United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY



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32nd PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, 13 October 1983, at 3.30 p.m.

NEW YORK

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

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda and organization of work: reports of the General Committee (continued)*

1. The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): In its fourth report [A/38/250/Add.3], the General Committee recommends that the General Assembly consider item 142, entitled "The situation in Central America: threats to international peace and security and peace initiatives", directly in plenary meetings. May I take it that the General Assembly approves that recommendation?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly will now hear a statement by Mr. Solomon Mamaloni, Prime Minister of Solomon Islands. I have great pleasure in welcoming him and inviting him to address the Assembly.

3. Mr. MAMALONI (Solomon Islands): My first and foremost obligation is to convey to the Assembly warm greetings from the people and Government of Solomon Islands. Although I have come some time after the commencement of this particular session, may I extend my most sincere wishes for its success.

4. The people and Government of Solomon Islands warmly salute your election, Sir, as the President of this session. We are confident that with your vast experience as a diplomat you will lead the Assembly's deliberations to a fruitful conclusion.

5. We also wish to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai of Hungary, for his commendable work during the last session.

6. To the ever-hard-working Secretary-General we say this: We are fully aware of the very difficult tasks entrusted to you in your high office. Admirably, your diplomatic tact has over the past year persistently succeeded in bringing about understanding in areas of great conflicts of interests.

7. When, five years ago, my country was admitted as a Member of this great Organization, we were so warmly welcomed by all our friends here. In return for that intimate welcome, the Solomon Islands people and Government have the great pleasure of welcoming Saint Christopher and Nevis to this family of natic ns. We congratulate the people and Government of Saint Christopher and Nevis on their achievement of statehood, and we wish them every success in the years ahead. 8. The purpose of my being here today is twofold: first, to reaffirm the commitment of Solomon Islands to the Charter of the United Nations and its principles; and secondly, to express our concern over certain issues which have important implications for the international community, particularly for the survival of humanity. Solomon Islands has pledged its commitment to the ideals of the Organization in the firm belief that it holds the hope and potential for the betterment of all the peoples around the globe, including our own people in Solomon Islands. We reaffirm this very pledge today. We also pledged five years ago that we would do that which was within our capability and means to promote peace and harmony in the world. We accordingly reaffirm that pledge too.

9. We renew these pledges, including our support for the various organs of the United Nations, with the full realization that Solomon Islands is a small island developing nation whose resources may not go very far towards resolving tensions that threaten the noble aims of the United Nations: to replace war with peace and to live with civilized behaviour instead of violence.

10. Herein lie: our concern. The weapons of war are such that the peace and security of our peoples throughout the world are at stake. Today the situation in parts of Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Middle East and the North Pacific endanger the peace and security not only of the countries of those regions but also of the entire global community.

11. In this respect, we join in the call to bring peace and stability to Lebanon. Our support for the various United Nations resolutions and peace plans for Israel and Palestine is strongly maintained, as we believe these provide a basis for a negotiated and lasting solution.

12. The conflict between Iran and Iraq is most regretted by the Solomon Islands Government. These two oil-rich countries are being torn apart and much suffering has been caused for their peoples. But the overall effects of this conflict are being felt not only by the people of those two countries but elsewhere by the innocent peoples of other countries of the world.

13. My Government strongly believes in the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States and noninterference in the internal affairs of other States. Thus, we earnestly urge those involved to withdraw their forces from Afghanistan and Kampuchea. In relation to Kampuchea we welcome and support the initiative of the Association of South-East Asian Nations for peace and stability in that region.

14. The South Pacific is a stable region, but the situation in Korea, in the North Pacific, poses a threat. The policy of the Solomon Islands Government is that the parties involved must recognize the need for and the necessity of a peaceful settlement through negotiation without outside interference.

15. At this juncture, I wish to state categorically my Government 3 position regarding the two most recent acts of total disregard for human dignity and lives. These two acts are the hallmark of barbarism and insincerity

^{*}Resumed from the 28th meeting.

in terms of the United Nations desire for civilized behaviour. I refer here to the downing of the Korean airliner by a Soviet military aircraft early last month and the bomb blast in Rangoon early this month.

16. Only those with inhuman feelings and thoughts could fail to condemn these premeditated actions causing the loss of human lives. Whatever the reasons, Solomon Islands condemns these incidents, and those responsible must ask themselves whether such acts are in keeping with intentions of the Charter. It is sporadic incidents of this kind which pose a real threat to world peace and civilized human relations.

17. The United Nations has done much for the decolonization process, and we are glad that this is still a top priority. We welcome the Secretary-General's efforts in pursuit of the implementation of the United Nations plan for the liberation of Namibia. The successful achievement of independence by Namibia will be significant for the liberation of the indigenous peoples of southern Africa who are still plagued by the evil system of *apartheid*. This system, in all its manifestations, must be totally eliminated because it is inhuman and uncivilized.

18. Mention has already been made by colleagues from the South Pacific islands region of the question of New Caledonia. My Government upholds the principle of selfdetermination for colonized peoples, and it is therefore our desire to see the smooth transition of New Caledonia to peaceful independence. To this extent, the French Government's intention to move this territory towards an act of self-determination is encouraging. But I sincerely plead that this intention be translated into action, in line with the wishes of the people of New Caledonia. Otherwise, procrastination will inevitably lead to inaction.

19. The international economic situation is also of great concern to the Solomon Islands Government. Just as the world is confronted with the threat of nuclear war and mounting political tensions resulting from the escalating arms race, developing countries such as Solomon Islands are confronted with the gloomy global economic climate. Our independence and nationhood would be quite meaningless without an appreciable degree of viability, but this depends to a very large extent on the recognition and appreciation by the developed countries and multilateral financial institutions of our basic development needs.

20. The greatest challenge that faces the international community is the pursuit of a balanced utilization and distribution of resources on a fair basis, taking into consideration that the ultimate goal of development internationally is the betterment of all mankind. Unfortunately, the prospects of developing countries are getting bleaker as the developed countries advance to new heights of industrialization and sophisticated technology.

21. It is interesting to note that the Williamsburg Declaration on Economic Recovery, issued at the Summit of Industrialized Nations in May of this year, acknowledges that the weight of the recession has fallen heavily on developing countries. Yet no solutions to the third world's problems seem to be in sight. If solutions should be forthcoming, and we hope they will be, then a certain degree of emphasis should be given to all small island States, to give us some slight preference over our bigger third world brother countries. The United Nations and its agencies have a duty to ensure special treatment for small island States like Solomon Islands.

22. Solomon Islands, as an island nation depending on its marine resources for a major part of its livelihood, joins other South Pacific countries in strongly condemning and opposing nuclear testing and the dumping and storage of nuclear waste in the Pacific Ocean. These are inhuman acts and they are a real threat to our economic development. In this regard, I am obliged to point out that Solomon Islands is opposed to and abhors attempts by super-Power rivalries to infiltrate the South Pacific region. In the South Pacific, and I believe in the third world generally, we expect the super-Powers to assist us in our development instead of trying to steer us towards dehumanization and eventual destruction.

23. Our seas and soil provide the main sources of livelihood in Solomon Islands, and their pollution is fatal to our future survival. That is why we attach great importance to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. Solomon Islands is a signatory to this Convention, and steps are being taken to ratify it at the earliest possible opportunity.

24. I am pleased to announce that Solomon Islands has just established its permanent mission here in New York this month. This is a great achievement for us in terms of our foreign relations. In fact, it is our first overseas mission ever, and it reflects the great importance we attach to our commitment to the United Nations and its noble work. For this, we are grateful to Australia and the Commonwealth secretariat for assisting us. Having realized this achievement, Solomon Islands is well placed to request the United Nations Secretariat to examine or review the protocol dealing with the admission of new States as Members and the accreditation of their permanent representatives thereto. I say this out of the experience which the Solomon Islands has had in the past five years. Although Solomon Islands was admitted as a full Member in September 1978, our permanent representative's accreditation was not accepted, merely because we did not have a permanent mission in New York. In our view, this protocol requires serious examination so that small States such as ours are not deprived of their privileges as full Members of the United Nations because of their obvious financial constraints.

25. We have overcome this awkward situation and are now able to meet the cumbersome protocol and procedural requirements. On this basis, let me assure all the representatives that we will now participate more fully in the deliberations of the General Assembly and its committees and ...gencies. I hope, in future sessions, that we will participate with Solomon's wisdom.

26. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank the Prime Minister of Solomon Islands for the important statement he has just made.

Mr. ADJIBADE (Benin) (interpretation from 27. French): Once again representatives of the international community are meeting here, as they do every year. They have come in great numbers to New York to plead the cause of peace, security and co-operation among nations. Mr. President, you have the difficult and important 28. task of presiding over the debates of this session of the General Assembly and guiding the activities of this important body throughout the coming year. The People's Republic of Benin takes pleasure in greeting you as a great friend. We offer you our full congratulations and must say how happy we are at your well-deserved election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session. You represent a country that is proud of its traditions and of the noble ideals of Bolívar, a country with which the People's Republic of Benin has friendly relations that are steadily developing further. Your considerable experience within the United Nations system, your ability, and your determination and patience in the search for truth and for solutions to crises are qualities that we in Benin are familiar with, and we feel that these qualities guarantee that our work will be successful under your far-sighted guidance.

