



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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. PAZ BARNICA (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, Sir, I should like to express to you, on behalf of the people and Government of Honduras, our congratulations on your election to the presidency of the current session of the General Assembly. This election constitutes a tribute to your own personal qualities and to your country, Panama, which has in this century successfully waged a persevering struggle for genuine independence and legitimate sovereignty and which is now being given a demonstration of the support of the world conscience, which, in this universal forum, expresses the will of States to work for international peace and security.

2. I wish to express the appreciation of the Honduran Government for the intelligent, discreet and effective work accomplished by the Secretary-General, in the discharge of his delicate tasks.

3. Likewise we wish to express our pleasure at the independence of Saint Christopher and Nevis and its admission to membership in the world Organization. We most warmly congratulate Saint Christopher and Nevis on behalf of the Government that I represent.

4. The general debate of the thirty-eighth session is about to come to an end. The list of issues to be discussed is eloquent proof of the complexity of international relations in our day, relations that exist in a world whose greatest contradiction is the contrast between the reality of close interdependence and that of every form of confrontation.

5. Undoubtedly, in our day mankind is writing one of the decisive chapters in its history. This is true of the consolidation of new nations following the process of decolonization, of the efforts to create a just international economic order, of the cessation of the arms race, of renewed interest in the promotion and defence of human rights, of localized conflicts, of the sources of energy or technological advances, all factors which, among others, show how intense are the changes that we are experiencing and that are laying the foundations for the world of tomorrow.

6. Governments, peoples and international organizations are overwhelmed by unmet demands, pointless dogmatism or the uncontrollable pace of events. When this occurs we lose our capacity constructively to influence the direction of change, and conflicts prevail over agreement. Hence our best efforts must be applied so that, with a clear historic vision, we may all—Governments, peoples and international organizations alike—contribute to creating a promising future based on the higher values of peace, freedom and justice.

7. This endeavour seems almost impossible to achieve in this contemporary day in view of a picture clouded by innumerable conflicts and terrible divisions which, although they now affect specific regions, in some cases are capable of provoking widespread conflagrations with the most painful results. It is there, in those regions upset by the tragedy of bloody warfare where reason has yielded to force, that it is urgent to undertake with a genuine spirit of reconciliation and true political will the difficult but all-important task of building peace, strengthening freedom and making pragmatic efforts aimed at economic development and social change.

8. We are contemplating "a world divided for all", to use the moving words of a magnificent Honduran poet: a world of East and West, North and South, of opulence and poverty, of strong and weak States, States industrialized and with rudimentary economies, of nations rebellious and docile; a world in which a struggle is waged between freedom and despotism, between the gun and ideas, between justice and arbitrariness, and between totalitarianism and the ennobling force of human dignity.

9. It is as though we were to put together the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle of a world divided by disputes and misunderstandings, putting it together piece by piece, creating zones of peace, giving meaning to the very existence of different nations, drawing them away from the polarization that destroys and separates from common grounds for understanding.

10. That clear historic vision of a new and renewed world is reflected in the thinking of the President of Honduras, Roberto Suazo Córdova, who, on taking office, and referring to Central America, said that it "must be an area of peaceful coexistence in which its peoples and leaders can establish and maintain understanding through enlightened dialogue in a zone of peace undisturbed by the warlike sound of polarizing confrontation".

11. I am raising the issue of differences of view because we have heard here voices that for a long time have been interested in converting the General Assembly into a forum for polemics by making bold affirmations in a premeditated attempt to continue to confuse world public opinion. Thus we see a continued disrespect for reality with the intent of diverting the world's attention from the internal problems of certain countries caused by the anti-democratic policies of their Governments, contrary to the genuine self-determination of their own peoples through the free expression of the people's sovereignty.

12. None the less, I have come before the Assembly basically in order to reaffirm, on behalf of my Government, a categorical message in favour of dynamic, pluralist and participatory democracy, in favour of peace for the economic and social development of peoples and in favour of constant and constructive dialogue among the five countries of the Central American region.

13. Central America is tormented by confrontation. Bitter and heterogenous battles are waged there—the fight against authoritarianism, that of equity against exploitation, and of autonomy versus subjugation. Interests alien to our history and particular characteristics intervene in a

cold game of domination, which attempts to impose régimes contrary to the humanism that nourishes the democratic vocation of the Central American peoples. We are fully aware of the obstacles in our path and of the dangers threatening the ideals that we uphold. We are equally certain that we will not hesitate to defend them. But we firmly believe that for all Central American peoples, without exception, no national or international claims will be satisfied if the benefits of peace are disregarded and destroyed.

14. I mean a peace based on the idea that none of our people will accept to be slaves; a peace built on the conviction that none of our countries should attempt to dominate others; and a peace based on recognition of the fact that the interests of each and every State are better served within a system of regional co-operation.

15. With that objective—that Central America should be a zone of peace—the Government of Honduras proposed a peace plan of a regional nature which includes two essential factors. The first is that the problems experienced by Central America proceed from the political, economic and social origins of the crisis and the military and security factors which are responsible for the present grimness of the situation. This therefore requires a global solution. The second factor involves the fact that Central American problems are interrelated in the national, bilateral and multinational spheres. Their solution therefore requires a regional approach.

16. Consequently, from the very outset, Honduras has stated its unshakable will to arrive at multilateral commitments leading to general disarmament in the region, a cessation of the illicit traffic of weapons, and the withdrawal of military and other foreign advisers who tend to weaken the identity of each nation. For this to be effective and permanent, my Government has also proposed that an international supervision and control machinery be agreed on to verify the fulfilment of the agreements reached with sincerity and in good faith.

17. If those commitments are to be trusted by both sides in the atmosphere of democratic stability to which we aspire, they must at the same time necessarily be backed up by a dialogue to promote a process of reconciliation in the search for pluralist and democratic institutions in those countries which are afflicted by deep divisions and bloodstained enmities. The history and dynamics of Central American societies also indicate the need for us to develop our economies to serve the people, with the help of an international co-operation free of any opportunistic selfishness and based on the solidarity of interdependence. The pluralist and participatory development of Central American societies is a prerequisite for regional peace.

18. These are the foundations of our international position with respect to the Central American situation. But we must explain as well the obstacles that prevent our arriving at the objectives mentioned and we must make clear the underhanded attempts to obscure our good intentions.

19. The aspirations of the Central American people, and particularly the people and Government of Honduras, are the strengthening of peace in order to promote economic and social development, and the realization of the basic rule that the human person is the supreme goal of society and of the State, and that the dignity of the human being is inviolable. These aims constitute our civic patrimony in a context of political, economic and social democracy. This is what we seek to strengthen in my country, in co-operation with our neighbours who share equal values and aspirations.

20. Nonetheless, the progressive radicalization of the Government of Nicaragua stands in the way of the achievement of these goals, and has obvious repercussions in the international sphere that disturb and undermine the maintenance of peace and security in Central America.

21. The establishment of a highly authoritarian system in that country has prevented the achievement of the original revolutionary plan and has given rise to the resistance and rebellion of Nicaraguans, who are fighting other Nicaraguans on Nicaraguan territory. The ideological and armed confrontation taking place there is doing substantial damage, through its effect on neighbouring nations, to intra-regional relations, with the risk of serious consequences if the damage is not undone in time through a dialogue that can lead to the democratic system for which Nicaraguans fought with weapons in hand. This is what Central America is appealing for, faced with a revolution of broken promises.

22. The suppression of a dynastic tyranny by a totalitarian, expansionist and aggressive régime has led to the militarization of Nicaraguan society, with two results harmful to peaceful co-existence in that strategic belt of the American continent. The first is a breach of the military balance in the region. The second is a violation of conditions of security by resorting to extra-regional and extra-continental alliances, thus placing the crisis within the framework of global confrontation, and sharpening and complicating the tragic situation in Central America. In the country in question there is a shameful foreign occupation, with the complicity of its present leaders, and it has become an extra-continental enclave, which distorts the national identity of the Nicaraguan people.

23. Faced with this situation, on 1 September of this year the President of Honduras addressed the heads of State and Government of friendly countries, reaffirming his commitment to peace and basing himself on the specific proposals he had already made during the discussions in the Contadora Group, and on the limitation of military expenditures and troops. He said:

“I can assure you that my Government will remain committed to the search for a peaceful solution to the critical situation in the region. In spite of the climate of international tension in Central America, we have, during the past two years, maintained the military budget of our nation without any increase whatever, and we shall maintain it at the same level next year. Furthermore, my Government has reached the decision not to increase the size of its armed forces, since we have no hegemonic pretensions in Central America and our greatest wish is to live in peace and freedom.”

24. In accordance with those words of the leader of Honduras, the measures that my Government has been compelled to adopt have been limited to what has been strictly necessary for the defence of our country and reflect the right of every sovereign state to self-defence when it is threatened.

25. In the field of diplomacy, my country continues to work tirelessly and unhesitatingly for the achievement of a peaceful global and regional solution through the simultaneous discussion of the different problems confronting Central America. Laying the foundations for peace in the region has been and remains our principal task within the sphere of action of the Contadora Group.

26. In a letter addressed on 29 September last to the Presidents of the countries of the Contadora Group, the President of Honduras, in ratifying the Document of Objectives¹ adopted on 9 September by the Central American Foreign Ministers, which reflects the six points

contained in the Honduran peace proposal of 23 March 1982, said that that Document

“may help to promote a global and regional solution through the diplomatic channel, always provided that the terms of reference which it contains are based on a firm political will. In this, my Government cannot help but endorse your fervent desire to achieve a responsible understanding in favour of peace, democracy, security and co-operation for development in Central America, taking as a starting-point the intention expressed in the document adopted at Panama City on 19 September 1983.”¹

27. In contrast to the Honduran attitude, Nicaragua has adopted an attitude that is in no way constructive, because it is insisting on delaying the discussion of issues of real importance to the present and future of Central America until those conditions are first met that are for its sole and exclusive benefit. The simultaneous examination of political and security questions, such as democracy and the arms race, was excluded by the Government of Nicaragua, which thus not only distorts the regional requirements for a global solution but moreover openly calls into question the expectations and hopes that have been placed in the work of the Contadora Group.

28. There is, moreover, in that attitude another challenge with premeditated and unforeseeable consequences. The Government of Nicaragua has requested the inclusion of an item on Central America in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly [A/38/242]. The request to bring that item to the United Nations for debate hampers the work for peace which the Central American countries have entrusted to the Contadora Group and places the consideration of the problems of the area outside the continental context and within the framework of East-West confrontation, with the obvious desire to polarize and give a universal character to the crisis which is afflicting Central America.

29. Acts such as those should prompt reflection and alert the universal conscience. We cannot ignore the behaviour of those that in Central America proclaim that they are going to regionalize the armed struggle; those that attempt to internationalize a localized conflict, to place it in the framework of hegemonic confrontation; those that attempt to violate the territorial integrity of States, to hide the reality of the dramatic internal crisis that they themselves have created; those that systematically refuse to participate in a comprehensive disarmament programme and do not allow their citizens freely to express their will, their aspirations and their ideals; those that come to this forum, which is designed for universal understanding, to give free reign to the language of violence which they promote in practice in their own territory, in open violation of the commitments that they have assumed as the fundamental pillars of a revolutionary process that has been betrayed; those that promote actions that destroy the democratic, pluralistic institutions which in neighbouring nations are based on the sovereignty of the people. Those who adopt that behaviour, which is dangerously provocative, are affronting the high ideals of those who seek a durable peace for Central America and challenging the generous purposes which inspire the Latin American work of the Contadora Group, whose failure they desire.

30. Thus we see examples of open intervention in El Salvador; attempts to destabilize the democratic Governments of Honduras and Costa Rica; an alarming increase in the armed forces of the Nicaraguan régime and statements by the Commanders who govern Nicaragua. Our army is prepared to cross the borders of Honduras and Costa Rica; El Salvador is our shield, they have pro-

claimed. We shall extend the war from Guatemala to Panama, they have announced. We shall support guerrilla movements that are organizing in Honduras, they have affirmed. Furthermore, the head of Nicaraguan diplomacy declared to Panamanian journals that if a peaceful solution to the conflict were not found it would only remain for his Government to declare war on Honduras. That was stated on 9 September this year, while the deliberations were going on between the nine Ministers who adopted on that date the Document of Objectives, a document seen as an encouraging basis for future negotiations in order to achieve a stable and lasting peace. All of this offers the intolerable promise of military aggression and is a flagrant violation of a principle which has been enshrined by the international community and forms part of the legal-political system of the United Nations—that of the non-use of force or the threat of force, which is the commitment of all States.

