



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

### AGENDA ITEM 9

#### General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. NGUEMA ONGUENE (Equatorial Guinea) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is a great pleasure for me to address the Assembly at its yearly meeting, this time at its thirty-eighth session. It is our deep hope that the work of this session will be successful so that reason and justice may prevail over selfish and hegemonic designs which today serve only to threaten the existence of the human race. My delegation's presence in New York is eloquent proof of our conviction that within the United Nations we could find the unity of nations, even in diversity. We could negotiate together the solution of problems and differences, though with different procedures; we could bring peoples closer together in spite of geographical distances, if we were all to resolve to do so. Only in this way, we believe, will we be able to ensure the socio-economic and cultural well-being to which each and every one of the inhabitants of our world aspires.

2. With this outlook, it is a particular pleasure for me to convey to the representatives gathered here the greetings and wishes for success of Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, President of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, who since his accession to the highest office of our nation has placed the greatest emphasis on the importance and *raison d'être* of the United Nations, particularly now, when dialogue becomes increasingly difficult because those taking part are speaking at cross purposes and when the use of force becomes increasingly imminent because of the juxtaposition of interests.

3. Mr. President, I do not wish to enter into the substance of my statement without first of all saying how delighted my country and my delegation are at your well-deserved election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session. Although we are aware that because of the nature and volume of the items on the agenda and because of the present international situation your task will not be an easy one, we are none the less convinced that the ideals of freedom, peace and justice that characterize Panama, your country, and your own skills as a diplomat and statesman are a guarantee of the success of our work. The election of the other members of the General Committee is for us a source of pride and a sign of hope. To each and every one, we address our most sincere congratulations.

4. At the same time, we express our sincere appreciation and congratulations to Mr. Imre Hollai of Hungary, as well as to each member of the General Committee at the thirty-seventh session, for the efficiency and dynamism with which they conducted the work of that session.

5. For the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, which is celebrating the fifteenth anniversary of its independence today, and for the United Nations and all its Members, the past year, September 1982 to September 1983, has

recorded both encouraging and discouraging developments in the annals of history.

6. One of the favourable developments is that the Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, committed to its objectives and loyal to its principles, has put into operation a democratizing machinery, with the establishment, through the unanimous approval of our basic law in a popular referendum, of the three powers—executive, judicial and legislative—that are now governing our country.

7. We know full well, however, that the mere availability of constitutional instruments and organs does not mean the effective and coherent functioning of those organs, much less the institutionalization of the democracy which protects the fundamental rights and freedoms of the human being, which should be aimed at the achievement of his full development. Nevertheless, we are convinced that the United Nations as a whole and all countries that cherish freedom, justice and peace individually will continue to make their valuable contribution to the attainment of those objectives to which the people of Equatorial Guinea aspires.

8. Please allow me to take this opportunity to express the thanks of Equatorial Guinea for the multisectoral and multifaceted assistance given thus far by friendly countries and by the United Nations system in our process of national recovery. At the same time, we hope that the assistance pledged for the economic recovery and development of our country will be received in the near future, and we also hope that there will be an increase in the list of potential donors and in the contributions themselves.

9. In the context of international co-operation, Equatorial Guinea supports and encourages the establishment of economic and technical co-operation among the developing countries in the framework of South-South negotiations. But this in no way reduces our interest in the resumption and progress of the North-South negotiations. It is in this spirit that, in the central African subregion, my Government is currently engaged in negotiations to bring Equatorial Guinea into the Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa and the financial institutions of that subregion. An agreement in principle on membership was reached in the Council of Heads of State of the Union, which met at Yaounde in December 1982. The technical negotiations are now at an advanced stage, and we hope that our final admission will take place in the near future. This will be our own modest contribution to the realization of the declaration adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its extraordinary session devoted to economic problems which was held at Lagos in 1980.

10. As I have stressed, this wish of ours to participate in regional and subregional efforts for the economic reconstruction of the African continent does not imply any obstruction of or opposition to bilateral and multi-lateral co-operation, which my Government encourages without distinction of political, economic or ideological systems.

11. In that connection, apart from developing our relations with neighbouring countries, those of our region and Africa at large, we attach particular importance to our co-operation with the countries of Europe, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America and the Caribbean, particularly with those of the Hispanic American group, in order to preserve and develop the existing ties between our peoples. On this basis we have worked and shall continue to work to maintain close and constant co-operation based on the principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations and on the principles of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, with a view to promoting mutual advantage, defined as co-operation among States, not subject to the circumstances of domestic political change.

12. In this connection, I wish to take this opportunity to make it clear that certain interests adverse to my country have in the course of this year embarked on a venomous campaign contrary to the true state of affairs in order to harm Equatorial Guinea's relations, especially those we maintain with Spain, a country with which we co-operate even to a greater extent than is called for in the agreements that have been signed between the two countries.

13. As I have already indicated, the recent past has not been altogether filled with joy and optimism, because the political and economic imbalances currently characterizing international relations and the deadlock in the negotiations to correct the inequalities and imbalances have harmful effects in the Republic of Equatorial Guinea.

14. One of the consequences of our faith in the United Nations is our constant need to express on every occasion our adherence to the principles and purposes of the Charter, as well as those of the Non-Aligned Movement, such as respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of countries, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, the peaceful solution of conflicts, the maintenance of good-neighbourly relations, the use of dialogue rather than force in the search for solutions to the differences that may arise between States and the promotion of relations of interdependence. These pillars are the be-all and end-all of the foreign policy of the Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, presided over by Obiang Nguema Mbasogo.

15. With regard to attaining these ideals, which constitute the prerequisites for the establishment of freedom, peace and justice in the world, the Republic of Equatorial Guinea notes with concern the deterioration of the international situation, which is now characterized by an unbridled arms race, fratricidal wars in the four corners of the world and the imposition by force of economic or ideological systems that do not correspond to the requirements of the populations concerned.

16. Therefore Equatorial Guinea, not wishing to be a spectator before these errors of mankind, has joined in the efforts of the international community to establish a new international economic and human order. This involves, among other things, curbing the arms race, with a consequent decrease in military budgets; adopting preventive measures against international terrorism, which is claiming too many lives; and eradicating the system of recruiting, using, financing and training mercenaries—which are all factors destabilizing the political and economic order of independent countries.

17. Today the international community watches indifferently as innocent men, women, children and elderly persons become the targets of ideological, military and hegemonistic rivalry. Yesterday it was the Palestinians and the black South Africans; today it is 269 persons travelling on a South Korean commercial airliner. In view

of this further evidence of disregard for the human person, Equatorial Guinea cannot conceal its concern at such occurrences and appeals to the international community and to the General Assembly to adopt specific resolutions making it possible for international organizations and Governments to take coherent measures to avoid similar acts in the future.

18. A few days ago we welcomed with great happiness the admission to the United Nations family of a new State, Saint Christopher and Nevis. As we congratulate that fraternal people on its attainment of independence and its admission to our ranks, Equatorial Guinea wishes to remind the international community gathered here that the historic resolution 1514 (XV), adopted by the General Assembly at its fifteenth session, has not yet been fully implemented.

19. Namibia remains illegally occupied by the racist régime of South Africa, which, with the complicity of certain Powers, turns an increasingly deaf ear to the reproof and condemnation of the international community, which cherishes peace, justice and freedom. We regard as inappropriate the linking of the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, as that linkage would contradict the Charter and the norms of international law. Since its cause is just, Namibia must exercise its right to self-determination and independence.

20. In South Africa the system of *apartheid* continues to be an insult to human dignity and a challenge to world public opinion. It is inconceivable and at the same time striking that the creator of a system such as *apartheid* should become increasingly arrogant and intransigent in spite of the fact that this system has been condemned by almost all the States Members of the United Nations. That arrogance and intransigence have not been confined to increasing the repression of the black South African majority and strengthening the illegal occupation of Namibian territory, but have extended to acts of military aggression and other destabilizing practices against Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe, with consequent loss of human life and property.

21. In this connection, while Equatorial Guinea is in complete agreement with the need for material, political and diplomatic aid to be given to those countries for the safeguarding of their independence and territorial integrity, at the same time we believe that the eradication of the cause is the fundamental issue. To abolish the *apartheid* system in South Africa would be to bring justice to that part of the African continent.

22. Equatorial Guinea takes an optimistic view with regard to the statements made by King Hassan II of Morocco concerning the resolutions adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its sessions at Nairobi and Addis Ababa for a negotiated solution of the question of Western Sahara. We believe that the cessation of hostilities and the holding of a free and properly organized referendum under the supervision of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the United Nations, through which the people of Western Sahara would be able to pronounce itself clearly on its own destiny, constitutes the best way to a just and lasting solution to this conflict which for so long has claimed so many innocent lives.

23. The terrible tragedy that the fraternal people of Chad have experienced for many years requires that the international community assist and co-operate so that the people of Chad themselves can through reconciliation

arrive at genuine peace in their country. The internationalization of that conflict which tends to impose a settlement of that interminable war by force of arms would only prolong it. In this connection, we support the proposal that all foreign forces withdraw from Chad and, at the same time, the parties to the dispute peacefully resolve their differences through dialogue.

24. We express our support for and solidarity with the Argentine Republic in its struggle to recover its national sovereignty. We deeply regret the loss of human life and material goods caused by the conflict over the Malvinas, but we are none the less convinced that reason and justice will make it possible for Argentina to recover the part of its territory which it claims.

25. The historic relations and cultural affinity that bind the Republic of Equatorial Guinea and the Latin American countries justify our concern at the prevailing situation in Central America. We appeal to all the parties involved in that tragedy, which is costing innocent human lives and considerable material losses, to engage in dialogue in order to find solutions to their differences, with strict respect for the free will of each people in the exercise of its right to choose the political and economic system most in tune with its national interests.

26. It is regrettable that Latin America, which had been identified on the international scene as a labourer in the struggle against underdevelopment, is today the target of fratricidal struggles and the scene of political and hegemonic confrontations which merely serve alien interests. It is for this and other reasons that Equatorial Guinea supports and is at one with the initiatives taken by the Contadora Group. That is why we support the other peace initiatives being put forward by the countries of the region, directly or indirectly concerned. All of these efforts are aimed solely at ensuring the return of peace and stability for the progress of that region.

27. In the Middle East, certain Arab territories have been occupied by Israel for more than a decade now, and the Palestinians remain without a homeland and are scattered throughout the world. At the same time, the positions of the parties involved in that complex dispute grow further and further apart. The sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Lebanon are increasingly stifled, while innocent lives are lost and hunger and poverty are the daily lot of that part of the world.

28. We appeal to the Arab and Israeli Governments and to the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] for peace and reconciliation, to reconsider their antagonistic positions and sit down to negotiate together in order to find the most appropriate ways of returning peace, harmonious co-existence and stability to the Arab and Israeli peoples, who are doomed to live for ever in that afflicted region of the Middle East. We hope that third-party countries directly or indirectly involved in the conflict will contribute towards the achievement of that goal.

29. It is regrettable to note that at the very time when the world is waging a war against hunger, illness and poverty—in a word, against underdevelopment—new hotbeds of tension are being created and existing ones are being exacerbated. In this context, in a region of strategic importance, both politically and economically, there has been loss of human lives and considerable material damage. I am referring to the conflict between Iran and Iraq, brother countries to which we urgently appeal that they cease hostilities and solve the problem in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and international law.

30. In South-East Asia and South-West Asia the search continues for peace and stability in Kampuchea and Afghanistan. We believe that it is the inhabitants of those countries first and foremost who must seek comprehensive solutions to their internal problems through peaceful negotiations, since the intervention of third countries not resulting from the free expression of the will of the indigenous inhabitants must be condemned as contrary to the Charter. It is the right of every people to decide its own form of government and to choose the economic, political and social system that suits it best, without external pressure or force.

31. Similarly, the Korean peninsula remains artificially divided in spite of the firm desire for reunification constantly expressed by the Korean people in both North and South and endorsed by both Governments in a joint statement issued on 4 July 1972.<sup>1</sup> On the basis of that joint statement, we once again call upon the Governments of the two Koreas to establish conditions conducive to the resumption of negotiations, which we hope will be concluded to the satisfaction of the Korean people as a whole.

32. The independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of Cyprus continue to be threatened and cannot be strengthened because of the occupation of part of that country by foreign troops. We appeal for the withdrawal of those troops and ask the Cypriot communities to resolve their internal problems through peaceful negotiations and to create conditions conducive to the return of the Cypriot refugees, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council.

33. For a very long time now mankind has been engaged in a constant battle against its worst enemies: hunger, disease and poverty. It is therefore inconceivable that, while success in that battle is still uncertain, mankind itself should be preparing with all haste for its own destruction. The proliferation of nuclear weapons and the increase of military bases, allegedly for reasons of security and protection, lead only to the victory of hunger, disease and poverty over the human being. We hope that statements on disarmament, the creation of zones of peace in various regions, the prevention of nuclear war and the reduction of military budgets will be matched by deeds. Only in that way will mankind be protected and feel secure.

34. The lack of democracy in international relations not only constitutes a failure in the political relations among States but is also the cause of the unprecedented economic crisis of the world today, which is characterized by the stagnation of and decline in economic activity, an unending and growing deficit in the balance of payments of the developing countries, a steady increase in their external debt, low prices for raw materials and the corresponding enrichment of the more developed countries.

35. These and many other irregularities have shown that the existing international economic order is inadequate and cannot respond to present-day requirements. Hence, the need to begin a process of global negotiations making possible the establishment of a new international economic order based on justice and equity, and not aimed at the enrichment of the rich and the impoverishment of the poor.

36. Although we regret the intransigence of the developed countries, which continues to be an obstacle to the progress of the North-South negotiations, we are convinced that the economic recovery of the North is closely related to the economic survival of the South. That is why we hope that the political will of all will contribute to the democratization of international economic relations.

37. The Non-Aligned Movement has always felt the need to begin an era of prosperity for all. This is why the

Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, laid the groundwork for the recovery and restructuring of the world economy.