29. Our delegation wishes to express its appreciation also to your predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Hungary, for the exemplary manner in which he presided over the work of the thirtyseventh session and for his active and influential participation in the solution of many of the problems that have faced the international community during the past 12 months.

30. We also address our congratulations to the other members of the General Committee, who will be helping you in your difficult task. The delegation of Benin assures you all of its full co-operation.

31. Lastly, we wish to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General for his excellent report on the work of the Organization [A/38/1], which demonstrates his great qualities of courage, frankness and far-sightedness. We feel that he is someone we can turn to throughout this session as we do our work. We congratulate him most warmly on his laudable efforts and initiatives in the cause of the noble ideals of the Charter, and we reaffirm our unreserved support for him in his difficult task.

32. We take this opportunity to congratulate most warmly Saint Christopher and Nevis, the newest Member of this great family of the United Nations.

33. The picture of the world today is indeed a terrifying one, a source of shame to those who would like to believe that mankind is mature, united and responsible. As we analyse the international situation, we can see that the picture is on all levels even bleaker and more disturbing than it was a year ago.

34. We note with some bitterness that the appeal to mankind for solidarity launched from this rostrum in the general debate at the last session did not lead to the establishment of codes of conduct and examples of systematic and universal application thereof. Interdependence, which affects us equally and is increasingly felt, has not really led to an awareness of the solidarity among nations; far from it. The sacrifices that are required in the name of solidarity will be made only grudgingly or not at all, as the experience of this last year of international affairs has shown us, and it has been a bitter and distressing illustration of that.

35. However, the interdependence of continents and peoples is made imperative by modern industrial civilization, and it should logically lead—and we can only hope that it will—to broad areas of agreement and direct negotiations between the various regions of our planet, in the interest of a just and equitable distribution of the fruits of general economic growth. However, instead of the heights of understanding and fraternity, our world today, on the eve of the third millennium, offers us the spectacle of desolation, chaos and economic warfare.

The inability of many to see the world economy as 36. a single, coherent whole requiring integrated approaches which, going beyond interdependence, are based on solidarity, means that today we are in a situation of world-wide imbalance which, if we are not careful, will lead to an unprecedented catastrophe and disintegration. We are living through an age of crisis, which has assumed increasingly alarming proportions over the past few years. The growth rate of the world economic output, which was only 1.2 per cent in 1980, fell spectacularly and stabilized at a much lower level in 1982. In the developed countries, where makeshift methods were still being used to ease or offset the more obvious effects of the crisis, there is now an awareness of a sad fact that the situation is even worse than it was during the Great Depression. More than 10 per cent of the able-bodied population is now doomed to unemployment.

37. In the area of international trade, the difficulties encountered are enormous and almost insurmountable because of defensive protectionist and short-term monetary policies which the developed countries are using in hopes of checking inflation. The self-preservation reflex which some developed countries seem to be rediscovering adds to the general confusion and aggravates the difficulties inherent in managing the economic crisis, the most obvious contradictions and the most pernicious effects of which are felt in a particularly acute manner by the fragile and precarious economies of the developing countries. The impoverishment of these countries is becoming increasingly obvious. Indeed, over the last two years major losses in foreign currency have been noted, due to a decrease in export earnings and following the carastrophic drop in the prices of commodities which, in real terms, are today no higher than they were during the 1930s. That massive reduction in available foreign exchange for the year 1982 is estimated at \$200 billion despite compensatory measures.

38. The economic crisis, by its devastating impact and debilitating effects, wipes out all that has been achieved and jeopardizes the growth of third world countries. The growth rate of the developing countries fell from 2.9 per cent in 1980 to 0.6 per cent in 1981. The per capita income of many of those countries, particularly the least advanced, has fallen in a disturbing manner. At the end of 1981, the reserves of the developing countries amounted to barely \$100 billion, just enough to finance exports for two months, or for only one month in the particular case of Africa.

39. And yet the debt burden of those countries has increased sharply, reaching \$540 billion, including the debt-servicing burden, which is as high as \$106 billion per year. That situation, paralysing in itself, is further aggravated by the recent and current phenomenon of the rise in the dollar, whose extreme over-evaluation continues most seriously to hamper the ability of the developing countries to repay their debts and thus stifles their economies. The rise in the dollar rate increases and, in fact, multiplies the burden of debt-servicing and emphasizes the extent to which the structural and functional machinery of those countries is dependent on the major financial and industrial centres. Similarly, the balanceof-payments deficit of the countries suffering from this iniquitous situation has risen to \$62 billion in 1982 and is expected to be even worse in 1983.

40. Those factors and many others have forced many developing countries to delay repayment of their loans and to request a rescheduling of their debts, the repayment of which has been made particularly difficult because of the restrictions imposed by the credit institutions of the rich countries, which do not seem particularly willing to seek satisfactory, integrated solutions to the serious economic problems of our world.

41. In these circumstances, one can appreciate the scope of the constructive measures proposed by the heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries for holding global negotiations, the principle of which had been accepted at the Versailles Economic Summit of the seven industrialized countries of the Western world in June 1982. But the intransigence and the lack of any sincere desire to co-operate on the part of the latter soon cast those proposals into limbo, and they have now been locked up in the museum of measures that are left to rot away over time.

42. Despite that rejection and the lack of understanding shown by the family of the industrialized countries, the third world, which includes the majority of non-aligned countries, is intensifying its initiatives and opportunities for holding meetings to reach agreement. For example, there has been the proposal to hold a conference to resolve the problems arising from the situation of the developing countries, and that was accepted in principle during the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. There were also proposals put forward by the Group of 77 in July 1982. All those suggestions, initiatives and proposals are evidence that the third world is always willing to co-operate and hopes that the awareness of the common dangers that haunt us all, rich or poor, small or large, will lead us to open the way to frank and genuine co-operation.

43. Is it not indeed unfortunate that today, when the concept of the post-industrial era is emerging from the distant fog and becoming a reality, the least advanced countries should still be vegetating under unacceptable living conditions and that the problems of food supplies, stabilization of commodity prices and energy resources should still be matters of such serious concern? There is time for the industrialized world to react and at last to show that it is willing to take action to help us out of the crisis by putting an end to the selfish protectionism which is so rife today, thus preventing mankind from sinking forever into social decay and from becoming completely dehumanized, a process already under way on a large scale in the existence and perseverance of *apartheid*, racism, zionism and the sinister and cynical arms race.

44. The delegation of the People's Republic of Benin believes that urgent and radical measures are required to set up new international structures that would precisely prevent the international economy from drifting with the tide of current events. In today's reality of economic power relationships, the individual act of rebellion, the personal commitment or the commitment of a few to break away from the existing evil order, the words spoken by the just are quickly crushed and cruelly trampled upon. This sad realization strengthens the need for unified and coherent action on the part of all countries of the world, particularly the third world countries, whose fate is being decided in the urban centres of the industrialized countries by the transnational corporations.

45. Let us look at what happened to the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which met at Belgrade from 6 June to 2 July 1983. For us, the developing and non-aligned countries, that session presented a special opportunity to review fully and comprehensively the international economic situation and its impact on trade and development, particularly that of the least advanced countries. It was to consider the ramifications of the present crisis in the world economy, which is a manifestation of the structural imbalances of the system, and it was to focus its attention on the urgent need for a recovery of that economy, emphasizing a reactivation of the development process in the third world countries. It was to debate the major international economic problems, and against this background it was to take a position on appropriate measures to get under way a programme for world economic recovery, for growth and sustained development, including measures of structural reform of the world economy.

46. However, contrary to the expectations of the developing countries, the recent meeting at Belgrade came up against the icy intransigence of the rich countries, which meant that the Conference was unable to work out specific proposals that could ensure the desired management of the world economy. The high hopes of the developing countries were dashed because consideration of the implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s for the Least Developed Countries was sabotaged and did not take place.

Despite the repeated appeals of the preparatory 47. meetings held at Baghdad, Libreville, Carthage and Buenos Aires, and addressed particularly to the developed countries, to take maximum advantage of the opportunity of the Belgrade meeting to translate into major political decisions a new spirit of multilateral co-operation, the hopes of the international community were dashed because of the systematic abstention of the rich countries, which refused to co-operate constructively. Thus the problem of the monetary and financial system, which is one of the major areas in which improved international co-operation is necessary, is still in an impasse. The present system continues to be unable to react at the level necessary for a recovery of the world economy and a resumption of development in the least developed countries, because of, *inter alia*, the short-term and introverted polici is of certain developed countries, which are constantly reducing international financial cash flows. The deficit countries still do not have any special weighting in the allocation of special drawing rights.

48. The trade problems of developing countries are further worsened because of the increasingly complex protectionist policies and measures of the developed countries. The proliferation of so-called self-imposed restriction and rationalization measures in trade, and recourse to the arbitrary and unjustified application of compensatory rights, are constantly having a negative impact on the production and export prospects in sectors in which the developing countries were beginning to acquire a relative advantage.