31. Central America does not need words and actions that further inflame feelings and exacerbate fratricidal struggles. Today more than ever before Central America needs the kind of “peace that can extinguish the flames of war.” We need dialogue to replace controversy and negotiation to prevail over confrontation.

32. We have had enough suffering and enough bloodshed. We have had enough persecution and ostracism. The holocaust that has brought death to 100,000 Central Americans in the past five years, the tragedy of 500,000 displaced by internal fighting, the pain of the 70,000 refugees—all of this calls for urgent action to put an end to that tragedy and anguish.

33. In spite of the threats to regional peace and security expressed by the Government of Nicaragua, in spite of its offensive, dogmatic and provocative behaviour, in spite of its attempts to regionalize and internationalize the conflict, Honduras solemnly declares that it is prepared to commit itself to a general agreement on peace, democracy, security and co-operation among Central American countries.

34. The foreign policy which we have just described in Central American terms could not ignore the painful conflicts in other regions that have touched the collective conscience of the world of our day.

35. In this connection, we condemn the illegal occupation by foreign troops of the territories of Afghanistan and Kampuchea and the recent invasion of Chad by the gangsterism of the fifth horseman of the apocalypse, terrorism.

36. With equal vehemence, my Government repudiates the policy of discrimination and racial persecution which is typified by *apartheid* in South Africa. It is likewise regrettable that the Government of that country, by refusing to accept the independence of Namibia, continues to violate the right of that people to choose its own destiny.

37. With regard to the Middle East, the pitiless rending of Lebanon, the right of the Palestinian people to establish its own independent State, and the need for secure boundaries for Israel are all matters which demand constant dedication in the search for peaceful understanding that will permit the establishment of an atmosphere of harmony and peaceful coexistence. The Government of Honduras hopes that prudence and intelligence will prevail, so that those much desired solutions may be found.

38. My country also expresses its desire for a just and negotiated solution of the conflict in the South Atlantic and reaffirms its support for the claims of the Argentine Republic to sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands. We believe that the essential requirements for the attainment

of that objective is good faith in international relations.

39. The Government of Honduras wishes in particular to make known in the General Assembly its indignation at and vigorous condemnation of the frightful death of 269 innocent persons, caused by the attack on the Korean commercial airliner. That criminal act by the Soviet Union, which is unprecedented in the history of civil aviation, has met with world-wide rejection and demonstrates the extent of the disdain of totalitarian régimes for human life and their disrespect for the most basic norms of civilized coexistence.

40. To this has been added yesterday's terrorist attack, which took the lives of several South Korean leaders and which must be condemned by free and civilized peoples of the world.

41. I have referred to the principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and of the self-determination of peoples, but the Government of Honduras considers that these principles must never be invoked to prevent the international community from taking note of and condemning the human rights violations which take place systematically in countries on various continents.

42. In this connection I am pleased to reiterate that the Government of Honduras observes the principle of the defence and promotion of the rights which are a part of human dignity. Clear proof of this conduct is provided by our efforts to improve the legal system by which those rights are protected, as well as the recent creation by the Congress of the Republic of a multi-party parliamentary commission entrusted with ensuring the effective implementation of constitutional guarantees.

43. While it is true that the world situation is a bleak one, the existence and effective functioning of the Organization will continue to hold out a promise of hope and encouragement for all of mankind. The future of our world is in our hands, and we all share the individual and collective responsibility of ensuring for succeeding generations a life of peace, based on justice and nourished by the pure air of freedom.

44. With that conviction we believe that it is the duty of all States faithfully to align their international behaviour with the obligation set out for all mankind in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, which came out of the ashes of the second world conflagration of the twentieth century:

“All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.”

45. Mr. ESTIMÉ (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): It is a particular pleasure for me to extend to you, Sir, on behalf of the Haitian delegation, my warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session. Your vast experience in the field of international relations, your brilliant rise to the head of the Panamanian diplomatic service, and the objectivity and loftiness of view that habitually mark your statements make you the natural person to discharge the delicate functions upon which the success of our work largely depends. We are pleased that this distinction has been conferred upon the representative of a friendly country, with which Haiti is honoured to have maintained such long-standing, excellent relations.

46. I should like also to convey our gratitude to Mr. Hollai of Hungary for the mastery and skill with which he guided the work of the thirty-seventh session.

47. Permit me once again to pay a well-deserved tribute to the tireless devotion with which the Secretary-General

has devoted himself to the cause of the Organization, with the aim of strengthening its role and contributing to the maintenance of peace wherever it may be threatened.

48. The Haitian delegation takes this opportunity to say that it is most pleased to welcome to membership of the United Nations a fraternal Caribbean country, Saint Christopher and Nevis, a country which, we are sure, will make an active and valuable contribution to the deliberations of the Organization.

49. I must refer to the tragic event which took place yesterday. The Government and people of Haiti ask the delegation of the Republic of Korea to accept our sincere condolences and to transmit our expressions of sympathy to the bereaved families of the victims.

50. Last year we shared with the Assembly the Haitian Government's deep concern at the disturbing deterioration of the world situation, and insistently urged the international community systematically to strengthen the bases for dialogue and concerted action in order gradually to dispel the omnipresent spectre of poverty and violence.

51. Today we cannot but express our disappointment and our negative evaluation of recent developments on the international political and economic scene. Undeniable progress has, of course, been made occasionally, but this progress does not amount to a great deal when compared with the proliferation of areas of crisis and the constant exacerbation of the endless sufferings of the peoples of the third world. Tensions between States continue to heighten: sovereign countries Members of the United Nations are under foreign occupation; and whole populations are still under colonial domination, *apartheid* and other more subtle forms of oppression. And as if that were not enough, we have just witnessed an indescribable act committed by a super-Power against defenceless civilians, in defiance of the most elementary norms of human rights.

52. For certain wealthy countries, signs of a precarious recovery have begun timidly to emerge, but the developing countries are facing a catastrophic economic crisis with incalculable social consequences, the solution to which lies essentially in unprecedented efforts at international solidarity. Such a picture hardly gives rise to optimism. It is therefore more than ever vital for every member of the great family of nations, firmly convinced of the inevitability of our common destiny, to promise faithfully to respect the principles of the Charter of the United Nations so that we can together achieve our objectives of peace, brotherhood and justice, which in the final analysis are in keeping with the eternal aspirations of the universal conscience.

53. In the light of those considerations, the Haitian delegation wishes to reaffirm its position on the main items included in the agenda, items which are troubling international life. In this regard, permit me first to mention Central America, where the cycle of violence has spiraled spectacularly this year.

54. This extremely alarming situation is marked by all-too-frequent recourse to force and has been punctuated by growing numbers of border incidents; it contains the seeds of a permanent crisis whose devastating effect could ultimately extend well beyond the zone now affected.

55. The important thing, above all, is to stress that this crisis stems essentially from the many grave social and economic difficulties besetting the region. Consequently, there can be no question of reducing simply to the dimensions of an East-West conflict what is in fact a whole set of fundamental problems which can be resolved only by the peoples of the region themselves, and they have the

exclusive right to define their kind of society and to establish their own model for development.

56. In this spirit, the Government of Haiti faithful to the principles that have always formed the basis of its foreign policy, unreservedly supports the constructive and bold actions undertaken by the Contadora Group countries with the objective of restoring, through dialogue and negotiation, the peace which is the irreplaceable foundation for any economic and social advancement. My Government also appreciates any manifestation of firmness designed to maintain the balance of forces and to preserve regional security.

57. The Republic of Haiti makes a solemn appeal to the wisdom of the front-line States and asks them to reject any sterile extension of the conflict. It declares itself ready to support initiatives which could lead to a balanced and effectively controlled reduction of arms in the region.

58. In the South Atlantic, the situation prevailing in the Malvinas Islands constitutes, as we have so often stated, a sequel to a completely outmoded colonialism. The blood that was shed last year on both sides and the planned establishment, with the complicity of South African firms, of an air base which is not justified by the defence needs of the archipelago, constitute urgent and imperative reasons for the immediate resumption of dialogue. For that reason, rejecting a *fait accompli* imposed by force and unswervingly supporting the legitimate aspirations of the Argentine nation, the Government of the Republic of Haiti urges the United Nations to promote the search for a negotiated and final solution.

59. The Middle East has for more than three decades been the scene of warfare, and every day adds its share of tragedy to the already blood-soaked history of that part of the world. The recent outbreak of violence in Lebanon proves, if proof were necessary, that the settlement of this regional crisis lies more than ever before in the establishment of overall peace on the basis of the rules of law, morality and justice in accordance with the spirit of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

60. Therefore the Haitian Government believes that the search for peace necessarily entails recognition and respect by all its neighbours of Israel's right to exist within secure and recognized borders. Similarly, we believe that there can be no question of denying to the Palestinian people its right to effective self-determination within a physical, legal and administrative framework in keeping with its legitimate aspirations. Any attempt to ignore or repudiate these basic criteria for a peaceful solution can only serve to prolong needlessly the ravages of hatred in that sorely tried region.

61. With regard to the question of Cyprus, the Government of the Republic of Haiti wishes to recall that the solution of this problem necessarily entails respect for the unity of the Republic of Cyprus and the withdrawal of all foreign occupation forces. We welcome the efforts of the Secretary-General within the framework of his mission of good offices and we hope it will be successful.

62. The Republic of Haiti has also been following with attention and concern the evolution on the African continent of certain very ominous situations in which too often foreign Powers are involved and which are jeopardizing the stability of the region while holding up the social and economic development of the countries concerned.

63. We deplore particularly the internecine struggle which is at present dividing Chad. The Government of Haiti continues to hope that that nation, jealous of its independence, will ultimately recover its unity through

dialogue and succeed in enjoying the full and effective exercise of its sovereignty over the whole of its territory.

64. With regard to Western Sahara, the Republic of Haiti continues to believe in the possibility of a peaceful solution, based on the principle of self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the relevant resolutions of the Organization of African Unity [OAU]. In this regard, we remain confident that the OAU *Ad Hoc* Committee on Western Sahara, entrusted with the task of organizing a referendum, will effectively discharge its tasks, with the active support of the parties concerned, and that the Sahraoui people, as a result of this process, will succeed in choosing its destiny in all freedom, in conformity with its legitimate aspirations.

65. In Asia there also persist hotbeds of crisis engendered and maintained by the expansionist ambitions of certain States determined to impose their will by means of an illegal military presence, in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations. We cannot fail to mention, in this regard, the tragedy that is still being played out in occupied Afghanistan and in occupied Kampuchea. We must recall the daily horrors of war and repression. The Republic of Haiti warmly salutes the patriotic struggle of the Khmer and Afghan peoples and hopes that the United Nations will redouble its efforts to promote a return to peace within the framework of a settlement which will naturally entail the final withdrawal of the occupation forces and recognize the exclusive right of those States to define their own form of Government.

66. On the other hand, the Haitian Government has noted with satisfaction the encouraging initiatives of the head of State of South Korea designed to establish dialogue to lead to the reunification of the Korean nation. It is highly desirable that the United Nations give its support to these peaceful actions which in their principles are entirely compatible with the essential objectives of the Organization.

67. Since 1946 the Organization has been dealing with the painful and difficult question of *apartheid*, which has been condemned by the General Assembly as a crime against mankind. In spite of universal condemnation, the Pretoria régime, far from abiding by the United Nations resolutions, persists in its criminal policy towards the black people of South Africa.

68. The Government of the Republic of Haiti, I would recall, approximately 50 years ago brought before the League of Nations the scandal of the massacre of Hottentots in South West Africa and prevailed upon it to examine for the first time the racial policy of the Union of South Africa. Faithful to these historic traditions, we once again today reaffirm forcefully our unswerving attachment to the South African people and unconditional solidarity with the heroic struggle being waged for the final elimination of the *apartheid* régime. We urge the General Assembly and all organizations and agencies concerned, in this year which sees the end of the first Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, to make a critical review of the initiatives taken so far, with a view to strengthening the array of measures which would help to overcome the brutal arrogance of the South African Government and lead to the establishment of an open, democratic and multiracial society in South Africa.