38. I would be remiss in my duty if I were to conclude my statement without conveying the feelings of gratitude and appreciation of Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, his Government and the people of Equatorial Guinea to the Secretary-General for his constant efforts to safeguard the principles and attain the objectives of the Charter. We greatly value the contribution which the United Nations unceasingly makes in the task of the national reconstruction of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea.

39. May the United Nations remain the forum for peace negotiations and not a stage for confrontation.

40. Mr. NGARUKIYINTWALI (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): The thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly is meeting at a time when the international situation hardly affords any grounds for optimism. In a world which is in the grip of a persistent economic crisis, peace continues to be seriously threatened by numerous sources of tension and even by overt conflict.

41. It would, in fact, be unrealistic and illusory to proclaim that since the thirty-seventh session the international community has made any significant and substantial progress towards achieving the objectives stated in the Charter of the United Nations. The advent of a world of peace and security for all peoples, unfortunately, still remains a pious hope, despite the laudable efforts made by the Organization, efforts which have been taken up and supported by all countries which cherish peace, freedom, justice and equality and which are anxious to promote active solidarity among peoples.

42. Economically, the international situation is in a continuing state of stagnation, with a crisis which has been transformed into recession and which has been further aggravated by monetary fluctuations, galloping inflation, unemployment, trends toward protectionism, deterioration in the terms of trade and the pressing burden of external indebtedness for the developing countries, not to forget food shortages which afflict certain parts of the world, haunted as they are by the spectre of hunger, poverty and even total deprivation.

43. Against the background of this international economic crisis, the socio-economic situation and prospects are particularly gloomy for the least developed among the developing countries.

44. Politically, the international community is suffering from the anxieties created by the dangers which continue to threaten world peace and security because of growing tensions and the fact that various parts of the world are caught up in endless conflicts.

45. It is in the light of all this, Mr. President, that it will be your task to direct the work of the Assembly which—and this is the hope of the delegation of Rwanda—at its present session will help further to promote the objectives which the United Nations has set for itself. While emphasizing my delegation's willingness and wholehearted desire to co-operate for this purpose, like those who have spoken before me I should like to convey to you our warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the present session, an event which is both evidence and a solemn tribute—evidence of the confidence placed in you, and a tribute to your outstanding qualities and your competence and to the active part which your country has always played in the Organization.

46. May I also pay tribute to Mr. Imre Hollai, the President of the thirty-seventh session, who discharged his responsibilities with praiseworthy skill and judgement,

thus further enhancing the prestige which his country already enjoys in the comity of nations.

47. May I reiterate to the Secretary-General the deep gratitude which the Government and the people of Rwanda feel for his constant efforts to strengthen the role of the United Nations as an instrument to promote peace and solidarity among nations.

48. I should also like to take this happy occasion to welcome to the Organization the newly independent State of Saint Christopher and Nevis. Its admission as the 158th Member demonstrates the Organization's universality and brings us even closer to one of its fundamental goals, which is the liberation of peoples suffering under the colonial yoke.

49. As we do every year, we have come together here at the Headquarters of the United Nations to evaluate what has been done since the last session in the search for appropriate solutions to the problems of major concern to the international community, in both socio-economic affairs and political affairs.

50. At the very outset I would like to express the very warm and sincere thanks of the Government and the people of Rwanda to all those partners, friendly countries and international bodies which have supported the Rwandese Republic in its development efforts. Their support is particularly appreciated since it has had a positive impact by improving the living conditions of the people of Rwanda and at the same time has made a concrete contribution to promoting the ideal of solidarity and interdependence, which the international community sorely needs.

51. Turning to the economic situation of the world, the present situation is such that the gap between the rich and poor countries unfortunately continues to grow. This negative development goes hand in hand with a number of difficulties that make the socio-economic prospects of developing countries particularly gloomy. Their balance-of-payments deficit continues to grow and their growth rates have slowed down, while official development assistance continues to stagnate at a level well below the 0.7 per cent target of gross national product set by the United Nations.

52. There is little need to recall that such difficulties are not mere transitory phenomena but, rather, symptoms of profound structural imbalances. These imbalances require fundamental reforms that will make it possible to avert the danger of the world economy's being at the mercy of events and plunging the poor countries into an inextricable situation and making their efforts at development pathetically inadequate.

53. It is essential to promote solidarity and effective interdependence within the framework of international co-operation. This need was already quite plain in 1974, when the international community proclaimed its desire to restructure international economic relations by launching the idea of a new international economic order to be given final form through global negotiations.

54. Nearly 10 years of painstaking efforts towards that end have now elapsed without any significant results. Indeed, it must be recognized that the North-South dialogue is deadlocked. Even the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, produced only very limited and meagre results, although in the eyes of the third world it ought to have been the high point of that year in terms of the North-South dialogue.

55. None of the specific steps intended to promote the economic recovery of the developing countries was announced in the context of the financial transfers that

would make such a recovery possible and avoid any exacerbation of the crisis for countries heavily dependent on external markets and on their raw materials, the prices for which are constantly falling. No decision was reached with regard to compensatory financing to offset the reduction in export earnings.

56. In this context the developing countries, and in particular the least developed countries, continue to feel that they are the poor relations in the North-South negotiations, because those who hold the whip hand have made no substantial concessions.

57. International solidarity must be shown to a greater degree in the form of increased financial assistance. The transfer of capital and technology from rich to poor countries should be considerably increased, both in volume and in quality, to meet the ever-growing needs.

58. It is in everybody's interest that rich and poor alike realize that only through solidarity can the continuing development of the industrialized countries and the effective economic growth of the poor countries be assured. It is the dearest wish of the Rwandese Republic that the international community should act in such a spirit of solidarity to establish fairer and more balanced economic relations, for it attaches great value and importance to the willingness to define and concretize a constructive policy to that end.

59. Rwanda also hopes that such willingness would lead in a very short time to the new international economic order that the peoples represented in the Organization so keenly desire. Rwanda, since it is directly involved, also hopes that special attention can be paid to the least developed countries, particularly those that are land-locked. In addition to the difficulties they are facing as a result of the general world crisis, such countries have to overcome the very specific problems created by their special situation.

60. It was in this context that the Government of Rwanda welcomed with enthusiasm the convening in Paris in September 1981 of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries. Although the recommendations and resolutions adopted by that Conference gave us a glimmer of hope that the special socio-economic conditions of that category of countries would be improved, we are forced to acknowledge today that the encouraging statements made at that time have not yet been followed by specific action.

61. The Government of Rwanda thus remains convinced that international economic and trade relations should be put on new bases. My delegation hopes that at this session the General Assembly will at least make it possible to reach some agreement that will help to revive global negotiations in the framework of the North-South dialogue.

62. The operation of the Common Fund for Commodities, the creation of which was welcomed as a significant gesture in the context of that dialogue, is today at a standstill for lack of adequate financing. The necessary arrangements should be made to ensure that commodity and raw material prices are both guaranteed and remunerative, contrary to the present trend, which is for them to be kept artificially low, while at the same time the prices of exports from the industrialized countries continue to rise, thereby causing a constant deterioration in the terms of trade to the detriment of the poor countries.

63. Rwanda believes that in the efforts to ensure the establishment of a new international economic order it is essential to promote the effective solidarity of the industrialized countries with the third world, that within the framework of that solidarity the goal of devoting 0.7 per

cent of the gross national product to development assistance should constitute a commitment to be honoured without further delay.

64. Rwanda also believes that it is essential to develop and strengthen horizontal co-operation among developing countries. It was with that particularly in mind that the Rwandese Republic endorsed the recommendations contained in the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa, adopted in 1980 by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, and that it actively supports the goals of the regional and subregional organizations to which it belongs, while at the same time maintaining bilateral relations of co-operation with various other third world countries.

65. At the thirty-seventh session the delegation of Rwanda welcomed the adoption in April 1982 by a majority of States Members of the Organization of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. My delegation would now like to reiterate its appreciation of the tireless and concerted efforts that led to the final consensus document. The Rwandese Republic, which is pleased to be among those countries that adopted and signed it, hopes that the provisions dealing with land-locked countries will receive the necessary attention and consideration, particularly with regard to rights of transit.

66. At the beginning of my statement I said that in the present political context peace is not resting on as sound a foundation as the international community would like. Sporadic crises, tension and constant conflicts disturb the peace in various parts of the world. The initial enthusiasm for the policy of détente appears now to have dampened. The prospects are particularly gloomy because the impact of the crises that have taken place goes well beyond the regions directly affected and, at another level, the disarmament negotiations are moving at a snail's pace.

67. In southern Africa the persistence of *apartheid*, a wicked and odious system based on a racist policy, and the illegal occupation of Namibia as well as the constant attacks by South Africa against its neighbours are all matters that gravely endanger peace in that region, where a continuing explosive situation hampers the promotion of international security. When will the racist minority Pretoria régime finally heed the voice of reason and stop exploiting and oppressing an entire people that is only fighting for recognition of its most elementary and fundamental rights?

68. Deaf to the numerous appeals by the international community, the South African Government is typically becoming increasingly arrogant in the face of the legitimate claims of a whole population that has risen up against its policy based on dyed-in-the-wool racist principles.

69. The same arrogance can be observed in its policy towards Namibia, where, playing for time and constantly resorting to delaying tactics, South Africa continues its illegal occupation while, at the same time, systematically obstructing any initiatives to secure the self-determination of the Namibian people through constructive dialogue and in acceptable conditions.

70. Although it was 17 years ago that the General Assembly decided to put an end to South Africa's Mandate over Namibia [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*], Pretoria continues to ignore that decision. Although the United Nations is actively involved in seeking a negotiated solution to the Namibian question, and although the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*] has made considerable concessions to that end, the South African

Government has upped the ante, demanding new conditions and imposing supplementary clauses before Security Council resolution 435 (1978) can be implemented. The aim of all this, although it is not admitted, is to restrict the real impact of an authentically free electoral process in Namibia. The negative, arrogant and intransigent attitude of South Africa has disgusted all those nations which, cherishing peace, freedom and justice, are convinced that the Namibian people is entitled to self-determination and independence in a united Namibia.

71. The Government of Rwanda believes that the plan drawn up by the United Nations is the only proper context for the settlement of the Namibian question. This plan must be swiftly implemented, without any modifications that would in any way restrict its scope. The attempt to introduce into it elements extraneous to the Namibian question—for example, making the independence of Namibia dependent upon considerations that are nothing more or less than flagrant and outright interference in matters involving the sovereignty of another country—is a manoeuvre designed to delay pointlessly the outcome of a historically inevitable process.

72. The countries which originally advocated the United Nations plan for Namibia should give more effective support to the initiatives to put an end to the merciless oppression afflicting the Namibian people, which the racist minority South African régime keeps in the fetters of an anachronistic colonialism.

73. The delegation of the Rwandese Republic wishes to express again its unflagging support for the Namibian people, which, under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole authentic representative, is exercising its right to self-defence in order to regain its dignity and win its rights to self-determination and independence.

74. The front-line countries, particularly Angola, Botswana, Lesotho and Mozambique, enjoy the same support from us. South Africa is constantly blackmailing those countries by the use of brute force through its constant attacks and acts of sabotage, which have created an atmosphere of unrelieved tension throughout southern Africa.

75. Rwanda pays tribute to those countries for the self-sacrifice and determination they have displayed to ensure that legitimate aspirations based on the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations may triumph in this test started by the racist minority régime that rules in Pretoria. In this trial of strength the morality for which the freedom fighters are willing to lay down their lives will finally usher in a new era—an era of peace and stability, which the countries of southern Africa so direly need.

76. Still on the subject of Africa, another people is attempting to secure its right to self-determination. I am referring to the Saharan people, which has been struggling since November 1975, militarily, politically and diplomatically, to achieve recognition of that right. My delegation hopes that the parties to the conflict, Morocco and POLISARIO,<sup>2</sup> will waste no time in getting down to negotiations, resolutely and in good faith, in accordance with the recommendations put forward by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity during its nineteenth session, held last June at Addis Ababa. Deeply wedded as we are to the universal principle of the right of all peoples to self-determination, the Rwandese Republic ardently hopes that this fratricidal conflict will be rapidly settled in that spirit, so that peace can be restored to that region and the Maghreb peoples can give a concrete example of their solidarity and their brotherhood in the struggle for social and economic progress.

77. For some 20 years now, an African country, Chad, has been devastated by a fratricidal conflict whose fluctuations have been of constant concern to the OAU and the United Nations. The perpetuation of this conflict is a heavy burden on the development of that country, which is using up its strength on internecine struggles, whereas it needs the contributions of all its sons and daughters to carry out the reconstruction and rehabilitation of its economy, devastated by so many years of warfare.

78. This work of reconstruction and rehabilitation is really a wager that the entire Chadian people has to win if its future is to be safeguarded. This presupposes that the Chadians will overcome the differences which maintain and foster the struggles for influence and the sterile quarrels. This presupposes also that they will engage in dialogue and reconciliation, which they have been encouraged to do by all those countries that respect the sovereignty of every State and are faithful to the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes.

79. In that spirit, the Government of Rwanda associates itself with the repeated appeals to the protagonists in the Chadian tragedy to demonstrate a spirit of pragmatism and tolerance and to work out a political solution that would recreate the dynamic unity of Chad and put an end to the trials imposed on an entire people, which has paid such a high price for the dissension that has divided its vital forces and threatened its country with total disintegration.

80. In the Horn of Africa, the tension which was extremely high and disturbing a few years ago has now been somewhat reduced, and this should make it possible for the parties involved actively to seek ways and means likely to promote the complete restoration of a climate of peace to that region. In this connection respect for the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, respect for the territorial integrity of States and the peaceful settlement of disputes should make possible a compromise solution.

81. For some 30 years now the Middle East has been a hotbed of tension beset by constant crisis and tragic events which have as their background the martyrdom imposed on the Palestinian people and the fundamentally negative and dangerous policy pursued by the State of Israel against the Arab countries. That State, of which the least that can be said is that it has not learnt much from its own history, has defied the decisions of the United Nations and paid little heed to the precepts of international law. Thus Israel obstinately refuses to recognize the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine; it has flouted the sovereignty of Lebanon, annexed Arab territories and increased the number of its settlements thereon. Its unavowed design is to exterminate the Palestinian people in a fight to the finish.