49. In sum, the Belgrade session, like earlier sessions, yielded only meager results. It did not come up with a clear and unambiguous commitment by the developed countries to eschew protectionism.

50. In this setting of unequal and unfair economic warfare our country, the People's Republic of Benin, like all developing countries, particularly those which, like Benin, are least developed, is seriously damaged by this imbalance and uncertainty, which weigh heavily on our fragile economy in this world crisis. In addition to this general situation, we have had climatic problems, such as the drought of 1981 and the floods of 1982, whose impact, particularly on our agricultural sector, caused major reductions in agro-pastoral food and industrial production. The result has been the loss of almost one third of our export earnings.

51. Faced with this situation, the People's Republic of Benin has adopted measures for restructuring the vital sectors of its national economy. A round-table conference of the partners in the economic and social development of Benin was organized in March 1983. Representatives of many friendly countries and international agencies attended this important meeting. We should like to express to them once again our gratitude for the active part they took in our discussions and for the commitments they entered into on behalf of their countries or agencies. We take this opportunity to appeal from this rostrum to all those countries and international organizations and agencies, partners in the economic and social development of Benin, to ensure that the commitments entered into are honoured within the time limits dictated by the erosive action of inflation.

52. The Security Council, in resolution 419 (1977), called on all States and all appropriate international agencies, including the United Nations and its specialized agencies, to provide economic assistance to Benin. In December 1980 the General Assembly, in resolution 35/88, recommended further assistance in the drawing

up of a programme for special economic assistance to Benin—a programme which was endorsed by the General Assembly in 1981 and in 1982. A performance report on this assistance programme will be submitted to the thirty-ninth session. Meanwhile, an interim report has been prepared [A/38/216, sect. III] which shows that despite the real efforts made, there is still much to be done to mobilize the funds required to implement the major projects included in this programme of special economic assistance. It is our hope that through our efforts, together with those of friendly countries and international agencies, we shall be able next year to report to the Assembly the achievement of the objectives of this programme.

53. All developing countries are deeply concerned by the economic problems that I have been describing, and particularly by the state of complete impoverishment in which they are kept by the present international economic order. They are also fully aware of all the political crises created and cynically maintained throughout the world by international imperialism simply to maintain and strengthen that most evil and exploitative system.

54. The delegation of the People's Republic of Benin is deeply concerned over the current situation in southern Africa, which can be explained only by the fact that certain Powers, through their constantly increasing support for the Pretoria régime, are deliberately undermining the efforts of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the United Nations to seek a just solution to the problems of that region of the African continent.

55. The key to the problem of Namibia and of *apartheid* has been removed by Powers which are friendly to racist South America. How else can it be explained that over the years the South African régime, far from negotiating resolutely to promote Namibian independence, has been persisting in its blind repression of the Namibian people and piling delaying tactic upon delaying tactic? How else can it be explained that in spite of the repeated appeals of the international community South Africa has been able to put forward as solutions to the dehumanizing problem of *apartheid* only violence, bantustanization and the continued cowardly assassinations of militants of the African National Congress (ANC)?

56. The continuing occupation of Namibia, the harassment of neighbouring African States, the demeaning and inhuman practice of *apartheid*, and the intransigence, stubbornness and systematic use of large-scale and unheard-of violence by the despised Pretoria régime are an affront and an insult to the conscience of every civilized human being, and a challenge to the international community.

57. The People's Republic of Benin has always supported and will always support the Namibian people, led by its vanguard, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], in all its tribulations until the achievement of complete victory and of an independence free from political or territorial restrictions. We reject out of hand all the delaying and diversionary tactics attempting to link Namibia's independence with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

58. At this session the Assembly must consider and adopt special emergency measures to give effect to Security Council resolution 435 (1978) to ensure that that martyred people can accede without further delay to full independence.

59. The People's Republic of Benin will continue to lend its unreserved support to the courageous struggle of the South African fighters for the final eradication of *apartheid* and for the establishment of democracy, equality and social justice. The delegation of Benin pays a respectful tribute to the memory of the three ANC militants who were cravenly murdered by the Pretoria régime on 9 June 1983. We urge all South African patriots to continue the struggle with yet greater determination to immortalize the memory of those heroes and of so many other martyrs killed in battle or ignominiously and coldbloodedly struck down by the torturers of that hell which has been cursed by the entire human race.

60. Our delegation regrets that the recent Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination did not live up to the enormous hopes placed in it by the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia.

61. We remain convinced, and we reaffirm, that only the adoption and application of comprehensive economic sanctions against the arrogant Pretoria régime will force it into line with the requirements of human reason. Accordingly, we oppose the abuse of the veto to prevent mankind from ridding itself of this pestilence, this gangrene eating away the lives of tens of millions of human beings.

Mr. Murín (Czechoslovakia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

62. Our delegation is deeply concerned also about the tragedy of the Chadian people, which is the result of the attempts of international imperialism to impose one single political and military faction over all the others, in spite of the fact that the 1979 Lagos Accord on National Reconciliation in Chad called for the establishment of the Transitional National Union Government and opened up more hopeful prospects for Chad. Blinded by its sordid scheme, imperialism refuses to see that the situation in that country is one of civil war—a civil war which is not a recent one and whose progress has been observed by all.

For its part, the People's Republic of Benin reaf-63. firms that the events in Chad are strictly internal events. Accordingly, we condemn all foreign intervention in Chad, for such intervention only exacerbates the difficulties and the suffering of the Chadian people. We are convinced that no military solution can ever resolve the problem of Chad; what is required is reconciliation among all the people of Chad. For these reasons, the delegation of the People's Republic of Benin proposes for the settlement of this fratricidal conflict: first, the preservation of the *de facto* cease-fire in the field through its immediate confirmation and iron-clad guarantees; secondly, the withdrawal of all foreign troops; thirdly, non-intervention in the internal affairs of Chad; and fourthly, national reconciliation under the auspices of the OAU.

64. The People's Republic of Benin accordingly supports the efforts of the current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, our brother Mengistu Haile-Mariam, to restore peace and to bring about national reconciliation in Chad, and to this end we urge all our brethren in Chad to create conditions in which they can all set off down the path of peace and reconciliation and tackle the basic task of rebuilding their country, rather than getting bogged down forever in vain attempts to impose the legitimacy of a given Chad Government, a legitimacy which lies within the exclusive sovereign gift of the people of Chad.

65. We wish to express our concern and anxiety about the situation in Western Sahara. The continuing deterioration of that situation is a threat to peace and security, which are essential to the peoples of the North African region for the pursuit of their efforts for independent and viable economic and social development. The People's Republic of Benin welcomes the resolution on this question, adopted at the nineteenth session of the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held at Addis Ababa in June 1983. That resolution called for direct negotiations between the Kingdom of Morocco and POLISARIO,¹ for a cease-fire and for the organization among the people of Western Sahara of a referendum on self-determination before the end of December 1983 [see A/38/312].

66. My country welcomes the favourable reception given this resolution by all the peoples and countries that love peace, justice and freedom, and we deplore the delaying tactics so actively pursued since then to prevent its implementation. In renewing its unvarying support for the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, the Saharan people and its vanguard, POLISARIO, in their struggle to implement that OAU resolution, the People's Republic of Benin calls upon the entire international community, particularly the United Nations Secretary-General, to exert effective pressure and to use all their influence to ensure the immediate holding of the referendum on self-determination under the auspices of the OAU and with the co-operation of the United Nations.

67. The deterioration in the situation in the Middle East and the increase in tension there lead us once more to sound the alarm. We must say that, far from improving since last year, the situation has recently suffered a dangerous deterioration. The Organization must take note of the seriousness of the Zionist escalation and find ways and means during this session to make Israel understand the risks to peace and security it is creating in that region.

68. The People's Republic of Benin condemns the Zionist policy of aggression, genocide and massacre directed against the Arab populations of the region, and we support the struggle of the Palestinian people and its right to have its own homeland and to establish a sovereign, independent State. We reaffirm our political and diplomatic support for the Palestine Liberation Organization [*PLO*], the sole representative of the oppressed people of Palestine.

69. Solving the Palestinian problem requires a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the conflict in the Middle East, a settlement based on Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories. The PLO must participate on a footing of complete equality in all efforts made by the United Nations to find the long-awaited solution to the problem of the Middle East.

70. As convinced and consistent supporters of the Arab cause in the Middle East, the People's Republic of Benin, its party, the People's Revolutionary Party of Benin, and its Government, the National Executive Council, condemn the new form of plots using increased pressure and corruption to strengthen the diplomatic position of the Tel Aviv leaders by re-establishing untimely and unnatural diplomatic relations with the Zionist entity despite its continuing military occupation of the Arab territories it holds as the result of war and despite its stubbornness in opposing the exercise of the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination and to its own State.