69. My Government is compelled to denounce the countries which are actually guilty of complicity with that régime and have provided it with political, economic, military and nuclear co-operation on the highly arguable pretext of having to preserve strategic interests. We call upon them not to oppose any longer the adoption of

global and binding sanctions, which alone can put an end to this policy of dehumanization pursued by the Pretoria racist minority.

70. Furthermore, we see the same attitude of defiance on the part of the South African régime in the illegal occupation of Namibia and the systematic blocking of the United Nations plan for bringing that Territory to independence.

71. On this subject, while we duly appreciate the efforts made by the Contact Group, we cannot but deplore the decision of a certain Power to link the process of independence with geopolitical considerations which in any case cannot possibly prevail over the rights of the Namibian people to exercise sovereignty over its Territory.

72. The people and Government of Haiti wish to reiterate their total support for the front-line States and the heroic freedom fighters who are waging a noble struggle under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. We solemnly call on the international community to ensure that the year 1984 will finally see the implementation of the commitments entered into for the benefit of the Namibian people so that it can become independent, with full territorial integrity, in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

73. It has become trite to repeat that we are at the moment suffering from the most serious economic crisis since the 1930s and that it hits the poorest among us hardest. In Africa, Asia and Latin America the developing countries are witnessing an almost general collapse of their growth rates and in certain cases this is becoming a veritable catastrophe.

74. The spectacular fall of commodity prices and the subsequent decline in export earnings, the appreciable slowing down of the rate of investment, and the abrupt acceleration of the process of indebtedness combined with a reduction in net terms of international transfers have, in the final analysis, led to a very clear-cut decline in the standard of living of the peoples of the third world.

75. Without wishing to go deeply into the underlying causes of this state of affairs, we must repeat that the industrialized nations bear a large part of the responsibility for engendering this tragic situation. Deciding to combat by a policy of draconian austerity the inflation resulting from declining productivity in the 1970s, they have given rise to a global contraction of the demand for goods and services and a sharp increase in interest rates, thus leading to a generalized recession, which has proved to be an extremely heavy burden on the third-world countries for reasons which are not their fault.

76. Similarly, public development assistance, an increase in which might have compensated in part for the negative effects of this policy, has never reached the targets laid down more than 20 years ago, while at the same time annual expenditures on armaments have reached the astronomical figure of \$600 billion.

77. All these phenomena have been thoroughly described and analysed by committees of experts in specialized forums. We shall therefore confine ourselves simply to stressing certain particularly striking facts and making some recommendations which could help carry the debate forward.

78. First, we must admit the failure of international meetings designed to put an end to the crisis. The sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983, ended up, as far as the third world was concerned, as a bitter disappointment. The Buenos Aires Platform,² in which the Group of 77 presented a balanced set of realistic proposals, was met, with a very few exceptions,

with a whole host of reservations which were desperately narrow and selfish in nature. Similarly, the Specialized Conference on External Financing, held at Caracas from 4 to 9 September, above all made it possible to observe the irreconcilable differences between the providers of funds and the recipient countries.

79. We cannot help wondering whether, over and above the obvious temporary difficulties on which an attempt is being made to blame the lack of progress, the dialogue between industrialized and developing countries has become completely bogged down.

80. In spite of all this, as solemnly stated by President Jean-Claude Duvalier:

“The Republic of Haiti continues to believe in the future of global negotiations on the establishment of a new economic order which would make it possible for the poor peoples of the third world to reach a threshold of development compatible with the dignity of the human race and the right of the individual to a decent life.”

81. The Haitian Government believes that in the immediate future we should set up a system of almost permanent regional meetings as a result of which a small number of representatives of North and South could give their views on specific economic subjects so that concrete decisions could be taken over the short term.

82. Secondly, the model for recovery proposed by the Western countries seems to us both optimistic and incomplete, inasmuch as they claim that the recovery which has begun in the industrialized nations will inevitably lead to a resurgence of growth in the third world, provided, of course, that the third world has undertaken in advance the indispensable task of putting its finances on a sounder footing. For our part we remain convinced that this kind of automatism will not work because of structural distortions which prevent the market machinery from having its full effect on the developing countries.

83. In order to make up for these deficiencies, we should set up special programmes specifically oriented to a certain number of priority objectives which constitute the *sine qua non* of any economic recovery. I am talking about the stabilization of export earnings, the appropriate transfer of both public and private capital and the rescheduling of the third world debt. From this standpoint the Republic of Haiti believes that, if measures such as programmes of financial austerity, which for its part it continues to apply scrupulously, and the Caribbean Basin initiative, which it welcomed with satisfaction, in fact constitute the necessary conditions of our economic development, it is equally true that such arrangements seem ridiculously inadequate when compared with the size and diversity of the needs of the region.

84. Therefore the Haitian Government has begun to wonder—following President Belisario Betancur's statement in a remarkable address that Central America needed \$5 billion in order to recover its former level of expansion—how many billions the Caribbean would need to bring about a rate of growth that would make it possible to meet the essential needs of its peoples. It is for us, together with the major Powers of this continent, to give a serious and credible answer to this question, bearing constantly in mind the fact that economic development and social progress constitute, in the final analysis, the best guarantees of political stability and regional security.

85. Thirdly, the clear inability of the international system in its present form to provide the necessary components of a solution for the developing countries should make the third world seek in South-South co-operation

ways and means of bringing about its economic emancipation.

86. On the American continent, encouraging initiatives have, indeed, recently been launched to this end, and this is an opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to ECLA and the Latin American Economic System for their remarkable contributions to producing a regional strategy of co-operation making it possible for the countries of the continent to face the crisis by an intelligent reformulation of their external trade and the common exploitation of their vast resources.

87. Because of their structural weaknesses and natural handicaps the least developed countries have suffered particularly badly from the international crisis. Available statistics in this regard reveal, that, over and above the reduction in per capita income and the decline in food production, there has been a substantial reduction in public development assistance, in spite of the commitment of the industrialized nations rapidly to double transfers to those countries.

88. In these circumstances, how can we not entertain doubts about the present international order when even for the small group of least developed countries it seems impossible to bring about appropriate actions and to mobilize the relatively small sums of money needed to get them moving?

89. The Republic of Haiti therefore calls upon the rich countries to change their attitude and do everything possible to carry out the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries,³ officially launched at Manila in 1979 and endorsed in Paris in 1981 and Belgrade in 1983.

90. This cursory examination of the world situation that we have just undertaken has enabled us to shed light on both the gravity and the complexity of the problems facing the international community and on the very nature of the principles which should guide the States Members of the United Nations in the search for solutions to the many difficulties that may jeopardize the future of mankind.

91. The main point to bear in mind is that there will be no progress towards peace and economic development in a more and more interdependent world without a continual strengthening of international solidarity, without a genuine political determination to bring about change, without a genuine intention on the part of the major Powers to give real effect to the various resolutions to which they have subscribed.

92. The Republic of Haiti, which under the leadership of President Jean-Claude Duvalier is steadfastly pursuing the work of national development in a climate of peace and stability, will continue to play its full role in the international community, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, in bringing about a new order that will be more just and more humane.

93. This year, when we are commemorating the bicentenary of the birth of Bolivar and are paying tribute to an epic to which the Republic of Haiti is proud to have made a decisive contribution, we express the hope that the spiritual heritage of the Liberator, like that of the other great nation-builders, will guide our actions and our thoughts towards a world of peace, justice and fraternity.

94. Mr. ALDALI (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to begin my address by extending to you our congratulations upon your election as President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. We are fully confident that, with your great experience and ability, you will make a valuable contribution to the success of this session and

to the achievement of results that will meet the aspirations of our peoples. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to express our appreciation and great admiration for the constructive role and wisdom of your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai, during his presidency of the thirty-seventh session. I must also express appreciation for the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General in strengthening the role of the international Organization and its effectiveness in dealing with international problems in the service of international peace and security. It gives me pleasure also to welcome Saint Christopher and Nevis to membership of the United Nations.

95. At this time our Yemeni people are celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the 14 October Revolution which, under the leadership of the National Political Front, proclaimed the determination of our people to put an end to British occupation and colonialism and to achieve our aspirations of national liberation and socio-economic progress. After a long and militant struggle, in which our people made many sacrifices and lost many martyrs, we were able to gain our national independence on 30 November 1967. Today, under the leadership of the Yemeni Socialist Party, our people are struggling to complete the next phase of the national democratic revolution, which is socialist in scope, and strongly defend their revolution. They are struggling to obtain gains and achievements in the economic, social and cultural fields, always with the aim of improving the material and spiritual levels of our people.

96. In collaboration with our brothers in the northern part of the country we are making serious efforts to achieve Yemeni unity and the aspirations of the Yemeni people. Through the fraternal meetings between the leaderships of the two parts of our country, and within the framework of the Higher Council of Yemen, we were able to achieve co-ordination between those two parts and take important steps forward in our efforts for unification, in respect of a number of political, economic and social issues that serve the interest of our people and its unity.

97. Within the framework of our steadfast foreign policy, which stems from the principles of peaceful co-existence, and is based on respect for national sovereignty and independence, and non-intervention in the internal affairs of others, Democratic Yemen is establishing balanced and friendly relations with its neighbours within the region and with numerous countries in the world. It also contributes to the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to which it belongs, and to all international and regional organizations, and it stands alongside the forces of peace and progress, to preserve international peace and security, and to achieve the progress and well-being to which all the peoples of the world aspire.

98. The most distinguishing feature of the current session of the General Assembly is that it is being held at a time when the international situation is passing through its worst period since the Second World War. There is a dangerous deterioration in international relations due to the confrontation policy and the return to cold-war principles by the American Administration, which seeks to impose its force and military supremacy, its hegemony and subjugation. Today, we are a long way from achieving the basic objective of the Charter of the United Nations, namely the peace for which the peoples of the world are struggling.

99. Imperialist forces, headed by United States imperialism, are the main source of tension, instability and the undermining of peace in the world. Indifferent to charters and international rules, these forces threaten the stability and security of all peoples seeking freedom and independence, peoples which have liberated their countries and

are seeking to reinforce their independence. As a result of this aggressive United States imperialist policy, many areas in the world are still hotbeds of tension, especially the Middle East, South Africa, Central America, the Caribbean and South-East Asia. Furthermore, aggression is being practised against independent sovereign States, and the seeds of dispute are being sown between countries, thus impeding their peoples from achieving their political and economic independence, and threatening their national sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as jeopardizing world peace.

100. Even worse, humanity at large is passing through a critical phase in its history, living under the threat of nuclear war because of the dead end reached in the negotiations for arms limitation and reduction, as a result of the intransigence of the imperialist forces which are seeking to impose new military programmes and perfect additional weapons of mass destruction, and trying to impose dangerous theories on the peoples, in order to induce them to accept the principle of nuclear war and the possibilities of the launching of a "lightning war" or a "limited war".

101. Those imperialist policies bring the threat of an international catastrophe and it is our duty here to unite to prevent such a catastrophe. Thus we affirm our desire to achieve our common objective, peace, and to put an end to political and military escalation and to work for international co-operation for the mutual benefit of all peoples and States.

102. The Middle East is experiencing a most explosive situation as a result of imperialist schemes and conspiracies aimed at liquidating the national forces and progressive régimes, imposing United States military and political hegemony on the region and violating the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people struggling under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], its sole legitimate representative, for the exercise of its inalienable rights to return to self-determination and to the establishment of its own State in its homeland.

103. In order to implement its racist expansionist policy, and encouraged by its strategic ally, the United States, Israel continues its acts of aggression against the Arab countries, while occupying Palestinian and Arab lands. It carries out the most vicious suppression and massacres of the Palestinian people, the expansion of settlements and the confiscation of land, property and water, altering the geographical and cultural features of the occupied territories.

104. The International Conference on the Question of Palestine, held at Geneva from 29 August to 7 September 1983, emphasized that the Palestine issue is at the core of the conflict in the Middle East and that no just, comprehensive and lasting peace can be achieved without the total withdrawal of Israel from occupied Palestinian and Arab lands, including Jerusalem, and the restoration of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. The report of the Conference⁴ called for an international conference as a framework for the solution of the problem, with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the PLO on an equal footing with all the other participants.