82. Israel will not, however, by deploying its heavy war machinery replace international morality and ethics by brute force. It will not succeed in repressing the spirit and indeed the heroism that have prompted the valiant Palestinian people to struggle for the recognition of their rights, with the support of all countries that cherish peace and justice. It is not by intolerable harassment, torture, expulsion, intimidation, blackmail and every kind of atrocity or by an arrogant and intransigent attitude that the State of Israel will find peace. Peace is conditional upon recognition of and respect for the fundamental and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, in particular the right to self-determination and the right to a homeland in which to establish the governmental structures of their choice. There can be no peace in the Middle East without a just and comprehensive settlement that takes full

account of the rights of the Palestinian people and without the restoration of all Arab territories occupied by force by Israel.

83. In this respect the necessary arrangements should be made to put into practice the principles contained in the Geneva Declaration on Palestine and Programme of Action for the Achievement of Palestinian Rights adopted by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held from 29 August to 7 September 1983 at Geneva,<sup>3</sup> under the auspices of the United Nations. It should be recalled that in the Programme of Action laid down by that Conference it is recommended that at the present session the General Assembly should designate a "Year of Palestine" in order to make international public opinion aware of the problems of that people.

84. The Geneva Declaration on Palestine advocates, *inter alia*, the convening of an international conference under United Nations auspices to work out a comprehensive and lasting solution to the Israeli-Arab conflict. The PLO should be able to participate in that conference on an equal footing with the other parties involved in the conflict, and the solution proposed should take into account the inalienable and fundamental rights of the Palestinian people.

85. The PLO, which has been recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, has set itself the goal of winning recognition of and respect for their rights. In the struggle it is waging for that purpose, the PLO will always be able to rely on the support of the Rwandese Republic, which believes that such support is a moral duty incumbent on all countries that cherish peace and justice.

86. The State of Israel is obstinately pursuing an unacceptable policy, despite the relevant decisions of the United Nations. Thus Lebanon, a country which has become the constant whipping-boy of Israel, is the scene of perpetual crises, and its territorial integrity and sovereignty are continuously threatened, the Government of Israel having, it would seem, set itself the goal of placing Lebanon under its tutelage. The United Nations would lose some of its credibility were it to remain impotent in the face of this situation, which gravely compromises any initiative to bring peace to an area very sensitive for international security. It is high time for the diaspora imposed on the Palestinian people to end; it is high time for the policy of terror and *fait accompli* which the Israeli Government has persistently imposed on the Middle East, with an arrogance that the international community has constantly denounced, to be terminated.

87. In the same region, the war pitting Iraq against Iran has been going on for four years now, with a growing list of human victims and material damage. The Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have sent frequent mediation missions to the two belligerents without succeeding in inducing them to enter into a cease-fire or persuading them to reach a settlement by peaceful means. Each of the two parties has had a number of opportunities to put forward its point of view and explain its position concerning the circumstances at the root of this fratricidal conflict.

88. Rwanda, which like other States Members of the United Nations is deeply concerned at the persistence of this war that is sapping the strength and energies of two brother peoples, continues to hope that Iraq and Iran will allow themselves to be convinced of the need to find the path of harmony, rather than wallow in hatred and destruction, and that they will appreciate the true value of the honour that attaches to those that pursue peace, solidarity and interdependence. The delegation of Rwanda wishes to associate itself once again with all those who

for four years now have been urgently demanding that these two countries united by the same Islamic faith and the common ideal of non-alignment put an end to a conflict that has lasted too long by accepting a mutually agreed arbitration likely to promote the settlement of their dispute.

89. At the end of 1979 a crisis exacerbated international tension, dealing a rude blow to the policy of détente. Since then, the situation which has crystallized in Afghanistan has made the struggles for influence worse, thus constituting a serious threat to international peace and security. Although the majority of Member States has clearly advocated the total and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops from that country so that the Afghan people can settle their domestic issues in full sovereignty, that crisis persists.

90. In South-East Asia, the tragedy which the people of Kampuchea have suffered for almost five years is also continuing, against the backdrop of foreign interference which may well touch off the entire region.

91. Rwanda believes that in the case of both the Afghan crisis and the question of Kampuchea the solution is to be found in respect for the sovereignty of States and non-interference in the internal affairs of others and that it must be sought on the basis of the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes.

92. At each session of the General Assembly the delegation of Rwanda recalls the problem of divided nations, while at the same time expressing its conviction that it is for the peoples directly concerned to seek the ways and means of regaining their unity, free from any outside interference or pressure. In this spirit, the Rwandese Republic believes that it is through open and constructive dialogue in an atmosphere of understanding and trust that the Korean nation will be able to secure the reunification of its homeland, for which a prime prerequisite is the absence of any outside interference.

93. The Government of Rwanda believes that the spirit which at present informs relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic is likely to promote a continuing dialogue and co-operation that will make it possible to attenuate the effects of the division of the German nation and may even lead eventually to its reunification.

94. Rwanda believes in the need to create a more tranquil climate in the international community, so that all peoples can devote more of their time and effort to promoting development. For that reason, initiatives to encourage détente must not exclude the third world, because the tensions which arise there often encourage external interference and struggles for influence.

95. At every session discussions in the Assembly reflect the misgivings and uncertainties of Member States about the future of mankind, in view of the uncertain prospects resulting from the continuing economic crisis and the persistence of various conflicts and tensions. With the spiralling arms race and the stockpiling of increasingly sophisticated weaponry, mankind is now living under the threat of a deadly new holocaust which in the present context is no mere flight of fancy.

96. In the opinion of the Government of Rwanda détente, if genuine, positive and effective, has two meanings: it will represent greater security so necessary for harmonious development, and it will be a factor that will help to bring peoples closer together and permit a more active solidarity.

97. At a time when the world economy is in complete disarray and when the developing countries are becoming poorer with each passing day, one of the major causes

of the growing gap between the third world and the industrialized countries is the fact that immense resources and potential are devoted to the creation of nuclear arsenals and the production of new weapons of mass destruction. Disarmament is a fundamental factor in the search for appropriate solutions to the problems involved in establishing more harmonious relations in the international community, relations based on the freedom and sovereignty of peoples within a framework of co-operation and solidarity. If security is to be promoted, it must start with dialogue, and in this spirit the major Powers should put an end to the arms race, embark with determination on disarmament efforts and encourage effective use of technology for peaceful purposes so as to promote development for the benefit of all mankind and to reduce the poverty which is the daily lot of most of the world's population.

98. Two special sessions of the General Assembly have been devoted to disarmament. It is now time for specific steps to be taken in order to frame a peace strategy and reverse the present trend towards escalating the arms race, in which immense financial, material and scientific resources are squandered, and which at the same time involves a grave risk that the entire human race may be exterminated.

99. I have briefly touched upon the major problems which the international community is facing at the present time. All these are challenges which the Organization should help to meet.

100. In the economic sphere, the North-South dialogue seems to have reached a deadlock. The global negotiations have become bogged down in procedural wrangles. The situation of the developing countries is worsening, while the sums devoted each year to armaments have exceeded the alarming figure of \$600 billion and more than 1 billion persons are living below the poverty line, with an income of less than \$150 a year. How can we allow such a scandalous paradox to continue? The international community must meet the challenge of development by creating a new international economic order.

101. In the political sphere, it must be recalled that although a conflict may be confined to a single geographical area, it nearly always has international repercussions. It is a threat to peace, it disrupts international relations, it looms large in everyday events and gives rise to conflicting interpretations, it is necessarily a factor of division. This is true of the crisis which is tearing the Middle East apart and of the hotbeds of tension or open conflicts in Africa, Asia and Latin America, as well as the conflicts imposed on peoples which quite legitimately are seeking to promote, safeguard or strengthen their independence.

102. In the light of all those acts of hostility and continuing confrontations, international organizations remain impotent and paralysed and are unable to guarantee the peace and security that the world so sorely needs. What can be done? Should we sink into despair? No, we must not give up or indulge in excessive pessimism. Let us remember that, during its 38 years of existence, the Organization, through the tireless and concerted efforts of its Member States, has been able to achieve enough to justify continuing along this path which leads to the noble aims which guided its creation. The United Nations must continue by its actions to promote confidence and hope in the future of the world, to strengthen interdependence, complementarity, co-operation, dialogue and trust among peoples.

103. It is in this spirit that the Rwandese Republic, at this great annual gathering of international diplomacy, intends to participate actively in the work of the present session and to spare no effort in helping to promote the

aims set forth in the Charter, so that we can achieve the international order whose image that document holds up to all peoples of the world, in an atmosphere of equality, complementarity and solidarity, and increased peace and justice.

104. Mr. MWANGALE (Kenya): I begin my statement on a sad note, by mentioning the tragic incident that claimed 16 Korean lives, including those of four Cabinet Ministers, on 9 October in Rangoon. On behalf of the Government and people of Kenya, I convey our profound feeling of sadness and our condolences to all the families of the victims and to the Government of the Republic of Korea. We strongly condemn such acts of terrorism and political assassination. We sincerely believe that such acts will not solve anything and therefore deserve strong global condemnation.

105. Now let me join other delegates who have spoken before me in warmly congratulating you, Sir, on your election to your high and onerous office. Your election is proof of the confidence placed in you personally and in your country by the General Assembly. I wish you all the best in guiding the work of the thirty-eighth session to a successful conclusion. On behalf of my delegation, I assure you of our fullest support in your endeavours to discharge the heavy responsibilities of the presidency.

106. Further, I wish to pay tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai, who with singular distinction led the General Assembly successfully through the thirty-seventh session. We owe him a debt of gratitude for his efforts and the wisdom he displayed at all times.

107. This is also a fitting occasion for me to pay tribute to the Secretary-General and the entire staff of the United Nations for the work they continue to do for the international community through the United Nations system.

108. It is with great pleasure that I extend our sincere welcome to Saint Christopher and Nevis as the 158th Member of the United Nations. The admission of this country is a further step towards the final universality of the Organization.

109. I wish to reaffirm the sentiments of my Government as expressed during the thirty-seventh session. The guiding spirit of my Government, under the leadership of President Daniel Arap Moi, is based on peace, democracy and justice to all under the rule of law, in a system which recognizes the supremacy of Parliament. Another fundamental objective of the Government is improving the economic and social welfare of our people in unity, freedom and love for one another. All our actions on the domestic front, as well as in the international arena, are geared to promote, project and vigorously defend these objectives. Our people are resolved to ensure that our present population and future generations enjoy the fruits of peace, unity and stability, while respecting the dignity of individual freedom.

110. As we gather here today, we cannot help looking back and taking stock of the Organization's achievements and failures. We are certain that when the balance sheet is drawn up, the results will be unmistakably on the side of success.

111. The central role and objective of the United Nations is the maintenance of international peace and security. Whenever threats to this objective and obstructions to its realization have arisen, the General Assembly has always exerted maximum pressure in favour of peace, tranquillity and mutual understanding. It is Kenya's sincere hope that the ballots cast in the Assembly will continue to reflect the general will of the international community to maintain peace and security for all nations, as well as its resolve to improve the welfare of all mankind.

While expressing these expectations, we call upon those who are directly entrusted by the Charter with the task of maintaining international peace and security to pay more attention to the resolutions adopted year after year by the Assembly.

112. Let me make a brief survey of the African scene in the context of the aims and objectives of the United Nations. The OAU went through a turbulent phase last year. Touchy and acute issues faced us in our continent. Under the chairmanship of the President of Kenya, Daniel Arap Moi, and with other heads of State and Government who attended the OAU Assembly, the organization was able to solve some of these thorny problems, and our organization was able to function in the interests of Africa and the world in general.

113. The problem of Chad remains unresolved. At the nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa in June 1983, the President of Kenya, who was then Chairman of the Assembly, observed:

“Subsequent to the withdrawal of the peace-keeping force from Chad, there were indications that internal peace, reconciliation and national reconstruction were possible within the newly created political environment. This optimism has not fully materialized. Chad continues to experience internal conflicts with active support from external sources. As we have stated on many occasions regarding internal conflicts elsewhere in the world, we repeat the same by totally objecting to foreign interference in the internal affairs of States. In this particular case we reject and condemn interference in the internal affairs of Chad. We express the sincere hope that the people of Chad, left alone, will certainly sort out their problems in a more amicable and lasting way.”

114. In the case of Western Sahara, at the same session my President reminded the African heads of State and Government that a referendum to ascertain the wishes of the people of the Territory would pave the way for a more amicable settlement of the problem of the Territory. In this, Kenya supports the efforts of the OAU Implementation Committee on Western Sahara.

115. The Horn of Africa continues to be a region of tension and conflict. The existence of hostility in this area has adversely affected peaceful relations and the application of meaningful economic co-operation in the region. We are convinced that this conflict could easily be removed if all States in the area recognized and applied the fundamental OAU principle in regard to the sovereignty of independent States, respect for boundaries existing at the time of independence and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.

116. In South Africa, the tragedy of *apartheid* continues. The racist South African régime seeks to perpetuate its illegal rule, in defiance of decisions of this body. After decades of condemnation and protests by all peace-loving people the world over, including some whites in South Africa itself, the evil and inhuman system of *apartheid* continues to flourish, embracing as it does the total denial of political rights to the majority. Opposition to *apartheid* is met with brutal force against defenceless people, including children. It is a system which violates all the universal principles of human dignity on which the United Nations itself is based, yet all our efforts to have stronger action taken against South Africa continue to meet crippling resistance. We have adopted countless resolutions in the Assembly condemning the system. We have held many international gatherings which have exposed and equally condemned the evil system practised by a racist minority bent on destroying the very tenets of

civilized conduct, the most recent gathering being the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held at Geneva in August 1983. We must bring this inhuman system to an end.

