which presupposes dialogue and negotiation to find just

solutions to the conflicts that shake the world today. That is why we welcome the results of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine. The peaceful means proposed there, if scrupulously applied, could undoubtedly lead in the end to a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

215. Who today, even among the most radical enemies of peace, can say that that Conference did not lead to sensible, constructive, realistic conclusions? It is undeniable that the PLO and its Chairman, Yasser Arafat, showed at the Conference an admirable openness and a desire for peace that the United Nations must strive to explore. We must stress in fairness that some Israelis who are champions of peace took part in that Conference, either because they were invited or because they were eminent persons, and they took the opportunity to reaffirm in strong terms their opposition to the policy of the Tel Aviv Government, a policy of stalling, of violating the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine and the rights of the Arab people living in Israel. What we can state is that the way is open to a just solution to the question of Palestine. It is sufficient now—and the time is right—to have the courage and determination to take that path, because the peaceful settlement of disputes is a cardinal principle of the Organization, which must continue to guide our actions in our search for peace. The same applies to the other troubled regions—Asia and Latin America.

216. Sadly, this year again the situation in Asia has not shown any substantial progress towards the solutions the Assembly has called for. Outside forces continue to occupy Afghanistan and Democratic Kampuchea, whose peoples are still suffering from laws imposed by foreign Powers. In order to resolve the question of Afghanistan, it is necessary, in the interests of peace, to maintain the impetus by facilitating continued dialogue, in the context, of course, of the relevant principles of international law, reaffirmed in the Charter.

217. My country, Senegal, which has always opposed foreign interference, would like to take this opportunity to voice once again its active solidarity with the people of Afghanistan in the difficult times which have been imposed on it. My country will continue to support, as it has in the past, the various peace efforts, because it remains convinced that persisting in trying to find a solution by force will only worsen the conflict and increase tension in that part of the world.

218. In Kampuchea, the initiatives aimed at starting a dialogue have been fruitless. The mediation of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea has still not been accepted by one of the parties. That party's idea of creating a zone of peace in South-East Asia is certainly praiseworthy, but that goal can be attained only if the people of Kampuchea is first able freely to exercise its right to decide its own future.

219. Here as elsewhere, the major concern of my country—which has been entrusted with the chairmanship of the *Ad Hoc* Committee—is to make a positive contribution to the creation of the conditions necessary for the restoration of peace and security in that part of the world. That naturally requires the participation of all the parties concerned in the Committee's efforts, within the framework of the principles from which it derives its mandate.

220. The people of Korea is still divided. My country, which enjoys relations of trust with both countries, remains committed to a peaceful, lasting solution of the Korean question—that is, to the reunification of this brother people through a sincere, concerted effort by the two parties.

221. In Central America, we believe the political settlement of conflicts, whether internal or external, must be based on respect for the rights of peoples and the sovereignty of States. On the basis of this principle, regional guarantees of security and non-interference should enable that region to recover the stability and peace that are indispensable to its development.

222. The particularly sensitive Gulf region continues, because of the unfortunate war between Iran and Iraq, to be a major cause for concern. The international community has no choice today but to persevere in and strengthen the efforts already undertaken under various auspices to persuade the two parties to negotiate a comprehensive, just and honourable settlement.

223. Senegal is a member of the Good Offices Committee set up by the Third Islamic Summit Conference of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, held at Mecca-Taif from 25 to 28 January 1981. Side by side with the other member countries of the Committee, under the chairmanship of President Ahmed Sékou Touré of Guinea, it intends to pursue its efforts in the noble quest for peace, harmony and fraternity.

224. In Africa, our continent, the situation is scarcely better. The questions of Namibia and Western Sahara and the conflict in Chad are a constant cause of concern.

225. For several years the question of Namibia has regularly appeared on the Assembly's agenda. It has been the subject of special sessions, international conferences, seminars, symposiums, round table talks, discussions and, above all, very long negotiations.

226. Recently in Paris the international community devoted an in-depth debate to the question during the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, held in Paris from 25 to 29 April 1983. After that the Security Council adopted resolution 532 (1983), which called for the immediate, unconditional implementation of the United Nations settlement plan approved in Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

227. Since then the Secretary-General and his colleagues have continued to put forward initiatives and hold consultations in an attempt to break the deadlock. In recent weeks the Secretary-General has even visited the region to try to make the contacts with the various parties concerned necessary to settle the conflict.