105. Democratic Yemen calls for the implementation of the numerous resolutions adopted by the international community to deter Israeli aggression and put an end to the suffering of the Palestinian people. It demands the imposition against Israel of the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, and the ending of Israel's contemptuous attitude towards the international community.

106. This attitude is encouraged by the United States which gives unlimited support to Israel's attempts to subjugate our Arab peoples and uses the results of Israeli aggression to try to impose partial settlements. These imperialist Zionist schemes have become clear in Lebanon, for the alliance of Zionism and imperialism, after having committed bloody massacres and barbaric destruction through the military invasion of Lebanese territory last year, is now attempting to impose suspect settlements and agreements on Lebanon and the presence of multinational forces on its land. One of the principal objectives of the United States and Israel in Lebanon is to strike at Lebanese national unity, divide Lebanon from the Arab world and turn it into an arena for civil war, paving the way for a scheme to partition Lebanon, erase its Arab character and impose United States and Israeli domination over it. This conspiracy has been unmasked as a result of the aggressive role undertaken by the United States forces in the Lebanese civil war and their shelling of Lebanese national positions.

107. The United States military intervention in Lebanon demonstrates the dangers facing our Arab peoples, as represented by the United States military presence in bases and war fleets in Arab territories and waters, which would take people back to the age of colonialism and endanger the security and stability of our Arab people as well as their sovereignty, independence and progress.

108. We believe that the Lebanese problem can be settled only through national reconciliation. In this context, we wish to reaffirm the joint statement issued on 1 October 1983 as a result of the visit of President Ali Nasser Mohammed to the Soviet Union, when the two parties expressed the conviction that a prerequisite for this settlement is the assurance of Lebanese independence and territorial integrity, the cessation of United States aggression in Lebanon and the implementation of the Security Council resolutions concerning the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon.

109. We support the fundamental position of the Syrian Arab Republic and the national forces in Lebanon. We condemn all those that threaten Syria, which is confronting the imperialist and Zionist plots and schemes in the region.

110. Democratic Yemen, while expressing anxiety at the continuing Iran-Iraq war, expresses the hope that very soon a peaceful settlement will be reached and that the endeavours to end the war will be crowned with success, so that all efforts may be directed to confronting the common enemy, imperialism and Zionism, and achieving the objectives of development in the interest of our peoples.

111. Southern Africa is another trouble spot as a result of the position adopted by the Western countries, headed by the United States, which support the racist régime in South Africa and the policy of *apartheid* which that régime practises in the political, economic and military spheres. Those countries prevented the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, held in Paris from 25 to 29 April 1983, from adopting recommendations on the imposition of mandatory sanctions against the racist régime in South Africa and they encourage that régime to ignore the will of the international community and its resolutions and continue to threaten the security and the stability of the front-line African States. Democratic Yemen, while calling for the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) concerning the independence of Namibia, confirms its support for the struggle of the Namibian people for their independence, under the leadership of SWAPO, and condemns the imperialist racist

attempts to link Namibian independence with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. We also support the struggle of the people of South Africa against the illegal racist régime, the front-line States in their resistance to the repeated acts of aggression of South Africa and the economic embargo against the Pretoria régime. We call on the international community to impose restraining sanctions against South Africa, especially since the international community has condemned racism as the most heinous crime against humanity.

112. The peoples of Latin America are facing the military buildup, economic embargo and intervention in their internal affairs imposed by the United States Government, which aspires to impose on them its political and economic domination. That Government, by carrying out important military exercises in the Central American region and extending political and military support to its client régimes and mercenaries, and by directing all its material, political and military potential against the militant peoples in this region, offers but another proof of its hostile intentions in various parts of the world. While reiterating its support for Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada in their confrontations with United States policies, practices and pressures, Democratic Yemen calls upon the international community to adopt measures to defeat such schemes and reconfirms its belief in the right of the States and peoples of the region to choose their own methods of economic and political development. At the same time we renew our support for the national liberation movements in Central America and the Caribbean, especially in Puerto Rico.

113. We are struggling for peace, as we struggle with the peoples seeking their independence, and for that reason Democratic Yemen confirms once more its support for the right of the Sahraoui people to self-determination and the realization of its independence and sovereignty, and calls for direct and immediate negotiations between the Government of Morocco and POLISARIO⁵ and the strengthening of the efforts being made by the OAU to achieve that goal. We condemn any imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and Kampuchea, and we appeal for respect for their rights to independence, sovereignty and stability. We praise the proposals made by the Indo-Chinese countries for peace and stability in their region. We also support wholeheartedly the proposals of the Afghan Government designed to bring an end to and prevent foreign interventions. We call upon Afghanistan's neighbours to enter into negotiations with the democratic Afghan Government in order to reach solutions to outstanding problems.

114. Democratic Yemen also reaffirms the need to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, as well as its status of non-aligned State. We support the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at reuniting that country by peaceful means and call for the withdrawal of foreign forces from South Korea. Because of our neighbourly and historic relations with the countries of the Horn of Africa, we are concerned about security and stability in that region. We are of the view that such security and stability can be achieved only through respect for the independence and sovereignty of the countries of that region, as stipulated in the charter of the Organization of African Unity. We also earnestly desire the improvement of relations between the countries of that region so that common interests may be better served. In Chad, we support the efforts of the OAU to resolve the problems of that country and we condemn imperialist attempts to impede a peaceful and rapid solution by an escalation of military intervention that threatens the security of the people and the territorial integrity of Chad.

115. The international community's call for disarmament confirms the priority of this issue and the need to resolve it immediately. The arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, has reached dangerous levels and poses a threat to the entire world. Imperialist preparations for a nuclear war represent a most vicious crime against humanity. The nuclear strategies adopted by the United States Administration and its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] are designed to achieve nuclear supremacy and to prepare for a nuclear war. We praise the numerous peaceful initiatives taken by the Soviet Union to reduce the dangers of nuclear war, to strengthen world peace and to bring about peaceful coexistence. At the same time we condemn the imperialist strategies which do not serve humanity. We call upon the United States Government and its allies in NATO to respond positively to those initiatives, and we condemn the Western assistance being given to strengthen the nuclear capabilities of the two racist régimes in South Africa and Israel, thereby increasing the dangers of nuclear war in the Middle East and in Africa. The economic resources that are being wasted on the arms race and the fact that millions of human beings in various parts of the world lack the basic necessities of life confirm the strong relationship between disarmament and development. The vast amounts of money spent on armaments each year, totalling some \$700 billion, affect natural resources, harm the environment and impede the settlement of the more urgent international problems.

116. In line with our conviction of the need for a continuous struggle for peace and the economic development of the developing countries, we call for the immediate implementation of the resolutions adopted in the Final Document of the two special sessions of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, and we demand that the necessary resources should be devoted to economic development and that the existing gap between the industrialised countries and the developing countries should be reduced. We also insist on the need to accelerate the international disarmament campaign.

117. The arms race, exemplified in the intensive military buildup of the United States as well as the formation of the Rapid Deployment Forces, whose manoeuvres extend into a number of non-aligned countries, is aimed at shaking the stability of those countries, threatens their security and increases the danger of tension throughout the world. The military manoeuvres carried out by United States forces in the Middle East in 1982 and 1983 represent a form of oppression and threat brought to bear by the United States in an attempt to terrorize the peoples of the region and to blackmail them, as well as to expand United States influence, dominate the region entirely and exhaust the resources of the area. Such provocative exercises are hostile actions against the peoples and the countries of the Middle East and a direct threat to their sovereignty. They are in contradiction to the Charter of the United Nations and to the principles of international law and non-alignment. The sophisticated American weapons, including the AWACS spy planes which are employed in such exercises near the shores and the territory of Democratic Yemen, and the escalation of aggressive activities of the United States thrust the region back into the age of colonialism and control of all the resources and wealth of its population. They are also an extension of the dangers and threats existing in the Indian Ocean as a result of the expansion of military bases and the American military presence, especially in Diego Garcia.

118. Democratic Yemen will not fail to pursue its efforts and its peaceful activities aimed at achieving stability and peace in that region and at removing the threats of the

imperialist presence, in line with the interests of the peoples of the region. We have on more than one occasion called for ridding the Red Sea and Indian Ocean and the whole of the Middle East of foreign military bases. We renew our call for making the Indian Ocean and contiguous areas a zone of peace, and we call upon the international community to adopt immediate measures to put an end to the impediments being placed by the United States and its allies in the path of convening an international conference on the Indian Ocean at the beginning of 1984, as has been decided, particularly since that conference has already been postponed for several years now.

119. The continuous deterioration in the world economic situation is a threat to international relations. The resulting negative economic effects have increased anxiety among the developing countries, especially since development there has been threatened and, in many cases, stopped. The least developed countries have not achieved any development comparable to the ratio of development achieved in 1980.

120. The widening gap between the industrialized and the developing countries is due to the unfair economic policies adopted by the industrialized capitalist countries. The increasing protectionist stand in the industrialized capitalist countries, the rising costs of their exports, together with the constantly lower prices for the exports of developing countries, as well as the increasing rate of interest on loans, have created a huge deficit in the balance of payments of the developing countries.

121. These countries are now labouring under an enormous foreign debt which amounted to \$630 billion at the end of 1982, while the interest rate on this debt amounts to \$130 billion annually.

122. The developing countries, in a number of international forums, have come forward with practical proposals and constructive ideas to reduce the implications of the international economic crisis, taking into consideration the interests of both the industrialized and the developing countries. In this respect, the Economic Declaration adopted at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983 [see *A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2*], the proposals contained in the Buenos Aires Platform² and the resolutions adopted at the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development⁶ have been proposed to try to achieve economic recovery from the world crisis. Perhaps the problem lies in the fact that the proposals for world-wide negotiations to create a new international economic order have not been met with the necessary good will and political will on the part of the industrialized capitalist countries. In fact these countries have rejected the principle of total participation, on a footing of equality, with the developing countries.

123. Democratic Yemen, like all the other developing countries, especially the least developed, faces enormous economic problems resulting from the deteriorating international economic situation. This confirms the necessity of redoubling efforts during the thirty-eighth session to find practical and immediate solutions to the international economic crisis, since this deterioration constitutes a threat to the future of both the industrialized and the developing countries, at the economic and political levels, especially since we live in a world in which interdependence is increasing.

124. The deteriorating international situation emphasizes the important role of the United Nations in achieving peace, as provided by the Charter of the United Nations. Today, the Organization is being impeded in its efforts to achieve its objectives as a result of the intransigent

attitude of the imperialist forces which deal with international problems outside the framework of the United Nations, and that of the United States to the work of the Security Council through exercise of its right to veto, thus impeding the efforts of the United Nations to terminate or eliminate areas of conflict and to adopt the necessary steps to achieve disarmament.

125. Our country has always endeavoured to work with all countries interested in securing international peace and security and in strengthening the role of the United Nations, in an effort to find peaceful solutions to the problems facing the world. We hope that at this session we will be able to create a better international climate, so as to reduce tension in the international situation and to make the Organization a basis for international co-operation for peace, disarmament and economic development.

126. Mr. TANNIS (*Saint Vincent and the Grenadines*): Mr. President, may I take this opportunity to congratulate you on your appointment to this very responsible office in this most important assembly of our international community. Whatever we may be inclined to say from time to time, the United Nations and the General Assembly represent a potential force for world stability and order in a sea of tension and continuing conflicts.

127. I am aware, Mr. President, that because of our ability in this world community to move from conflict to conflict and to debate multiple conflicts which engage our attention and which must be resolved here, your task will become more demanding. I am sure, however, that you will do credit to the Assembly.

128. Might it not be prudent for us here as Members to re-examine the purposes for which the United Nations was established in 1945? Has the time not come when we should examine the manner in which our nations have been endeavouring to promote those aims and objectives? We are none of us without faults—none of us as nations are paragons of virtue. Yet, what may really be important is the manner in which we accept our responsibility as Members and attempt to be supportive of those aims and objectives which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

129. The world community is confronted with innumerable problems. To list them in order of priority for corrective action may be difficult, for there may be divergent views concerning this. Some may say that world economic recovery is the number one matter to be addressed since this will correct unemployment and bring about greater social justice. Others may hold the view that the violation of human rights—which are basic to all mankind—is the first priority. Much can be said for these views. However, the most urgent priority is the achieving of nuclear disarmament. This is a recurrent theme because it is a grave problem. We cannot be satisfied today when we consider the tremendous stockpile of existing nuclear weapons. We cannot be satisfied because of the excessive danger which its mere existence poses to all mankind. So long as nuclear weapons exist, there will continue to be unacceptable risks which cannot be eliminated by a guarantee not to initiate the first strike. There is an urgent need for negotiations to contain, control and reduce the spread of nuclear weapons. To reach any agreement there must be the will on all sides to make concessions to achieve the reduction of existing stockpiles and, eventually, to eliminate the possession of nuclear weapons by all nations.