117. The racist régime has stubbornly stepped up its policy of destabilization of the neighbouring States. Mozambique, Angola and the landlocked Kingdom of Lesotho have been victims of South African military aggression. We have castigated and deplored this aggression, and we appeal to the Western countries, friends of South Africa, to use their influence to stop South Africa committing further military aggression against these countries and the other front-line States.

118. In 1977 the Security Council, in a modest step forward, imposed an arms embargo against South Africa and decided that the sale of arms to South Africa represented a threat to international peace and security. We know, however, that this resolution, 418 (1977), has been violated by certain States. The time has come when the international community must face up to the gravity of the situation in South Africa. There is no longer any time left for ambiguity and prevarication over *apartheid*. We must urge the friends of South Africa to declare without any qualification that the sale of arms and related materials to South Africa poses a threat to international peace and security under the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

119. Information has come to us through the public media and from various sources to the effect that the racist régime is making moves to remove petty *apartheid* in public places, extend limited suffrage to coloured people and Indians in South Africa and create Bantustans. Let us not be confused by such information, whether or not it is true. We should not be deceived by such designs. Kenya has all along been calling for the total eradication of *apartheid*. We remain confident that the struggle to put an end to the *apartheid* system will succeed. We must continue to give every assistance possible to the freedom fighters in South Africa and Namibia in their legitimate struggle under the leadership of their liberation movements until final victory is won and *apartheid* vanishes forever.

120. In the 38 years of United Nations history, there are voluminous records of the illegal and brutal occupation of Namibia by South Africa. Not content with the illegal occupation, South Africa has converted Namibia into a military base, a spring-board from which it has carried out frequent unprovoked attacks against neighbouring States.

121. Since 1966, South Africa has defiantly resisted every move aimed at a peaceful termination of its illegal occupation of Namibia. Indeed, Africa and the entire world community are bound to ask what it is that South Africa wants. It is now more than five years since the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia was endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 435 (1978). At the time that resolution was adopted, we hoped that South Africa had regained its senses and was ready to co-operate in implementing a peaceful transition to independence for Namibia. Our hopes have been rudely frustrated by South Africa's intransigence. Instead of moving towards the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, the régime has now resorted to an intensified war against neighbouring States, particularly Angola, Mozambique and Lesotho.

122. A State or group of States has brought up an issue simply to complicate negotiations for the independence of Namibia. We must not confuse the issue of Namibia's independence with the territorial integrity of Angola. We state here once more that we strongly reject the linking

of the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. We know that such linkage was first suggested and has been encouraged by one permanent member of the Security Council. Given this encouragement, South Africa has remained not only stubborn but more aggressive towards Angola. Angola is an independent State and must be accorded the right to look for help, given the aggression coming from South Africa. We will not accept any propaganda conceived in a super-Power context to justify South Africa's presence in Namibia.

123. The Security Council met in May this year and, in resolution 532 (1983), mandated the Secretary-General to carry out consultations with the parties concerned. The results of those consultations reveal that South Africa is still adamantly demanding the removal of Cuban troops from Angola, as though a connection between the two issues ever existed. The international community still demands that South Africa change its stand in this issue. Furthermore, we learn that South Africa has announced its intention to establish a state council in Namibia to draw up a constitution for Namibia. The move is an attempt to impose a settlement on Namibia that is favourable to South Africa. It was condemned by the Non-Aligned Movement in March this year and deserves further condemnation by this body. The action by South Africa is not only inconsistent with Security Council resolution 439 (1978) but also represents an attempt by the Pretoria régime to obstruct the implementation of the internationally recognized United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia.

124. The international community must face squarely its responsibility for Namibia. We remain extremely concerned that the United Nations efforts have been frustrated by the use of the veto in the Security Council. We have the rather anomalous situation where those whose efforts for the independence of Namibia are spurned by South Africa are, at the same time, the ones who protect South Africa with vetoes against the stronger action demanded by South Africa's intransigence. Something must be done to remove that anomaly. We from Africa have come a long way in our struggle to liberate our continent from régimes based on racial discrimination and colonialism. At the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, the President of my country, Daniel Arap Moi, who was then still Chairman of the OAU Assembly, stated:

"All of us in Africa wish for nothing less on behalf of Namibia than total and unobstructed independence, so that the people of that country can work out their own political system and development strategies. We will not stop in our drive at the border of Namibia. This should serve as a clear message to South Africa and its friends."

125. I shall now draw the Assembly's attention to one of the most dangerous areas on the international scene. I refer to the problem of the Middle East and to recent events in that area. The situation has remained tense, with violent conflicts, over the last three decades. During that time the international community has witnessed the miserable plight of the Palestinian people, dispossessed, uprooted from their land and dispersed. The threat to international peace and security coming from that area is perpetrated by Israeli policies of expansionism and aggrandizement.

126. My delegation has, on many occasions in the deliberations of this Organization, made known its views on the question of the rights of the Palestinian people. We have stated on many occasions that there can be no lasting

peace in the area until the legitimate interests of the Palestinians are fully accommodated. We have stated time and again that peace in the region can prevail only if certain conditions are fulfilled.

127. First, Israel must withdraw from all Arab land occupied since 1967. We strongly oppose the acquisition of land through the use of force. It is regrettable that Israel continues to defy the Organization's resolutions with regard to Arab territories it occupies.

128. Secondly, Israel must recognize the rights of the Palestinians as a people, including their rights to self-determination and to an independent State of their own. Israel must be made to understand that it cannot justify its existence by brutally denying the existence of a Palestinian State. When the Organization, back in 1947, partitioned Palestine and created a new State, Israel, it was never the intention of this body to write off the State of Palestine.

129. Thirdly, in all negotiations aimed at solving the problems of the Middle East, the Palestinian people must participate on an equal footing with other parties.

130. Fourthly, we must recognize Israel's right to exist as an independent State within internationally recognized borders.

131. We believe that acceptance of those four conditions would ensure the right atmosphere for establishing peace and security in the region.

132. It is our view that as long as the Palestinians are denied their right to self-determination the problem of the Middle East will remain unsolved. Already Israel has extended this conflict to the independent State of Lebanon, with all the shocking brutalities of last year, which left us immobilized. We call for immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanese territory in the interest of peace and stability in the region.

133. It is regrettable that the war between Iran and Iraq continues, despite the efforts of the non-aligned countries and the international community to bring about a peaceful solution between the two brotherly States. We once again urge both countries to heed the appeals made by the international community to end this costly conflict.

134. I should like to make a short reference to the situation obtaining in both Afghanistan and Kampuchea. Both countries, in the view of my Government, are victims of foreign interference and intervention. My country's position on this question has been voiced in international forums on various occasions, when Kenya has called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan and Kampuchea. Kenya deplores any foreign interference and intervention in matters that are exclusively internal to any given State. We call for full respect for the principles of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States. A violation of these principles on any pretext is contrary to the aims and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. In this respect, therefore, we call for the total withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan and Kampuchea without further delay.

135. The issue of Cyprus continues to feature prominently in the Organization's debates. Kenya has called and will always continue to call for respect for and recognition of the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of Cyprus. We call for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Cyprus. We urge the people of Cyprus themselves to revive the inter-communal talks in order to solve their problems without external obstacles.

136. We are also extremely concerned about the continuing tensions in Central America and the Caribbean. This region is faced with serious political, social and economic crises, greatly aggravated by external intervention.

It is our view that the increasing threats and acts of aggression from outside forces have worsened the situation. My Government would like to commend the peace initiatives presented by the Governments of Mexico, Colombia, Panama, Venezuela and France and the positive responses which have come from some of the States in the region.

137. I wish to make some observations on another matter that continues to be of concern to the Organization as well as to my country. Kenya has supported and will continue to support the proposal that the Indian Ocean be designated a zone of peace. To us in Kenya, "the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace" is not a political slogan but is essential for safeguarding our own territorial integrity. We support the call for an international conference on the Indian Ocean to consider all the aspects of this problem. We urge all the maritime States to co-operate fully with the littoral and hinterland States of the Ocean in the preparations for such a conference.

138. It is with absurd cynicism that human beings seem to have opted for total annihilation as their imperative mission and ultimate destiny. We have been witnessing mounting tension and distrust all over the world. Endless negotiations have failed to promote real progress in halting the arms race or lowering the tensions among nations. The goal of general and complete disarmament continues to elude mankind, and inevitably this leaves the States living in the lengthening shadow of burgeoning nuclear stockpiles.

139. The socio-economic problems currently contaminating the world cannot be viewed in isolation from the arms buildups and the ever-increasing military budgets. It does not make sense or logic to be spending over \$650 billion annually on the manufacture of armaments when no adequate resources are being made available for the economic development and social welfare of the majority of the world's people. It is a sad paradox of the twentieth century that the third world economies, buffeted by recession and faced with all sorts of setbacks to their economic development, are spending an average of over 12 per cent of their gross national product on the procurement of weapons of war. The accumulated experience of human history shows quite clearly that if we do not end this mad rush to manufacture more and more terrible weapons of destruction, we shall be heading for self-destruction and the annihilation of human civilization.

140. The need to build and strengthen trust and confidence among nations is urgent and imperative, and Kenya stands ready and willing to play its part as a first step on the road to strengthening international understanding. The time has come for the adoption by the Assembly of a convention that will guarantee the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons.

141. The continuing deterioration of the international situation and the intensification of the arms race have brought the world to the brink of a nuclear catastrophe. In such a political climate no progress can be made in disarmament negotiations. We therefore call on all States, in particular the nuclear-weapon States and other militarily significant States, to demonstrate the political will and firm commitment necessary for the implementation of the recommendations made and decisions taken in the field of disarmament.

142. One of the historic events of this decade is the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.<sup>4</sup> The occasion not only marked the emergence of a new legal régime governing the exploitation of the sea, the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof, but also demonstrated clearly the importance of equitable compromise in the interest of all mankind. The

Convention was the result of hard negotiations over a period of many years, and it is Kenya's hope that even those countries which were not able to support the Convention at the time of its adoption will find it both useful and necessary to do so in the future, to ensure uniformity in its implementation and use.

143. As a result of the adoption of the Convention, the Preparatory Commission for the International Sea-Bed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea has commenced its work. It is expected that it will bring about a smooth transition for the coming into force of the Convention. We are encouraged by this trend.

144. The Preparatory Commission has been considering various matters relating to sea-bed mining and the question of bringing into operation the International Sea-Bed Authority, the Enterprise and the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea. This is a difficult task, but we are encouraged by the manner in which the Commission is tackling its work. We therefore appeal to the whole of the United Nations membership to support the Commission, for only thus can the international community be assured of a smooth, effective and uniform implementation of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

145. For the last nine years we have been working on ways and means of strengthening the Organization's effectiveness. In fulfilling this task under the Charter, the United Nations has faced the very basic problem of the use of the power of veto. At times this power has been abused by those to whom it has been entrusted, for selfish national interests rather than for the maintenance of international peace and security. We are disappointed with the lack of concrete progress in the work of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on Strengthening the Role of the Organization. It is important for all of us to realize that unless we make the United Nations a viable organization, to enable it to maintain international peace and security as envisaged in the Charter, there will be no peace for anyone. I therefore wish to make a special appeal to the permanent members of the Security Council to allow progress to be made in the work of this Special Committee.

146. Another area of great interest and concern to the Government and people of Kenya is the current international economic situation. We are gravely concerned at the critical situation in which the international economy finds itself today. The world economy as a whole is engulfed in a prolonged and deepening crisis which threatens the economic future of all countries, but it is the developing countries which have been hit the hardest by its effects, resulting in the severe curtailment of their economic growth and seriously impairing their prospects for years to come.

147. The economic situation in the developing countries is pathetic. It is in those countries that we find acute balance-of-payments problems, foreign exchange shortages, falling per capita incomes, rapidly rising unemployment, high rates of inflation and other economic problems. In Africa particularly, the Governments continue to battle with economic problems of such magnitude that they are unable to meet targets contained in their own development plans. As a result, the African peoples continue to be plagued by hunger, disease and ignorance many years after achieving independence.

148. One wonders whether there is sufficient concern among the developed countries of the North over the declining per capita incomes of the developing countries which are already over-burdened by extreme poverty,

malnutrition and massive under-employment. One wonders also whether there is sufficient understanding of the implications of investment cutbacks and disrupted development programmes in the developing countries. The intense problems that the people in the developing countries face every day of their lives in a situation with no hope for the future should not be tolerated. We cannot expect international peace and security to prevail if the present world economic disorder persists. We should not underestimate the dangers that could arise from the majority of the people in the developing countries of the South who continue to be victims of the present international economic arrangement and whose hopes for a better tomorrow are dwindling at an alarming rate.

149. The outlook for international economic relations is grim. While the attempt to launch global negotiations in the United Nations continues to face an impasse, many developed countries are not honouring their past commitments. In some cases, some developed countries have shown signs of disowning commitments contained in the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [resolution 35/56, annex] and other resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and in other bodies of the United Nations. In view of all this, the developing countries, including my own, feel disillusioned, as they continue to face stagnating or falling export earnings, high debt-service burdens, investment cutbacks, rising unemployment and continuous decline in per capita incomes.

150. This session is being held at a time when the economic problems confronting the developing countries are more acute than ever. In the view of my delegation, trade is a very important component of international economic co-operation. Its decline has deprived developing countries of the badly needed foreign exchange without which they are unable to import capital goods and other things required for economic development. The terms of trade of the developing countries have been declining for years, but they have deteriorated sharply since 1980, when the prices of primary commodities collapsed. Since 1980 the tide of protectionism in the developed market-economy countries has been more evident than ever before because of inward-looking policies of these countries. It was painfully apparent last November that the ministerial-level meeting of the Contracting Parties of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade lacked the liberal consensus which characterized previous trade rounds.