71. The very proper decision of the African States, freely taken, to break off relations with the Zionist State is still valid and must be scrupulously observed in the present situation in the Middle East, which is worse and more disturbing now than it was in 1973. We consider that to resume diplomatic relations with Israel, when there has been no real objective improvement in the situation since the Camp David agreements, which are simply another plot against the Palestinian cause even if some Governments do find them useful, amounts to defending the interests of Israel and international imperialism. It would mean deliberately working against the noble cause of the Palestinian people, working against peace in the Middle East, and undermining, indeed destroying, the Afro-Arab solidarity which is essential for the success of our common struggle against injustice, colonialism and underdevelopment.

72. The conflict which has been going on for more than three years now between Iran and Iraq, two brother countries united by age-old ties, is a matter of serious concern to us. My country once again makes a solemn appeal to those two countries, whose quarrel is furthering the machiavellian purposes of international imperialism, to begin negotiations to reach a just and lasting peace to the honour of the peoples of Iran and Iraq. The prestige and credibility of this Organization require it to do everything in its power to help in the realization of that $g \cap al$.

73. The persistence of old hotbeds of tension and the appearance of new ones, and the signs that the existing structures for peace-keeping and the maintenance of peace and stability are becoming worn out, inevitably lead us to the sad conclusion—but without destroying our hopes for the future—that the prerequisites for peace are still absent both in Africa and in the Middle East. How can it be otherwise, when some countries still cling to old, outdated systems of domination and dependence and are making stubborn efforts to prevent by all means possible the countries of these regions from exercising their right to self-determination and independence and from taking the measures that they consider necessary to overcome underdevelopment and abject poverty?

74. The general picture in the rest of the world is similar. In Asia, America and the Caribbean the peoples are asking themselves anxiously what they can do when faced with predatory and destabilizing manoeuvres which, in the final analysis, mark international imperialism's traditional desire for hegemonistic domination.

75. In Asia, the prevailing situation of neither war nor peace, the collusion of imperialism with quasi-dictatorial régimes, the strategic military manoeuvres, the establishment of *de facto* military alliances, the determination to whip up bellicose feelings among certain peoples—all this seriously threatens peace and the security of the peoples of that continent.

76. The People's Republic of Benin recognizes and supports, and will so continue, the sovereign right of each State to have its own policy and its own point of view. We firmly believe that no nation, large or small, has the right to interfere and become involved in the internal affairs of another country or to try to impose on another country its views or a course of conduct other than the one that that country has chosen for itself.

77. Accordingly, our delegation reaffirms that the peoples of Kampuchea and Afghanistan are and will remain masters of their own fate, free to choose the sociopolitical system they wish. We condemn any intervention in the internal affairs of those two countries, and appropriate measures should be examined and taken to eliminate foreign occupation and the threats to their security. The People's Republic of Benin, which favours removing from those regions the tension that has prevailed for years, feels that peace and the guarantee of peace are possible only if there is a political solution through dialogue and direct negotiations without any preconditions. That is why we reiterate our full support for the declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State

or Government of Non-Aligned Countries on the questions of Kampuchea and Afghanistan [see A/38/132 and Corr.1 and 2].

78. The People's Republic of Benin also stands shoulder to shoulder with the People's Democratic Republic of Korea in its tireless struggle for the peaceful, independent and democratic reunification of the country and the establishment of the Confederal Republic of Koryo. We repeat that only the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the peninsula will make possible a definite and viable solution of the Korean crisis.

79. We also repeat our support for and militant solidarity with the people of Cyprus. We renew our tireless support for the just cause of the people of East Timor. In Central America and the Caribbean, the struggles for peace, freedom and development have reached a level of which all the peoples of the third world can be proud.

80. Some nations like to preach human rights, but they do not hesitate to take action that infringes the sovereign right of another nation to choose its own destiny. The People's Republic of Benin abhors such hypocrisy. Our country is very much concerned over tensions resulting from a long history of exploitation and violation of human rights, aggravated in recent years by outside pressures and contempt for the principles of non-intervention and non-interference. Far from improving, the situation is deteriorating further, and military manoeuvres, regardless of their scope, will unfortunately not help at all; all they will do is increase tension detrimental to the interests of the peoples of the region.

81. That is why our delegation welcomes the positive and constructive initiatives of the Contadora Group to try to ensure stable peace in Latin America. My country supports Security Council resolution 530 (1983) and urgently appeals to all States concerned to co-operate fully with the Contadora Group. The people of Benin assures all the peoples of that region of our untiring support as they confront the subversion and destabilization of which they are victims and as they defend their independence and freedom and take an anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist stand.

There is little need to point out that imperialism, by 82. imposing its own version of law and order, by strengthening and reactivating its bases, by exporting oppression and by seeking to destabilize if not regain its lost colonial possessions is taking action to control our resources and to plunder them and is trying to act as an international policeman and to determine the direction our ideologies should take. There is indeed a close and intimate relation linking imperialism, under-development, the absence of peace and collective insecurity. The peoples of the third world are today fighting not only against oppression and exploitation, but also to preserve human civilization and for the right to life, and thus are fighting against the threat of nuclear extermination. Our peoples, and with them the peoples of the entire world, are trying not only to prevent war but also to bring about a real improvement in international relations, to strengthen and develop all good initiatives and to eliminate distrust and suspicion.

83. We should like to highlight the complex and sometimes controversial relationship between disarmament and international security or, if one prefers—and in fact it is the same thing—the link between disarmament and development. The delegation of the People's Republic of Benin realizes with fear and anguish that the arms race not only increases the danger of a world-wide war but also places a heavy burden on the major Powers which induces them to neglect or abdicate their international responsibilities. The outrageous expenditures on arms and the unbelievable squandering of valuable resources could have been used to mobilize funds for aid to development and to improve the living conditions of peoples, including those in the developed countries. Our people, like every other people in the third world, is greatly concerned over the deplorable and senseless waste of resources, when Article 26 of the Charter advocates disarmament "In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources". The past decade shows quite clearly that arms and development are competing for the resources of the planet and that under-development jeopardizes the security of nations.

84. While concern is shown for strengthening security and preventing violence and bloodshed which today are rife in so many parts of the world, the industrialized nations, in their traditional self-centredness, are at the same time investing tremendous human and financial resources in improving the efficiency and destructive capacity of war machines simply to feed that lucrative trade in weapons and thus ensure the survival of the war and armaments industries.

85. Never until now has the Organization's strength as the preserver and dispenser of peace, although it has clearly penetrated the peoples' field of vision, been so unreliable that the crusade against the independence of peoples and the grotesque and unscrupulous interference in the domestic affairs of other countries are continuing to the point that we doubt our ability to stop the deterioration and save the human race from a nuclear holocaust.

86. The delegation of the People's Republic of Benin, with the optimism born of its faith in the future, is convinced that it is still possible to prevent any further dangerous deterioration in the situation and that we must prevent the world from sliding towards catastrophe. For that reason the citizens of our country, the People's Republic of Benin, collectively and through us, appeal solemnly to the reason of all those in the world who hold positions of responsibility to prevent the irreparable from happening and by so doing ensure the pursuit of a policy directed towards the great goal of saving mankind.

87. At a time when mankind is called to make additional sacrifices to bring about future economic and financial recovery, we in Benin believe that a sense of responsibility—on the national, collective and individual levels—will prevail over political differences, over rivalries between groups, blocs or individuals and over the bitterness and rancour caused by certain deplorable practices, whether in the distant or recent past or in the present. In this connection, we hope that the industrialized countries and the negotiators from the North will be able to shed their shell of insensitiveness and indifference to the poverty, suffering, malnutrition, ignorance and insecurity so rampant throughout the world and particularly in the third world.

88. Everyone knows that war is evil; everyone knows the price it exacts in human lives, in suffering and in the destruction of the things necessary to human life and development, not to mention the disturbance of the tranquillity that is so necessary and the deterioration in relations within the international community. The People's Republic of Benin, faithful to its desire for peace and to the decision of our people to build in freedom and independence a sovereign and prosperous nation, and convinced that the destructive capacity of any war, particularly nuclear war, has noticeably increased today to a planetary level, welcomes all sincere peace proposals and initiatives launched so far and hopes that everything possible will be done to give them practical effect. Thus, we must understand and support the expectation and desire of our peoples that the conferences on disarmament, security and peace should emerge from their present impasse, in order to promote the development, the progress and the survival of mankind.

89. Our delegation, aware that détente and security must be collective in order to be real, calls upon all the countries of the world, especially the nuclear Powers, to weigh objectively and reasonably the threatening tendencies in the present development of international relations and to draw reasonable conclusions therefrom, in the most basic interests of mankind. We urge the nuclear Powers finally to adopt effective disarmament measures and to devote the vast resources thus released to the economic and social development that is so urgently needed in the developing countries.

90. We see the world situation, as we have described it and as we are experiencing it in its political, economic and social aspects, as a gigantic machine, the key elements of which are out of alignment and almost worn out. Faced with such a disturbing situation, it would be wrong not to take action and even more wrong not to show any real desire for solidarity and concerted action.