130. Time is running out. It is inevitable that the longer these weapons of mass destruction exist the higher is the probability that an error of judgement may occur, with all its frightening consequences. No man can devise a system that is immune from error. Can we continue to live

in snug complacency in these circumstances? Must we be afraid to offend when to offend may mean the very survival of mankind? In a thermonuclear war there can be no truly safe part of the globe. Not even the most eminent scientists can predict what would be the cumulative effect upon mankind if nations began a senseless, irrational cross-delivery of nuclear missiles, each being fully aware that the other side could not survive that holocaust.

131. To what end and for what purpose are these weapons kept? We are told that the terror of it all has kept this world safer, yet in spite of the terror there are more wars and conflicts on the international scene today than at any other time. There are conflicts in the Middle East, the Far East, Africa, Central America, South America, Northern Ireland, Afghanistan and elsewhere. It is as if war had now become an infectious international plague. Might it not be that that very terror, that false sense of the safety of the nuclear umbrella, gives a free hand for mischief in other, non-nuclear, areas? Because of this perverse sense of logic there is much to be said for the mutual effect that the terror of it all must have.

132. For this reason, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines cannot responsibly advocate unilateral disarmament, which is a flirtation with disaster. Unilateral disarmament is an illogical prescription to cure a very serious and rival-ridden problem, since whichever nation puts itself in that position in this super-Power conflict will put itself at a distinct disadvantage. In such circumstances, whichever country did so would be psychologically weakened, whatever its relative strength in conventional weapons, and could be blackmailed.

133. There must therefore be, instead of unilateral disarmament, a phased reduction and as far as practicable parity must be maintained during such reduction until all weapons are totally eliminated. This type of even balance would be a safeguard and would have a sobering effect on the continuous conflicts in human nature, in which love and hate coexist, in which fear of insecurity and belief in security dwell together, in which national interests and pride override prudence and even the desire for peace.

134. I am convinced that we must collectively, every year, deal with this subject and project our concern in a positive manner in an earnest endeavour to awaken the consciousness of the Assembly—of all its Members—to the unreasoning imposition to which the international community, without having any say, is being subjected and over which it has no control.

135. It is patently obvious that each of the super-Powers is in a no-win situation. It is patently obvious, therefore, that there must be some sensible degree of give and take. Both must reach an accommodation and both must show flexibility. It is not fear but reason which demands that.

136. Last year, at the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly [32nd meeting], I had hoped that the travail of Lebanon would by now be over, but the tension, turmoil, domestic strife and destruction of both life and property are as pervasive now as they were then. A small country is being torn apart not only because of domestic differences, but also because of external interference in the internal affairs of that country, which is a Member of this world body, albeit a small country and a weak one. Lebanon was once, although small, a rich and prosperous country in the Mediterranean with an international banking reputation. Today, this has been ended by strife. Granted that there are different interests to be served and beliefs to be harmonized and harnessed in the national interest, granted that within the society there are deep historic problems based on a concept of power-sharing with respect to the structure and composition of the

Government, but despite all this, if the people of Lebanon were left and encouraged to resolve their differences through the process of dialogue and not on the field of battle, if the *de facto* partition of this small country were brought immediately to an end, and if, instead of arms to kill and destroy being provided, financial assistance were given to rebuild the shattered economy of the country and mend broken family lives, such action would be constructive, would further the peace process and would redound to the credit of all those who have made possible the present cease-fire.

137. I believe we should give credit where it is due, and the Government of Saudi Arabia must be congratulated on the very positive and constructive role which it has played in bringing about a cease-fire through negotiations. The United States and the Syrian Arab Republic have played a very sensitive role in this peace process, notwithstanding that it may be a tenuous peace, just another of the many cease-fires negotiated in Lebanon.

138. Can we not dare to hope that this time, with many elements favourably in place, the cease-fire will hold and that dialogue will now replace the gun in an effort to resolve outstanding differences, that a Government may emerge bearing the stamp of approval of the Lebanese people and the Lebanese people alone, a Government which will direct the future of the country in a climate of peace and stability?

139. Last year the signs were such that an imminent resolution of the Palestinian question seemed within the realm of possibility. It was not to be. Now, a year later, the future of the Palestinians' homeland seems as uncertain as ever. There is more internal division than unity. Notwithstanding this, real peace will come to the Middle East only when the Palestinian diaspora ends, and that will be only when the people of Palestine have a land to be their home.

140. We cannot be unmindful of the increasing level of violence in Central America. In yet another area of the globe, men have decided not to resolve national problems through discussion and with reasonable good judgement to settle differences without recourse to arms, with the resulting death and destruction involving innocent women and children, most of whom generally desire to lead a peaceful life, that life denied them by the apparently senseless and tragic brutality of their fellow men. Will there be no end to the growing number of homeless and helpless refugees? The refugee problem is ultimately our problem, because we must reflect the conscience and compassion of mankind. Having this responsibility puts on each of us a heavy burden since the existence of refugees from war-torn areas is in itself proof that we have failed to maintain the momentum for world peace and to strive to achieve the lofty objectives enshrined in the Charter of this inspiring but awesome world body.

141. We are not here because we are dreamers. We are here, I believe, because we are crusaders in the quest for peace, social justice and a balanced international order. Our search for these noble ends must be total and relentless. It is therefore a source of encouragement for my country when we see nations working together to end human suffering, to subdue that inner rage in human nature which sets brothers and sisters at war against each other for causes in which each may believe passionately.

142. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines wishes to applaud the initiative of Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and Panama—the Contadora Group—in their attempt to find common ground between the warring factions in Central America which will form the basis for discussion to end the strife. There is no easy solution, but talking is the right course since it will help to identify the

problems and, by focusing attention on them, may make it possible for solutions to be found. Those that provide the means of destruction are not thereby serving the cause of peace. That cause is better served by a reduction in the flow of arms and by allowing a free expression of the will of the people, without any form of intimidation. Man is by nature a free spirit and nothing should be done to deny or inhibit that freedom. His right to choose and his right to decide are fundamental to the maintenance of that free spirit.

Mr. Kofa (Liberia), Vice-President, took the chair.

143. On 1 September last a major commercial aviation tragedy befell the world. An aircraft on Korean Air Lines flight 007 was blasted out of the sky by missiles. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines views that incident with shock and horror. We have been compelled to this very critical view by the enormity of the consequences, realizing that 269 innocent persons met their death and how they met it. The position of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines is not merely that of joining in a chorus of condemnation, but rather one based on a determination to ensure that such a tragedy never occurs again. There can be no serious consolation with regard to that act for the bereaved families. Despite the right of the Soviet Union to safeguard its territorial integrity, it must be held responsible for the tragedy.

144. It would be a horrible situation if any time a commercial civil aircraft intruded into the national air space of a country, for whatever reason, that country's national security were safeguarded by blasting the offending aircraft out of the sky. It is evident that in this day and age of commercial aviation virtually crowding the sky, due regard should be paid to the type of aircraft being fired at since it may endanger passengers who may in snug satisfaction be unaware that they are doomed. It would be a shocking disregard of the value of human life to act otherwise. Yet such an inexcusable act occurred—an act that is inexcusable whether or not committed in error. The international community must now respond by taking collective action to ensure that this does not happen again. There must be an international convention that establishes a code of procedural conduct to be followed when national air space has been violated. It must be determined immediately, before shots or missiles are fired, what aircraft has violated the national airspace. The convention must establish how the pilot of the offending commercial aircraft must respond to directives and how the pilot of a military aircraft in pursuit must act.

145. There is need for a positive response by all nations in this direction. Whatever may be the reaction to the demand for compensation, international travellers should not be subjected to paying so high a price. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines urges restraint of action where a country's territorial air space has been violated. It is far wiser and more appropriate to retain international respect and goodwill by following safer procedures to compel an offending commercial aircraft to land, thereby gaining an opportunity, through positive proof of spying, not speculation, to expose the wrongful act and as a consequence to elicit greater sympathy and understanding on the part of the international community. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines is very concerned since, but for the grace of God, any of us here could have been passengers on that last tragic flight of Korean Air Lines 007. May such a tragedy never, ever occur again.

146. Speaking of tragedy, I wish to put on record publicly here my own dismay and the dismay and horror of my Government at the very tragic incident that occurred just yesterday, Sunday, in Burma, when 15 members of the South Korean Government, including five ministers

and one ambassador, were killed while attending a ceremony at the Martyrs' Mausoleum. Part of the troubles afflicting the world community is our insensitivity, our lack of understanding and appreciation of the serious value of human life and a willingness on our part, from time to time and in moments of aberration, to show a wanton disregard of human life. I wish to record my profound sympathy and the sympathy of the Government and people of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines.

147. The problems of southern Africa have continued to occupy the attention of this Assembly for more than 20 years. As those problems cause actions to intensify and positions to harden, we all yearn for a just solution. Hopes have been raised by each initiative towards finding a solution, only to be dashed and destroyed on the South African rock of intransigence and fear. But the solution of these problems, as South Africa should be advised by its friends, depends on justice being done to all Africans—black and white alike, not just the whites. Namibia must be freed from minority rule and control, thereby putting an end to the repressive measures that seek to deny the legitimacy of the majority will.

148. South Africa, within its own borders, must begin to acknowledge the legitimate rights of blacks and accept the principle that in any system all men are entitled to an equal status in society, be it political, legal, administrative or economic, and that the whites must share power with the blacks on a basis of equality, with the entitlement of all to full rights and privileges. I appreciate that there are matters of serious concern to the South African Government when it comes to the question of the role to be played by whites in a South Africa of equal rights. But any action without acceptance of the fact that justice must be for all will only intensify conflict, not diminish it, in a South Africa of bigotry and hatred that postulates racist supremacy.

149. I am therefore encouraged by the limited movement achieved by the Secretary-General in his recent discussions with the South African Government with regard to Namibia. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines is aware that the path forward is difficult and strewn with pitfalls, but we believe that the patience and diligence of the Secretary-General may lead the way to a successful conclusion.

150. The root cause of most of the world's problems is centred either on racial or on religious bigotry, on national expansionist ambitions or on the undue weakness of a country proximate to another if it is perceived that the one could pose a security danger to the other.

151. Racial and religious intolerance within the borders of a country is self-defeating when it comes to the national purpose of unity, and strength through unity. It is inappropriate for nationals of a country to be divided on grounds of race, but it is incomprehensible for people of an ethnic group or any other group to be divided and persecuted on the grounds of their religious beliefs. To impose restraints on people because of their belief is an attempt to muzzle thought. Persecution has never in the history of mankind been able to eliminate religious belief. It not only generates, not unnaturally, fear and caution, but also strengthens faith and attracts adherents. The Christian religion is a case in point. The Charter of the United Nations supports freedom of worship and religion as a fundamental human right. It is therefore not interference in the domestic affairs of another country, where there are violations of the Charter on this ground, to urge an end to the persecution of people because of their religious or political belief. Humanity and compassion demand that as a country we do so. We seek respect for our institutions and will require that those who act in conflict with provisions of the Charter desist from so doing.

152. It is being contended that the world economy is coming out of its long recession—that is, of course, if viewed from the vantage point of the indexed growth of the different sectors of the world's highly industrialized economies. Seen from the small and developing economies, the scenario is different.

153. Further, it is being suggested that the developing and underdeveloped countries will benefit from the end of the recession and the expansion of the economy of the industrialized countries. The only question is how and when. We will, it is said, benefit from the much talked about trickle-down effect. But this supposes that, as the industrialized economies expand through greater consumer demand for basic products, the poor countries will benefit from increased purchases of their primary products and, through this increased demand, obtain higher prices. In this way some of the accumulated wealth of the industrialized countries through purchases will trickle down to poorer countries and throughout different sectors of the economy.