228. We believe that our effort must be continued and increased. We must organize it. My country takes this opportunity to reaffirm its unswerving and unreserved support for the brother people of Namibia, for SWAPO, its sole legitimate representative, and for the people of South Africa, who are fighting for respect for human dignity against *apartheid* and racial discrimination. My country also reaffirms its abiding brotherly solidarity with the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, whose daily heroic actions we salute.

229. Senegal cannot fail to stress, in order to be honest, the efforts to resolve the question of Namibia that have been made by the countries of the contact group, but these efforts are not sufficient. Insufficient pressure has been put on the Pretoria Government to make it listen to reason and above all to make it respect international law and the relevant decisions of the United Nations. But these efforts have been made. They must be continued and strengthened.

230. That is Senegal's position on the question, and we have reaffirmed here many times our support for the brother people of Namibia and for SWAPO. This was reaffirmed also during the international conference in Paris in April, over which my country presided, and

during the meetings of the Security Council in New York from 23 May to 31 May of this year.¹⁰

231. It is also relevant to stress and unhesitatingly condemn the attacks carried out by South Africa, with a disturbing cynicism, directly or indirectly against the brother sovereign peoples of southern Africa, particularly those of Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and Zimbabwe.

232. I cannot conclude my examination of these political questions of concern to our continent without mentioning Western Sahara and Chad. In West Africa, my country continues to believe that the question of Western Sahara can be solved appropriately through a referendum on self-determination, as proposed by His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco during the eighteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Nairobi from 24 to 27 June 1981, the principle of which was accepted and reaffirmed in a resolution of that Assembly's nineteenth session, held at Addis Ababa from 6 to 12 June 1983 [A/38/312, annex, resolution AHG/Res. 104 (XIX)].

233. If we all remain determined to find a solution to this difficult problem consonant with the interests of Africa, there is no doubt we shall soon find a peaceful solution which will constitute yet another legitimate victory for our peoples and our continent over the divisive factors which tend to create factions among us and distract us from the true problems of our development.

234. With regard to the question of Chad, Senegal would reaffirm its commitment to the sacrosanct principles of respect for the territorial integrity of sovereign and independent States. Chad is a Member of the United Nations; Chad is a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries; it is a founding member of the OAU; it is a member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Consequently its unity and its integrity, respect for its independence, and its development in peace, in African unity and security are and must remain matters of basic concern to the international community. The people of Chad has suffered too long from the divisions imposed on it from outside and from repeated attacks on its sovereignty.

235. In this respect, the legitimate Government in N'Djamena should be free to exercise all its powers and to lead the country to national reconciliation and peace, in the exercise of the rights of the people of Chad. That includes all the sons of Chad, whatever groups they belong to, so that Chad can belong once again to its people.

236. Beside the problem of peace, which is the condition for any useful development of humanity, there is first and foremost the important problem of the world economic situation. It is hardly necessary to emphasize that the two questions are closely linked.

237. The world is in the grip of a full-scale economic crisis. An international effort is necessary if we are to escape from this crisis. The continuing disorganization of the international monetary system, which is the consequence of the crisis as well as the cause of its prolongation, is bound to sharpen the disagreements, misunderstandings and causes of conflict which pit nations against each other through the progressive impoverishment of the peoples of the third world and the demonstrable inability of the industrialized countries to find a speedy and appropriate solution to this deplorable situation.

238. In this respect, the recent *World Development Report* of the World Bank is important for more than one reason. It is stated that the 10-year-old world economic crisis, which is the scourge of the third world

countries in particular, will not improve over the next 10 years. The magazine *Jeune Afrique* published this information and said:

“Assuming a medium growth in our countries, Africa south of the Sahara”—that is, our countries—“will be the most badly off because the real *per capita* income in 1995 will be lower than it was in 1970, and its indebtedness will remain substantial”.

239. This statement shows how urgent it is for us to take all appropriate steps to prevent such an outcome. The time has come for the international community as a whole to demonstrate the constructive political will to respond to this threat to our survival.

240. The second problem concerning us is the disorder in the international monetary system. In monetary and financial matters the developing countries, as we all know, are suffering the direct and very serious harmful effects of monetary disorders in terms of inflation, high interest rates and fluctuating exchange rates, to name only the most obvious.

241. Today, many developing countries are having structural difficulties of a permanent character and find themselves in such a critical situation that they have been obliged to assume further large debts to try to break this deadlock by repaying earlier debts.