151. As the Assembly is aware, developing countries members of the Group of 77 met at Buenos Aires to prepare the Buenos Aires Platform,<sup>5</sup> in preparation for the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which was held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983. The Group of 77 had undertaken intensive work to arrive at its positions, which include specific proposals for action by the international community to improve international trading relations. Needless to say, the developing countries were disappointed at Belgrade because, whereas they went there with open minds for negotiations, they were treated to negative attitudes of the States in Group B. The theme of recovery and development which was the central theme of the sixth session was therefore diluted by developed countries, which refused to co-operate in the vital areas of trade, money and finance. My delegation joins those delegations which feel that the session failed just at a time when immediate measures were needed to improve the terms of trade of the developing countries.

152. The developing countries are in great need of financial resources, without which they cannot continue their development efforts. For my own country, the year

1982/83 was particularly difficult because the Government had to curtail expenditures. Yet, this was happening only two years after the adoption by the international community in 1980 of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, in which it was recognized that external financial resources, particularly official development assistance, constitute an indispensable element of support for the developing countries' own efforts. I will be speaking for the developing countries if I say that none of the major developed countries will have reached the target of the 0.7 per cent of their gross national product required by the Strategy by 1985. We have only 14 months to go before January 1985.

153. Let me take this opportunity to repeat that the present international monetary and financial arrangements are not adequate for the equitable development of the world economy and accelerated development of developing countries as anticipated in the International Development Strategy. Although the Bretton Woods institutions were created for that purpose, they seem to act more in the interest of the developed countries than the developing countries. These views were expressed in the statement recently made by my President at one of the international meetings where he stated:

“We should also recall that rules governing the major international lending institutions—the IMF and the World Bank—were designed in the absence of developing countries, and we still have very little say in the respective decision-making processes. This is a frustration to the whole situation, since there is much hard-won experience, embodying opinions and ideas, which the developing States could now contribute. My own view is that there is now an abundant case for restructuring of the international monetary system, and there is most certainly a need for resuming allocations of special drawing rights as a feature of some expanded and liberalized measures of balance of payments support for developing countries.”

154. As an immediate measure in this regard, the seventh summit meeting of the non-aligned countries, meeting at New Delhi last March, proposed an international conference on money and finance for development at which some of the most pressing monetary and financial issues in the developing countries would be tackled. These proposals, which have now been widely accepted, should be endorsed at this session.

155. My Government attaches the greatest importance to the industrialization of developing countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. It will be recalled that last year the Assembly adopted resolution 37/212, which, *inter alia*, requested the Secretary-General to allocate adequate staff and financial resources so as to ensure the effective co-ordination and implementation of the activities of UNIDO and ECA related to the Industrial Development Decade for Africa. Since this session of the Assembly will be considering the report of the Industrial Development Board [A/38/16], it is my sincere hope that there have been responses in order to implement the programme of the Decade. In this connection, also, I urge the Fourth General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization to give significance to the Decade by including it in its agenda.

156. Turning now to the question of science and technology, I would like to stress that my Government attaches great significance to development of science and technology in developing countries. We believe that science and technology are crucial vehicles for the implementation of the International Development Strategy and for

the early attainment of the new international economic order. It is regrettable, therefore, that four years after the conclusion of the Vienna Programme of Action on Science and Technology for Development,<sup>6</sup> no substantial agreement has been reached to implement the Programme, especially as it relates to financial resources. My Government urgently calls for an early resolution of the unresolved issues in the Vienna Programme of Action through intensified negotiations within the appropriate United Nations bodies, including the Intergovernmental Committee on Science and Technology for Development.

157. Energy is an essential element of the development process and it continues to cause very serious problems, particularly to developing nations like my own which are adversely affected by the energy crisis. The need to shift nations from dependence on petroleum to greater reliance on alternative sources of energy led to the adoption in 1981 of the Nairobi Programme of Action for the Development and Utilization of New and Renewable Sources of Energy.<sup>7</sup> My delegation at this juncture is concerned at the slow pace in the implementation of the Nairobi Programme, particularly on the question of mobilization of financial resources for harnessing new and renewable sources of energy. During this session of the Assembly, the Kenya delegation stands ready to participate actively in the discussions of this item in order to find ways and means of implementing the Programme without further delay.

158. We are aware of the reports submitted to the Assembly on the eleventh session of the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme [A/38/25] and the sixth session of the Commission on Human Settlements [A/38/8]. The important recommendations of those two organs need implementation and, for that to be done, adequate financial resources are indeed necessary. My delegation therefore calls on the developed donor countries and others in a position to do so to make substantial contributions towards the implementation of the planned programmes in the fields of environment and human settlements.

159. Turning now to the question of economic and technical co-operation among developing countries, Kenya has repeatedly called on developing countries to intensify their co-operation at subregional, regional and inter-regional levels in all fields. As for the developed countries, my delegation urges them to view activities in connection with economic and technical co-operation among developing countries not as being discriminatory against them, but as complementing North-South co-operation. The developed countries should therefore accord all necessary support to those activities.

160. It was in the spirit of South-South co-operation that developing countries adopted the Caracas Programme of Action in 1981,<sup>8</sup> the implementation of which has been enhanced by the many intergovernmental economic and technical meetings in the last two years. Also, in certain regions new initiatives of South-South co-operation have emerged. For instance, in December 1981 some 18 countries of eastern and southern Africa concluded a treaty establishing a preferential trade area which is already operational, the treaty having been signed and ratified by the majority of the member States. The technical services utilized during the negotiations of that treaty were rendered by ECA. My Government and other Governments of the subregion would appreciate any assistance to the young preferential trade area in order to make it a reality.

161. The critical economic problems facing Africa require concerted international attention. Africa is the least developed of all the continents and suffers from

underdevelopment, food shortages, balance-of-payments problems, foreign exchange shortages and acute lack of external financial resources for development. In addition to these problems, Africa has a majority of the least developed countries. Out of all the problems facing Africa, my delegation would like to single out the acute food shortages that recent reports have shown. Food and agricultural production have declined drastically in Africa in the recent years owing, *inter alia*, to adverse climatic conditions, rising population, inadequate investment in the agricultural sector, lack of storage facilities and shortage of foreign exchange to import agricultural items such as fertilizers. Yet food and agriculture are the most important elements in human life because they involve the very survival of mankind in that food is a basic need. It is necessary, therefore, for the international community to take urgent collective measures to assist African countries in the implementation of the Lagos Plan of Action for the economic development of Africa in order to alleviate critical food shortages and to attain self-sufficiency in food in Africa. It is particularly important for the international community to assist African Governments to adopt and implement food policies at the national level. We therefore look forward to increased assistance from both bilateral donors and multilateral sources.

162. We end by appealing to all gathered here during the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly to make concrete, practical and action-oriented recommendations and decisions which are geared towards making this world a better place for mankind as a whole today and in the days to come.

163. Mr. DIALLO (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the Niger delegation welcomed with a feeling of profound satisfaction your election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. We therefore associate ourselves with the warm congratulations addressed to you on your assumption of that highly responsible office in which we are certain you will, as did Mr. Hollai last year, do useful work. A man of thought, but also a man of action, in the course of a long and rich political career in the service of your country, Panama, in the United Nations and in other international bodies, you have acquired the competence and experience necessary for guiding our work.

*Mr. Koroma (Sierra Leone), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

164. Above and beyond your undeniable and universally recognized qualities as an eminent statesman, we also see in you the worthy representative of that heroic land, Latin America, whose will has never faltered and where freedom, peace and progress have always found a powerful echo. Throughout the ages, as history shows, generations of men and women have fought with faith and courage on your continent for the triumph of those ideals which constitute the *raison d'être* of the United Nations and the backdrop for its action. In the torn and anguished world in which we live today, the General Assembly, by electing you, could make no wiser choice to advance the cause of peace, freedom and progress.

165. We live in a world torn, anguished, deeply concerned and desperately in search of peace, freedom and progress. This is the same painful and bitter assessment that we made last year at the thirty-seventh session, and unfortunately we must make it again this year. In fact, observers are unanimous in considering the present international situation to be no better than it was last year and even seriously and dangerously worse.

166. East-West relations are more tense than ever. The arms race, which has known no respite, has now reached a fearsome threshold. A report on world military and

social expenditures published last Friday in Washington by the Association for Weapons Control and the Rockefeller Foundation indicates that every minute \$1.3 million are spent throughout the world for military purposes. Furthermore, none of the serious conflicts affecting the world for years has been resolved. Worse still, we see a dangerous expansion of those conflicts and sometimes the appearance of new hotbeds of tension in the same regions, in other cases in regions hitherto spared or enjoying relative calm.

167. Hence, Asia and the Middle East seem permanently immersed in war. There is war in Central America as well, where armed confrontations intensify day by day and threaten to spread to the entire Latin American continent. There is also war in the north-west and southern parts of the African continent. In other areas of the world, particularly in the Korean peninsula, tension remains strong and could at any time degenerate into open armed conflict because of hatred and passions fuelled and maintained for many years. Elsewhere, as a reaction to oppression, domination, exploitation or the denial of fundamental human rights, violence threatens to break out. Nothing is going right for our world as far as peace and security are concerned.

168. In the area of international co-operation too we have little cause for satisfaction. Because of the selfishness of the richest countries, under the pressure of protectionist measures and because of continued disorder in the international monetary system, the field for co-operation has considerably narrowed.

169. The serious crisis which for years has been afflicting the world economy is today affecting all international economic, trade and financial relations, with the negative consequences with which we are all familiar: inflation, recession and unemployment in most of our countries, a slowing down or complete halt of the development process in the developing countries because of a marked decrease of development aid in real terms, increasingly difficult conditions for access to financial markets and the further deterioration of their terms of trade. To a large number of those countries the crisis in the world economy constitutes today a real question of life or death.

170. Undoubtedly the overall situation in our world on this thirty-eighth anniversary of the Organization is highly dramatic and disquieting. The Secretary-General is right in affirming in his report on the work of the Organization [A/38/1]:

“Despite the efforts of many, 1983 has, so far, been a frustrating year for the search for peace, stability and justice and for those who believe that the United Nations is the best available international instrumentality to achieve these ends.”

171. The many upheavals of a political, economic or social nature tearing the world apart or threatening it are a reflection of a major requirement—that for a profound change of the whole system of international relations. If war and poverty continue to afflict a large part of mankind, in spite of the identification of the problems confronting our world and an increase in our capacity to deal with those problems, especially because of the progress in science and technology, and in spite of a growing awareness of the interdependence of our nations and the dangers threatening them, the reason is undeniable. The system of international relations itself, one which is based on relations of power, might, domination and exploitation and is characterized by a widespread disorder which some zealously perpetuate.

172. It is a fact that the world is divided into rich and poor countries, into powerful and weak countries, but

the fact that some are rich and powerful in no way confers upon them a right over the others that are poor and weak. In particular, it does not confer upon them the right to divide the world into spheres of influence that they can directly or indirectly control. Nor does it confer upon them the right of life and death over others, any more than it authorizes them to use the power they possess to intervene and to impose their will or their desires on others. It gives them no preferential title to the riches of the world or the exclusive right to set the conditions under which international trade and international finances should be managed.

173. There can be no doubt that the destiny of our world cannot be left in the hands of a few countries, however powerful. There are among us no peoples chosen to command others. We form part of the same humanity to which we so enthusiastically refer in our statements. Rich or poor, powerful or weak, we are the inhabitants of the same planet, Earth, and if tomorrow a nuclear war breaks out we should all have to bear its lethal consequences. There is no need for us to stress that we are all experiencing—in varying degrees, it is true—the negative effects of the serious crisis in the world economy.

174. This means that we all have an equal interest to work towards a relaxation of tensions in the world and towards the establishment of an atmosphere of trust, entente and comprehension among our different nations, making it possible for us to progress on the path towards disarmament. It also means that it is in the interest of all to preserve international peace and security. Lastly, it indicates how important it is for all our countries to develop the ideal of international co-operation and to seek, in a spirit of complementarity and solidarity, solutions to the problems of hunger and unemployment in the world, to the world monetary problems, to the debt problems of the third world countries, to the increasing deterioration of their terms of trade and development financing difficulties.

175. Those are the requirements of the world of today. It is to meet them that the third world countries are, through the policy of non-alignment, endeavouring to promote a new and broader vision of international relations based on overcoming bloc rivalry, which generates tension, and on a determined search for peace and co-operation among all the nations of the earth. The initiative taken at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries to invite the world's leaders to participate personally in the work of the General Assembly's thirty-eighth session attests to the resolve of those countries to contribute to the reduction of international tensions, to the solution of the conflicts dividing the world and to the establishment of an entirely new world order capable of guaranteeing for our human race that peace and security so lacking and so necessary for progress.

176. Being a full-fledged member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Niger is pleased that a large number of world leaders have welcomed that initiative. I should like, on behalf of President Kountché, to pay a tribute to the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, whose action has been decisive in making this idea a reality.

177. With regard to the general situation in the world, we have, as members of the family of the United Nations, many tasks to accomplish, many challenges to meet. However, we must recognize the urgent and fundamental need to tackle the many conflicts that are afflicting and bringing destruction to many regions of our world.

178. I have in mind especially the southern part of the African continent, where the credibility of the United

Nations is being sorely tested by the continued and illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist minority régime of Pretoria and the persistence of the criminal policy of *apartheid*.

179. It is true that various bodies of the Organization have adopted an impressive number of resolutions on the situation in Namibia. The General Assembly has regularly considered this question during the past 37 years at its regular sessions. Two special sessions—the fifth and the ninth—and also a special emergency session—the eighth—have been dedicated to it. The Security Council itself has taken up the matter and has adopted at least 20 resolutions, including resolution 435 (1978), which lays the foundations for a peaceful, just and equitable settlement of the problem. At the same time missions of inquiry and mediation have been dispatched. Many meetings have been organized under the auspices of the United Nations itself and upon the initiative of many other well-meaning bodies in order to ensure the implementation of the provisions of that resolution. In spite of all these efforts, we have made hardly any progress. The General Assembly and the Security Council, to use the customary language of this Organization, remain seized of the question of Namibia.