91 The People's Republic of Benin has always maintained that, faced with the threat of total disintegration that hangs over the world economy and the threat of the nuclear apocalypse that weighs upon all mankind, we must get back to those virtues of frank dialogue and mutually beneficial co-operation. The trend towards micronationalism and protectionism as separate ways out of the present stagnation will not yield solutions capable of meeting the needs and hopes of the peoples of our countries. Similarly, the arms race as an index of power or degree of development is but an abyss into which is deliberately poured vast financial resources that could and should be used to eradicate from the surface of the Earth poverty, hunger, malnutrition, disease, illiteracy, unemployment and armed conflict.

92. In spite of the pressures and manipulations of all sorts being exerted to keep Africa in a permanently peripheral and totally inactive status with regard to the ideals and goals that our continent's organization, the OAU, has freely decided to uphold, and in the light of the decisions adopted by that important body, the delegation of the People's Republic of Benin, true to the commitment of our country to co-operate with all States without exception or discrimination on the basis of respect for sovereignty, national dignity and the principle of non-interference, is prepared to join in all attempts at this session to find a way to give a new impetus to the efforts to achieve and defend the noble ideals of the Charter of the United Nations, namely, peace, equality, freedom, justice and social progress.

93. Ready for the revolution; the struggle continues.

94. Mr. WHITEMAN (Grenada): I wish first to congratulate Mr. Jorge Illueca on his election to the presidency of this historic Assembly. His many years of experience, his outstanding qualities of statesmanship and the lofty principles which guide his actions are a matter of record. We all extend our congratulations to his country, the Republic of Panama, which has been equally honoured by his elevation to that high office.

95. I also take this opportunity to express the deep appreciation of my Government for the exemplary performance of his predecessor, Mr. Imre Hollai of Hungary, who has made a signal contribution to the strengthening of the Organization and to the search for universal peace. 96. It is a source of real pride and joy that we are able to welcome to membership in the Organization the newly independent State of Saint Christopher and Nevis. We are especially pleased because Saint Christopher and Nevis, like Grenada, is a small island developing country and belongs to the Caribbean family of nations, being a member of the Caribbean Community [CARICOM] and the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States. We know that the Government and the people of Saint Christopher and Nevis share our aspirations for peace, independence and development in the Caribbean subregion.

97. It is fitting that the thirty-eighth session began with the recognition of the International Day of Peace, for it is convened at a decisive moment in the history of mankind. Since we met at our last session, the world has witnessed a dangerous escalation in the arms race. International tension has heightened and we drift ever closer to the brink of nuclear catastrophe. However, the consciousness of the stark reality of the dangers inherent in this period is rising and consequently the struggle for peace and disarmament is gaining new momentum among the masses.

98. Closely linked to the increasing danger of war is the grim nature of the economic situation facing the vast majority of our countries. The external debt of third world countries and the dramatic deterioration in the terms of trade of the developing countries are threatening many of these economies with total collapse. In spite of the meagre flows of concessional loans and grants, these countries remain trapped in a virtual state of help-lessness, sinking into the mire of bankruptcy.

99. Although the struggle for just and equitable economic relations is urgent, by far the most burning issue facing the international community is the struggle for peace.

100. Of immense concern to the Government and the people of Grenada are the increasingly war-like policies of the United States Administration, as evidenced by the numerous military manoeuvres and the deployment of its troops in almost every corner of the globe. During the last few months the dispatch of United States military personnel to Central America, to different parts of North Africa, the Mediterranean and other areas has demonstrated that country's determination to police the world and to impose its will by military might.

101. These military manoeuvres create an atmosphere of tension and sow the seeds of mistrust, giving rise to international espionage. When, as in the case of the illfated KAL flight 007, the lives of unsuspecting civilians are regrettably lost, our duty is to review seriously the policies which may endanger civilian lives and not to exploit a human tragedy for narrow political propaganda objectives.

102. In the light of new and dangerous military doctrines which threaten the survival of mankind, Grenada believes that it is immeasurably important for our Assembly to reaffirm its commitment to peace and peaceful coexistence and to steer all nations along the course of the peaceful settlement of disputes.

103. Our country has followed with deep interest successive rounds of negotiations on the limitation and reduction of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and other related disarmament issues. The apparent lack of political will on the part of the United States Administration to adopt a constructive approach in these matters' creates a gloomy prospect for the successful outcome of the negotiations. It appears that the United States is proceeding on the basis of achieving military superiority. This is clearly an untenable and unrealistic

position. The plans to deploy additional nuclear missiles in Western Europe can contribute nothing towards the advancement of peace in the world, since one can reasonably expect them to be counter-balanced by the Warsaw Treaty States in an effort to retain the present strategic balance in Europe. Both measures would greatly increase tension and insecurity and diminish the chances of peace. Grenada is fully convinced that in the event of a nuclear attack all nations would be in the front line. We therefore urge meaningful and sincere dialogue on the part of all nuclear States so that the disaster which now threatens all of us can be averted.

104. In this context, we also express grave concern over the growing proliferation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. We abhor any plans to introduce the arms race into outer space. My Government reiterates its position that Grenada will support any meaningful and constructive proposal from any quarter aimed at eliminating nuclear weapons from the face of the earth.

105. In the world struggle for the preservation of peace and security, the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada expresses support for the tremendous work being done by the peace movements, both in Europe and in North America. The recognition by people the world over that action should be taken to avert the threat of nuclear war and to prevent the further escalation of the arms race is indeed heartening. The People's Revolutionary Government and the people of Grenada reiterate their full support for all those who are daily struggling to persuade their Governments to dedicate their efforts to the achievement of a lasting peace.

106. The foreign policy of my Government is predicated on the cardinal principles of the promotion of world peace, good-neighbourliness and international co-operation. Since the beginning of our process of revolutionary change in March 1979, we have proceeded on the basis of a clear understanding that without peace and cooperation there can be no progressive development. When tensions exist, scarce resources are often diverted to military purposes. The resources being spent on armaments could be better utilized in the provision of goods and services for the uplift of the society and the improvement of the material conditions of the people.

107. Our commitment to peace and international cooperation is inextricably linked to the struggle to improve the material conditions of the people of our small country. The People's Revolutionary Government has registered modest achievements since 13 March 1979. Our unemployment figure has been drastically reduced. Secondary education has been expanded rapidly and is now provided free of cost. Our adult literacy programme reaches out to people in all corners of our nation. In spite of the international propaganda campaign, our first and only international airport, the single most important economic project of our revolution, will be officially opened during the first quarter of 1984.

108. Grenada is convinced that peace and development are interdependent. In 1979, at the session of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States held at La Paz, my Government co-sponsored a resolution—which was adopted unanimously—calling for the Caribbean to be declared, and recognized in practice, as a zone of peace. Since then, Grenada has consistently urged the implementation of this historic decision. At a meeting in Grenada in 1981, the Standing Committee of Foreign Ministers of the Caribbean Community endorsed the call of the Organization of American States at La Paz and established a working group to elaborate the concept of a zone of peace. One year later, at the conference of Foreign Ministers of CARICOM, held in Belize, we attempted to give clearer definition of the hopes and aspirations of our peoples by calling for recognition of our region as a zone of peace, independence and development. This Assembly has recognized the significant contribution which zones of peace in particular areas can make towards the attainment of world peace. Accordingly, we urge all States to support our aspirations to have the Caribbean declared, and recognized in practice, as a zone of peace, independence and development.

Mr. Illueca (Panama) resumed the Chair.

109. The peoples of Central America, neighbours and brothers of the Caribbean peoples, are today particularly and very painfully aware of the real meaning of the world struggle for peace and development. They have waged a long and bitter struggle for genuine independence. They too have a sovereign right to peaceful development. It is an unfortunate fact of history that whenever Central America has tried to develop its own resources independently, to work for the benefit and advancement of its peoples, these efforts have been thwarted by a powerful neighbour whose own overriding interests do not allow for the independent development of States it regards as backyard colonies and banana republics.

110. Today, the sovereign, independent Government of Nicaragua and its valiant people are bullied and subverted for daring to be independent. This is the basis of "Big Pine II", a crass deployment of military forces designed to intimidate Nicaragua and to subjugate the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean. The People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada vociferously condemns the shameful acts of the United States Government and its puppets, who, in defiance of several United Nations resolutions, continue to perpetrate overt and covert acts of aggression against Nicaragua or to allow their territory to be used as staging points for sabotage, subversion and murder of innocent civilians.

111. My Government gives its full support to the appeal made at this session by Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra [7th meeting] that the General Assembly should resume efforts to support the struggle for peace in Central America and that United Nations Member States should refrain from all actions that aggravate the situation in the region. Grenada demands that those Members of the United Nations which are subverting Nicaragua's attempts to attain peaceful and progressive development cease such hostilities immediately.

112. We also support Nicaragua's six-point proposal aimed at the realization of a peaceful solution to the region's problems. We endorse the initiatives of the Contadora Group and all such initiatives aimed at a peaceful solution to the existing situation in Central America.