242. The debt of the developing countries has moved from \$244 billion in 1977 to almost \$625 billion in 1982. This excessive indebtedness not only holds up the development of our countries but may in the long term cause the total collapse of the international monetary system, thus also bringing down the richest countries as well.

243. In order to avoid such a disaster, it is necessary for the developed countries to reschedule these debts, in their own interests as well as in those of the developing countries, to strengthen official development assistance and to agree at last to grant loans on favourable terms.

244. What is worse, we are disturbed to see that by the end of 1983, that is, in a few months, military expenditure will have attained \$800 billion, whereas official aid from all sources is equivalent to 18 days of the world's military expenditure. If well managed, development assistance can strengthen institutions, promote better policies and enable more productive use of the national resources of the developing countries, thus helping to eliminate hunger and poverty from the world. It makes sense from the economic point of view, but above all it is politically prudent for everybody.

245. The present international economic system, which has led to the current crisis, was designed and built up without any real participation by the developing countries, and it must therefore be reformed in order finally to take proper account of the interests of the third world countries.

246. My country will continue to maintain that, in order to escape from this crisis, specific measures must be taken. In particular Senegal wants to see the trade barriers imposed by certain developed countries lifted, the debts of the developing countries rescheduled, official development assistance substantially increased, the Common Fund for Commodities put into operation, and the commitments to the developing countries concerning the day-to-day execution of their development projects fully respected.

247. If we wish to leave future generations a better world, a world of peace and progress because it is more just and more fraternal, as it is our duty to do, then we must reawaken our human qualities as intelligent human beings, profoundly devoted to the universal ideal of solidarity.

248. These economic matters are important. They have been sufficiently discussed from this rostrum. The sessions of UNCTAD succeed each other without yielding much in the way of tangible results, but the duty of the United Nations is to spare no effort, to ignore no initiative, so that there can be a speedy and judicious reform of the world economic and financial system, so that we can see the establishment of a new system of trade based consciously on the need for a more balanced development of the various parts of the world, in a spirit of dynamic complementarity of benefit to all, in which the interests of all can be protected without harming the interests of any.

249. That is the only way we can succeed in the struggle against underdevelopment, hunger, inequality and exploitation of one nation by another.

250. In conclusion, I should like once again to stress that mankind has already furnished proof, in tragic circumstances in which it might have despaired of its own creative genius, of its infinite capacity to adapt and change situations in response to the needs of the moment.

251. That is why hope must revive in all of us to create a climate of renewed trust among nations sharing the same noble ideals of peace and solidarity, those ideals which 30 years ago inspired the foundation of the United Nations.

252. The efforts of Senegal, of its leader and of its people must be seen in that context.

253. We have a date with history to record the meeting of minds in the world to save our planet from the apocalypse. All countries, small and large, all nations, developed and developing, all cultures and all civilizations must hold hands together in a burst of generosity arising from our awareness of our common humanity, to ensure that our species, which has conquered outer space and has made enormous progress in science and technology, can safeguard its own survival on the basis of what unites human beings of all continents and races, that is, on the basis of our common destiny.

254. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on representatives who have asked to speak in the exercise of the right of reply, I should like to remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements made in the exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

255. Mr. MAHMOOD (Pakistan): In the statement made at the 21st meeting this morning on behalf of Afghanistan, it was alleged that the root cause of the Afghanistan problem was armed interference from the territory of Pakistan. We categorically reject that baseless charge, which was obviously made in a vain attempt to deny the reality of the freedom struggle inside Afghanistan against foreign military intervention. The root cause of the problem is quite clearly the foreign military intervention, a fact which has been recognized by the international community in the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The exodus of nearly one third of the total population of Afghanistan, three million of whom have sought refuge in Pakistan, is incontrovertible evidence of the appalling consequences of the foreign armed intervention and the chaos which it has generated.

256. The solution to the Afghanistan problem lies in the withdrawal of foreign troops and respect for the principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations, which have been reaffirmed in the Assembly's resolutions. It is within this framework that Pakistan will continue

to co-operate fully with the efforts of the Secretary-General to find a political solution to the problem.

257. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): My delegation has asked to speak in order to set the record straight on some of the issues to which the representative of Pakistan referred when replying to the statement made by my Foreign Minister this morning.