180. This is so because the flexible and constructive attitude of SWAPO in the negotiations undertaken for the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) has met with the downright stubbornness and delaying tactics of the racist minority régime of Pretoria at the diplomatic level, while in practice that régime has pursued a savage policy of repression against the Namibian nationalists and has engaged in repeated acts of aggression against the front-line States.

181. Responsibility for the failure of our efforts is well known. All the covert or overt alliances, all the complicity and the tolerance which encourage South Africa in its negative attitude, are also well known. They make it possible for South Africa steadfastly to flout and defy the United Nations and give it the extra energy it needs whenever internal pressure endangers the existence of the proponents of *apartheid*.

182. In these circumstances, how can we not share the concern of the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, held in Paris in April 1983, over the fact that thus far, the Security Council has been unable to fulfil its responsibilities regarding the maintenance of international peace and security, because of the opposition of a permanent member? Yet it appears obvious that the sanctions envisaged under Chapter VII of the Charter, effectively and universally applied, are the only available means to compel South Africa to comply with the decisions of the United Nations.

183. In solidarity with the Namibian people and with the oppressed populations of South Africa and the front-line States, Niger deeply deplores the delaying tactics which characterize the search for a solution to the problem of that region. Niger repudiates any link between the independence of Namibia and situations relating to the sovereignty of other States. We favour true independence for Namibia, based on Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and consequently call for determined action by the international community to put an end to the occupation of Namibia and to the policy of *apartheid*, both of which it has unanimously condemned.

184. Closer to the borders of my country, in Chad, which for over 15 years has been torn asunder by a fratricidal war, a dangerous situation has developed recently, which was referred, without much effect, to the Security Council. As a neighbour of Chad, we feel a

sense of pain as we witness the suffering endured by the people of Chad and the slow decline of the whole State because of the long years of war. We have never tried to take advantage of the chaotic situation in Chad. And in spite of the repercussions of the situation on our borders, of which little is known in the outside world, we have never been willing to add to the difficulties of that country. That is why we have never chosen to side with one faction against another. We have always believed that Chad belongs to the Chadian people and that it is they themselves who must settle the problems of Chad. Our role has always been to alleviate the suffering of our Chadian brothers and to help them in their recovery. It is in that spirit that we have participated in all the efforts undertaken to restore peace in that country.

185. Today our position remains unchanged. We consider Chad to be one and indivisible and consequently we call for respect for its unity and integrity. By the same token, we believe that the independence and sovereignty of Chad must be respected; foreign interference in its internal affairs must therefore be brought to an end.

186. It is the duty of the international community, it is the duty of African countries and, in particular, of the neighbours of Chad, to help in restoring peace in that country. Niger ardently hopes that the efforts of the OAU to that end will be strongly supported by all.

187. No one today would dispute the fact that the situation in the Middle East is a serious and constant threat to international peace and security. Lebanon, with the siege of Beirut, the forced departure of the Palestinian leaders to other lands of exile, followed by the Shatila and Sabra massacres and a resurgence of violence, of which there is fresh news every day, is an example of the great tragedy which for decades has been afflicting the countries and people of the Middle East. At the heart of that tragedy we find the fate of the Palestinian people, victim of one of the greatest injustices of our time.

188. As a member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and of its Al-Quds Committee, and as a crossroads for centuries for exchanges of all types between Africa and the Arab world, Niger is deeply concerned over the situation affecting that part of the world.

189. The United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the OAU and many other international bodies have done their utmost to find a just and lasting solution to the problem of the Middle East and of Palestine. The International Conference on the Question of Palestine, which recently took place at Geneva, provides an example of the seriousness of those efforts. All those efforts, unfortunately, come up against the arrogance, intransigence and rage for war of the State of Israel, which continues the occupation of Arab and Palestinian territories and constantly attacks neighbouring States, despite the relevant decisions of the General Assembly.

190. I wish to reaffirm Niger's support for the valiant Palestinian people and the PLO, which is its sole and legitimate representative. I also reaffirm our support for the Arab countries and peoples of the region in their struggle to regain their territories which are illegally occupied by Israel.

191. We continue to believe that a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the question of the Middle East and Palestine necessarily involves the total withdrawal by Israel from Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem; recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and its right to the establishment of an independent and sovereign State on the soil of its homeland, in Palestine, under the leadership

of the PLO; and the PLO's full participation in any peacekeeping process.

192. It is not only in Chad, southern Africa and the Middle East where world peace is in danger; it is also in danger in other regions. One example is the Persian Gulf, where Iran and Iraq are still at war. We are deeply affected by the continued confrontation between those two countries, to which we are bound by so many links, and we call for an end to hostilities and to a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

193. Other examples are provided by Afghanistan and Democratic Kampuchea; we should like to see those countries free and rid of foreign occupation and their independence, sovereignty and status as non-aligned States fully respected.

194. Unfortunately Central America is yet another example, a region where serious upheavals and dangerous instability have recently degenerated into open warfare. We hope for a negotiated settlement of the problems of that region that will take full account of the aspirations of the people concerned and respect the independence and sovereignty of all the States of the region. For that reason we are supporting and encouraging the efforts of the Contadora Group.

195. Similarly, we favour a political solution to the problem of the division of Korea. Only a negotiated solution can guarantee a just and final settlement of that question and thereby avoid plunging the Korean people into the torments of a new war.

196. I do not feel that I have exhausted the list of all the flashpoints in the world. Could it ever be exhausted? There are still other regions of the world where peace is fragile, threatened or broken. I should simply like to add in this regard that we in Niger wish peace for all countries and all peoples on earth, for we know the inestimable benefits that it brings.

197. In fact it is that peace which has enabled us on the morrow of the accession to power in April 1974 of the Supreme Military Council to take effective action to overcome the immediate harmful effects of the terrible drought which Niger and the other countries of the Sahel have had to endure. It is that peace which has enabled us to carry out the qualitative changes needed before we could undertake a three-year programme, and then a five-year plan, devised by the Supreme Military Council as part of a bold policy of national recovery. Today we can be proud of having protected the population of Niger against famine; of having rebuilt our livestock inventory, 75 per cent of which had been destroyed by drought; of having increased arable land, through a sustained policy of hydro-agricultural improvements and additional water supplies, thereby substantially increasing food production; of having improved and strengthened the health and education infrastructures; of having developed our road system and given our country modern telecommunications infrastructures.

198. The vast programme of national mobilization undertaken under the guidance of the development association has also been carried out successfully. After four years of intensive work in publicity, information and study, the National Committee charged with setting up the development association prepared a report listing the problems facing our country and proposing ways of solving them.

199. In parallel with these studies, we undertook organizational work, setting up in neighbourhoods, villages, cantons and in each district and department development groups consisting of peasants, young people, school-children and all the social and professional strata of our

country. This organizational work was concluded on 3 August 1983 with the solemn establishment of the National Council for Development, which has been given a mandate to draw up a national charter reflecting the aspirations of the Nigerian people as they appeared at the time of the great work of study and research which preceded the establishment of all of these institutions. This charter will serve as a framework for action for the public authorities and as a code of conduct for the whole nation.

200. Only a few days ago—in fact, exactly a week ago, as reflected in press agency dispatches—this image of a peaceful and hardworking Niger was endangered. A group of armed men, whose motive and allegiance we do not know, attempted to seize power and to put an end to this process developed by the people of Niger itself for its own well-being. This deadly enterprise lasted only a few hours and was dealt a crushing blow, thanks to the firmness of our national armed forces and the vigilance of our people. The Supreme Military Council and the Government remain determined, whatever the price and whatever the obstacles, whatever efforts at sabotage and destabilization might be carried out, to pursue this original experiment in social living, in apprenticeship in democracy and in concerted action and committed solidarity, undertaken in unity and cohesion by the people of Niger. For us this represents a powerful hope.

201. In conclusion I would say that the same applies to the United Nations. In spite of its defects, in spite of its drawbacks and its failures, the United Nations symbolizes and personifies the hopes of mankind for peace and economic and social progress. It may one day become the centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends. Our task is to desire this and to help to bring it about. This is done every day with dedication and conviction by the Secretary-General. On behalf of Niger, I congratulate him, just as I congratulate Saint Christopher and Nevis which, through its presence, has strengthened our faith in the value of the work we are doing here.

202. Mr. DIALLO (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me first of all to offer the warm congratulations of my delegation to Mr. Illueca, Vice-President of Panama, on his election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. His country, Panama, belongs to a part of the world which, together with my continent, is suffering the blows and repercussions of disastrous policies conceived elsewhere. Thus a real solidarity unites us and compels me to express the hope that Panama, like Upper Volta, will work to establish more just international relations that will be more in accord with the profound desire for peace of the peoples of the world.

203. Our thanks go to Mr. Hollai, who so successfully directed our work at the thirty-seventh session.

204. We also wish to congratulate the Secretary-General, whose devotion to the ideals of the Charter and whose efforts in the service of the Organization we highly appreciate. His latest report again bears the marks of a clear and constructive commitment.

205. We bid a special welcome to Saint Christopher and Nevis, which has just joined us, and we are convinced that it will make a noticeable contribution to the cause of justice and peace.

206. It is against the background of a tormented world that the present session is opening. Although the world has always been tormented, it has never shown so many signs of instability and possible destruction. Sufficient proof of this is the tragedy of the South Korean aircraft.

which illustrates the absurd, criminal and extreme nature of the rivalry between the two super-Powers.

207. It is 38 years since we defined principles and objectives to accord with the will of peoples to live in peace and in justice for a harmonious development. Today, a survey of the international situation raises many questions and leads us to believe that the profession of faith of the United Nations 38 years ago has now become an unattainable dream. The desire for domination of various parties has made more remote the advent of that world which was to mark, as the Charter prescribed, "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small".

208. It was that faith that inspired the change that took place in Upper Volta on 4 August 1983. It is because we have faith in man, it is because we demand dignity and respect, it is because under the weight of extraneous difficulties we were very close to losing all hope, that we resolutely took the road laid down by the National Revolutionary Council.

209. As a sovereign State profoundly attached to the ideals of non-alignment, Upper Volta affirms the right of its people to choose its own path to progress freely and without any tutelage. Upper Volta affirms its right to choose its friends in the world freely on the basis of their specific attitude towards the profound and legitimate aspirations of its people.

210. The revolution in Upper Volta is not directed against any country, any State or any people. At the national level it signifies an affirmation of our identity, the restoration of our dignity and, at the international level, a reaching out towards other peoples and a sincere desire for true co-operation for a more just world. Our vision of the world is the result of that attitude and makes it our duty to identify and to condemn anything that may hamper the forward progress of mankind towards its fulfilment.

211. In our world, a prey to many upheavals, the constant quest for peace remains the major imperative of the Organization, for without peace none of the objectives we pursue can be achieved.

212. In this regard we must note that South Africa has this year again made its contribution of horror and injustice, strengthened in its wrongdoing by the complicity of Western States and multinational corporations. The racist clique of Pretoria continues its evil deeds against our brothers of South Africa and the region. In murdering the patriots of the African National Congress, South Africa is once again signing in blood its refusal to heed and to satisfy the just and legitimate claims of a people that has been tortured, trampled underfoot and humiliated merely because of the colour of its skin, a skin colour that has been the basis for the establishment of the most shameful contemporary system of economic exploitation: *apartheid*. For over and above the overt racism of which it is the supreme expression, *apartheid* is the monstrous product of imperialism and capitalism in their unbridled and immoral quest for profit. On that altar the blacks of South Africa and all whose colour resembles theirs are sacrificed.

213. Not content with that indignity, the racists of Pretoria and their accomplices have added Namibia to their sinister list of prey—Namibia, fighting under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, SWAPO; Namibia, fighting for its independence, its freedom and its dignity; Namibia, fighting to make its contribution to justice and peace in the world; Namibia, which the United Nations should, with the active, diligent and responsible

support of the permanent members of the Security Council and within the framework of Council resolution 435 (1978), have brought to total independence.

214. The ambiguous activities of and lack of results from the contact group can be explained by that group's failure to respect the terms of resolution 435 (1978) and by the horse-trading spirit of some of its members. The independence of Namibia cannot be linked with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. The Cuban troops are in Angola by the sovereign decision of a sovereign State confronted by destabilizing acts carried out by South Africa on its territory and in neighbouring countries, but the presence of South Africa's troops in Namibia is illegal and has been unanimously condemned by the international community. We hope that the States that persist in linking those two questions will recognize that South Africa continually violates fundamental freedoms and human rights and the principles of international law, yet they refuse to apply against South Africa the sanctions provided for in the Charter.

215. The reason for this iniquity is that the system of *apartheid* is based on a military, economic and political strategy whose logic is to destroy the struggle of our brothers in South Africa, to prevent Namibia's accession to real independence and to sow trouble, terror and desolation in all the front-line States to prevent them from giving their support to the liberation struggle of our brothers in South Africa and Namibia. Such a policy is, in fact, sanctioned, buttressed and protected by States which, for the sake of their economy and their interests, care little or nothing for the purposes and principles proclaimed by the Charter. Yet certain of those States, as permanent members of the Security Council, have a special responsibility as regards the international community and its rules. This bitter truth is the result of the desire of one country or group of countries to govern the world in accordance with its interests and its interests alone.

216. The total rejection of this state of affairs has led us in Upper Volta to adopt the anti-imperialist struggle as the keystone of our foreign policy. Our anti-imperialism is the tenacious determination to govern our own fate despite the immense weight and gigantic stature of that implacable enemy, visible or invisible, with all its tentacles—namely, imperialism. Imperialism is the vice of the man who wants everything for himself and nothing for his neighbour but alienation or annihilation. We are unwilling to be either alienated or annihilated. We wish to live in freedom; we wish to live with dignity; we want to be able to satisfy our needs; and, above all, we want and we demand a just, brotherly and peaceful world. In that spirit we extend a hand to all peoples in the struggle for a world in which the choice will no longer be alienation or annihilation for any of us. Annihilation is what lies in wait for Chad, bloodied by war for more than a decade. There, foreign weapons are killing and the people of Chad are dying.