Grenada's position on El Salvador is crystal clear. 113. There we see a valiant people struggling against the might of imperialism and a callous and genocidal oligarchy. A régime which descends to the depths of barbarity and orders indiscriminate bombings of its own civilian population has surrendered all claim to moral authority. My Government has consistently supported the right of the Salvadorian people to establish a Government reflecting their just aspirations. Since its publication in 1981 we have supported the Franco-Mexican declaration which recognized the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation and the Revolutionary Democratic Front as a responsible and representative political force. Two years ago, in my statement at the thirty-sixth session [33rd meeting], Grenada pointed out that the genocidal path pursued for many years by the junta and United States imperialism

was not a feasible approach to resolving the conflict. We reiterate that that policy is not working, it will not work, and it cannot work. We continue to support the commitment to a negotiated political settlement in which all forces, including the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation and the Revolutionary Democratic Front, would participate fully and on an equal footing in order to bring a just and honourable peace to this war-torn nation.

114. My Government wishes to direct the Assembly's attention to the constant threats to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the State of Belize, a member of the CARICOM family of nations. Grenada reaffirms its support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country.

115. Similarly, with respect to the Guyana-Venezuela controversy, the Government of Grenada reaffirms its support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Guyana. It notes with satisfaction that the Governments of the two countries have referred the choice of a means of settlement to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Geneva Agreement concerning the boundaries of the two States, and expresses the hope that that controversy will be quickly and peacefully resolved.

116. We are in full solidarity with the aspirations of the Government and the people of Suriname to build their political, economic and social processes in freedom from all forms of outside pressure and blackmail. In this context we condemn Central Intelligence Agency and other imperialist-sponsored activities aimed at undermining that country's development.

117. We reaffirm our total support for the people and the Government of Bolivia in their struggle to restore the territorial integrity of the Bolivian nation and to regain an outlet to the Pacific with full sovereignty.

118. In the case of the Malvinas, consistent with Security Council resolutions 502 (1982) and 505 (1982) and with the stated position of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on the issue, we urge both parties to reopen negotiations, with the participation and good offices of the Secretary-General, with a view to putting an end to this colonial situation in the South Atlantic.

119. * Jn like manner, Grenada reiterates its support for the Puerto Rican people's inalienable right to selfdetermination and independence in conformity with resolution 1514 (XV).

120. My Government and people salute Panama's steadfastness in its struggle to gain control of every inch of Panamanian territory, including the Panama Canal. Grenada's constant and unswerving support for that country in its historic battle for its rights is assured.

121. With respect to the Republic of Cuba, Grenada calls for an end to the criminal United States blockade against that country and for the immediate cessation of the imperialist campaign of harassment and threats against that upright Government and that brave and fearless people. We call once more for the return of Guantánamo to Cuban sovereignty.

122. The cry of oppressed peoples for liberation, for progress, for peace and for justice resounds throughout the Americas. It is a clamour which all the weapons of war and the might of armies will never stifle or silence. It is a clamour which comes today from Chile, from El Salvador, from Guatemala and from Uruguay. We extend our solidarity and support to the peoples of those countries and to all others who seek to affirm the right to freedom, to genuine economic and social advancement and to a lasting peace. The search for peace, independence and economic and social advancement in Latin America and the Caribbean is only part of the world-wide struggle for the attainment of those goals universally.

123. In the Middle East, the Zionist policy of expansionism continues to be a major obstacle to a just and lasting peace. Today the State of Lebanon is threatened with dismemberment by the Zionists. Our brothers and sisters of Palestine are still being denied their inalienable right to a homeland of their own. We reiterate our unwavering support for the Palestinian people under the leadership of their sole and legitimate representative, the PLO. We are convinced that the establishment of a Palestinian State on Palestinian soil constitutes the foundation of the attainment of the goals and aspirations of the Palestinian people and the main pillar of a just and lasting solution to the conflict. The Grenada Government remains convinced that the people of that region could speedily resolve their differences if the issues were not complicated by the interference of Israel, and it calls for a comprehensive settlement with the full participation of all the parties concerned.

124. With regard to Cyprus, we continue to call for the restoration of its unity, the withdrawal of all occupation forces and full respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country.

125. We also call upon our brothers in Iran and Iraq speedily to bring to an end their sad and wasteful conflict, which benefits neither and which represents a wanton waste of the scarce resources of that region and the third world.

126. We fully support the efforts of the United Nations towards finding a negotiated political settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan.

127. We reaffirm our support for the peaceful reunification of Korea. We consider the proposals put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea a sound basis on which to begin negotiations to this end.

128. We reaffirm our solidarity with the people and Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea as they strive valiantly to complete the task of national revival and reconstruction. We view with grave concern attempts by certain forces to escalate their armed interference in Kampuchea. The United Nations should never forget or fail to condemn the brutal savagery of the ousted Pol Pot clique.

129. We support the call for relations among the countries of South-East Asia to be based on the principles of good-neighbourliness, stability and mutual co-operation and for the establishment of a zone of peace in that region.

130. The continent of Africa, with which my country shares unbreakable bonds of brotherhood and blood, continues to feel the heavy and brutal hand of one of the great evils of this century—the racist Republic of South Africa and its sadistic system of *apartheid*. This body has consistently raised its voice against this inhuman practice.

131. Today *apartheid* is even reaching out to the Caribbean, offering the gold from the sweat and tears of our African brothers to a few mercenaries who are only too willing to play cricket for the amusement of their racist manipulators—as minstrels played for their masters. On the question of *apartheid* the policy of my Government is clear, uncompromising and incontrovertible. Immediately upon the departure of the cricketing mercenaries from the Caribbean for the racist State the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada declared each one

persona non grata. In addition, we called upon their home countries to cancel their travel documents and to confiscate the ill-gotten funds and turn them over to the ANC and SWAPO to assist in financing the liberation struggle.

132. We pledge our total and unconditional support for the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and legitimate representative. We unhesitatingly reject any attempts to make the withdrawal of Cuban internationalist forces from Angola a condition of recognizing the legitimate right of the Namibian people to freedom and independence. We call upon those members of the contact group which have been guilty of delaying tactics to desist from this practice and to facilitate the speeding-up of the process of independence for Namibia.

133. We reiterate our unwavering solidarity with the ANC and the oppressed people of South Africa in their struggle for national liberation. The People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada reaffirms its total support for and solidarity with the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, the Kingdom of Lesotho and all the front-line States which are plagued by South African harassment and whose sovereignty and independence are constantly threatened by the racist Pretoria régime.

134. We also take this opportunity to reaffirme our support for the Saharan people in their struggle for freedom and independence under the leadership of POLISARIO.¹

135. The international economic situation is no less grave than the international political and military one. The quest for a new global economic order is inextricably linked to the struggle of the people of the world for peace and development. As the economic crisis deepens, the wide economic gap between developed and developing countries becomes even wider, while the prevailing world economic system remains unresponsive to the basic needs of developing countries.

The establishment of a new international economic 136. order has become an extremely urgent issue if the aspirations of the world's peoples are to be realized. Three quarters of the world population live in over 100 of our countries where poverty and dependence prevail. The external debt of developing countries grew at an average annual rate of 25.1 per cent between 1973 and 1975 and the debt servicing grew at an annual rate of 61 per cent during the same period. It is estimated that in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] countries there are some 30 million unemployed people, and in the developing countries, which feel the brunt of the crisis, the economic situation is even more appalling. In Latin America the per capita gross domestic product dropped by more than 1 per cent in 1981, the first such occurrence since 1959. An OECD estimate informs us that the third world's external debt amounted to about \$626 billion in 1982.

137. A grim indicator of the plight facing the populations of developing countries is revealed in FAO data, which tell us that well over 40 million people, half of them children, die every year from hunger and malnutrition. It has been estimated that one quarter of the population in many countries of the developing world suffers from chronic malnutrition.

138. In the face of this tragedy, the squandering of scarce resources on instruments of war is nothing short of catastrophic. For example, in the United States \$187 billion have been allocated as direct military spending for the new financial year, with \$115 million going for the manufacture of a new generation of chemical

weapons. Military spending worldwide rose during the past year to a record total of \$800 billion, according to the International Institute for Strategic Studies. It should be a source of anguish to the Organization that some countries in the world seem more interested in confrontation and war than in the alleviation of human suffering. When the world's peoples groan under the yoke of the deteriorating economic situation, they are indirectly pleading for peace.

139. Within the context of the deteriorating economic situation facing developing countries, the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada re-emphasizes the need for a special régime of co-operation and assistance to alleviate the peculiar problems of small island developing States. The recently concluded non-aligned Conference on Small Island Developing Countries, held in Grenada, established a framework to address the peculiar problems of these countries. The Conference also decided to establish a group of experts charged with the responsibility of elaborating a specially tailored programme of concrete assistance from the international community. We issue a special appeal to the world community to come to the assistance of this peculiarly disadvantaged group. The Non-Aligned Movement must be commended for taking this bold initiative. This further demonstrates the relevance of the Movement in the struggle of developing countries for an equitable international economic order, as well as its overall dynamism, its maturity and its sense of responsibility.

140. There is dire need for the restructuring of the major international financial institutions to make them more responsive to the needs of our countries, especially the most affected and disadvantaged among us. Developing countries need to have a greater voice in all policy decisions which affect them in such institutions. The restructuring and democratization of these institutions are urgently required if developing countries are to make any headway in obtaining development financing on better terms.