154. We do not doubt that the trickle-down effect will occur. The problem is within what time frame and the rate of that trickle. In the underdeveloped and developing countries, we need—and this is in an analogous manner—much water to survive, not a trickle. The pool must be filled quickly if millions are to survive and if death and suffering are to be averted. Where the land is dry and thirsty, the trickle will disappear and the land will still be thirsty. The trickle creates a mirage, wets the thirst, heightens expectation and makes the thirst all the more unbearable. We need more than the trickle. We need an increased flow to fill the pond quickly, so that the thirst might be assuaged.

155. If this nascent recovery is to grow, underdeveloped and developing countries must have, not a trickle, but an increased flow of aid to stimulate further world trade and promote meaningful development in the world that now lives in hope and expectation. Notwithstanding existing national programmes of bilateral assistance, there is need for increased flows of funding to regional and international institutions for loans to poorer countries to enhance governmental efforts and to ensure the dynamism of growth in the expectant world—a world characterized by high birth and mortality rates, unemployment, disease and chronic poverty, persistent balance-of-payments problems or budgetary deficits.

156. The developing and underdeveloped parts of the world represent a very significant portion of the world's population. Our economy represents the greatest potential for expansion because of our low economic base. All funding therefore for expanding growth in these areas will be for the mutual benefit of the industrialized countries as well as the developing and underdeveloped. The interdependence of the world economy is not a cliché; it is a fact of life. To forget this is to have a distorted vision of the real world. We cannot stand alone or aloof. We must either stand together to succeed, or stand alone or in small groups and fail.

157. We of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines urge the 24 rich countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and others, such as those of the Development Assistance Committee, to contribute in a more generous manner to the resources of the International Development Association and to the International Finance Corporation. If the present recovery is to be strengthened further there is need for a strong injection of concessionary capital. A strong level of support must be directed to IMF to assist debtor countries in tiding over their balance-of-payments problems. It is, I believe, the only way to improve liquidity and advance world-wide

trade, coupled with measures taken to reduce interest rates. World prosperity, as I have said, is an indispensable and interdependent effort; let us not believe that size, industrial strength or wealth can change that. We may all sink together with adverse consequences for all, though it may be more severe for some than others; or we can all rise together in common prosperity for the present and in the future. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines hopes that the world community will rise together.

158. Present problems have compelled others to ask: is there not the need for a new economic order? Whether or not that question is valid we must accept that the 1944 world of Bretton Woods, the world of Harry Dexter White and John Maynard Keynes, has changed drastically—and that is, I may say, decidedly for the better today, even though problems exist. A world now in which more national pride and consciousness exist, a world in which stultified human resources no longer exist or are not as pervasive and are now liberated for the forward motion of nation-building, the development of society and of the total individual, was then a world where less than 50 countries—most of them rulers—ruled the rest. Today 158 Member States are represented in the Assembly, more than three times the number in 1944, including many of the ruled. It is clear, then, that the reality of 1944 must be different from that of today. Whether the institutions of Bretton Woods are changed is not the only question, but rather the acceptance that there is need for serious examination of the institutions and their effectiveness in meeting the needs of the newer Members and how best they can respond to those needs.

159. There is a Commonwealth initiative in this area. It needs the support of the Assembly. We are to ensure that the international machinery functions fairly, that GATT works fairly, that UNCTAD functions in the best interest of all, and that the World Bank and IMF do not become an exclusive club of rich countries and thereby not respond effectively to the needs of the poor.

160. We still live in a world with divided countries and where effort is being made either by both parts of the divided country or by one to have a unified country and end the separation of family and friends to create greater strength out of unity. Some of these divided countries possess large populations the continued division of which will create strains and tensions in the international community. To achieve reunification will never be easy, but the path of dialogue must be pursued to find the ground for common understanding and thereby dissolve the fears and mistrust that exist among the peoples of divided countries. We—all of us—should consequently endeavour to promote this process. Once again I urge that, where admission to the world Organization is required and possible, no part of a divided country which wishes to participate in the councils of the Assembly should be denied that right through the exercise of a veto. I believe that course of action to be right, if our search here is for the reduction of tension.

161. For yet another year we seem incapable of bringing peace by our collective efforts to troubled Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Western Sahara and Central America. The partition of Lebanon is beginning to take place before our very eyes. Spheres of influence are being established. After three years the war between Iran and Iraq still continues, with periodic intensity and the potential for escalation. All those events seek to make a mockery of the Charter of the United Nations. The Charter is our servant, if we would let it serve us. Our predecessors, the framers, were determined then to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and thereby end untold sorrow for mankind. They reaffirmed their faith

in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the individual, with equal rights for all and for nations large and small.

162. They were determined to establish conditions to promote social progress, a better life in greater freedom with justice and with respect for international obligations. They accepted that there was need for tolerance and to live as nations together in peace.

163. It would be well for all of us here, the heirs and inheritors, who today bear the torch, lit on 26 June 1945 at San Francisco, to recommit ourselves to the principles enshrined in Article 1, Article 2, paragraphs 3 and 4, and Article 33 of the Charter.

164. Why must the peace process be so difficult and the conditions for maintaining the means for waging war so relatively easy? Is it the fear to offend which makes us so tolerant of injustice or are we so frustrated by the hopelessness of finding solutions that we have begun to become uncaring spectators? If we accept that we are powerless to act, when will sanity be restored and who will restore that sanity? When will the voices of countless thousands of innocent old men, women and children rise up world-wide to plead with us to end their suffering and possible death? When will the young, who are combatants and who no longer control their destiny, be spared the certain future of death or dismemberment? When will they own their lives to build a future in keeping with their vision of that future?

165. It may be that peace may always and forever be an illusion, or perhaps, on a world basis, never attainable. But can we accept that this is to be the bleak future for mankind? It must not be. To enjoy the fullest experience in life we must all have hope—that hope that brings reassurance that we can work for a peaceful world order. This must be our hope if we are to banish the spectre of unemployment, poverty and hunger.

166. There must therefore be peace and justice for all in Kampuchea. There must, therefore, be peace and justice for all in Afghanistan. There must be peace and justice for all in Central America. There can be no other way forward. There must be an end to violence. Let us commit ourselves to this purpose. Let us dare to hope that it can be attained.

167. In concluding, it is with great pleasure I welcome the admission of Saint Christopher and Nevis to the United Nations. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines is of the same region and we are members of many of the same regional organizations. Because of this special knowledge I am convinced that Saint Christopher and Nevis, though small, will be a responsible and responsive Member of the world community, and that wise counsel will prevail in her future.

168. I end, as I began, with you, Mr. President, and now wish you a fruitful and tension-reducing term of office. May history record this as a watershed of change. May the economic climate of change expand into a political climate for change. With our right to hope and dream, we should work in our quest for peace and social justice, relentlessly, so that those whose future depends on us may be reassured.

169. Mr. CABRAL D'ALMADA (Guinea-Bissau) (*interpretation from French*)*: Before stating at the Assembly the profound concern of my people and my Government at the numerous problems afflicting the present-day world, I should like first of all to express our most heartfelt congratulations to Mr. Jorge Illueca on his well-deserved election to the presidency of the

thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly and to tell him how pleased we are to see him guiding our work. His election is, in fact, a well earned tribute to his outstanding qualities as a statesman and to his personal qualifications as a fervent defender of the ideals of peace and understanding among nations, and also a tribute to his country, the Republic of Panama, with which the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, of course, has the best relations of friendship and co-operation. My delegation is convinced that under his presidency and thanks to his great competence and his profound knowledge of the fundamental issues of international life, the work of this session will fully respond to the aspirations of our peoples by making an appreciable contribution to the analysis of the principal world problems discussed here and to the maintenance of international peace and security. It is a great honour for me on this occasion to express to his predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai, our deep appreciation for the tireless efforts, the dedication and the great skill that he placed at the service of the United Nations and of its aims throughout his term of office.

170. We also convey our most sincere gratitude and admiration to the Secretary-General for his constant dedication to the search for satisfactory solutions to the many problems, conflicts and tensions that unceasingly threaten the world with the danger of a new irremediable deterioration of the international situation that could have terrible consequences. Since this is the first time that I have the honour of speaking before the Assembly, I am all the more pleased to take this opportunity to congratulate him and to tell him how much my country appreciates his objective and lucid report on the work of the United Nations [A/38/1].

171. I should like, in this respect, to reiterate here the complete readiness of the Government of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to work towards the complete realization of the goals that have been established, the measures proposed and the solutions envisaged in our work for world peace, development, the establishment of harmonious relations of friendship and co-operation among nations, and the constant strengthening of the United Nations role and its capacity for action.

172. The present deplorable international situation, which challenges the most precious moral and legal values of human civilization and shakes its very foundations, requires from all a measure of understanding, effort and goodwill, without which the structural and objective reordering of its co-ordinates will be merely a utopian dream.

173. These facts confirm more than ever before the urgent need for joint and resolute action on the part of the great family of nations, aimed at establishing a true era of change and a struggle for the attainment of a world of progress and justice.

174. The constant expansion of the membership of this family since the birth of the Organization is tangible proof of the irreversible nature of the process of growing awareness on the part of the peoples of their inalienable rights and of the need for them to participate fully in international affairs.

175. That is why my Government is deeply pleased to welcome the admission of Saint Christopher and Nevis as a full-fledged Member of our Organization. We wish it every success in the building of a new State and in the promotion of social and economic development.

176. We are particularly pleased that the admission of that new Member coincides with the celebration by our people and its guiding political organization, the PAIGC,⁷ of the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of the independent State of Guinea-Bissau.

*Mr. Cabral D'Almada spoke in Portuguese. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

177. The problems besetting the present world and the ills that endanger its development prospects are many and, we fear, are becoming increasingly complex. The reactivation of the cold war, the resurgence of the arms race, of arbitrary conduct and of contempt for the most basic rules of international law and of the principles that govern relations among States, and the general deterioration of the world economy are all, in fact, of unprecedented significance today. With that dramatic picture as a backdrop, we see our own responsibilities increased. That is especially true since our people still expect us to take specific action in pursuit of the aims enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

178. In spite of the historic strengthening of the interdependence of peoples and economies, we see a striking accentuation of the basic contradiction of our day, that is, the inexorable widening of the economic gap between nations and the increasingly marked division of the world into rich regions and countries, on the one hand, and poor and needy regions and countries on the other. The disquieting decline of the per capita gross domestic product in a large number of developing countries, the alarming deficit in their balance of payments and the burden of their foreign debt are among the particularly serious consequences of the crisis in the existing world economic system.

179. In such a situation, the inadequacy of the measures currently proposed unfortunately make it unlikely that there will be a recovery of the world economy, in the long term or the short term, or that we shall be able to achieve the goals of the new international economic order and the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56*]. However, we have ample reason to promote positive and beneficial interdependence for all as it is clear that progress in the developing countries will contribute to a recovery of the world economy and to the progressive elimination of the structural imbalances that characterize it today.

180. No member of the international community, regardless of its economic potential, can remain indifferent to the stagnation of the volume of international trade, unparalleled since the Second World War, or to the recession, which is more extensive and damaging than the great depression of the 1930s.

181. The development plans and the economic recovery programmes of the developing countries designed to deal with the steady deterioration of their economies cannot have the desired stabilizing effects without the appropriate support of the international community at large and without appropriate action through the existing instruments and machinery for co-operation and development aid.

182. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau has not been spared the harmful effects of the present world economic situation, whose burdens compound the burdensome heritage of colonial domination and the climatic vicissitudes of the Sudano-Sahelian region to which it belongs. Realizing the need to respond to that situation with a coherent strategy, my country is now working to attain the objectives of its first four-year development plan and its programme for economic and financial stabilization.

183. Those objectives and the measures adopted with a view to their implementation are known to all our economic partners. We take this opportunity to reiterate our Government's invitation to them to participate in the conference of donor countries which will be held at the beginning of 1984.

184. The situation of the least developed countries, of which the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is one, has in no way improved in recent years. For some, the situation has steadily deteriorated.

185. The need to deal with conditions of extreme poverty and to guarantee that the basic needs of the populations of those countries are met, on the one hand, and the search for a solution to economic and financial problems, on the other, are facing those countries with an unprecedented dilemma.