258. Nobody would dare deny the fact that Afghanistan has been subjected to outside armed intervention, nor is the ominous source of that intervention a secret any longer. Shortly after the victory of the April revolution of 1978, imperialism, with the consent of and in collusion with the most reactionary régimes of the region, particularly Pakistan and hegemonistic quarters, launched their shameless undeclared war against our revolution. Facts on the extent of that aggressive war have been widely reported, even in those sections of the international media whose sympathy for Pakistan and its supporters cannot be concealed.

259. Revelations by heads of some of those States which had been the architects of the heinous designs against Afghanistan should leave no reason for elaborating further on the bitter reality of the undeclared war on my people.

260. However, we should like to refresh memories by citing brief sections of an article written by a group of seven journalists and correspondents of *Newsweek* magazine, published in its issue of 10 October 1983, entitled "America's secret warriors". They wrote as follows:

"in the Pakistani cities of Peshawar and Islamabad, . . . undercover operatives are co-ordinating the flow of money and matériel vital to [the rebels] . . . across the border in Afghanistan."

". . .

"Supplying about \$100 million [annually] in arms and ammunition to the Afghan rebel groups, [Central Intelligence] agency undercover operatives work through contacts in Pakistan and conduits in the Middle East. Intelligence watchers say the CIA has also stepped up operations within Pakistan to keep tabs on—and props under—the pro-American military régime of President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq."

261. Let there be no doubt that it was the undeclared war against my country which created the present situation around Afghanistan. The request of my Government for assistance from our fraternal neighbour, the Soviet Union, was therefore our logical reaction to outside aggression—primarily from the Pakistani soil—which is still being continued.

262. So much for the innocence assumed by the representative of Pakistan.

263. But as for the "humanitarian" concern expressed by him and the real nature of the so-called refugees, let me simply repeat the quotation by the Associated Press, from a statement by Mr. Caspar Weinberger, the United States Secretary of Defense, while paying a pilgrimage to one of the counter-revolutionary camps in Nasser Bagh. He said:

"the United States supports the guerrilla war against the Soviet-backed Afghan Government. . . . the United States will continue to do whatever is possible for the success of the struggle of the Afghans. . . . I want to assure you that you are not alone . . ."

What is even more interesting is the statement of a ring-leader of the counter-revolutionaries, whom the Pakistani representative made a big effort to portray as refugees. According to *The New York Times* of 2 October 1983, he said, "We will continue our holy war against the

Soviets and will not submit to the material supremacy". That is the Pakistani definition of a refugee even in the showroom exhibits prepared for the visiting dignitaries.

264. As to the number of the so-called refugees, the only reference source, even for the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, is "the official records of the Government of Pakistan". Suffice it to mention that the listing as refugees of some two million Afghan seasonal nomads and a large number of local people, double registrations, fraud and embezzlement and inclusion of the names of those Afghans who have long ago returned to their country and their homes in the list of the so-called refugees have all in all made it impossible to determine the real number of the *bona fide* refugees.

265. My Government has declared a general amnesty for all *bona fide* Afghan refugees who wish to return to their homes. Thousands of such persons have already availed themselves of this declaration, and the number of those returning is constantly increasing.

266. With regard to the assertion about the supposedly sincere, committed and constructive stance of Pakistan on the negotiations with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, I should like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the provocative and distorted remarks made by the leader of the Pakistani delegation in the course of the general debate. Pakistan misses no occasion to whip up hysteria over the situation around Afghanistan and to undermine the prospects of negotiations which are being carried on through the intermediary of the Secretary-General's representative.

267. To anybody who realizes the sensitive nature of such negotiations, the need to create an atmosphere of confidence and trust should be obvious. One may wonder whether the attitude of Pakistan in this body and other international forums is consistent with that need. As we see it, Pakistan's deeds contradict its words. On the one hand, it claims to be sincere about the negotiations. On the other, however, it torpedoes the very same negotiations by its propagandistic campaign in this Assembly. The international community will see for itself where Pakistan's claim of sincerity stands in the face of reality.

268. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in view of its strong belief in the peaceful settlement of disputes through negotiation and dialogue, has advanced its well-known peace proposals of 14 May 1980² and 24 August 1981.³ We firmly stand by those proposals and, as in the past, will spare no effort to find an amicable and comprehensive agreement with Pakistan which would put an end to the war against my country and secure reliable international guarantees that it would not resume in the future. Such an agreement would constitute a good foundation for our future relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence, friendship and co-operation.

269. Mr. ANDINO-SALAZAR (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Both yesterday and today we heard two delegations cynically make malicious accusations against my Government.