141. At the same time, we call on all donor countries to increase the level of their contributions to the main lending institutions in the interest of ensuring their financial viability and their capacity to assist debtor nations. The economic survival of the countries of the developed world is inextricably linked to the economic viability of the countries of the third world. Let us not forget that fact.

142. The severe economic crisis reflected in the chronic external indebtedness of developing countries necessitates the rescheduling by creditor States of repayments if we wish to avoid an immediate collapse of many economies. Consideration may have to be given in extremely difficult cases to the cancellation of debts.

143. The failure of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development is a disturbing reminder of the lack of political will among some developed creditor nations and of their unwillingness to promote equitable economic relations with developing countries. My Government once more appeals to the developed countries to resume negotiations and earnestly try to find solutions to the unjust and unequal economic relationships, a major cause of the chronic economic problems facing the developing world.

144. The critical world situation challenges mankind's ingenuity to find urgent and real solutions to grave international problems which seem to threaten the very existence of the human race. As we enter this thirty-ninth year since the founding of this exalted Organization, our first and overriding task must be to work with redoubled efforts to attain world peace with justice and a more

equitable distribution of the planet's resources for the benefit of all its peoples.

145. The Government of Grenada is convinced that, notwithstanding its somewhat limited achievements in certain areas during the past 38 years, the United Nations still provides us with the best, perhaps the only, opportunity for finding solutions to mankind's pressing problems—solutions which can no longer be permitted to elude us. Grenada solemnly reaffirms its commitment to the United Nations and to the principles enshrined in its Charter and calls upon all nations to rededicate themselves in a renewed spirit of international understanding and co-operation to work out just and equitable prescriptions which will alleviate the suffering of the oppressed peoples of the world and steer mankind away from the path of total self-destruction.

146. Mr. ZAKI (Maldives): I hasten to express the shock and deep concern of my delegation over the tragic incident which occurred in Rangoon last Sunday, resulting in the deaths and injury of so many people. We convey our sincere condolences to the Governments of the Republic of Korea and Burma and to the members of the bereaved families.

147. Mr. President, I join my colleagues who spoke before me in offering our sincere felicitations on your election as President of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. My delegation is confident that your wide experience and knowledge will assist you in guiding our deliberations efficiently.

148. I should also like to express our appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Innre Hollai, for his tireless devotion to his duties and the undaunted manner in which he rendered his services to the United Nations during his tenure as President of the General Assembly.

149. My delegation wishes to note for the record the exemplary manner in which the Secretary-General has continued to perform his unenviable task of harnessing the resources of the international community to the noble task of upholding and preserving the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

150. My delegation also has great pleasure in voicing its very warm and sincere welcome to the delegation of Saint Christopher and Nevis as it takes its seat among us, thus helping to further the Organization's universality.

151. The thirty-eighth session is being held at a time when the international arena is overshadowed by everincreasing tensions. A broader and wiser political view of the world community and sustained patient efforts, with greater determination, are most vital to arrest the fast-growing threats to world peace and security. Every possible step must be taken to stem the swift growth of forces which undermine both the United Nations and peaceful international relations. Since the continuing developments amount to a dire threat to the very basic tenets of the Charter, it is up to the membership to assume its responsibilities, more than ever before, in a sincere effort to defuse the dangerously escalating international tension.

Mr. Murín (Czechoslovakia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

152. My delegation strongly feels that this session should not be allowed to pass without renewed commitments by every Member of the Organization to do its utmost to prevent, if not reverse, the continuing deterioration in international relations caused by increasing, over-ambitious political adventurism, so that nations big or small, rich or poor, weak or powerful, can enjoy their inalienable rights in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence. As we see it, none of us, as a Member of this august body and therefore fully committed to the Charter, can spare any effort to make a maximum contribution for the achievement of peace, justice and the preservation of orderly international behaviour.

153. Developments in the Middle East, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, South America and southern Africa have, in the view of my delegation, created such levels of tension throughout the world that we must wonder fearfully how long the international situation will remain without a major conflagration. What distresses us most is the fact that more and more often the fundamental ethics of the Charter are being abandoned or ignored under the pretext of so-called national security or strategic interests, and as a result there is already chaos and anarchy in many parts of the world.

154. We view these developments as extremely grave and serious. Indeed, certain developments seem to justify a growing feeling that peoples and nations will be worthy of consideration only if they serve the interests of a greater Power. Our task is to strive, and strive hard, for a better world. In this spirit, we respectfully appeal to the Organization's Members not to delay any longer decisive and specific action to stem the deterioration in international relations.

It is the considered opinion of my delegation that 155. disarmament should be the priority area for consideration. It is no secret that the threat of a nuclear confrontation, which in the past appeared on the far horizon, has steadily drawn closer and now seems to be hovering just over us. Right now we are seeing an alarming increase in the production not only of nuclear weapons but also of all other types of weapons of mass destruction, including so-called conventional weapons. Deployment of satellites and other spacecraft for military purposes, including nuclear warfare, has added horrifying dimensions to the already dangerous situation. My delegation has always strongly supported every effort of the world community to stop the arms race and work towards complete disarmament.

156. It is a well-known fact that today, while more than half of the population of the world are struggling hard to attain minimum basic essential needs for existence, a few countries which enjoy the benefits of abundant natural resources, wealth and technology seem to be quite happy to invest billions of dollars in production and improvement of nuclear and other weapons of war. My delegation will continue to render every possible support to the work of the Organization to make this world a safer place for mankind.

157. The Middle East remains in a most dangerous state. Developments during the past year have increased the gravity of the situation. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the refusal of the Israeli Government to withdraw its troops from Lebanese territory have added new dimensions to an already explosive situation created by their refusal to withdraw from the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967.

158. The international community has witnessed with alarm and indignation Israel's continued policy of illegal annexation of more territories of the occupied land and also, as if that were not enough, its masterminding of greater chaos in Lebanon, commissioning of acts of blatant aggression and violation of all the norms of international law and decent human behaviour.

159. The Assembly cannot overlook in any way the outright rejection by Israe¹ of the numerous United Nations resolutions. Its actions have not only condemned thousands of innocent men, women and children to suffer

death, destruction and loss of property, but also have initiated a gathering momentum which could well spark off a conflagration that could not be restricted to a single country or region. It is therefore imperative that the world community give every possible support to strengthen the present cease-fire in Lebanon and take positive steps without any delay to stop the extension of this continuous aggression to any further level. Even the States which sympathize with Israel cannot deny the fact that its arrogance and expansionist policy are responsible for building up tension to the present dangerously high level.

We are all committed to the Charter. Its provisions 160. are binding on all nations who are Members of this world body, and no Member State can have any right to be an exception. Permanent membership in the Security Council in no way grants any power to a country to create, directly or by proxy, a situation favourable only to that country in any part of the world. If every Member of the Organization is sincere about its commitment to the provisions of the Charter, action should not be delayed any longer regarding the situation in the Middle East. We must ask the Security Council to invoke the relevant provisions of the Charter with regard to the arrogance and defiance with which Israel is trying to trample on the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. These rights must include their right to return to their homeland and the unimpaired freedom to establish their own nation and decide on their own destiny. The PLO, which is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, must have the full right to participate in any steps that may be taken to achieve this end. In the opinion of my delegation, the Geneva Declaration on Palestine² issued last month presents a sound framework for the international community and the parties concerned to work for a solution of this issue.

161. Among other matters of major international concern are the questions of Afghanistan and Kampuchea. These are two countries which, we believe, have been victims of foreign military interventions and invasions. We express our deepest concern regarding these two countries because we fully endorse the United Nations resolutions which condemn such interventions and call for the withdrawal of foreign forces from those two territories. That would enable the peoples of Afghanistan and Kampuchea to decide freely on their own destiny. One of the prerequisites in the case of each is for the refugees to return to their homes with security and honour. My delegation notes with deep appreciation and commendation the unceasing efforts of the Secretary-General to find solutions to these two major issues.

162. It is with alarm, dismay and frustration that we witness the increasing instances of foreign intervention in areas of Africa and Latin America. As we see it, there is not much of a difference in direct or indirect intervention or interference. The end result in either case is tragically the same: tension, unrest, internal strife, conflicts and even bloodshed. We view such developments with the utmost concern because they are destroying not only the very fabric of international peace and security, but also the concept of peaceful co-existence. Never for a moment should we forget that we are all family of interrelated and interdependent nations with diverse political ideologies, economies and social systems, whose members must live together in an atmosphere which is devoid of suspicion, envy and animosity.

163. The question of south-west Africa and the sad and tragic plight of the people of South Africa has continued to be a matter of grave concern to the world community for a long time. In spite of persistent and repeated

expressions of serious concern and indignation by the international community, the people of Namibia have been forced to remain under a régime illegall; imposed upon them by the racist Government of Pretoria. Like Israel in the Middle East, the minority régime of South Africa has acted with scorn towards the numerous resolutions approved by this body in full accord with the provisions of the Charter. The Pretoria régime has flagrantly violated the Charter and all norms of international law and codes of human conduct with regard both to Namibia and the majority people of South Africa.