186. The acute crisis in multilateral co-operation today, the adoption of purely temporary and partial measures, the protectionist barriers imposed by certain developed countries on imports from the developing countries, the constant deterioration of the terms of trade and the plunge of commodity prices, the uncertainty of food supplies, the marked decline in preferential development aid—to mention but a few of the most important factors—all constitute obstacles to the remedying of the already desperate situation of those countries.

187. With the adoption by the General Assembly of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] as well as resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI) concerning the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, new development prospects appeared which seemed to promise a better future.

188. It is none the less regrettable to have to note today the meagre progress achieved in the implementation of these resolutions. The global negotiations outlined in resolution 34/138, which still constitute one of the international community's most important initiatives in the field of multilateral economic co-operation, remain on our agenda. As was fittingly stressed at the seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held last March at New Delhi, those negotiations would undoubtedly give a new impetus to multilateral co-operation in the principal sectors of the world economy and would promote the implementation of measures adopted within the framework of the International Development Strategy.

189. It is also regrettable that the excellent opportunity offered by the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was not seized to give the North-South dialogue the momentum it needs for the adoption of measures which could meet the requirements of development and of overcoming the present world economic crisis.

190. By adopting the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, the international community took a decisive step towards harmonizing the shared aspirations of mankind to peace and co-operation. We join other Members of this Organization in appealing to all countries to sign and promptly ratify that important instrument.

191. The danger of nuclear war, the unprecedented proliferation of nuclear weapons and the squandering of vast human, material, financial and technical resources on an unproductive and wasteful arms race make it urgent that we adopt measures to give momentum to the at present deadlocked process of achieving general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

192. To that end we encourage the replacement of negative and hasty attitudes by a constructive approach to disarmament questions, thus making it possible to consider objectively the various proposals made in this sphere with the primary objective of safeguarding international peace and security.

193. Another important disarmament measure is the creation of zones of peace in various parts of the world

on the basis of arrangements freely reached among the States of the regions concerned. In this connection we welcome the international community's initiatives aimed at the demilitarization and denuclearization of regions such as the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean and the African continent.

194. From this rostrum we echo the voices of peoples thirsting for freedom, peace and justice in condemning most forcefully the injustices that prevail in international relations and the forces that continue to oppose the elimination of relations based on inequality, domination, exploitation and racial discrimination.

195. In the Middle East, the Palestinian people continues to confront Israel's shameful violation of its legitimate and inalienable right to a dignified and prosperous life. The Zionist régime of Israel is seeking by all possible means to affirm and consolidate its presence in the occupied Arab territories. Since the annexation of the Golan Heights, the West Bank of the Jordan and the City of Jerusalem, Israel has been manoeuvring ceaselessly to impose its civil administration in the occupied territories and to change the political, cultural, religious, demographic and geographical characteristics of those territories.

196. The Palestinian people and its sole legitimate representative, the PLO, have countered these aggressive acts with an unshakable determination to develop their just fight to safeguard their national interests and recover the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence and to establish its own independent sovereign State on its national territory, in conformity with the resolutions of the General Assembly.

197. In addition, acts of aggression, destabilization and provocation are directed daily against the sovereign people of Lebanon. Israel tramples on, and thus challenges, the fundamental rules and values forged by human civilization, as well as the independence, security and territorial integrity of that Arab country.

198. By deliberately attacking the Iraqi nuclear installations, Israel not only demonstrated its utter disdain for the sovereignty of other peoples, but also clearly violated established international rules regarding, *inter alia*, international peace and security and the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

199. In southern Africa the forces of progress continue to confront *apartheid*, racial discrimination and the persistence of the colonial tyranny promoted by the racist régime of South Africa.

200. The untenable situation caused by Pretoria's policy of oppression against the Namibian people and by its continued acts of aggression and destabilization against the independent front-line States—especially Angola, Mozambique and, most recently, Lesotho—constitute a serious threat to peace and security in the region.

201. The delaying tactics aimed at setting the stage for continued colonial domination of that African territory, Namibia and, in particular, the absurd thesis making the independence of Namibia dependent on the withdrawal of Cuban international forces from Angola, can at most result in the postponement of the liberation of the Territory, which is the inevitable outcome of the legitimate struggle of its people.

202. The allegedly constitutional and political plans within the framework of the concept of a so-called internal settlement, advocated by South Africa with the aim of consolidating the illegal occupation of Namibia and the plundering of its natural wealth by foreign interests, constitute an intolerable violation of the provisions of the

Charter and reflect the brazenness and arrogance of the *apartheid* régime.

203. The sole valid basis for a peaceful and final settlement of the question of Namibia remains Security Council resolution 435 (1978). That is why we appeal earnestly to the various United Nations organs, the Security Council in particular, and to all Member countries, as well as to international organizations which are not within the United Nations system, to spare no effort to ensure the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia.

204. For its part, the people of South Africa, under the leadership of the African National Congress, is facing with heroism and self-sacrifice the infamous and systematic acts of oppression, discrimination and division directed at the overwhelming majority of the South African population.

205. The question of Namibia and the wave of instability and violence which is engulfing the southern part of the African continent are closely related to the inhuman nature and policy of the Pretoria régime, which constitute the nucleus and the profound cause of the intolerable political situation prevailing in that region. The people of Guinea-Bissau reiterates its fraternal, constant and unconditional support for the just causes of the Namibian and South African peoples, as well as for the firm determination of the front-line States to defend their independence and their national sovereignty, particularly the People's Republic of Angola, which has been obliged to bear the heavy burden of the harmful policies of the South African régime, as a result of the unconditional support that Angola provides to the national liberation struggle led by SWAPO.

206. In view of the particularly difficult hardships endured by the Angolan people as a result of the occupation of the southern part of its national territory by South African forces and in view of the escalation of aggression and the destabilization manoeuvres perpetrated by the *apartheid* régime, we strongly urge the international community to respond by means of concrete support and effective moral and material assistance to the Angolan people's appeals for solidarity.

207. The struggle of the people of Western Sahara for the exercise of its right to self-determination, which has found its highest expression in the proclamation of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic, deserves our complete support. The nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held in the capital of Ethiopia last June, made it possible to move forward along the path of dialogue with a view to arriving at a just, peaceful and definitive solution to that thorny problem which threatens the peace and security of north-west Africa. Therefore we urgently appeal to the parties to the dispute, the Kingdom of Morocco and POLISARIO,⁵ to work in a spirit of good will and peace towards the strict implementation of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on the Western Sahara [see A/38/312].

208. The tragic situation prevailing in Chad and the sad fate of the people of that African country, which has been the victim for more than two decades of internecine struggle aggravated by incessant foreign interference and intervention, are a source of profound concern to us. The final elimination of the tension, divisions and instability that afflict that country can be attained only through strict respect for its national independence and its territorial integrity. We encourage the starting of immediate and constructive negotiations between the parties concerned with a view to the peaceful solution to the internal differences so as to arrive at the effective and immediate

cessation of all hostilities and the prompt withdrawal of all foreign forces from Chad, thus ensuring the establishment of a lasting peace there and the economic reconstruction of the country.

209. We sincerely hope to see the final settlement of the territorial questions still outstanding, in particular the Comorian island of Mayotte, the Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India islands, belonging to the Democratic Republic of Madagascar and the Chagos Archipelago, including Diego García, which is under the sovereignty of Mauritius.

210. We also express our constant and fraternal solidarity with the struggle of the brotherly people of East Timor, under the leadership of FRETILIN,⁸ for the recovery of its national rights and its liberation from Indonesian oppression and repression. In this regard, my delegation supports the proposal by the Secretary-General, approved by the General Assembly, for the inscription of the question of East Timor on the agenda of the next session.

211. Furthermore, we support the legitimate efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to reunify the Korean homeland peacefully and without foreign interference.

212. The disquieting situation prevailing in South-East and South-West Asia is fraught with serious consequences for peace and stability in those regions. In our view, this situation can be reversed only by global political solutions based on dialogue and negotiations with the participation of all the parties concerned and on respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all the States of the region and their right to determine their own destiny.

213. The conflict between Iran and Iraq continues to be a source of profound concern for the international community. The gravity of its implications for the two parties and for the region confirms the wisdom of the principle of the Charter concerning the inadmissibility of the settlement of international disputes by the use of force. The higher interests of the fraternal peoples of those two members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Organization of the Islamic Conference require that that fratricidal conflict be brought to an end and that measures be taken for a rapid negotiated settlement of the question.

214. While welcoming the intensification of the efforts made by the Secretary-General and the continuation of the intercommunal dialogue in the Republic of Cyprus, we cannot fail to express our concern at the occupation of part of the territory of that independent State. We hope that a just and final solution will at last be found to that problem in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and of the Non-Aligned Movement, safeguarding the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of Cyprus and promoting the return of Cypriot refugees.

215. The international community cannot remain indifferent to the continued tension prevailing in Latin America and in the Caribbean. The serious political, economic and social crisis in the countries of those regions, due in part to the existence of traditional structures, repressive régimes and inadequate economic structures that lead to poverty and favour social inequality, is incessantly aggravated by interference and intervention from outside.

216. In such a situation it is essential for those States to be enabled in all independence to resolve their internal problems and work towards the establishment of conditions conducive to peace, development and the well-being of their respective populations and that of the region at

large. In this regard, we reiterate our firm solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of the region aimed at the construction of democratic and progressive societies, and we support the efforts made, particularly by Cuba and Nicaragua, to safeguard the accomplishments of their revolutions, their national independence and their right to free economic and social development.

217. Furthermore, Guinea-Bissau expresses its support for the action of the Contadora Group countries in promoting a political, comprehensive and lasting solution to the problems confronting the peoples of that region.

218. Our debates reflect the general concern of the members of the international community at the world situation which is today more complex than in the past and which requires renewed efforts on the part of all in order to retrace its dismal co-ordinates.

219. As we do every year, we are dealing with the most delicate problems of international life and, as in every year, differences of opinion will appear in the analysis of these problems—differences which will in turn be reflected in the nature of solutions proposed.

220. This, however, in no way prevents us from being each time more optimistic as to the final outcome of our efforts to build a world free of threats, conflicts, poverty and insecurity.

221. To that end, the contribution we each make and the political will with which we implement our resolutions will be decisive, regardless of the respective economic or military might of each of our countries.

222. On behalf of the people and the Government of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, I wish to convey to the Président our wish for the success of the thirty-eighth session and reiterate to him our firm resolve to make, together with the other members of the international community, untiring efforts to attain the objectives of peace, justice and social progress so dear to mankind.

223. Mr. SALLE (Central African Republic) (*interpretation from French*): I should like at the outset to express the hope of the Central African Republic, its Government and its President, General André Kolingba, that the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly will make a valuable contribution to strengthening our Organization and enhancing its effectiveness in defending the ideals of peace, security and progress.

224. It is also an honour for me to congratulate the President on his election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session.

225. I should also like to take this opportunity to hail the considerable efforts made by his predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai, during his term of office.

226. I wish in particular to re-emphasize our country's support for the Secretary-General.

227. The qualities that distinguish each of these persons and their total devotion to the cause of the Organization are all the more reassuring in that they have been displayed in a very troubled and disturbed world.

228. Finally, my delegation congratulates Saint Christopher and Nevis on its accession to independence and warmly welcomes its admission to the United Nations.

229. In order to create certain conditions likely to make for a happier century, the United Nations has from the very outset drawn up a series of important covenants on human rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the thirty-fifth anniversary of which we are celebrating this year, is without any doubt the most prestigious of instruments in view of its impact on the political and constitutional life of States. The covenants, conventions and other instruments which subsequently

completed this Declaration by emphasizing civil and political rights and economic, cultural and social rights, have provided the international community with a legal framework which is well adapted to mould a world where noble aspirations are met so that the agony of hope can continue.

230. The energies to be channelled should be aimed at promoting and enshrining human rights so that human beings can, individually and collectively, in freedom and dignity, flourish physically, mentally, socially and economically, without any discrimination.

231. Nevertheless, numerous attacks have eroded and endangered these rights both within our States and between them. Accession to these covenants has not yet given rise on a world-wide scale to any encouraging progress for the freedom, dignity and security of human beings—that is, progress in their formulation and their interpretation and the specific meaning to give to them.

232. Freedom and the dignity of the human being is not simply a question of paying lip-service to the sacred and unquestionable values which are inherent in them.