270. The delegations of Cuba and Libya do not have the right to utter such calumnies, since both countries are among those primarily responsible for the bloodshed in my homeland and in Central America. Their support of actions to promote violence, destruction and death in El Salvador and Central America is well known to the international community. What they both seek is nothing other than a continuation of their interventionist policies in Central America and in Africa. It is an undeniable fact

that they provide political, material and logistic support for terrorist subversion in Central America.

271. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Pakistan has again asked for the floor. I would remind him that a second statement in exercise of the right of reply is to be limited to 5 minutes.

272. Mr. MAHMOOD (Pakistan): Certain allegations have again been levelled at my country which are completely false and baseless.

273. The foreign military intervention in Afghanistan is clear, as is the verdict of the international community, which has repeatedly called for the withdrawal of foreign troops from that country. It was the Soviet military intervention that took place in December 1979. The Afghan national resistance is opposed to this intervention and to the régime installed by it at Kabul.

274. Over 3 million Afghans have been forced to take shelter in my country alone because of the intolerable situation created by the continuing foreign military intervention in Afghanistan. These refugees, who consist mainly of women, children and aged persons, are peaceful people yearning to return to their homes in safety and dignity. Pakistan, in fulfilment of its international and Islamic obligations, is merely providing humanitarian assistance to them. The refugee camps are open and are regularly visited by officials of UNHCR and other international agencies.

275. Pakistan has always followed a policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of any country. This is also borne out by the record of 35 years of our relations with Afghanistan. As I stated in my earlier intervention there is no armed interference in Afghanistan from the soil of Pakistan. The root cause of Afghanistan's problems is the continuing foreign military intervention in the country, and the solution to that problem lies in the withdrawal of foreign troops and respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations repeatedly affirmed by the General Assembly.

276. As regards Pakistan's sincere commitment to finding a just solution for the Afghanistan situation, that was affirmed in the statement of my Foreign Minister on 4 October, at the 17th meeting.

277. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Afghanistan wishes to speak again. I would also remind him that a second statement in exercise of the right of reply is to be limited to 5 minutes.

278. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): I thought that my first statement would suffice to clarify the matter before the Assembly, but, unfortunately, I think there is a further need to quote from sources which are otherwise accepted by the Pakistanis as most reliable.

279. There is an article in the 10 October 1983 issue of *Newsweek* written by two journalists of that magazine. They spent some time in Pakistan digging for the truth and the facts, and the result of their work is set forth briefly in an article. Allow me to quote some parts of that article:

“The official U.S. position on the war in Afghanistan is that it is an indigenous insurgency with no direct U.S. involvement. The official position of the Afghan rebels is that they arm themselves with weapons

captured from the Afghan Army. But the truth is far more complex: a CIA covert operation is bankrolling, training and supplying intelligence for the rebel forces. The slippery clues to how the operation works are the stuff of spy fiction.

“... The CIA's Afghan operation has to be extraordinarily discreet: neither the United States nor Pakistan wants to give the Soviet Union any excuse to step up activities in the area, and the rebels don't want to be tarnished by U.S. ties. The agency's role is largely limited to arranging shipments of matériel and paying the bills. Washington sources estimate that the United States now supplies the mujahedin with \$100 million annually—mostly through middlemen who can supply Russian- or Chinese-made weapons to cloak the U.S. involvement.”

In the other part of this article the following is stated:

“In the early days of war, most of the arms for the mujahedin came to Pakistan from Egypt. Today, China seems to be a primary supplier, and many observers suspect that the smugglers operate with cover from the Pakistani Defense Ministry. According to one knowledgeable Pakistani source, for example, Russian-made arms captured by Israel from Syria and the PLO were sold to a Canadian middleman, then shipped through a U.S. middleman to ‘somewhere in the [Persian] Gulf’—possibly Saudi Arabia—and finally on to Pakistan to be passed across the Afghan border.”

280. I believe I do not have to go into the details of the facts reported in the media. By now, as a result of the accumulation of these facts and figures, it must be obvious to every unbiased observer in the international community where the source of intervention and therefore of the present turbulent situation around my country really lies.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, Geneva, 29 August-7 September 1983* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21), chap. I.

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/13951, annex.

³ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1981*, document S/14649, annex.

⁴ See A/36/586.

⁵ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1.*

⁶ *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.

⁷ Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925 (League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. XCIV (1929), No. 2138, p. 65).

⁸ *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-sixth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1981* (document S/14378).

⁹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 11, No. 147, p. 12.

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, 2439th to 2450th meetings.*