164. My delegation, as in the past, gives its full support to the oppressed people of South Africa itself, which remains under the inhuman policy of *apartheid*, and to the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO. We assert that the General Assembly should request the Security Council to act without any further delay to invoke the relevant provisions of the Charter while the world community exerts greater political and economic pressures on the Pretoria régime in order to force it to accept the realities of the present era and act with sanity before it is too late.

165. It is a matter of regret for us that there has been very little advance, if any, with regard to the situation in Cyprus. The extremely slow progress made thus far in the dialogue between the parties concerned is being constantly outpaced by the tension prevailing there. We still believe that meaningful negotiations must be pursued sincerely with a view to achieving a just and lasting solution whereby the rights of the communities of that long-suffering country can be restored in a manner which will preserve peace in the country and ensure stability and economic development for the people.

166. The peaceful reunification of the divided people of Korea has been and continues to be a matter of great interest to us. The lack of positive contact between the people of the North and South for the realization of the national aspirations of the people of Korea tends to create further unrest, tension and instability. We believe that the international community should extend every possible support, opportunity and encouragement to the Korean people in order to assist them in achieving their objective. At the same time, we state that they must remain free from outside interference, influence and pressure in order that they may find a peaceful solution of their own choice.

I should like to take this opportunity to express 167. our deepest sorrow at seeing two of our brother countries, Iran and Iraq, still waging their bitter armed conflict, which has already brought coeth, destruction and loss to hundreds of thousands. We maintain very friendly brotherly relations with both countries, and this makes our grief all the deeper. We can only express our support for the numerous appeals of the international bodies to bring about a cease-fire. We can only lend our support to the calls of the world community to these two brother countries to stop the war and find a solution to their disputes by peaceful means. We also pledge our support to the Secietary-General's mediation efforts as well as to those of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, all of which are designed to bring about an honourable settlement to the dispute.

168. Let me now turn to our region of the globe. As on previous occasions, I wish to express the immediate and deep concern of our country at the steadily escalating tension created by the great-Power rivalry for military superiority in the Indian Ocean. My delegation wishes to reaffirm our full support for the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI*)]. We believe that tension will continue to mount as long as foreign military bases and other such facilities remain in our area. If that trend continues, disputes can easily lead to conflicts in which those foreign military forces will have a stake. That is a very familiar chain of action and reaction in many parts of the world. On our part, we shall do everything possible, along with the other countries of the region, to prevent our area from being subjected to such potential dangers.

169. I need hardly mention that another inevitable development consequent to big-Power military rivalry and their presence in our region is the time, money and other resources which have to be utilized to step up security and defence levels in various countries. During this era of world economic chaos, we can ill-afford that course of action.

170. We fully support the efforts of the United Nations to implement the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. We appeal to the world community to renew its efforts to that end. We strongly feel that the proposed conference on the Indian Ocean, to be held at Colombo, is a step that must be taken with the least delay. We remain firmly convinced that this conference will form a milestone in the march towards the achievement of our cherished objective.

171. The attention and concern of the world community necessarily has to be focused on the international economic scene. Although certain glimmers of hope are observed on the horizon, the lack of will on the part of the developed countries to initiate fast, effective steps, based on interdependence, to remedy the deteriorating world economy has been most disappointing. My delegation feels that the severe strain on the international trade, finance and monetary systems is an ominous sign of a possible trade war. The failure of the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Belgrade earlier this year, to produce any encouraging results has brought frustration to the developing countries.

172. It is true that the current economic crisis affects all groups of countries. However, the developing countries are feeling the impact in a way which cracks the foundation of their economic growth and impairs their prospects for years to come. We wish to emphasize the urgent need for the developed or industrialized countries to appreciate the futility of pursuing the old economic order, which can only result in further setbacks from which there can be no insulation even for themselves.

173. With regard to the current economic confusion the world over, we consider that on the whole the developing world has considerable resources, manpower and scope for technological advancement and new investments.

My delegation further records the tragic plight of 174 the least developed countries which suffer most in their earnest bid to lay out the best possible infrastructure for economic growth. Particularly distressing is the fact that the least developed countries suffer from the added disadvantage of having to struggle against a lack of manpower and natural resources. The country we represent here belongs to that group of countries, and my comments are not based on speculation but on the factual situation we face. In spite of our gloomy economic environment, we have tried our utmost to maintain a path of progress consistent with the theme of self-reliance. It is indeed a tedious uphill task. Nevertheless, we have attempted to make optimum use of whatever resources we have been able to muster.

175. One of the most disturbing problems for the developing countries, and more particularly for the least

developed countries, during the past decade has been their balance-of-payments position. The abrupt swings in the prices of primary commodities, food and energy, the continued escalation in the prices of manufactured goods, the decrease in the import demands of the developed countries, the steady rise in the interest rates during the last three or four years, the fall in primary commodity prices during the same period and, above all, the alarming increase in the practice of protectionism have brought with them a series of continuous shock-waves resulting in near economic disaster for many of the third world and least developed countries.

The only silver lining around the dark cloud I have 176. just mentioned is the fact that the most industrialized and developed countries of the world had apparently given some serious consideration to the submissions of the developing countries during the sixth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. We also feel that repeated submissions of the least developed countries at all international forums on our developmental efforts have made some impact upon the developed countries, and it is our earnest hope that the recommendations of the 1981 United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries³ would be given greater consideration. I must mention here that the roundtable meeting held at Geneva in May this year has given my country some encouragement that will help us to invest greater energy into our economic development.

177. To conclude my statement, I should like to reaffirm our commitment to the noble principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and to reaffirm our faith and trust in the Organization, the most useful instrument for the preservation and maintenance of world peace enabling the realization of the cherished ambitions of mankind for peaceful coexistence, justice, progress and prosperity.

178. Finally, may I use this opportunity to appeal to the world community not to support the tendency to overlook or bypass the United Nations in certain instances of disputes or conflicts, because we trust, as I am sure all Members do, that the United Nations is, and must always be, the most effective weapon at our disposal in the interest of international peace and security. On our part, my delegation unreservedly supports the valiant efforts of the Secretary-General to further the cause of international peace, and pledges our fullest co-operation in all sincerity.

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

180. Mrs. MEYERHOFF (United States of America): The sheer volume of the incorrect and misleading statements made in the Assembly by the delegations of Iran, Libya, Afghanistan and Syria concerning the actions by the United States in the Middle East, South Asia and elsewhere demand some response. The more ludicrous accusations made against us are discredited by their very substance and by the motives identified by their authors. They are the usual, familiar, even ritual distortions of reality, and they require no rebuttal. Some of the more flagrant assertions, however, must not, will not, go unchallenged.

181. According to the representative of Iran, the Camp David agreements were in some way responsible for the present bloodshed in Lebanon. This distortion of the single, at the very least partially productive initiative towards a comprehensive Middle East peace settlement this' Iranian distortion—borders on the obscene. The Iranian delegation and declaration also accuse the United States of supplying arms to Iraq. This statement, too, is an affront to truth. Both assertions denigrate the serious continuing efforts by the United States and some of the Governments of the Middle East to find peaceful, balanced solutions to that region's problems. As to strict United States neutrality in the tragic war between Iraq and Iran, this is a documented fact.

182 The Libyan and Afghan Governments have chosen to use this forum to reiterate certain threadbare charges against my country. The Libyan Government undoubtedly has its own very special reasons for making shrill accusations, while it exploits and exacerbates other countries' problems and misfortunes from the western Mediterranean to the western Pacific and while it uses murder as an instrument of national policy. As for the Afghan statement, the reaction of my country can only be profound sorrow and outrage at this latest example of a sham Government defending and justifying the brutal slaughter of its own people by Soviet forces, abetted by its own troops. What credence is to be given to a régime so totally lacking in the support of its own people that in order to man its army it must send press gangs into its high schools?

183. It was with regret that we heard the Syrian spokesman criticize the role of the United States Marine contingent in the multinational force in Lebanon. The Marines are there for reasons well known to the Syrian Government. The United States Marines are participants in a multinational peace-keeping force. They went there at the invitation—the invitation—of the Lebanese Government, first to end last year's fighting in that country and later to preclude further tragic acts of violence in the Beirut area. The United States will persevere in its efforts to bring the strife in Lebanon to an end, against all obstacles, from whatever source, and looks forward to further dialogue with the Syrian Government in a continuing attempt to find common ground for joint action to this end. The Government which I represent remains dedicated to the pursuit of peace in the Middle East.

184. Mr. ROMERO SANCHEZ (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): With reference to a comment made by the representative of Angola in the general debate, my delegation wishes to state that legitimate representatives of peoples are those who have been elected by popular ballot. If the representative of Angola does not believe that free elections open to the participation of all political parties is the best way for the sovereignty of the peoples to be expressed, it is because his Government thinks otherwise and is not in favour of the concept of representative pluralist democracy.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.

Notes

¹Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

²Report of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, Geneva, 29 August-7 September 1983 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.83.I.21), chap. I, sect. A.

³Report 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.