217. For its part, the National Revolutionary Council strongly denounces the return to a gunboat policy and the internationalization of the conflict in Chad. It condemns the colonial expedition organized to stifle the just and legitimate aspirations of the people of Chad. That war is a matter of concern to the Government and people of Upper Volta because for nearly three months now it has been of such serious proportions as to give free rein to the ambitions of the imperialist and neo-colonialist forces of aggression and enemies of our peoples.

218. Upper Volta will not tolerate such imperialist, hegemonist military interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State. It believes that every effort must be

made, under the auspices of the OAU, to bring about the unconditional withdrawal of foreign forces from Chad, to oppose all the imperialist and neo-colonialist enemies of Africa that advocate or encourage foreign intervention in Chad, to assist Chad to recover its national unity, territorial integrity and national sovereignty, and to strive to unite all the vital forces of Chad for national reconstruction and economic and social development.

219. The fate of a people, we are firmly convinced, must be decided solely by that people. In this vein, and in accordance with the resolution adopted last June at the nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [see A/38/312], we hope that a referendum for the purpose of general and free self-determination will speedily be prepared and held in Western Sahara so that the Saharan people may decide their fate and peace may return to that region.

220. We deplore the failure to achieve specific results because of Morocco's refusal to agree to direct negotiations with POLISARIO.<sup>2</sup> Morocco is thus responsible for the failure of the Implementation Committee meeting called for at the nineteenth session of the OAU Assembly on the basis of a consensus resolution. We note the solemn declaration made before the General Assembly on 27 September by His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco [8th meeting]. Upper Volta, for its part, urges all parties to ensure that the OAU resolution is implemented within the deadline fixed.

221. With regard to the brother people of the Comoros, we express to them our active solidarity in the legitimate efforts they are exerting to preserve the independence, unity and territorial integrity of the Comoros through reintegration of the island of Mayotte. We appeal to France to act in accordance with its constitutional traditions and consider the overall results of the referendum held on 22 December 1974 as applying to the whole of the Comorian territory.

222. Peace and justice in the Middle East are victims of the desire for power. We see Lebanon fragmented and broken up, its territorial integrity, its sovereignty and its national unity continually compromised. Israel, which is evil incarnate—and this is a sad state of affairs for a people that has suffered so much—has by its unbridled pursuit of a policy of force and arbitrary action created instability and trouble in the region. Israel, again, has not hesitated to exacerbate the wounds of the past in Lebanon and to aggravate the tensions created by foreign occupation—and all this in the name of the policy of might makes right. Israel has abandoned all decent conduct and refuses to accept the evidence before it.

223. The question of Palestine is at the heart of the Middle East problem. The question of Palestine is at the origin of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Palestinian people has been plundered and deprived of its inalienable rights. Its struggle is a just one, and its sole legitimate representative, the PLO, must participate in any solution that is drawn up. Israel is not entitled to speak on behalf of the Palestinians and must abandon its policy of aggression and annexation of Arab territories.

224. Some weeks ago the International Conference on the Question of Palestine was held at Geneva, and Upper Volta participated in it. Here we express again our total support for the conclusions of that Conference, and we associate ourselves with Chairman Yasser Arafat in calling for the holding of an international conference with the effective participation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America, the PLO and all the other parties concerned.

225. Since the beginning of the conflict between Iraq and Iran, we have been deploring the immense loss of human life and the damage caused to the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Our position remains the same, and we condemn an obstinacy that is weakening the ranks of the Movement when we are called to more urgent, more constructive and more noble tasks. We renew the Movement's appeal and hope it will be heeded.

226. With regard to Afghanistan and Kampuchea, faithful to our commitments and our convictions we call for the withdrawal of all the foreign troops and for a solution in conformity with the right of peoples to self-determination and independence.

227. We are in favour of the peaceful reunification of Korea without any foreign interference.

228. In Latin America, Upper Volta supports the efforts by Mexico, Venezuela, Panama and Colombia in the Contadora Group. Upper Volta believes that any initiatives in the area should contribute to a just and peaceful solution, rather than fanning the flames of violence and war. The sound of boots marching through the region will never be able to break the will and determination of peoples to free themselves from the present sad conditions that afflict us and are aimed—in vain—at paralysing our peoples' efforts on the path to their salvation.

229. As I speak of salvation I cannot but refer to the terror we feel at the unbridled arms race. Need I recall the astronomical sums that man, in his destructive folly, is expending each year on the construction of arsenals and deadly weapons that are ever more sophisticated, more monstrous and more capable of suddenly halting mankind's forward march and annihilating us all. And meanwhile thousands of children throughout the world suffer and die of malnutrition and millions of human beings suffer from hunger and illiteracy and are vegetating in a state of absolute poverty. This complete lack of reason and sensibility is a blot on mankind's escutcheon.

230. We must deplore the fact that at the very moment when we speak of the risks of a nuclear cataclysm the United States has granted racist South Africa a loan of \$50 million to strengthen the *apartheid* régime's nuclear potential, thus increasing the threats to peace and security in the region.

231. The failure of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development shows the degree to which the international community is now making sacrifices to valueless and meaningless rites. As if the disastrous consequences of the present economic crisis were not enough to awaken our conscience, that session at Belgrade once again demonstrated the industrialized countries' selfishness and determination to do nothing that could encourage better relations between the North and the South in a lasting and genuine way.

232. Obsessed by short-term concerns, the industrialized countries pursue a policy of holding back and not giving an inch, a policy that threatens our common future. The status of the North-South dialogue is itself an eloquent indication of the state of mind of the industrialized countries. Our countries have for half a decade now been exhausting our resources and getting into debt to organize costly conferences or to attend them. Despite our good will and our readiness to co-operate, each of us in a responsible position must wonder what has changed as a result of our participation in these conferences.

233. We must recognize that often the developing countries originate these meetings. Experience, however, teaches us that holding such meetings too frequently can in the long run amount to *de facto* complicity with the

industrialized countries, which merely take *ad hoc* measures and never decide to reply correctly to the fundamental question posed as long ago as 1973 during the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at Algiers—that is, the promotion of the new economic order.

234. Indeed, the promotion of a new international economic order is urgently required. The financial, trade and monetary institutions and policies have since 1945 led us to the present impasse, partly because even the rules of the game have not been respected and partly because those rules were based, more or less subtly, on economies that were already dominated or were to be dominated.

235. The continued rise of the dollar is disturbing the exchanges and doing serious permanent harm to the economies of the developing countries. Thus, those countries' external debt is becoming increasingly burdensome. Moreover, their imports of capital goods increase the deficit in their balance of trade while, at the same time, protectionist measures are applied against their exports by the developed countries. One cannot but note that some of the countries with the largest indebtedness are among the largest producers of oil, which proves, if proof were needed, that the deep reasons for the present crisis have to do more with structures than with circumstances.

236. Whatever may be the curves and projections, there is one fact that we cannot escape: the countries of the South are stagnating or, even worse, going backwards. The picture is all the more disturbing when we see the gloomy prospects for the year 2000 in regard to agriculture, the basis of the economic activity of most of the developing countries. The achievement of self-sufficiency in food remains difficult, both for climatic and for structural reasons.

237. At Belgrade the industrialized countries were not willing to enter into any commitment on questions of assistance, eliminating indebtedness and increasing the liquidity of IMF and the International Development Association. It is clear that our economies are adrift because the world crisis has been imposed on us without our having any share of the responsibility for creating that crisis. Inflation and the crisis in the international monetary and financial system are evils that have been created elsewhere and from which we suffer through no fault of our own.

238. The inequality in North-South relations is compounded by the breakdown in international solidarity. For example, to do away with the instability in export revenues, a Common Fund for Commodities was established in UNCTAD. The delegation of Upper Volta notes with bitterness that certain industrialized countries which could have played a considerable role in the implementation of the Agreement establishing that Fund have refused to sign or ratify it. Furthermore, some countries wish to give priority to the flow of private capital in market conditions. The enormous indebtedness of the developing countries proves the futility of a policy of progressively drying up the sources of public aid or multilateral assistance for the benefit of sources of private capital. Budgetary deficits, the chronic imbalance in the balance of payments and frequent recourse to borrowing are the concomitant elements of such a policy, which, while it benefits one side, totally exhausts the other. The combined effects of those phenomena explain the increasingly wide gap separating developed from developing countries. It is high time to put an end to this state of affairs, which can but lead mankind to ruin.

239. The OAU, in adopting a plan of action for endogenous and self-maintained development of the continent,

seeks to put an end to this chain of events. At the wider level of the Group of 77, a concern has been expressed to combine our efforts for true co-operation in integrated development. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi, has made what we consider to be realistic proposals intended to revive the global negotiations and the North-South dialogue. It seems to us that these three approaches offer us a glimmer of hope.

240. What the facts we have just described actually mean for our peoples are continued hunger, thirst, malnutrition, poverty, ignorance and disease. The delegation of Upper Volta has come to this session of the General Assembly to make its contribution in the hard fight we must all wage against those scourges, so that, together with other nations, we can work for the well-being and happiness of our respective peoples.

241. However, while the will to co-operate is for us a necessity, we shall not allow it to be weakened by docile acceptance of relations from which our concerns and our priorities are excluded.

242. The picture is a gloomy one, but the magnitude of the task does not discourage us. Quite the contrary, it arouses and strengthens our determination always to struggle for a better world where there is a place for justice and solidarity. That is the price of international peace and security. United and determined, we shall overcome.

243. Mr. dos SANTOS (Mozambique): It is both an honour and a privilege for me, on behalf of the people and the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique, to address the Assembly under the presidency of Mr. Ilueca. Under his leadership, I am sure the thirty-eighth session will be crowned with success. To his predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai, I wish to express my appreciation for the efforts he exerted during his term of office in a period characterized by cold-war hysteria and tension.

244. I take this opportunity to hail the Secretary-General for his indefatigable efforts in the search for a climate of mutual understanding between peoples and countries. His attachment to the lofty ideals enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations reassures us of a better future for the Organization, which has just welcomed a new Member. May I add my voice to those of previous speakers in welcoming Saint Christopher and Nevis. I sincerely hope that in the near future other territories, such as Namibia and New Caledonia, will attain their independence and take their rightful place in the council of nations.

245. The international situation is characterized by the increasing aggressiveness of imperialism, which is leading to a multitude of local conflicts in many places on our planet, to an arms race and to a widening of the gap between developed and developing countries.

246. I am addressing the Assembly five months after the Fourth Congress of the FRELIMO Party,<sup>9</sup> which made a thorough review of the international situation and concluded with great concern that:

“Imperialist circles have reintroduced on the international scene the climate of the cold war, while at the same time they promote the arms race at an unprecedented scale, increase the areas and sectors of tension and conflict, resort to intervention and overt military aggression and make use of pressure and economic blackmail.”

In its analysis, the highest organ of our Party observed that the situation obtaining in the world was the result of the actions of imperialist forces strenuously trying to

strengthen their military capabilities in the name of their security and the need to secure and preserve vital routes leading to strategic mineral resources. Consequently, we are today witnessing an increase of tension everywhere which seriously threatens peace, security and international stability.

247. It was in the light of this situation, and in accordance with the cardinal principles that constitute the essence of the society we are building, that our Party, in dealing with foreign policy, reaffirmed our determination to continue the struggle for democracy, equality and peace—a struggle which began with the launching of our people's war for national liberation.

248. Peace is a fundamental principle. By peace we mean the full enjoyment of freedom by all peoples, the exercise of the right to self-determination and independence, the right to development and progress, the firm refusal of humiliation, domination and exploitation and respect for the personality and dignity of man. Peace is an essential foundation for development and progress, the well-being and happiness of the people and the promotion of healthy co-operation on a basis of mutuality of interests.

249. The establishment of a climate of peace requires disarmament, relaxation of tension in international relations and peaceful coexistence. Peace cannot go hand in hand with colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, *apartheid* and zionism. In short, peace is incompatible with all forms of oppression and exploitation. Wherever these evils may be found, people will struggle for their freedom and independence, no matter what sacrifices they may have to make. People will never accept exploitation, occupation and subjugation. Everywhere people crave for freedom and peace.

250. In southern Africa peace and security are more than ever before seriously threatened by imperialism in pursuit of its narrow interests, using the Nazi-fascist régime of *apartheid* South Africa. The independence of Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe—countries formerly dominated, like South Africa, by white minorities—has led to a greater isolation of the South African régime because of its attempts to preserve the backward and inhuman system of *apartheid*.

251. It is worth remembering that the Security Council, in its resolution 134 (1960), considered that the racist régime of South Africa constitutes a threat to international peace and security. Three years later it adopted resolution 181 (1963), in paragraph 1 of which the Council:

“*Strongly deprecates* the policies of South Africa in its perpetuation of racial discrimination as being inconsistent with the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations and contrary to its obligations as a Member of the United Nations.”

252. Those two resolutions were adopted without a single negative vote, and only two members abstained, namely, France and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. That was, I repeat, in 1960 and 1963, well before the independence of Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe. It is therefore gratifying to note that the international community, through the Security Council, had the foresight to take that position.

253. Today, however, there are some of us who like to consider the Nazi-fascist régime of *apartheid* as an ally. An ally against whom? Against the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and Botswana who are struggling for their freedom and dignity and for their fundamental rights enshrined in the Charter? Is it against Lesotho and Seychelles, which are constantly attacked by

South African forces? Is it against the people of Namibia who have been struggling for more than three decades against the illegal occupation of their country by the Pretoria régime, in flagrant violation of numerous resolutions of the General Assembly, the Security Council, the OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries calling for the independence of Namibia? Or is it against the group of independent and sovereign countries in southern Africa whose only crime is daring to show, at the doorstep of South Africa, the last bastion of racism in Africa, examples of societies without racial discrimination, where black and white are simply free men and women, citizens of free and sovereign countries?

254. South African regular armed forces occupy the southern part of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola, South African bombers attack the capital of the People's Republic of Mozambique, South African aircraft and ships carry out military operations and supply armed bandits who maim and murder our defenceless civilians and destroy our economic and social infrastructures. Armed gangs in the service of Pretoria raid Botswana and the Kingdom of Lesotho. The *apartheid* régime undertakes acts of destabilization against Zambia, Zimbabwe and the Kingdom of Swaziland.