233. They also mean as a necessary corollary that each of our States must be in charge of its main material means, cultural resources and economic heritage. Indeed, what are freedom and dignity in poverty and deprivation? The erosion of freedom and dignity is the consequence of these evils which have been engendered and maintained by the inequities of the present political, social and economic order which is the very quintessence of indifference, contempt, intolerance and violence.

234. That is why the Central African Republic, whose principles and ideals of non-alignment remain at the heart of its foreign policy, considers that the state of the world can improve only if within each State everyone cherishes the love for his neighbour and at the same time cultivates generosity and solidarity aimed at promoting freedom, security and development.

235. The Central African Republic for its part has embodied in its internal legislation the main provisions contained in the international covenants guaranteeing essential human rights. It has maintained contact with the various international bodies whose task it is to ensure their implementation.

236. Thus, despite the burdensome heritage of the storm-tossed history of the past 14 years, the Military Committee of National Reconstruction has proceeded to focus its efforts on realizing all the progress required to give new hope to the people of the Central African Republic and fan the flames of a faith that will make it possible for them better to appreciate the dimensions and the terrors of the nightmare they have gone through.

237. There must also be generosity and solidarity between States in order to promote freedom and dignity throughout the world.

238. If States made a requirement of that ideal, there can be no doubt that the present circumstances surrounding international relations would be considerably modified in favour of respect for the sovereignty of States and the aspirations of the peoples still struggling for their political emancipation.

239. The current session is being held at a time when some negotiations are being broken off or are deadlocked, thus reinforcing the frequently expressed feeling that our Organization is powerless to settle conflicts and supporting the belief that international relations are based on cynicism. The Central African Republic is convinced, however, that the Organization remains the most effective framework for the settlement of these matters, involving

as they do universal principles and ideals. The Organization, as it has shown in certain circumstances, is quite equal to the task of providing solutions to the problems which face the international community, as long as each of its Members accepts and acts and behaves in accordance with the vocation of the Organization.

240. In this connection, the situations which persist in certain parts of the world, particularly Africa, the Middle East, Asia and America, should continue to be given special attention by the international community.

241. It is intolerable that Namibia continues to be deprived of its right to freedom and self-determination simply because of the will of one over-confident State that continues to defy the Organization. The Central African Republic is one of the countries which, at the end of the International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence held last April in Paris, felt that the decisions adopted at that time should not remain a dead letter.

242. The Member States of the Organization should contribute actively to the implementation of those resolutions so that Namibia could no longer serve as a pretext for South African acts of aggression against other States of the region, but should accede immediately to independence, without any pre-conditions, under the leadership of SWAPO, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

243. We cannot but denounce the obstinacy displayed by the South African authorities in their attempts to perpetuate the odious system of *apartheid* and in their recourse to summary and barbaric executions, the most recent of which shocked the entire world. Let us hope that these crimes will strengthen the ardent faith of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa who struggle for their freedom and their flouted dignity.

244. It is that same demand for freedom and dignity that will make it possible for the peoples of Western Sahara to choose their own future and lead to the reconciliation of the States in that part of Africa, which will undoubtedly help to bring peace to that region which is so vital to the destiny of the African continent. This is inherent in the bold initiatives adopted last June at the nineteenth session of the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [*ibid.*].

245. Closer to the Central African Republic, the great people of Chad have for more than a decade been experiencing a tragedy whose serious effects threaten the stability of the central African region. Chad has been experiencing untold suffering, brought about and maintained by intolerable interference in its internal affairs. We appeal for the immediate cessation of that interference and of the hostilities. The Central African Republic, faithful to the major principles underlying international relations, supports the legitimate Government of Chad in its efforts to defend its territorial integrity, and condemns the act of aggression which is undermining the authority of the State and the national unity.

246. Consequently, my country associates itself with any action that circumstances may dictate to thwart the shameful efforts to undermine the legitimacy of the Government of Chad and Chad's sovereignty.

247. This is the context in which to assess the generous assistance given to the people of Chad at their express request by their friends. The Central African Republic welcomes this attitude, which will create the conditions necessary for national reconciliation in Chad and peace in the subregion.

248. Deprived of its right to freedom and dignity, the Palestinian people seem to be doomed to wandering. We all deplore this, but we have been powerless to do anything about this for the past 30 years. These people, united behind the PLO, have been dispersed and shaken by a serious crisis of identity caused by their enemies. They have been used as an excuse to tear Lebanon apart and intimidate other States in the region. Their frustration and bitterness will not be contained indefinitely if the international community does not at last ensure the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions recognizing their right as well as that of Israel to a free, sovereign and guaranteed existence.

249. The situation is little better in the rest of the world.

250. States must agree on concerted action to ensure that United Nations resolutions on the question of Democratic Kampuchea are implemented. It is unacceptable nowadays for certain States to occupy the territory of others, without regard for their freedom, dignity and sovereignty. The usurped national rights of Kampuchea and Afghanistan must be restored.

251. The Korean peninsula has become an increasingly serious subject of concern in view of the threats there to peace. The Central African Republic believes that it is urgently necessary to make this nerve centre a zone of peace. Only then will the two parties concerned be able to make effective use of the South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972,⁹ which is a valid basis for a free dialogue which could lead to the peaceful reunification of the Korean people, without any foreign interference.

252. The situation in Central America is no less disturbing. The Central African Republic appeals to the parties to show the political will to reduce tension through negotiations and bring peace back to that part of the world.

253. If it is true that States must cultivate solidarity and generosity to promote freedom and dignity, it is equally true that these same ideals must be the means of combating those factors which encourage insecurity and a holocaust.

254. Action against civilian aircraft which makes victims of the innocent is unjustifiable in our eyes and contrary to the rules of international civil aviation. These ignoble acts clearly demonstrate the underlying desire to create tension and division and perpetrate crimes against peoples which aspire to unity and peace. They remind us how fragile is peace and how necessary it is to combat the factors that underlie the conflicts.

255. The proliferation of sophisticated weapons of mass destruction is not likely to bring about a propitious climate for the cause of freedom and dignity in the world.

256. The Central African Republic, while deploring the deadlock in the negotiations on disarmament, expresses the hope that members of the international community will engage in concerted and sustained action to reduce and curb the arms race and make possible general, complete and verified disarmament and the transfer of the efforts and resources thus released to the process of development. There would then emerge a kind of solidarity and generosity regarding development which would protect mankind from the scourges from which it suffers at present.

257. Such solidarity and generosity concerning development are essential, for that alone can make the end of our century a happier time in which to live, or at least a less gloomy and austere time. This is the kind of solidarity and generosity that is defined in the philosophy that guides our head of State and President of the Military Committee of National Recovery, General André

Kolingba, in his ceaseless action over the past two years to bring about the reconstruction and development of the Central African Republic.

258. In view of the heavy burden on his shoulders, the Central African head of State, putting particular emphasis on the national effort, proposed to the Central African people a contract of solidarity, entailing huge sacrifices, for the development of the key sectors of the national economy. Priority has of course been given to agriculture in order to achieve self-sufficiency in food.

259. From my delegation's point of view, this kind of solidarity and generosity at the national level can be transferred to the international level if we truly wish to tackle the economic crisis which spares no country today. In an impulse of solidarity, States must help one another contain the effects of this crisis, namely inflation, increased interest rates with consequences for the burden of debt, restriction or even refusal of access to markets and to capital, an unprecedented fall in raw materials prices, the drying-up of multilateral sources of finance—all further aggravated by difficult access to technology and the inadaptability of the present international monetary and financial system.

260. Two thirds of mankind, mainly the least developed countries and above all the land-locked countries like the Central African Republic which have been heavily penalized, had legitimate hopes in the results of the 1982 Williamsburg Summit of Industrialized Nations and in the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held recently at Belgrade. Unfortunately, it has to be noted that the results of those two meetings fell short of expectations.

261. If we must wait for the economic recovery to begin and to take shape in the countries of the North for attention to be paid to the position of the countries of the South, then what will happen to the latter as the crisis seems to be increasingly permanent rather than merely temporary? It must be clear to everyone that what is now involved is essentially the structures on which international economic relations are based today. Those structures can no longer support the economic exchanges among States. They must be modified, but that presupposes a meeting of minds.

262. The failure of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which should have given us another opportunity to restore the North-South dialogue, patently reveals the refusal of the countries of the North to join in such a meeting of minds.

263. Such a refusal will serve only to prolong the crisis. Just as the international community cannot be satisfied for long with a dialogue based on crisis where various proposals merely reflect the situation in certain countries, neither can it be satisfied with negotiations on a sectoral basis. As the crisis is global, a global solution must be found for it. Only global negotiations can get the North-South dialogue out of this impasse and lead it to a new stage on the road towards true international co-operation based on justice and equity.

264. We are still most shocked by the failure of the sixth session of the Conference. But we should like to hope that the countries of the North will understand that it is desperately urgent to adopt emergency measures to deal with the most serious problems of the developing countries. This will be a sign of active solidarity and would be to the credit of mankind.

265. I cannot conclude my statement without addressing to the Secretary-General, to his associates, to international institutions inside and outside the United Nations family and to contributing States the most sincere thanks

of the people and Government of the Central African Republic for having responded to the appeal reiterated by the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly for assistance for the reconstruction, rehabilitation and development of the Central African Republic [resolution 37/145]. The recent calamities that have struck my country have seriously disrupted the economy and the fulfilment of the aid programme under way. In order to limit their harmful effects, we alerted the international community at the time and requested emergency action.

266. The Central African Republic is grateful to the Assembly for its attention and it hopes that efforts can be mobilized to increase assistance to it. It is in this spirit that we shall propose, in the Second Committee, the renewal of that resolution and we hope for broad support from Member States.

267. In a constantly changing world, the Organization strives to ensure that its principles—and only its principles—will govern international relations. This is a difficult task in view of the real state of affairs but it deserves to be followed up and supported. Born of political will, the United Nations, which suffers the consequences of the political weight of its Member States, should be able to rely on them in order to achieve success in its action.

268. It is thus clear that the state of the world can be only what the States wish it to be: a world free of tension and relations of domination, a world where States, organized in a framework like the United Nations, would engage in concerted, unified and generous action with a view to defending certain values such as freedom, development, prosperity and peace.

269. That is possible. We can achieve that if we want to. Just as a coalition was created to defeat fascism during the Second World War, a similar coalition can be created to adapt international relations to the new shape of the world.

270. This is really what two thirds of mankind expect today from the international community, gathered within the United Nations, which must satisfy their hopes. In this way new prospects would be opened up towards making this century a happier and more pleasant one in which to live.

271. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

272. Mr. LATIFI (Islamic Republic of Iran): The Foreign Minister of Jordan, in his speech to the General Assembly [19th meeting], brought up certain issues regarding the imposed war which require some clarification on the part of my delegation.

273. When the then victorious army of aggression and occupation was marching into my homeland—the Islamic Republic of Iran—in some areas as far as one thousand kilometres deep, many imperialist puppets and stooges

in the area were generally helping the aggressors psychologically and materially. Jordan was the first to send its ambitious troops to support the aggressor. We have even seen the face of King Hussein of Jordan on a television screen when he came to review his troops in my homeland. In order to give psychological encouragement to his troops, some of whom are now in our prisoner-of-war camps, King Hussein of Jordan even pulled the trigger of a cannon which was aimed at the civilian quarters, schools and hospitals of Dezful. Now, after the expulsion of the aggressors, his Foreign Minister is producing a statement in the Assembly in favour of peace and in support of baseless allegations of Iraqi measures for peace.

274. It is not only hypocrisy; it is also a monumental banality. The Jordanian authorities who officially placed their port facilities under the Iraqi Baathist criminal must have had an unduly low opinion of the Members of the Assembly. It is not fair to attempt to deceive the whole world so simplistically.

275. The Foreign Minister of my country did give explicit answers to all the allegations and unnecessary remarks made by the Foreign Minister of Jordan. The problem is that the Jordanian statement was written long before the Foreign Minister of my country made his speech, and the Foreign Minister of Jordan, who could not modify his statement accordingly, just read what was written for him without realizing that some of his points were by then irrelevant. I would therefore refer the Foreign Minister of King Hussein to the statement we made at the 13th meeting.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1983*, document S/16041.

² *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.

³ *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Paris, 1-14 September 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.82.I.8), part one, sect. A.

⁴ United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21.

⁵ Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

⁶ *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), part one, sect. A.

⁷ Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde.

⁸ Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

⁹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27*, annex I.