255. Who threatens whom? Which of them should have its security guaranteed—the *apartheid* régime which is the aggressor, the warmonger and the expansionist, or the sovereign countries attacked by a powerful military machine encouraged and strengthened by ever larger financial, economic and military investments?

256. According to some sources, foreign investments in South Africa at the end of 1982 totalled more than \$32 billion—three times more than just a few years ago. Is that the way one intends to pressure South Africa into behaving in conformity with the principles and objectives of the United Nations? Recently, Africa and indeed the international community were profoundly shocked at the news that the *apartheid* régime had been awarded \$50 million to promote its nuclear development.

257. The more numerous the acts of aggression and destabilization and occupation that South Africa perpetrates against sovereign States Members of the United Nations, the more investments, technological support and markets are offered to it. The more one invests in the South African régime, the more weapons are needed for its survival and the more weapons and military assistance are granted it to continue acts of aggression and perpetrate genocide, not only against the black people of South Africa but also against other peoples of the region. Is that the purpose of the “constructive engagement” that has been proposed to the States of southern Africa?

258. The People's Republic of Mozambique and other front-line States, conscious of their international responsibility, have endeavoured to preserve peace in our region. We have spared no effort to avoid a conflict of uncontrollable proportions in southern Africa.

259. During the war for independence in Zimbabwe the front-line States showed how anxious we were to avoid the escalation of tension in our region. In spite of the acts of military aggression and destruction perpetrated by the Smith régime, we offered our good offices to accelerate the process of independence for Zimbabwe. In the same spirit, the front-line States agreed to participate in the diplomatic exercise that led to the formulation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, approved by the Security Council in its resolution 435 (1978). In the course of this whole process, SWAPO and the front-line States made concessions in the name of peace and in order to accelerate the process of independence for Namibia. Trusting in the good faith

of the so-called contact group, we agreed to discuss all questions concerning Namibia in spite of the machinations of some of its members.

260. We accept a dialogue which will bring peace to our region, and peace can be brought only with genuine independence for Namibia in conformity with Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and the eradication of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. At its thirty-eighth session the General Assembly must irrevocably condemn any linkage or parallelism whatsoever between the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of the international Cuban forces from Angola.

261. Who is it who must withdraw from the People's Republic of Angola? Is it those who in conformity with Article 51 of the Charter support a people, a legitimate Government recognized by the international community to be defending its sovereignty, or the aggressor which occupies a part of the Angolan territory and commits a typical act of aggression as defined in resolution 3314 (XXIX)?

262. Peoples from all over the world applauded the action of the North American troops when they crossed the Atlantic to face the Nazi hordes that were spreading death and destruction in Europe. Why should we now be asked to leave the men, women and children of Angola to be massacred by the *apartheid* régime, the nazism of our time?

263. We denounce the destruction of Cangamba, an Angolan town situated 500 kilometres from the border with Namibia, and we demand that South Africa be made to pay for all the damage done to the People's Republic of Angola. We unreservedly and strongly condemn the South African occupation of part of Angolan territory, and we demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Pretoria's troops.

264. It is with grave concern that we notice that peace and security are being threatened in other parts of Africa beyond our region. In our continent we witness the intervention of foreign forces in the internal affairs of countries even when Africa is in a condition to solve the problems that arise.

265. In Western Sahara, we are concerned that hopes of peace are once again being shattered. The refusal of the Kingdom of Morocco to enter into negotiations with POLISARIO,<sup>2</sup> in conformity with resolution AHG/Res. 104 (XIX) recently adopted by the nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [see A/38/312], means that there will be no cease-fire and that therefore a referendum, as called for by the OAU and the United Nations, will not take place. We exhort the Kingdom of Morocco, in the name of peace in the Maghreb and to strengthen the unity of our continent, to comply with the spirit and letter of that resolution. It is true that the winds are not always favourable to vessels, but the winds of freedom are always favourable to the freedom of peoples.

266. In East Timor, we had hoped that the cease-fire agreed upon between FRETILIN<sup>10</sup> and the Government of Indonesia meant that Indonesia, a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement, had finally heeded the cry for freedom of the Maubere people, who are struggling with determination against the Indonesian occupation. But it was a short-lived hope. According to the latest reports, the Jakarta Government has unleashed 20,000 more troops against the East Timorese people.

267. To prevent the world from learning about the massacre perpetrated by the Indonesian forces, the Government of Indonesia prevented the International

Committee of the Red Cross from continuing its activities. Indonesia wants to build a wall of silence in order to choke the will for freedom of the Maubere people. Nothing, absolutely nothing, can subjugate a people struggling for its freedom. Indonesia might succeed in massacring the people of East Timor, but it will never dominate them.

268. I sincerely hope that the deferment of the question of East Timor to the thirty-ninth session will create the necessary climate for the re-establishment of the cease-fire and dialogue and that that will allow the Secretary-General successfully to carry out his mandate according to resolution 37/30.

269. We are certain that the East Timorese people will regain its freedom and that under the leadership of FRETILIN, its sole legitimate representative, a free and sovereign nation will emerge in the land of the Maubere people.

270. We should never accept the fragmentation of the Lebanese State. A year ago the international community was shocked by the massive aggression by Israel and the massacres in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila. The Lebanese people, who did not expect to hear the sounds of firearms once again and so soon, are confronted with the new warship and new aircraft that bombard Lebanese soil. Lebanon has thus become a training camp for the use of the most sophisticated weaponry.

271. How many more wars will there be in the Middle East before nations finally recognize that the Palestinian people, led by the PLO, its sole legitimate representative, has a right to a free and sovereign State?

272. Any attempt to preserve zionism means going against the fundamental interest of the Jews and the Arabs. This will only perpetuate the state of war in the Middle East.

273. The proposal made by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the peaceful reunification of the Korean nation constitutes a basis for the solution of the problem, and I call upon those concerned to refrain from any action that might hinder this process.

274. Cyprus is another country that is yearning for peace and for its reunification. I call upon the Secretary-General to redouble his efforts and upon all those concerned to co-operate with him.

275. The People's Republic of Mozambique greets with satisfaction the efforts of the Contadora Group to promote peace, security and stability in the Central American region. Mozambique forcefully condemns the acts of destabilization by imperialism in that region and appeals to all concerned to take practical and efficient measures with a view to ensuring that differences affecting the region are resolved by peaceful means.

276. The proposals of the Contadora Group, the six-point plan presented by Nicaragua, and the positive response by the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation and the Revolutionary Democratic Front concerning the situation in El Salvador offer a serious opportunity for a negotiated, lasting solution to the grave problems confronting the people of Central America.

277. Peace in Central America means the cessation of military manoeuvres, the end of acts of aggression against Nicaragua, the return of Guantánamo to the Cuban people and the withdrawal of support for dictatorial and unpopular régimes.

278. In the course of the general debate it has been made clear that the struggle for peace and the prevention of the danger of a nuclear confrontation constitute a priority for all humanity, for what is at stake is the very survival of mankind. Economic and social development

depends on peace among nations. Hopes for a prosperous and bright future for all people also depend on peace. The struggle for peace means a serious and constructive commitment by all, in particular the nuclear Powers, to the efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament, the cessation of the arms race, the freezing of all nuclear weapons and the reduction and eventual destruction of those weapons.

279. The transformation of the Indian Ocean into a nuclear-free zone of peace, the dismantling of all the imperialist military bases stationed in that area and the speedy implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*] are components of the struggle for disarmament. We note with deep concern that, to the detriment of the interests of the Indian Ocean States and of the international community as a whole, the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean has once again been unable to carry out its mandate because of the position of certain Western countries that persist in creating obstacles to the holding of the Conference on the Indian Ocean. We reaffirm our support for holding the Conference on the Indian Ocean and for the adoption of concrete measures leading to the implementation of the Declaration.

280. The success of the Madrid follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe shows us that whenever there is good will it is possible to overcome differences for the benefit of peace and co-operation among nations. We hope that the same thing will happen concerning the Geneva negotiations and in all other negotiations, be they political, economic or of a security nature.

281. The struggle for disarmament is a struggle for peace and development. Without disarmament there will be no peace and without peace there will be no development. The failure of the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament worries us, inasmuch as it has intensified the arms race and consequently increased military budgets. On the other hand, economic aid to developing countries has decreased dramatically. There cannot be peace and lasting security on our planet as long as \$800 billion are spent annually on armaments, to the detriment of development programmes.

282. There have been several efforts by the international community to find the mechanism for solving the great problems that affect humanity at the present time. However, those efforts have been blocked by the attitude of certain developed market economy countries which have systematically refused serious negotiations and opted instead for restrictive and protectionist solutions. What happened at the Summit of Industrialized Nations at Williamsburg last May is an example of this.

283. It is not by exporting inflation and exerting pressure on developing countries that the problems of the industrialized countries will be solved. In a world where life expectancy in Africa, Latin America and Asia is 30 years less than in the industrialized countries and the per capita income there is \$240 compared with over \$1,300 in the developed countries, it is urgent to introduce profound changes in the current international economic structures in the fields of trade, finance and energy and in other fields. The People's Republic of Mozambique reaffirms its support for the efforts to launch global negotiations as a matter of urgency.

284. It is not possible to come out of the economic chaos as evidenced by the recent failure of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development when a group of countries persists in being the absolute master, the dictator, in a game that involves

the lives of more than 2 billion human beings. Therefore, we the dominated countries, we the exploited, we the countries whose role is only that of suppliers of raw materials and producers of wealth for the developed countries, must formally and seriously engage in a selfless and co-ordinated effort to achieve collective self-reliance. We will never experience development if we submit ourselves to the development model pursued by the West. There is the world of competition, protectionism and reckless exploitation of our wealth. Our world must be one of mutual assistance and co-operation that is healthy and advantageous to everyone.

285. It is imperative that the current system of economic relations be dismantled and that new mechanisms be created to enable collective self-reliance to be an important element of international co-operation, a true co-operation among States based on the common will to eliminate hunger, disease, illiteracy and misery. The countries of southern Africa, conscious of the need selflessly to co-ordinate their efforts and resources, have been implementing the programmes defined by the Southern Development Co-ordination Conference.

286. We salute the countries and the international institutions that have helped the development plans defined by our regional institutions at a time when our region, besides feeling the structural effects of current economic relations, is being affected by a long drought, the worst in the past 50 years. In Mozambique alone, this has affected about one third of our population and has brought havoc to agricultural production and death to tens of thousands of cattle because of the lack of green pasture and water. We appeal to the United Nations and to the international community in general for an increase in food aid to our people.

287. For the sake of brevity I have dwelt only on a relatively few issues. Mozambique's position on many other issues, such as those of Afghanistan and Kampuchea, is well known and remains unchanged.

288. Mozambique, because it believes in the United Nations system, has always resorted to the Organization, and will continue to do so, in the search for solutions to the political, economic, social and security problems that affect humanity. We always appear in this forum with the spirit of living up to, and demanding effective application of, the purposes and principles embodied in the San Francisco Charter.

289. In the face of the problems that affect international peace, security and co-operation, we believe that the United Nations forum cannot be one in which the developed and powerful countries limit themselves to taking note of the critical world situation and the developing and weak countries simply present their rosary of pain, misery and suffering. We therefore share the concerns of the Secretary-General, and we consider that it is urgent for the United Nations to become an efficient instrument for guaranteeing peace and international security and for ensuring the harmonious development of all peoples of the world. Let us therefore transform these ideals enshrined in the Charter into a reality of our times.

290. The struggle continues.

291. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the United States of America, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

292. Mr. DOMBALIS (United States of America): I do not wish to dignify with a detailed response the shopworn diatribe against the United States delivered by the Vietnamese representative earlier at this session. Viet Nam's remarks reveal its subservience to aggressive Soviet designs and its eagerness to facilitate the expansion of Soviet

military strength. Viet Nam complains about the United States response to Soviet and Cuban interference in Central America while relying on Soviet aid for its occupation of Kampuchea, where Viet Nam maintains some 180,000 troops to prop up a puppet Government in Phnom Penh. Viet Nam's aggression in Kampuchea, condemned by a majority of the world's nations, will be taken up later at this session as has been the case for the past several years. Viet Nam expresses concern about the escalating arms race while co-operating with Soviet use of toxin weapons against villagers in Laos and Kampuchea and while maintaining one of the world's largest standing armies despite deplorable domestic economic conditions. Viet Nam expresses a concern for social justice in the world even while massive human rights violations in Viet Nam have put to flight hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese, many of whom seek shelter and freedom in these United States. Viet Nam complains of nations allegedly trying to maintain an old international order, but Viet Nam has made itself part of the Soviet order of authoritarianism at home and belligerence abroad which is attempting to impose one rigid social and economic system on the world.

293. I also note in passing the remarks of the representative of Mongolia. The paternity of these remarks is quite clear from their extensive reference to the Soviet Union. I would like to observe simply that the United States is not engaged in a crusade against socialism or any particular economic and social system. Many nations, some of them socialist, share our concern about the threat to international stability presented by the massive Soviet

arms buildup. We have always been prepared to deal with States which have social and economic systems different from our own, provided that they are not attempting to force their system upon others.

*The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.*

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NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

<sup>2</sup> Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

<sup>3</sup> *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.

<sup>4</sup> *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, vol. XVII* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.84.V.2), document A/CONF.62/122.

<sup>5</sup> *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Sixth Session, vol. I, Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.II.D.6), annex VI.

<sup>6</sup> *Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, Vienna, 20-31 August 1979* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.I.21 and corrigenda), chap. VII.

<sup>7</sup> *Report of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, Nairobi, 10-21 August 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.24) Chap. I, sect. A.

<sup>8</sup> Adapted at the High Level Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Caracas from 13 to 19 May 1981.

<sup>9</sup> Frente de Libertação de Moçambique.

<sup>10</sup> Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.